A Grammar of Paunaka

Lena Terhart

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Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
3i	third person
A	subject of transitive verb
AC	adverbial clause
ADD	additive
ADJ	adjective
ADM	admonitive
AFM	affirmation
AM	associated motion
AM.CONC.CIS	concurrent cislocative motion
AM.CONC.TR	concurrent translocative motion
AM.PRIOR	prior motion
AM.SUBS	subsequent motion
AVERT	avertive
ATTR	attributive
BEN	benefactive
C	consonant
CAUS	causative (1 & 2)
CC	complement clause
CLF	classifier
COL	collective
COM	comitative
CONT	continuous
DEC	deceased
DEC.PN	deceased for proper name
DED	deductive
DEICT	deictic suffix
DEM	demonstrative (a, b & c)
DER	derivational affix
DIM	diminutive
DISTR	distributive
DLOC	dislocative
DSC	discontinuous
EMPH	emphatic (1 & 2)
EXT	extension applicative
FOC	focus pronoun

FRUST	frustrative
GRN	general relational noun
HON	honorific
HORT	hortative
IAM	iamitive
IDPH	ideophone
INCMP	incompletive
INS	instrumental (or cause)
INTJ	interjection
INTS	intensifier
INTSV	intensive
IRR	irrealis
IRR.NV	non-verbal irrealis
LIM	limitative (1 & 2)
LOC	locative
MC	main clause
MCPC	motion-cum-purpose construction
MID	middle voice
MIR	mirative
N	noun
NEG	negation
NMLZ	nominaliser
NP	noun phrase
NPOSSD	non-possessed
NUM	numeral
NV	non-verbal
O	object
OBL	oblique
OPT	optative (1 & 2)
PBA	Proto Bolivian Arawakan
PDP	Paunaka Documentation Project
PL	plural
POSS	possessor
POSSD	possessed
PRED	predicate
PRIV	privative
PRN	pronoun
PROH	prohibitive
PRSP	prospective
PUNCT	punctual
Q	quantifier
RC	relative clause

RCPC	reciprocal
RDPL	reduplication
REAL	realis
REG	regressive (or repetitive)
REL	relativiser
REM	remote (past or distance)
REP	repetition
RPRT	reportive
RS	reality status
S	subject
S	subject of intransitive verb
SAP	speech act participant
SG	singular
SUBORD	subordinate
SVC	serial verb construction
TAME	tense, aspect, mood/modality, and evidentiality
TH	thematic (1 & 2)
TOP	topic
UNCERT	uncertainty
UNCERT.FUT	uncertain future
V	verb
V	vowel
X	oblique

1 Introduction

The aim of this work is to provide a detailed grammatical description of the Paunaka language (ISO 639-3: pnk, Glottocode: paun1241), a critically endangered (cf. Krauss 2007:6) Southern Arawakan language spoken in the Chiquitania, a region in the lowlands of Eastern Bolivia, see Figure 1.1. Although the Chiquitania belongs to the lowlands, it is not as flat as other parts of eastern Bolivia. Hills are a characteristic part of the landscape as are cows grazing on the pastures. Ecologically, the region is an intermediate zone between the humid forests of Amazonia in the north and the dry forests of the Chaco in the south. The rainy season usually lasts from November to January, June – August are very dry and rather cold months.

Paunaka, despite being spoken outside the eco-region, can be called an Amazonian language, as it shares many grammatical features with other Amazonian languages (cf. Aikhenvald 2012), and the majority of its sister languages are indeed spoken in Amazonia. The eight remaining speakers of Paunaka[1] live in the small town Concepción, and the nearby indigenous communities Santa Rita and San Miguelito de la Cruz, all belonging to the province Ñuflo de Chaves in the department Santa Cruz. In addition, a number of people who identify as "of Paunaka descendance" (Span. *de descendencia paunaka*) live in the indigenous villages Monterito and Palmira, but they do not speak the language anymore. In both Santa Rita and San Miguelito de la Cruz, Spanish and to a lesser extent also Bésɨro are the main idioms. Paunaka only has a low significance in communication, though not necessarily in self-identification. A relatively recent, but by now widely accepted proposal by Adelaar (2008 in Sans 2010:7) relates Bésɨro to Macro-Jê. The language is also known as Chiquitano. It has been in interaction with Paunaka for centuries and is mentioned frequently throughout this work.

The whole municipality of Concepción has approximately 20,000 inhabitants.[2] The town of Concepción is famous for its church, which was erected in the 18th century during the Jesuit era and restored between the 1970s and 1990s. It is part of the UNESCO World Heritage site *Jesuit Missions of the Chiquitos* since 1990 and attracts a number of national and international tourists, especially during one of the festivals, e.g. the festival of Renaissance and Baroque music in April (where Concepción is only one of various venues) or the Orchid festival in October.

From Concepción, it is a 30-minutes ride by car to the communities. A dirt road leaves Concepción on the east side of the town and leads to Santa Rita, where it furcates. The northern road crosses Santa Rita and continues to San Miguelito de la Cruz, where it turns west, back into the direction of Concepción. The dirt road ends in a bigger asphalt road, the *Carretera Hardeman – Colonia Pirai* that connects Concepción with the other towns of the Chiquitania, San Javier to the west (and further also Santa Cruz) and Santa Rosa de la Roca to the east (and further San Ignacio de Velasco). In order to go to San Miguelito de la Cruz from Concepción, it is shorter and more convenient to take this road rather than the detour via Santa Rita, see Figure 1.2.

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1. When I began working with the language in 2011, there were still eleven speakers, three of them have passed away since then.
2. The census of 2012 gives the number of 18,800 inhabitants (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2015:88).

Figure 1.1: Bolivia and the Chiquitania
Map by Simone Faß

Santa Rita is a community which had 305 people of different ethno-linguistic background belonging to 54 households in 2001 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2001).[3] The houses have been relocated various times since its foundation in the 1950s, and the village is now centered around the school and the small football field. In former times, the families lived more separate from each other, nowadays only one old man

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3. The website of the INE that provided these numbers has changed and the numbers are not longer available in 2021. There is no information about the number of inhabitants in the communities in the newer census of 2012.
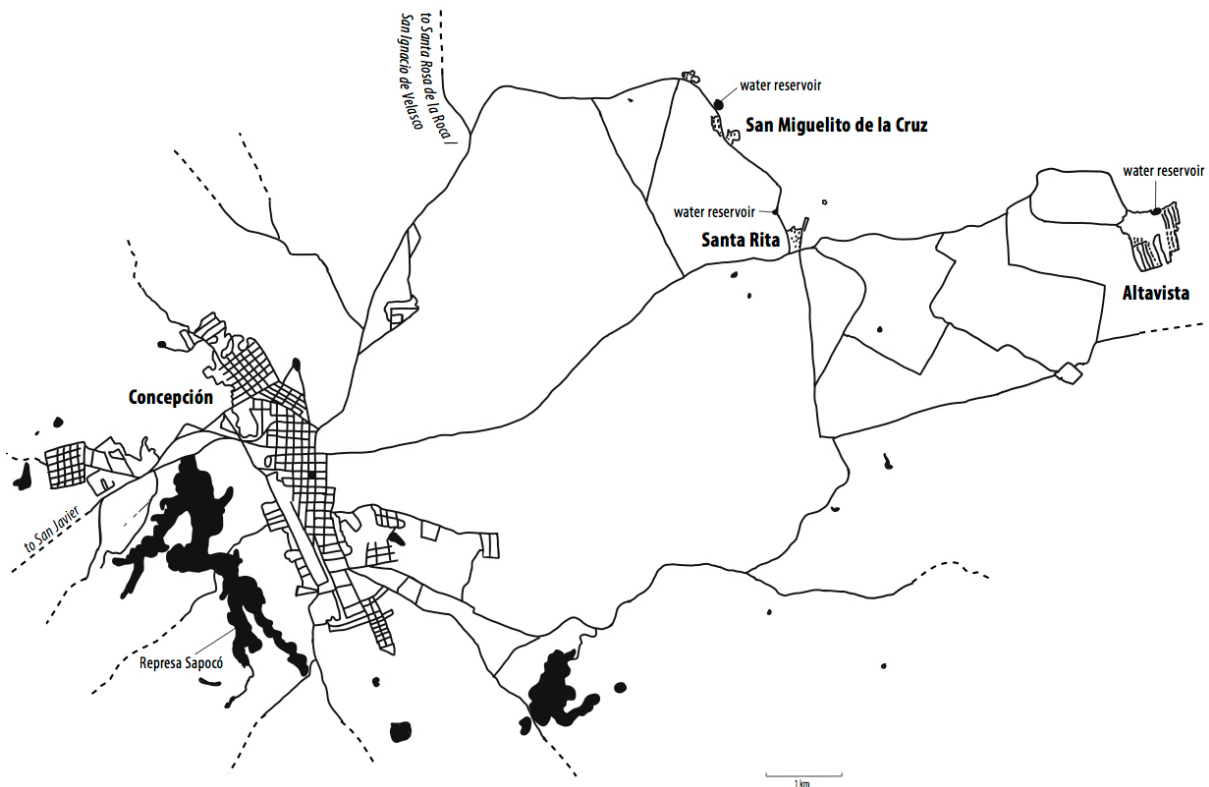
Figure 1.2: Concepción and the surrounding villages, where the Paunaka speakers live
Map by Simone Faß

still lives further away from the village centre (Villalta Rojas 2013:6).[4] The latest innovation that substantially changed the appearance of the village was initiated by the participation in a house-building project subsidised by the state in 2015. Standardised houses of two different models, all painted in white were built everywhere in the village, replacing the old adobe-coloured houses of different sizes and styles that were construed with wooden slats and traditionally thatched with palm leaves. The newly built houses have tiles on the floors, kitchens, and bathrooms with showers and water closets, so they are definitely a sign of increased comfort and prosperity in the village. Each household has an installation for water on the site since 2013. Before, water used to be extracted from the ground with the help of a big pump at the entrance of the village.

Traditionally, water was received from small wells, and a handful of elders still maintain and use their well. In the north, located at a lower part outside of the village, is a small water reservoir where people go to wash their clothes and take a bath.[5] Electricity is produced by a generator in the evenings for a few hours after it has got dark. During my stay in 2012, the only possibility to connect to a mobile network was to go to the highest point of the village at its entrance and try there, however, the attempt often failed. In 2015, there was a relatively stable mobile network everywhere in the village, and many people in Santa Rita now have cell phones. In addition, there is one public telephone that can also be called up. The people living next to the telephone are in charge of answering it and telling the person who has been called that she received a call. Santa Rita has a primary school, a church, and a small sale for basic food

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4. There was another man living further away, but he passed away in 2020.
5. Prior to the construction of the pump, they also fetched water for consumption there.

requirement such as eggs and oil. The inhabitants of Santa Rita have their fields more or less close to the village. They grow manioc, rice, maize, plantain, peanuts, and other crops for subsistence. In addition, people hold chicken and ducks at their houses, and some have pigs, cows, or horses. Every household also has several dogs and sometimes cats. The community of Santa Rita is dedicated to forestal management, which gives them some extra income. A few elder women spin cotton, some of the younger women weave cotton scarves and hammocks that are sold in a restaurant in Concepción. The owner of this restaurant, as well as the office of the mayor of Concepción and one NGO, organise visits to Santa Rita for tourists interested in an authentic indigenous village. On those visits, the inhabitants of Santa Rita dress in their traditional Chiquitano shirts and dresses (called *tipoy*, a dress not only typical for the Chiquitania, but for the whole lowland of Bolivia), play music and dance. The community of Santa Rita possesses a small open lorry and regular transport to/from Concepción was offered for a small fee that was used to maintain the lorry and pay the driver. The lorry was also used to offer individual services to the inhabitants of Santa Rita and other communities. In 2018, the lorry was out of work, because people had not been able afford the necessary repairs.

Settlement in San Miguelito de la Cruz still follows the more traditional lineage model, and the village has three parts corresponding to the three families that live there (Villalta Rojas 2013:6). In total, the village had 167 inhabitants belonging to 30 households in 2001 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2001). It is a little more isolated due to the fact that there is no regular transport service between San Miguelito de la Cruz and Concepción, and walking to town takes three hours for the older people. San Miguelito de la Cruz has its own water reservoir and a primary school. People also live on subsistence farming, just like they do in Santa Rita, and some women also weave scarves. My main consultants live in Santa Rita and Concepción, thus I did not spend so much time in San Miguelito de la Cruz.

The remainder of this chapter offers some general introductory information about the language and the site. In 1.1, I describe the general linguistic profile of Paunaka. 1.2 discusses the name of the language and 1.3 is about its affiliation. Previous work on Paunaka is summarised in 1.4. 1.5 offers some information about the speakers of Paunaka and 1.6 about the fieldwork conditions, data collection and processing. 1.7 is a short overview about the history of the Paunaka people. Finally, in 1.8 the structure of this work is presented and some remarks about general decisions in selecting and representing topics and examples are made.

1.1 Linguistic profile of Paunaka

Paunaka is a language with twelve phonemic consonants (plus another two occurring regularly in loans from Bésɨro) and five phonemic vowels and an almost exclusive CV syllable structure. Stress placement is trochaic for bimoraic stems and iambic for stems with more than two morae. The minimal lexical word is bimoraic.

The language has nominative-accusative alignment. It is head-marking, agglutinating, and polysynthetic with processes like noun and classifier incorporation. However, although words can consist of a number of morphemes, they are often relatively simple with only a few categories being marked obligatorily. Nouns and verbs are open word classes. There are only a few words that can arguably be defined as adjectives; some of them behave like nouns when realis, but their irrealis counterparts are stative verbs. Closed word classes include pronouns, demonstratives, and prepositions. Adverbs and

conjunctions (or connectives) form small but more open classes, especially the latter include several loans from Spanish.

Nouns can be subclassified into inalienably possessed, alienably possessed, and non-possessable. Inalienably possessed nouns obligatorily mark the possessor by a person marker prefixed to the stem. Alienable nouns are non-possessed in their basic form, but can derive an inalienably possessed stem. Non-possessable nouns can be marked for possession with a special construction using an inalienably possessed stem in juxtaposition with the non-possessable noun. Plural marking is obligatory with human nouns. Core cases are not marked on the noun, but there is a general locative marker, which encodes the most prototypical spatial relation in a given situation. There are no articles.

Many grammatical devices are transcategorial morphemes, i.e. they combine with words from different word classes, with the most prominent examples being person markers that are used to index subject and object arguments on verbs and possessors on nouns as well as subjects in non-verbal predication. There is no grammatical gender, but verbs can take two different prefixes for third person, depending on transitivity, person of the object, and humanness. Both are unspecified for number, if plural is to be expressed, the plural marker is added to the verb stem. Paunaka has split-S marking, dependent on part of speech; subject markers of verbs precede the stem, subject markers of other parts of speech follow the stem.

Verbs can be classified into stative and active verbs. Both index the subject by a prefix, unlike other Arawakan languages (cf. Aikhenvald 1999:86), but differ concerning position of irrealis marking: irrealis marking follows the stem of active verbs, and precedes the stem of stative verbs. There is also a small class of non-verbal predicates, including mostly loans from Spanish. Reality status is the major distinction marked on predicates, where realis can be considered the unmarked feature. Non-verbal predicates take a different irrealis marker than verbs. Tense and aspect are optional, in addition, modality, evidentiality and associated motion can also be marked on predicates. There is no passive, but middle marking, which covers reflexive and anticausative meanings. The copula is non-verbal.

Word order is relatively free. The most unmarked orders are VS, and VO, as well as V if this is considered an "order". Since arguments are indexed on verbs, co-occurrence of NPs is optional. In case that both core arguments are represented by NPs, word order is predominantly VOS or SVO. Imperatives are most commonly produced as second-person irrealis-marked verbs, but an imperative suffix may be used sometimes. In the prohibitive, a specific negative particle can be used, which is not found in negated declarative sentences.

Paunaka exhibits asyndetic and syndetic coordination. Connectives are free forms, which occur between the coordinated clauses. There are three main strategies to express subordinate relations. First, subordinate clauses or predicates can be completely unmarked (complementation, relative clauses), second, the subordinate clause can be introduced either by a connective (in adverbial subordination) or by a nominal demonstrative (in relative clauses), the subordinate verb remaining unmarked in this case. Third, a deranked verb exhibiting partly nominal and partly verbal properties can be used (in adverbial clauses, relativisation of obliques). A fourth minor strategy is found in expression of motion with purpose, in which the purpose verb carries a specific marker without losing its verbal properties.

1.2   Name of the language

The name Paunaka has no meaning in the language itself, thus it may have originated as foreign appellation. The name carries the Bésɨro plural marker -*ka*, and as a consequence, Bésɨro speakers also use the term Paunáxɨ, with the Bésɨro singular suffix -*xɨ*[6] to refer to one speaker, the language or the ethnic group of Paunaka (cf. Villalta Rojas 2013:9). Paunaka people call themselves and their language Paunaka; with stress on the first syllable, when they speak Paunaka ([ˈpau.na.ka]), and stress on the penultimate syllable, when they speak Spanish ([pau.ˈna.ka]), according to normal stress placement in both languages. In addition, they also use the Paunaka word *betea* 'our language' to refer to their language, when speaking Paunaka. In the literature, the Bésɨro plural suffix is sometimes detached, and the language referred to as Pauna. It is also often written Paunaca, following Spanish orthography.

No other name for Paunaka is known, and the term *paunacas* also figures as a designation for the ethnic group in the earliest known document that mentions the Paunaka people: Caballero (2011 [1707])).

As a close relation of the Paunaka language to the extinct Paikoneka (Paicone, Paiconeca) language was long proposed and the languages were often referred to jointly as Pauna-Paikone (Pauna-Paicone). This was still the case, when I started to work on Paunaka in 2011, however, by now classification has changed and a more close affiliation between Paunaka and Mojeño on the one hand and possibly Paikoneka and Baure on the other hand has been acknowledged. This topic will be taken up again in the following section.

1.3   Paunaka within the Arawakan family

South America has a rich variation of languages and language families, with up to 53 language families and 58 isolates, depending on the count, yielding approximately 420 languages still being spoken (Campbell 2012a:59).

The Arawakan family is the biggest linguistic family, in geographic extension and – together with the Tupian language family – also in number of languages still spoken. Arawakan languages are spoken as far north as Central America (Garífuna in Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Belize) and as far south as Mato Grosso do Sul in Brazil (Terena, Kinikinau), and they were formerly also present in northern Argentina and Paraguay. There are an estimated 40 Arawakan languages that are still spoken today (cf. Aikhenvald 1999:65; Campbell 2012a:71).

The name "Arawakan" itself is subject of ongoing discussion, because it was used by some scholars for a putative bigger grouping, including also languages of other families such as Arawán and Harakmbut. Therefore, the uncontroversial members of the linguistic family are sometimes referred to as Maipur(e)an (e.g. Kaufman 1990; Payne 1991). In more recent publications, some scholars use the term "Arawak" to explicitly exclude candidates of a putative bigger group (e.g. Aikhenvald 1999; Michael 2008), others simply use "Arawakan" in analogy with other names of South American linguis-

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6. Neither Sans (2013), nor Galeote Tormo (2014) or Adelaar & Muysken (2004) provide a complete analysis of this suffix. Adam & Henry (1880:8) state that it is a suffix of "absolute", i.e. unpossessed nouns, but this seems to have changed in modern Bésɨro. It is certain, however that the suffix only appears in the singular, and is dropped when a diminutive or plural suffix is added to the stem (Sans 2013:20). In addition, it plays a role in differentiating first and third person possessors in modern Bésɨro (Sans 2013:23).

tic families, such as Tupian, Chapakuran etc., without any implications of inclusion of languages from other families (e.g. Campbell 2012a; Muysken et al. 2016). I follow the second approach and use the term "Arawakan" throughout this work.

A genetic relationship between some languages of the family had already been noticed in the 18th century by Father Gilij (cf. Payne 1991:363; Aikhenvald 1999:73), but the internal relations between the members of the family have only become clearer in the past 10-15 years. While both Aikhenvald (1999) and Ramirez (2001) still propose one major split (Northern and South-and-South-Western and Western and Eastern, respectively), the analyses based on phylogenetic methods to calculate the similarity between Arawakan languages based on lexicon (cf. Walker & Ribeiro 2011) and grammatical features (cf. Danielsen et al. 2011) suggests that there is little internal branching.

In the newest proposal by Ramirez & de França (2019:3), the authors have identified twelve subgroups. Some of them are more closely related to each other, but there is no major split. They propose that there are 56 languages, 27 of them already extinct. However, some of the varieties identified as "languages" still have different sub-varieties, which have been classified as individual languages by others, often the researchers working on these languages.

The position of Paunaka, as far as it has been mentioned at all in the classifications, is relatively indisputable: it belongs to the branch which was called Southern Arawakan by Aikhenvald (1999) and Bolivian subgroup by Ramirez & de França (2019), although not all languages within this branch are spoken in Bolivia nowadays. The latter authors state that "[n]o branch of this family is as cohesive as the Bolivian subgroup" (Ramirez & de França 2019:1). Figure 1.3 shows the position of Paunaka within this branch according to the analysis by Ramirez & de França (2019:3). Note, however, that except for Paunaka, all languages mentioned have subvarieties. Naming only the ones that are mentioned throughout this work, Mojeño divides into Trinitario and Ignaciano and Tereno into Terena and Kinikinau, which are spoken in Brazil. Throughout this work, I use both terms, Southern Arawakan and Bolivian Arawakan, but due to the fact that I have more knowledge about the languages on the Bolivian side, the latter term excludes the Brazilian languages.[7] The branches most closely related to the Southern Arawakan languages are the Purus, Pre-Andine (or Kampan) and Pozuzo branches (Ramirez & de França 2019:3).

As has been mentioned above (see 1.2), Paunaka has often been placed together with Paikoneka (e.g. Kaufman 2007:67; Aikhenvald 2012:34-35), and Paunaka has also been called a subgroup or dialect of Paikoneka (e.g. in the glossary of Matienzo et al. 2011:438). To my knowledge, it was d'Orbigny (1839a:188), who first established the connection between Paikoneka and Paunaka, which he believed belonged to one nation, although their languages differed phonologically to some extent. The words he lists for Paikoneka, however, point to a different direction. They strikingly resemble Baure. Thus, Ramirez (2010:31) notes that Paikoneka is a variety of Baure, but without giving any evidence. Danielsen (2013) analyses the available Paikoneka words and comes to the same conclusion. This is briefly repeated in Danielsen & Terhart (2014:225) and was verified again by Jolkesky (2016:27).

On the other hand, there is a famous quotation by Hervás y Panduro (1800:160-161) that points to another direction:

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7. This is not necessarily to say that the phenomenon I am speaking about is not found in those languages, but rather that I do not know.

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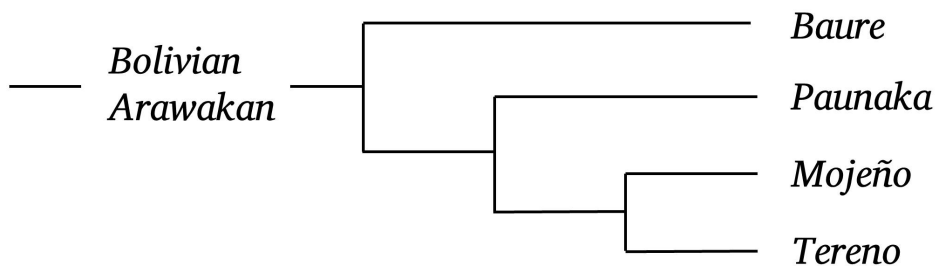
Figure 1.3: Bolivian or Southern Arawakan languages after Ramirez & de França (2019:3)

> I must point out that also it seems that there is an affinity between the languages *baure* and *paicone,* this is absolutely false and feigned. In order to dispel my doubts about this, I consulted Abbé Christobal Rodriguez, of big authority and potent memory, who has been the missionary of the *baures* and *paicones* that were in his protection in the mission and population of San Xavier with apostolic zealousness for twenty years, and he told me that he did not find a shadow of affinity between the languages *baure* and *paicone*; he did not even ever hear about a single word that would be common amongst them; which is why when he began to catechise the *paicones,* he had to make use of interpreters, whom he had to leave, because he found out that they betrayed him with the translation.[8]

Thus Ramirez & de França (2019:33) conclude that d'Orbigny himself may have been deceived, when collecting Paikoneka words. Danielsen (2020), however, found an earlier citation by the very same Hervás y Panduro stating that Baure and Paikoneka are indeed related, though not mutually intelligible. Due to lack of data, the question of the exact affiliation of Paikoneka will not be resolved.

In San Javier, there is an indigenous organisation with the name *Central Indígena Paiconeca de San Javier,* but the decision to include *Paiconeca* in the name was an act of claiming indigenous identity by re-appropriation of the designation[9] and had little to do with the specific ethnic group, although it had been once present in San Javier

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8. Debo advertir á v. que aunque se halla impreso que tienen afinidad las lenguas *baure* y *paicone,* v. no afirme darse tal afinidad, que es absolutamente falsa y fingida. Para salir de las dudas que yo sobre esto tenia, he consultado al señor Abate Don Christobal Rodriguez, de autoridad grande, y de portentosa memoria, el qual por veinte años, con apostólico zelo, ha sido misionero de los *baures* y de los *paicones,* que estaban á su cuidado en la mision y poblacion de San Xavier (20), y me ha dicho que no halló sombra alguna de afinidad entre las lenguas *baure* y *paicone*; ni jamas oyó decir que hubiera ni una solo palabra que fuera comun á ellas; por lo que al empezar á catequizar á los *paicones,* aunque él sabia perfectamente la lengua *baure,* le fué necesario valerse de intérpretes, que debió abandonar, porque halló que le burlaban con la interpretacion. Translation: Lena Terhart

9. The term *paico* developed into an insult towards indigenous people (Fuss & Riester 1986:104, fn. 31), thus re-appropriation.

(Villalta 2017, p.c.). Most indigenous people of today's San Javier are descendants of people of the Piocoka *parcialidad* (Villalta Rojas 2013:7).[10]

1.4 Previous studies

There is almost no information about the Paunaka language in historical sources. The earliest account about the Paunaka of the Jesuit Lucas Caballero (Caballero 2011 [1707], and see 1.7.1) does not include any linguistic material except for the name of a Paunaka village, *Tesu,* however, we do not even know whether this was its name in Paunaka or in one of the other languages of the region. It does not have any meaning in the Paunaka language today.

There are a few words of Paunaka scattered in the publications by d'Orbigny (1835–1847)and Cardús (1886:308) offers 48 Paunaka words and phrases.

Paunaka shows up in some classifications of Arawakan languages of the 20th century (e.g. Mason 1950:213; Loukotka 1968:142; Aikhenvald 1999:67), but without provision of any new data.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the anthropologist Jürgen Riester, who worked among the Chiquitano, collected words of any indigenous language he encountered on his field trips. Among his notes are a few lists with (partly repeating) Paunaka words, summing up to roughly 200 entries. He also made three recordings of approximately 20 minutes in total with a Paunaka speaker in Retiro.

Paunaka was generally believed to be extinct until Lucrecia Villafañe met some speakers in 2005. She collected some short texts and compiled a grammar sketch (three different versions ranging from 11 to 64 pages) and a word list with 519 entries that were never published. Villafañe (s.d.:1) counted ten speakers all belonging to one family. Two of the speakers had already passed away when Swintha Danielsen undertook some short visits to the Paunaka people in 2008, 2009, and 2010, where she collected some audio material. In 2008, Danielsen also compiled a short booklet with texts taken from Villafañe's data and a suggestion for othography.

In 2010, the Paunaka speaker Pedro Pinto compiled several trilingual thematic word lists for names of animals, trees, fruits, and weather phenomena, seven pages in total (Pinto 2010). As he himself is not fluent in Paunaka, he sought the help of other speakers, and the words in Bésɨro outnumber the ones in Paunaka. An alphabet booklet was published in 2012 containing example words for each letter (Paunaka Documentation Project 2012). In 2013, a poster with body part terms followed (Paunaka Documentation Project 2013). Another word list was compiled by Sell (2021) and published as a little booklet containing names of cultivated plants.

Based on Danielsen's and Villafañe's collected data, Danielsen and I wrote a grammar sketch for the collection *Lenguas de Bolivia,* which was finally published in 2014, but unfortunately presents only a preliminary analysis of the language (cf. Danielsen & Terhart 2014). Other linguistic papers about or mentioning Paunaka by members of the PDP team include Danielsen (2014a) with a contribution of Arawakan data to SAILS, Danielsen & Terhart (2015a) about borrowed clause combining patterns, Danielsen & Terhart (2015b) about reality status, Terhart (2017) about borrowing of verbs, and Danielsen & Terhart (subm) about body part terminology.

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10. Different ethnic groups were settled in different quarters in the Jesuit missions, each with its own internal administrative organisation. The quarters as well as the ethnic groups living there were called *parcialidades,* see also 1.7.2.

Partly based on data published by Danielsen & Terhart (2014) and elsewhere and partly on vocabulary lists and information we offered on a personal basis, Paunaka phonology has been analysed in comparison with other Southern Arawakan languages by Jolkesky (2016) and de Carvalho (2018) to reconstruct forms of the Proto language. Paunaka is also included in the reconstruction of (Proto Bolivian Arawakan) PBA by Ramirez & de França (2019) with data that were collected by the authors themselves.

In addition, a few words or phrases of Paunaka provided personally have also been included in the analysis of Mojeño morphology by Rose (2015b, 2018b).

1.5 The speakers

When I started fieldwork in 2011, there were still eleven speakers of Paunaka. In 2022, eight speakers remain, who have differing proficiencies in the language. Note that Villalta Rojas (2019:70-71) counts a few more people in who have limited, mostly passive knowledge, however, those people were never presented to me as "speakers" unlike the eleven people I mention here. If the people identified by Villalta Rojas (2019) are added to the count, there were 17 speakers in 2011. The oldest of them was probably born in the 1920s, the youngest in the 1950s. In addition, some children of the speakers are said to understand a few words of Paunaka.[11] I was told that one son even speaks a bit, when he is drunk. Grandchildren may know a few words or very simple phrases that they have been taught by the speakers. The speakers whom I had the honour to meet are (in alphabetical order, sorted by their first name): Alejo Supayabe Pinto (†), Clara Supepí Yabeta, Isidro Supepí Chijene, José Supepí Yabeta (†), Juan Cuasase Supepí, Juana Supepí Yabeta, María Cusase Choma (†), María Supepí Yabeta, Miguel Supepí Yabeta, Pedro Pinto Supepí, and Polonia Supayabe Pinto. All speakers with the last name Supepí Yabeta are siblings.

The speakers are trilingual in Paunaka, Bésɨro and Spanish, and none of them uses Paunaka on a regular basis. Thus, according to the classification by Grinevald & Bert (2011:50), they may all count as "semi-speakers" by the following definition: "the semi-speakers have not had and do not have regular conversation partners in the endangered language, and operate most of their sociolinguistic lives in the dominant language rather than the endangered language." However, while they definitely lack regular conversational partners nowadays, this does not necessarily apply to the past. All siblings of the Supepí Yabeta family learned Paunaka as their first language, the other speakers grew up bilingually, except for one man who only learned Paunaka later (Villalta Rojas 2019:17-21). Thus, simply applying a label for explanation would not do them right. Nonetheless, lack of regular active usage of the language certainly has an effect on it. Often were speakers desperately trying to remember a word in Paunaka, sometimes with success, sometimes without. Juana often wished for a relative of hers in such situations, Tiburcio, whom she remembers as a very proficient speaker. In other contexts, however, speakers may just use words of Spanish or Bésɨro origin without this being a big issue. All speakers use a lot of loans. When two Paunaka speakers converse, they may switch back and forth between Paunaka and Spanish or Bésɨro, depending on how fluent they are in each language.

While lexicon is certainly the domain that speakers themselves are most conscious about, we can also assume that morphosyntax of Paunaka has changed under prolonged contact with Bésɨro and Spanish. In addition, there are some noticeable per-

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11. One daughter of Juana claimed to understand the language well, but she passed away in 2018 (Villalta Rojas 2019:18).

sonal differences in the way speakers use the language. Such individual variability has been claimed to be typical for situations of language shift (cf. Palosaari & Campbell 2011:111-112), however, not having worked intensively with spoken language of a major language, I find it hard to determine how much individual variation is just "normal" and how much is due to the situation of the language. Noticeable in any case is that each speaker uses the nominal demonstratives very differently, especially my three main consultants, Juana, Miguel and María S. (see 4.1.3).

I will provide a short characterisation of the five speakers I worked with most including an assessment of the linguistic features that are characteristic for their individual speech:

Juana Supepí Yabeta, born in the 1940s, can be considered my main consultant. In 2011 and 2012, she still lived in Santa Cruz, but by 2015, she had moved back to Concepción. She has been a perfect consultant, because she is very talkative and whichever topic came up in conversation or elicitation served as a prompt to tell a story about something that once happened to her or one of her relatives. On the other hand, because she is just like this, elicitation could sometimes take long. Juana marks stressed syllables with a very high pitch. When listening to her speech, one could get the impression that Paunaka is a tonal language, but tone is not a distinctive feature in Paunaka. Other speakers do not produce this extremely high pitch on stressed syllables. Juana also shows some deviations regarding [a] and [ɛ], i.e. in some words, she produces an [ɛ], where other speakers use [a] without any change in meaning, e.g. [ɛpukʲɛ] instead of [apukɛ] for *apuke* 'ground, down'. I have certainly found a place in her heart, she treated me like another daughter of hers.

The same is true for Miguel Supepí Yabeta and his wife Lorenza Taseó, who live in Santa Rita. Miguel was also born in the 1930s. Having moved away from his family at the age of 14 approximately, Miguel had less exposure to Paunaka during his youth than some of his siblings. Sometimes, Paunaka words do not come quickly to his mind – this has become even more apparent with higher age – and he sometimes does not fully integrate borrowed verbs from Spanish like other speakers do. Nonetheless, Miguel is the best story-teller among the speakers and he has a profound knowledge about the history of the Paunaka people in the 20th century. Of my main consultants, he is the only one who knows to read and write.

María Supepí Yabeta was born in the 1950s. She lives in Santa Rita. Since she speaks rapidly, I found it hard in the beginning to follow her. In 2018, I worked with her a lot and found out that she is the most patient and self-secure consultant in elicitation and able to provide explanations for certain phenomena and restrictions. More often than other speakers, she deletes thematic syllables of active verbs and inserts certain suffixes in this slot (e.g. the distributive and associated motion markers). Her use of the dislocative is distinct from that of other speakers. María S. used to converse in Paunaka with Juana, when they went to their fields in former times and thus remained proficient in the language up to today. We have recently begun to exchange voice messages in Paunaka via WhatsApp from time to time.

María Cusase Choma, also known as María Lino by the other speakers,[12] was born in the 1930s and passed away in 2021. She used to live in Santa Rita in 2011, when I first met her. After her husband passed away, she moved to Concepción, where she lived with the family of her son. In 2012, she lived next to Clara's house, which offered a good opportunity to get the two together for a conversation. María C. was the only of the Paunaka speakers more fluent in Bésɨro than in Spanish. She often deleted word-initial

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12. Her father died when she was still a child, and she was raised by her step father whose last name was Lino (cf. Villalta Rojas 2019:21).

V syllables, e.g. she said *sekeÿ* instead of *esekeÿ* 'bean'. This might be due to influence of Bésɨro genderlects.[13] In addition, she also frequently omitted person prefixes on verbs, especially the 3rd person marker *ti-*. This again may have been more common once.[14] Unfortunately, I found it very hard to understand and transcribe María C.'s speech. First of all, she had already lost all her teeth, which made it harder to understand her acoustically, second she mixed a lot of Bésɨro into her speech. While it is relatively easy for me to recognise and understand Spanish bits and chunks in Paunaka, it is almost impossible to recognise (as long as they are phonetically inconspicuous) and understand the Bésɨro fragments, given that I do not speak the language.

Clara Supepí Yabeta was born in the 1950s and is the youngest speaker. She lives in Concepción and bakes bread for her living. I would have liked to work with her on a more regular basis, but she was always very busy, when I (or the other team members) wanted to visit her, so that we gave up at some point. There are a few recordings with her and María C. from 2012. Since I did not work with her a lot, I cannot tell which features of her Paunaka are special.

The remaining speakers were not consulted that often. Alejo and Polonia Supayabe Pinto both have[15] an excellent passive command of the language but trouble speaking it actively. José Supepí Yabeta was a very good consultant for vocabulary, but did not produce any longer stretches of speech either. One reason for this may be that speaking the language painfully reminded him of his deceased father, another one that he lived alone for a long time. José passed away in 2020. As for Juan Cuasase Supepí, I tried to visit him a few times in San Miguelito de la Cruz, but when I came there, he was usually not at home. Isidro Supepí Chijene, I met only once or twice. Pedro Pinto Supepí has learned Paunaka as a second language and has a more passive than active command of it. He is the child of Paunaka parents, but was raised by adoptive parents in Bésɨro.

1.6   Fieldwork, methods, data collection

After having visited the Paunaka shortly in 2008, 2009, and 2010, Swintha Danielsen received a grant from the *Endangered Languages Documentation Programme* (ELDP) to run the *Paunaka Documentation Project* (PDP) for two years from 2011–2013. During these two years, I held a stipend as a PhD student in the project. The third principal investigator was Federico Villalta Rojas, who mainly did anthropological research. His work has been handed in as an MA thesis at PROEIB Andes, Cochabamba, in 2020 (Villalta Rojas 2019) and is currently under revision for publication.

I spent six weeks in the field in August and September 2011, taking my family with me. The other two members of the core team were also present at that time, as was a friend of ours who had decided to accompany us to Bolivia. We stayed in a hostel in Concepción, from where we frequently went to Santa Rita and San Miguelito de la Cruz to visit the speakers and work with them. The reason to stay in the town rather

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13. In Bésɨro, there is a difference between male and female speech, which is manifested in a variety of features (cf. Nikulin 2019b). Among those features is a distinction in some animal and other non-human animate nouns, where male speakers produce the word with an initial /o/ (also realised as [u]), and female speakers without the vowel, e.g. *tipixh*♀ vs. *otipixh*♂ 'ant', *ɨgoj*♀ vs. *oɨgoj*♂ 'deer', *tangma'*♀ vs. *utangma'*♂ 'bird' (Nikulin 2019b:94-95).
14. In the recordings of Riester from the 1960s (see Section 1.4), the person prefixes are possibly also frequently dropped. However, because of the low sound quality of the recordings, it is hard to make any statements, and the "omission" could also be a result of the microphone not having captured some unstressed syllables. In Mojeño Ignaciano, the *ti-* prefix can be omitted before verb stems beginning with a consonant (Olza Zubiri et al. 2004:482).
15. Or "had" in the case of Alejo. He already passed away in 2018, unfortunately.

than in one of the small villages was due to it being more practical. In Concepción, we had stable electricity, internet access at an internet post (and from 2012 on also via mobile broadband modem), mobile network, running water, and access to the hostel's kitchen to prepare our own meals, things that we would have lacked in the villages. In addition, it might have been a major endeavour for the Paunaka to host and feed five adults and a 15-months-old child for over a month, and the villages were not difficult to reach.

In 2011, the members of the PDP conducted a workshop with the Paunaka people to introduce ourselves and the project, get an overview about the number of speakers, and discuss an orthography that we could use in our transcriptions of the language. We collected words for each letter of the alphabet and invited the children present at the workshop to draw and paint illustrations of these words. Back in Germany, we produced an alphabet booklet with the collected words and illustrations of the children with the help of Julia Burda, a professional digital media designer and printed it in Germany (Paunaka Documentation Project 2012). The book was given to the speakers in 2012. Also present at the workshop was a member of the OICH (*Organización Indígena Chiquitana* – Chiquitano Indigenous Organisation), and an anthropologist working in the Chiquitania. The OICH had major reservations against the project, because they feared that we aimed at establishing a new political movement and split the indigenous population that identifies as Chiquitano. In a conversation at the OICH office a few days later, we could fortunately dispel their concerns and gain their consent with the project.

From Concepción, it takes 30 minutes by car to get to the communities. We were lucky to meet a very friendly and reliable taxi driver, who not only became our favourite chauffeur, but also the person of trust for some Paunaka people to contact, whenever they need a taxi to/from Santa Rita. As a speaker of Quechua, he even participated in one elicitation session about body parts, in which we collected words in Paunaka, Quechua, and German to everybody's enjoyment. In 2018, he had acquired a bigger car and was not longer available for these short trips. Fortunately, the people of Santa Rita had already found another trustworthy taxi driver, who would even charge less for the ride.

I went to Santa Rita or San Miguelito de la Cruz every one to three days. I often went together with Swintha and/or Federico, and sometimes also with my husband, my daughter, and my friend. I worked a lot with Miguel in that year and with every other speaker I met. Miguel introduced me to all of them. In addition, before returning back to Germany, I had the opportunity to meet Juana in Santa Cruz, where she used to live at that time.

In 2012, I went to Bolivia for almost seven weeks in April and May. I spent most of the time in Concepción, together with Swintha and Federico, with a short visit to Santa Cruz in the middle of my stay, where I met Juana regularly. I also worked a lot with Miguel and with María C., Clara and María S. more sporadically.

In 2015, I spent another six weeks in Bolivia, financed by a grant from the DAAD (*Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst* – German Academic Exchange Service). I devoted most of my time to work with Paunaka in Concepción. By that time, Juana had moved to Concepción, too, and I met her almost every day. I took some time off to visit the Guarayu speakers in Urubichá, which is where the project that I was employed in at that time had its research focus, as well as the Baure speakers in Baures, where I had done research for my Magister thesis in 2008, and Santa Cruz for participating in a conference. I am very thankful that Swintha took her time to accompany me again.

My stay in 2018 took four weeks, with three weeks dedicated to the work with the Paunaka, and some days for traveling and attending a conference in Santa Cruz. Lena Sell, who was collecting data for her PhD, joined me during the first two weeks. Swintha stayed a few days in Concepción, too. Unfortunately, Juana was in Santa Cruz, when I arrived in Concepción, and it took some time for her to get there, because there were street blockades. I worked a lot with her sister María S. and later, when Juana arrived, with both sisters, and also with Miguel.

I had originally planned to undertake another fieldwork trip to Bolivia in the first half of 2020 with the aim to focus on demonstratives and complex sentences. However, I had been very busy with two jobs in 2019 and therefore not been able to prepare properly, and then the corona pandemic stroke the world and made it impossible to travel. The analysis of demonstratives and complex sentences thus had to be limited to what I found in the corpus, but I acknowledge that elicitation on these topics could certainly have clarified a few points and improved my work. This is something to continue in the future.

My colleague Swintha Danielsen always spent much more time in Bolivia than I did, she travelled there almost every year and lived there from 2015–2021, so I was frotunate to put her in charge to do some elicitation sessions with the speakers with questions I had prepared before in 2014, 2015, 2016, and 2019 while I was in Germany. Lena Sell did the same for me in 2019 and Federico Villalta Rojas conducted a short interview with María S. on my request in 2020. Without their help, it would not have been possible to finish this work.

I recorded every session with a speaker, most in audio with an Olympus LS11, and since 2018 with an Olympus LS-P2 digital recorder in wav format, some also with a digital video camera, and took notes in a notebook. Swintha made a lot of recordings as well, and we often also visited and recorded people together, especially if we wanted to film somebody. In 2018 and 2019, Lena S. added a few recordings to the corpus. Speakers were given a small fee for their participation in recordings. The approach was to record everything we could get hold of, turning on the recording device as soon as we met a speaker and only turning it out when we left. In a situation of advanced language shift, I think this approach is the most appropriate, since interesting linguistic constructions may pop up unexpectedly and never be repeated spontaneously. There is approximately 120 hours of audio and video material. However, due to the approach to record as much as possible, this does not only include Paunaka, all recordings also contain a lot of talk in Spanish. The more anthropologically oriented research by Federico was conducted in Spanish exclusively and his recordings are thus not counted in the 120 hours.

The recordings were put onto my computer, but only a part was transcribed and translated into Spanish in Elan[16] given the vast amount of data. Transcription was done by myself and partly also by Swintha. Of the Paunaka speakers, nobody could help with this time-consuming task, unfortunately, and the younger people in the village were not interested. When I encountered unknown words and phrases, I wrote them down in order to clarify their meaning in the next session. I must admit that much of the transcription work was done back in Germany, so that the possibilities of asking for unclear passages were very limited most of the time. For roughly 65 hours of recordings corresponding to 150 individual audio or video recordings, Elan files were created. Many of them are only transcribed in parts. They make up the corpus which is the basis for the analysis presented here and include some 50,000 transcribed Paunaka words (tokens). In addition, some fieldnotes that have not been transcribed in Elan and to a

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16. Currently version 6, (cf. ELAN 2020).

smaller part not even been recorded are considered as well. Many sessions remain up to today that have not been transcribed at all, thus there is still a wealth of unexplored data to be considered in the future. Only a very small part of the transcribed sessions were analysed in Toolbox.[17] The search function of Elan served extremely useful in the analysis of Paunaka morphology.

The content of the sessions with the speakers varied from pure elicitation, when I asked for translations of single sentences or repetition of single words to find out about the stress patterns, to totally uncontrolled conversation between two or more speakers, but most of the time I recorded a mix of everything: a chat with the speaker in Spanish and/or Paunaka, a story, personal narrative or description of a procedure, clarification of words that I had not understood in a previous session, elicitation of sentences with grammatical constructions that I was interested in, etc. In addition, some sessions were dedicated to correct transcriptions. I used wooden and playmobil toys for elicitation of locative constructions, the frog story by Mayer (2003), accompanied a speaker to his field to harvest rice, observed the baking of rice bread and cake, digging for clay to make a pot, and production of adobe bricks. I learned a lot about the lives of my consultants.

The recordings Riester made in the 1960s with a speaker of Paunaka in Retiro (see 1.4) were transcribed with the help of two speakers, Miguel and Juana. I worked with them separately. Because of the poor quality of the recordings, it is often hard to understand what the speaker said, and it turned out that what Miguel and Juana understood often differed. I thus do not make much use of the data by Riester throughout this work, unless there was consent between Miguel, Juana and me about what we identified. The speaker recorded by Riester was probably called Juan Choma. Riester himself introduces him as Juan Chamo on the magnetophon tape, but Juana claims that she had met the man in her youth and that his name was Juan Choma. While Choma is a common surname in the region, Chamo is unknown.[18]

As I have stated above, I use the first names of the speakers throughout this grammar to refer to them, with an abbreviation of their family name if two speakers have the same first name. This is not a sign of disrespect but rather of a deep feeling of familiarity with them. In addition, it would be not have been practical to use the family name, given that there are five brothers and sisters among the speakers with the same family name, two pairs each whose first name starts with the same letter (M or J). The colleagues who accompanied me on my field trips are also referred to by their first name, unless mentioned in an academic context (i.e. reference to publications). In addition, every speaker received a one-letter code, which also shows up in the names of the sessions/recordings. These codes are given in Table 1.1.

Every session was given a code, consisting of abbreviation of the consultant(s), type of session, date, abbreviation of researcher(s), and in some cases an additional number in the end if there was more than one session of the same type with the same speaker and researcher on the same day. For example, an abbreviation jmr-c120415lsf-2 reads as: second conversation between the speakers j (Juana), m (Miguel), and r (María S.) on the 15th of April 2012 with the researchers Lena, Swintha, and Federico. In addition, Jürgen Riester received the researcher code g and the code that Lena S. received is e. The speaker position always has three digits if there are less than three speakers, x is inserted as a placeholder. The different session types are listed in Table 1.2. However,

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17. See https://software.sil.org/toolbox/, last checked 16-04-2021.
18. It should be noted, however, that Riester was an expert on Chiquitano culture, so that it seems strange that he would confuse a common family name with an uncommon one. Nonetheless, I follow my consultant on this issue and have memorised Juan Choma for myself.

Table 1.1: Paunaka consultants' codes

name	code
Alejo Supayabe Pinto (†)	t
Clara Supepí Yabeta	c
Isidro Supepí Chijene	d
José Supepí Yabeta (†)	o
Juan Choma (or Chamo) (†)	n
Juan Cuasase Supepí	q
Juana Supepí Yabeta	j
María Cusase Choma (†)	u
María Supepí Yabeta	r
Miguel Supepí Yabeta	m
Pedro Pinto Supepí	p
Polonia Supayabe Pinto	y

as I have stated above, most recordings represent a mixture of more than one type, so that the type of session may actually be a bit misleading. I therefore additionally state in the text, when I make use of an elicited example.

Table 1.2: Session abbreviations

Abbreviation	Meaning	Comment
a	artificial	frog stories or stories invented by the researchers
c	conversation	conversation between two or more speakers
d	description	procedural texts
e	elicitation	includes conversation between researchers and speakers
f	anthropological interview	only in Spanish
h	historical	Paunaka history, only in Spanish
n	narrative	stories
p	personal narrative	events and deeds in one's life or the life of family members
r	rights	permission to store the recording in the archive
s	song	songs, pieces of music

Following the session code, a number is provided, which is the annotation number the example had at the point in time, when I inserted it into the text. Please note that, while session codes are fixed, some example numbers may change. For example, I noticed while working on this book that some portions of some recordings were not transcribed and I would like to add the missing transcriptions in the future. This will entail re-numbering. In case that there is no annotation number, this is likely to be due to the fact that the recording was only transcribed in parts, thus no numbering

applied to it. Again, this holds only for the moment in which I added the example to the description.

The materials (recordings, transcriptions, translations, etc.) dating up to 2015 were uploaded to a digital archive at ELAR[19] (Danielsen et al. 2015). Upload of the more recent material is pending.

1.7   Historical background

There is not much information about the history of the Paunaka. Most accounts are about the Chiquitano people. This term may include the Paunaka, as inhabitants of the Chiquitania, but most of the times it is used to refer to the speakers of Bésɨro, more widely known as Chiquitano (see below).

The Paunaka were missionised by the Jesuits in the early 18th century and resettled in mission towns together with other indigenous groups.[20] Life in the missons has resulted in significant cultural changes among the indigenous people of the area (Tonelli Justiniano 2004:7). The coerced coexistence of different ethnic groups led to a mixture of cultural traits, in addition to an adoption of the European religious culture of the Jesuits. The result was a new ethnic identity as *Chiquitano*. Being Chiquitano on the one hand means, having Chiquitano culture nowadays, a result of sharing the same experience or history since the time of the Jesuit missions.[21] On the other hand, the term Chiquitano is equally often used to refer to the speakers of the Chiquitano language, who call themselves Monkoka and their language Bésɨro since the late 20th century (cf. Sans 2013:1), though not in all parts of the Chiquitania (cf. Adelaar & Muysken 2004:478). Since *Monkoka* and *Bésɨro* is used in and around Concepción, I make use of the terms throughout this work.[22] The ambiguity of the name Chiquitano for both a larger cultural and a smaller ethno-linguistic group makes it hard for any other ethno-linguistic group in the region to claim linguistic rights. There is a general confusion in Bolivia about the various ethnic groups (or *parcialidades*, see 1.7.2) of the Chiquito conglomerate and ethnic groups that speak a completely different language. The existence of other languages in the region apart from Bésɨro is often simply ignored.[23] In the case of the Paunaka people, it is true that they identify as Chiquitano, but they are not Monkoka (Villalta Rojas 2013:8). All of them indeed speak Bésɨro, but they do not identify as Bésɨro speakers (Villalta Rojas 2013:11). Their ethnic identity may therefore best be captured by the term Chiquitano-Paunaka.

The remainder of this section is dedicated to trace back the history of the Paunaka people from pre-colonial times to now and provide a summary about the known facts.

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19. https://www.elararchive.org, last accessed 16-04-2021.
20. There is a vast amount of publications about the history of the Jesuit missions in the Chiquitania, which I do not attempt to summarise here. Tomichá Charupá (2002) and Matienzo et al. (2011) offer extensive bibliographies.
21. According to Martínez (2015:247), the equation of the ethnonym *Chiquitano* with the group of people inhabiting the area was introduced by d'Orbigny.
22. According to some speakers of Paunaka, the term *Bésɨro* was already used prior to the late 20th century. The word translates as 'direct, correct, right', and they perceived it as a claim of superiority over other indigenous languages, which were denied the correctness of linguistic expression (Villalta Rojas 2013:10).
23. See e.g. Tonelli Justiniano 2004:86, who claims that the only remaining language in the Chiquitania is Bésɨro with the exception of Ayoreo, whose speakers have a different historical background.

1.7.1 Pre-colony and early colonisation

It is not possible to exactly retrace the ethnic composition of the people inhabiting the Chiquitania before the colonial era – and even within the Jesuit missions –, given that many names of groups appear in the sources without providing information about the group. Most of them do not exist anymore. Different authors use different spellings, therefore, we cannot be exactly sure, whether for example the *Pisocas* that the Jesuit Caballero speaks of in his expedition report of 1707 (Caballero 2011 [1707]:54) are the same *Puizocas* that killed him in 1711 (Matienzo et al. 2011:192).[24] In addition, we do not know much either about the distinction between ethnic group and language, nor about possible different names given to identical groups.[25] It is relatively clear that people speaking languages of the Chiquito,[26] Zamucoan, Arawakan, Chapacuran, Tupi-Guarani, and Bororoan linguistic families inhabited the area (cf. Tomichá Charupá 2002:255, 276-277; Tonelli Justiniano 2004:9), divided into a large number of different ethnic groups with 80-100 members each (Tonelli Justiniano 2004:16). According to Tomichá Charupá (2002:209, 363), the speakers of different Chiquito languages and dialects had a certain dominance in the Chiquitania due to their high number and elaborate warfare.

If there are traces of the people nowadays, I have used the modern spelling of the ethnic groups including <k>, e.g. Paunaka, Paikoneka, Tapakura. If the groups are unknown today, I use the spelling as given in the sources, e.g. Manasica, Puizoca.

We owe the little information available about pre- and early colonial history of the Paunaka to the Jesuit Father Lucas Caballero, who wrote the "Diary and fourth relation of the fourth mission undertaken in the nation of the Manasicas and in the nation of the Paunacas, newly discovered, year 1707", published by Matienzo et al. (2011).[27]

Prior to the colonisation, the Paunaka people used to live north of today's San Javier in pampas, that were rich of rivers, lagoons, and swamps. They mainly lived on fishing and keeping of poultry[28] and their territory was north of the Tapakura people and west of the Manasica people, with a western to northern extension relative to the territory of the Manasica, who lived in forested areas (Caballero 2011 [1707]:54-56).[29] The Tapakura people were speakers of a Chapacuran language, and the Manasica most probably spoke a Chiquito dialect, but had different customs and traditions than the other Chiquito groups (Tomichá Charupá 2002:250). It is also possible that the Mana-

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24. Note that since the report by Caballero is the most important historical document regarding the Paunaka and the author of this document is clear, I cite it by naming the original author as Caballero (2011 [1707]), while any other information taken from the historical sources compiled by Matienzo et al. (2011) gives reference to the editors. This is because some of the sources lack an identifiable date and/or author or have been composed by the editors on the basis of various versions of the documents.

25. For some recent attempts to shed a little more light on these issues see Nikulin (2019a) and Ramirez & de França (2019).

26. I follow Tomichá Charupá (2002:231) in using the term *Chiquito* for the ethnic groups that spoke a linguistic variety related to current Bésɨro prior to acculturation in the Jesuit missions in the 17th and 18th centuries. The term *Chiquitano* is reserved for the group of people that have a common history in the Jesuit missions and share a common culture nowadays.

27. The complete title in Spanish reads: "Diario y cuarta relación de la cuarta misión hecha en la nación de los manasicas y en la nación de los paunacas nuevamente descubiertos, año de 1707. Con la noticia de los pueblos de las dos naciones, y se da de paso noticia de otras naciones"

28. Caballero speaks of birds, hens, and ducks (Caballero 2011 [1707]:55). Métraux (1942:62) reports that the Mojeño people domesticated native ducks at the beginning of the 17th century, and it may well be that the Paunaka also kept native birds.

29. Métraux (1942:134) states that the Paikoneka and Paunaka lived north to today's Concepción between the headwaters of Rio Blanco and Rio Verde between the meridian 62° and 61° west.

sica spoke a Chapacuran language. The names Manasica and Tapakura/Quimemoca[30] could also have been used as synonyms by Caballero, given that he calls the Manasica a nation consisting of Tapakura and Quimemoca (Métraux 1942:127).

The many different ethnic groups in the area held mostly hostile relations to each other, if we believe the report of Caballero. The Paunaka, however, had an amicable relationship with their Tapakura neighbours (Caballero 2011 [1707]:55).

There were single entries of Spaniards in the Chiquitania in the early 16th century without much impact for the indigenous people (cf. Tonelli Justiniano 2004:25-29). Santa Cruz de la Sierra was founded in 1561 close to the current location of San José de Chiquitos, however, contacts between the Spanish people living in the town and indigenous people of the Chiquitania were long restricted to the ethnic groups living close to the town (Tomichá Charupá 2002:219-220). A group of people called Paikono, possibly the Paikoneka, lived some 20 leagues away from the city, they are said to have been subjected by Ñuflo de Chaves, who entered the region in an expedition from 1557-1558 (Métraux 1942:118, 121-122). When Santa Cruz was re-located in 1621 to its current position further west, the influence of Spaniards on the indigenous population of the Chiquitania decreased (Tonelli Justiniano 2004:48).

The distribution of indigenous languages and groups changed completely, when the Jesuits entered the region in the 17th and 18th century. Although Jesuits had been present in Santa Cruz since 1583 (Tonelli Justiniano 2004:47), the formation of mission towns only began in 1684 in the Moxos region further north (Tonelli Justiniano 2004:47). In 1691, Jesuit missionaries also started to enter the Chiquitania with the aim to evangelise the indigenous people, build a path between the Jesuit mission of Tarija and the Paraguay river, and secure the dominance of the Spanish colonisers over Portuguese *bandeirantes*[31], who entered the Chiquitania in slave hunting expeditions (Riester s.d.:46; Tomichá Charupá 2002:528; Tonelli Justiniano 2004:66). In 1713, the Jesuit Order was put in charge of supervision and protection of the whole Chiquitania by the Spanish crown (Tonelli Justiniano 2004:66). By 1766, the population in the ten mission towns that were founded by the Jesuits in the Chiquitania had risen to over 23,000 people (Tonelli Justiniano 2004:77).

The first mission town, or *reduction* in the Jesuits' terminology, was San Francisco Xavier de los Piñocas, nowadays known as San Francisco Javier or simply San Javier. It was founded by Father José de Arce among the Piñoca people, and re-located several times until 1705/06. Some of the re-locations were in charge of Father Lucas Caballero, who had come to the region from the Jesuit mission in Tarija (Tomichá Charupá 2002:529-531).

From 1704 to 1711 Caballero undertook several journeys with the aim to evangelise the indigenous people of the region and find a place for founding a new mission town (Tomichá Charupá 2002:536). The fourth journey of 1707 was the one that finally led to the foundation of the two reductions Concepción and San Ignacio that consolidated later. It was also the journey on which Caballero met the Paunaka people.

Caballero started his expedition from San Javier, accompanied by some Manasica. He met people of different ethnic groups on his way with the names as he gives them:

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30. Note that *Quimemoca* is the name Métraux (1942) uses, while Caballero (2011 [1707]) speaks of *Quimomeca*.

31. The *bandeirantes* were Portuguese fortune hunters, who searched for precious metal and for indigenous people to enslave and sell them, for example to work in mines. To achieve this, they entered regions not priorly colonised by Portuguese settlers and by doing this effectively enlarged the Portuguese (and later Brazilian) territory beyond the line of demarcation that divided the world into Spanish and Portuguese possession according to the treaty of Tordesillas from 1494. The *bandeirantes* are also called *mamelucos*.

sibacas, yurucure, quibiquicas, cosocas, moposicas, aruporecas, tapacuras, pichasicas, paunacas, and *bohococas.* We do not know exactly, which languages those people spoke and how those languages were related, but we know that on an encounter in a Paunaka village between Tapakura, Pichasicas and Quimamacas, Aruporecas, and Paunaka people, they had difficulty to understand each other. Caballero describes the situation as follows:

> I greeted them, I spoke to them, and we all spoke, and nobody understood each other, because we spoke in three different languages, for convening pagans of three nations. It resembled the Babylonian confusion; I spoke two languages, but did not know the third. However, with some Paunaca words that I had written down the afternoon before, mixing in others of the Manasicas, and with the actions, I told them certain history, which frightened them and made them fear, showing well that they had understood me. (Caballero 2011 [1707]:85)[32]

It is noticeable that most names of ethnic groups mentioned by Caballero end in *-ca* (in addition to the Spanish plural marker *-s*). The Tao dialect of Chiquito had a plural marker *-ca,* and it still exists in current Bésɨro with the spelling *-ka* nowadays (cf. Sans 2013:21; Galeote Tormo 2014:272). The use of the plural marker on so many different indigenous groups shows how big the influence of Chiquito speakers was already at the beginning of the colonisation of the area.

Caballero (2011 [1707]:67, 83 etc.) reports of severe epidemics among the indigenous people encountered on his journey, especially those that he had visited and evangelised the years before . As a consequence, some villages were depopulated, some villages had been consolidated, and others were re-located, resulting in famine in some places (Caballero 2011 [1707]:77, 84, 87).

The Paunaka people were more numerous than the Manasica and they had many villages full of people (Caballero 2011 [1707]:55, 85). Caballero (2011 [1707]:76) found one Paunaka village depopulated on his journey, and he was told of two villages called *sepecas* and *biyuricas.* The Tapakura people wanted to take him there instead of letting him enter more villages of their own ethnic group (Caballero 2011 [1707]:81). The Paunaka village that Caballero finally visited was called Tesu (Caballero 2011 [1707]:84). Paunaka people received the travel group on the way to the village with some food. They were lodged in a big house close to the ritual or ceremonial building, called "temple" by Caballero, but despite the friendly welcome, Paunaka people had brought all children out of the village, lest the Jesuit could baptise them. His revenge was to put a cross in front of the "temple" and bash their figurines. People of two other Paunaka villages came to invite Caballero – possibly in order to kill him as his travel companions warned him – but he decided to return to San Javier, because of the beginning rainy season, and to continue his evangelisation expeditions the following year (Caballero 2011 [1707]:85-86).

The map in Figure 1.4, dates from 1732, 25 years after the journey of Caballero. It shows the location of settlements of the Paunaka and some other ethnic groups, as well as the mission towns. The place of the old mission town of Concepción before its re-location (see 1.7.2) can also be found on the map. Note, however, that Caballero

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32. Les saludé, les hablé, y todos hablábamos [51v], y nadie nos entendíamos, porque hablábamos en tres lenguas distintas, por concurrir gentiles de tres naciones. Parecía la confusión de Babilonia; yo hablaba las dos lenguas, pero no sabía la tercera. No obstante, con algunas palabras que la tarde antes había escrito de los paunacas, mezclando otras de los manasicas y las acciones, les conté cierta historia que les asustó y dio miedo, mostrando bien que me habían entendido. Translation: Lena Terhart

reports that the Paunaka live north-west of the Manasica, and the Pisoca north-east of them (Caballero 2011 [1707]:54), where the map shows the Paunaka living east of the Manasica and the Picoca (probably the same Pisoca) west of them. Most of the ethnic groups mentioned by Caballero in 1707 are not shown on the map, and of the groups shown in the map, many are not mentioned by Caballero.
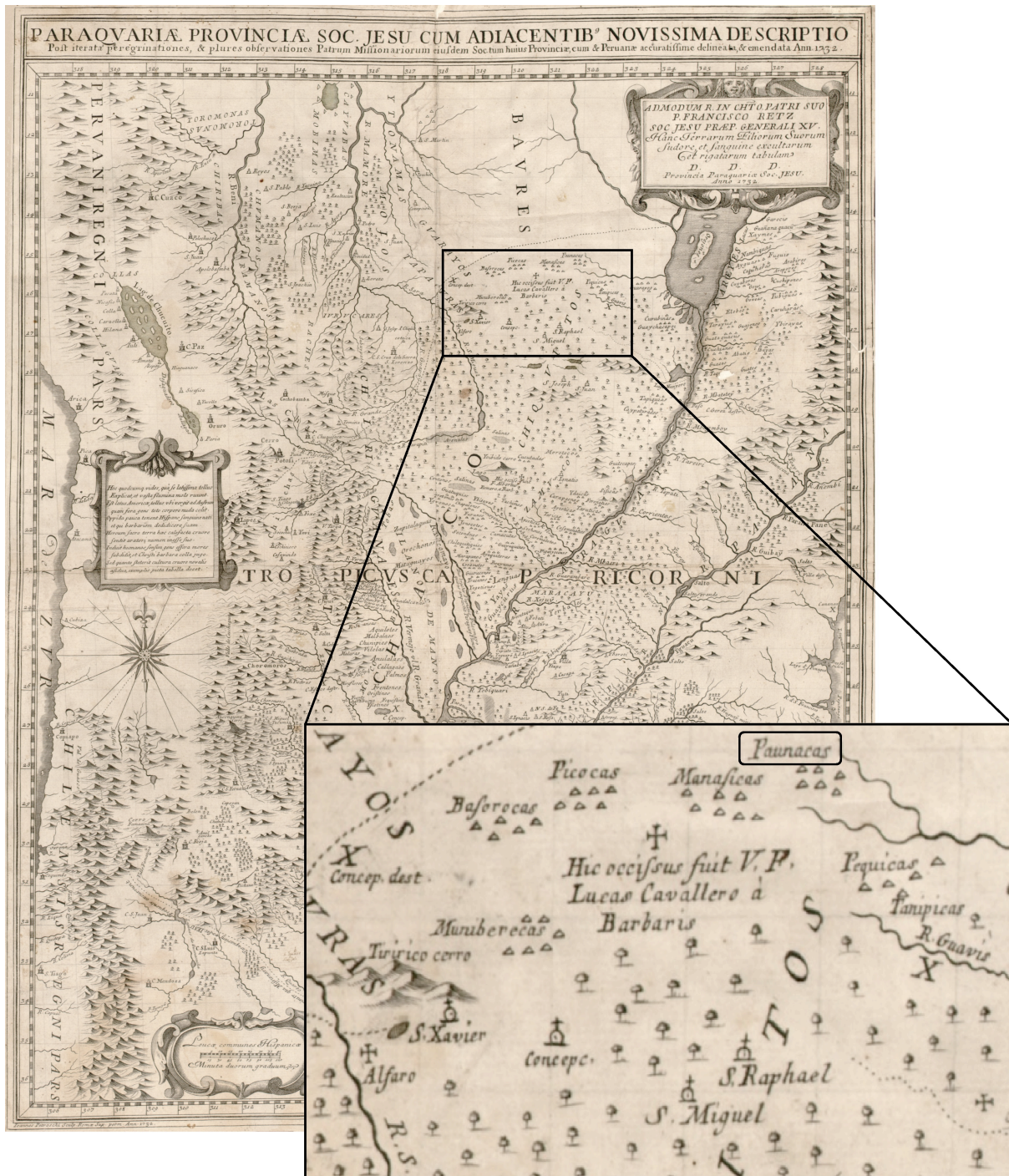
Figure 1.4: Map dating from 1732 which shows the location of the Paunaka (Petroschi 1732), available at Wikimedia Commons

1.7.2 Concepción 1708–1767

The report of Caballero (2011 [1707]:52) about his fourth journey undertaken in 1707 tells about the foundation of two mission towns. Nonetheless, the first attempts to found Concepción already date to 1699 but failed, according to Tomichá Charupá (2002:538). The two foundations refer to the *reductions* San Ignacio among the Boococa people, belonging to the Chiquito linguistic group, and Nuestra Señora de la Concepción among the Tapakura people. Concepción was situated at a big lagoon in an area inhabited by people of different ethnic and linguistic groups, however, it was later relocated and finally consolidated with San Ignacio, making Manasica and Boococa people live together. The final re-location took place in 1722 (Tomichá Charupá 2002:538-539).

According to Matienzo et al. (2011:90), in 1707, there were 200 people living in Concepción and 330 in San Ignacio, but we do not know about the ethnic composition of the people. According to research by Tomichá Charupá (2002:284), in the first years, there were different groups of Manasica, as well as Paunaka, Napeka, and Carabeca. In 1715 and 1717 respectively, Cosirica and Cozoca people joined the mission.

Between 1730 and 1740, the ethnic groups of Puizoca (maybe the same Pisoca that Caballero had met before), Paikoneka, Baure, and Quiviquica were integrated into the reduction. In 1730, an expedition from Concepción to punish the Puizoca people, who had killed Caballero in 1711, led to the inclusion of 19 Paikoneka into the town (Matienzo et al. 2011:166, 192-193), and in 1731, another 48 Paikoneka and Baure were brought there (Matienzo et al. 2011:206).

In 1745, speakers of Chiquito languages (Booca, Tubasi, Cusica, Purasi, Quimomeca, Yurucare, Zibaca) made up 46.9% of the population of Concepción, Chapacuran people (Napeka, Kitemoka, Tapakura) 32.4% and Paikoneka and Paunaka people 19.2%, while 1.5% of the people belonged to the Puizoca of unknown linguistic affiliation (Tomichá Charupá 2002:288).

The missions were attractive for some groups of people as they secured protection against the slave hunting expeditions of the Portuguese *bandeirantes* from Brazil, who were in search of labourers for their mines and farms. This is why some people integrated voluntarily into the missions (Tomichá Charupá 2002:392; Matienzo et al. 2011:424, 425). Usually, inclusion into the missions was forced. The Jesuits – and sometimes also Christianised indigenous people – frequently undertook expeditions to evangelise priorly uncontacted people and bring them to the mission towns (cf.Tomichá Charupá 2002:Chap. VII; Matienzo et al. 2011). The Jesuit priest Julian Knogler reports that people tended to flee if they found out that an evangelisation expedition approached them. Therefore, when they came close to a settlement, the expedition group split in order to surround the people and give no possibilities of escape. Then the priest entered the village to give a speech. If the group of people in the settlement was big enough, they occasionally fought the missionaries and their indigenous companions (Riester 1970:285). Whenever people could be captured on such expeditions, missionaries had to secure that they would not flee or rebel on the way to the mission town:

> By the way, if we find what we look for on our journeys, that is faithless Indians, we make all efforts, and joyfully return with them to the missions. On the way, being supplied with all necessary provisions, they have to be kept very kindly and affectionately, and also with great alertness and atten-

tion, lest they flee back or start an upheaval amongst the escort. (Knogler 1767–1772 in Riester 1970:329)[33]

But despite the (initial or enduring) reservations of the indigenous people against their imposed integration into the mission towns, a new social, political, economic, and religious system successfully established in the Chiquitania over the time (Tonelli Justiniano 2004:65). The era of Jesuit rule still has a very positive image among most Bolivians nowadays.[34]

Everyday life of the inhabitants of the missions was fully structured with fixed times for work and religious activities like sermons and prayers (Tomichá Charupá 2002:509-510). Children went to school, where they learnt to sing chorals, and maybe even to read and write (Tomichá Charupá 2002:508), and were under influence of the missionaries for most time of the day. Cattle was raised and there were common fields administered by the church as well as private fields for subsistence of the families. Craftmanship was taught by the Jesuits. Indigenous people worked three days a week for the church and three days a week for themselves and their families; Sunday was reserved for mass and prayer (Tonelli Justiniano 2004:82-83). The contact between the indigenous people in the missions and secular Spaniards was reduced to a minimum by restricting trade to a manor close to San Javier, from where the goods were distributed among the mission towns (Tonelli Justiniano 2004:80). The towns were all built following the same schema with a big square with the church, school, and administrative buildings on one of its sides. This was the political and social heart of the mission (Tonelli Justiniano 2004:81). The indigenous people were settled in different quarters according to ethnic group, the quarters were called *parcialidades*, a name that also came to denominate the group of people living in the quarter. The position of a *parcialidad* inside a town was an indicator for its status: bigger, earlier integrated, and more trusted ethnic groups lived closer to the main square (Riester s.d.:49; Tomichá Charupá 2002:256; Matienzo et al. 2011:425).

In order to ease evangelisation of the indigenous people in the missions, the Jesuits chose one dominant language, the Chiquito language, as the lingua franca (Matienzo et al. 2011:425). They wrote various grammars about the Chiquito language, as well as dictionaries and catechisms, composed music, wrote sermons, and translated religious texts (Tomichá Charupá 2002:235-238). People of other ethno-linguistic background had to learn Chiquito since all public religious life was communicated through this language. The of choice of the linguistic variety was first at town level, similar to language policy in Moxos (cf. Saito 2009:357), but a certain standardisation can be noticed. In Concepción, speakers of the Manasi dialect had been the most numerous Chiquito group in the early years of the town, but by the end of the Jesuit period, the Manasi dialect had been replaced by the Tao dialect (Tomichá Charupá 2002:256). The linguistic diversity of the Chiquito varieties prior to the Jesuit missions is today reduced to two bigger dialectal groups with varieties determined by geographic factors (cf. Galeote Tormo 2014:268).[35] The massive presence of L2 speakers, both missionar-

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33. Übrigens an wir auf unserer Reisen finden was wür suchen, nemlich unglaubige Indianer, so geben wür alle mihe für gar wohl angewendet, und kehren mit ihnen freydig zuruk in die völckerschafft. Auf dem weeg müssen sie mit denen nothwendigen lebensmitlen versehen, sehr gütig und liebreich gehalten werden, auch zugleich mit grosser wachbarkeit und obsorg, damit selbe nicht entweder zuruk flihen, oder unter der begleitschafft eine aufruhr anfangen. Translation: Lena Terhart

34. This may be due to the fact that despite that the coercion into a paternalistic system must have been brutal, everything that came after the Jesuits' era until the middle of the 20th century was even worse for the indigenous people.

35. See also Saito (2009), who describes the process of reduction of language variety to regional dialects in the Moxo missions.

ies and indigenous people, must also doubtlessly have changed the original Chiquito varieties.

But despite the importance of the lingua franca, the practice to settle each ethnic group in a distinct *parcialidad* also secured a certain continuity of different languages and cultures, at least in the private domain. The fact that more than one third of the total population of the Chiquitano missions were of non-Chiquito origin also suggests that not only the language was re-structured. Chiquitano culture and faith emerged from an interplay of Jesuit religious life with Chiquito culture, doubtlessly integrating cultural (and religious) traits of other ethno-linguistic groups as well (Tomichá Charupá 2002:278).

The period of settlement in mission towns ended with the prohibition of the Jesuit Order by the Spanish crown in 1767 and their expulsion from Spanish territory. The last Jesuit missionaries left the Chiquitania in April 1768 (Riester s.d.:55).

1.7.3 Late 18th to 20th century

After the expulsion of the Jesuits, the religious responsibility and administration of the mission towns was given to the diocese of Santa Cruz. The priests who were sent to the Chiquitania had the absolute power in the towns and soon started to exploit indigenous labour for their own ends and enrich themselves by appropriation of goods and trading of agricultural products. As a consequence, the priorly prospering mission towns started to decline in economic activity (Riester s.d.:56; Tonelli Justiniano 2004:93, 96, 109). There were also reports about sexual abuse (Tonelli Justiniano 2004:105).

Complaints about the conduct of the priests were numerous (cf. Tonelli Justiniano 2004:chap. IV). In 1768, there were indigenous uprisings in Concepción and Santa Ana directed against the priests in charge (Tonelli Justiniano 2004:102-103). From 1778 on, the Chiquitania was slowly secularised, and in 1790 the separation of administration and church was codified by a governmental plan for Chiquitos. Nonetheless, economic decline continued, and the governors lined their own pockets with illicit trade (Tonelli Justiniano 2004:106-116).

The first two decades of the 19th century were marked by fights between monarchists and those trying to establish independence from the crown in Bolivia (cf. Tonelli Justiniano 2004:chap. V). There were massive migrations of indigenous people between the different towns of the Chiquitania, and the area suffered a general decrease of inhabitants (Tonelli Justiniano 2004:144, 169). The registration of baptisms in Concepción of 1800-1802 lists the following ethnic groups: *bococa, napeca, yuracarica, quitemoca, paunaca, civaca, cucica, paiconeca, thapacuxaca, axupoca* (Villalta Rojas 2012:9-10).

In 1825, Bolivia became independent. But in spite of some attempts to grant the indigenous people more rights, their situation did not improve (cf. Tonelli Justiniano 2004:165-168). *Karay*[36] from Santa Cruz and elsewhere, encouraged by official decrees, came to the region in search of minerals and to establish big ranching and agricul-

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36. *Karay* is a Guaraní word for non-Guaraní people. It is also used by Paunaka speakers (in Spanish) for people belonging to the dominant national society opposed to the indigenous population of Bolivia. By using the term *karay* here, I try to avoid problematic terms such as 'white people' or 'mestizos', which are at best inaccurate. The Paunaka word for *karay* is *kayaraunu* referring to a male and *senyurita* (from Span. *señorita* 'Miss') for a female member of the dominant national society. Up to today, encounters with *karay* and *senyuritas* are often characterised by an inequality in social status. Both terms are thus often used in a pejorative sense by Paunaka speakers. It is not my aim to discredit all non-indigenous Bolivians, but I could not find any better, more neutral term. As long as inequal power relations between indigenous and non-indigenous people exist, neutral terms will be hard to find in general, I believe.

ture industries built on indigenous work (Riester s.d.:56; Tonelli Justiniano 2004:172, 197, 199). In approximately 1850, the missional system that had managed working and living conditions of the indigenous people in the Chiquitania (e.g. division of labour into equal parts for the church/community and private ends, payment of taxes in kind etc.) was abandoned. While the ideological background of the abandonment was to guarantee indigenous people equal rights, it laid ground for the system of *empatronamiento* introduced two decades later, in which every indigenous person was forced to have a *patrón* (a *karay* lord) (Tonelli Justiniano 2004:191-192).

Several explorers of the 19th century report about the bad conditions and exploitations of indigenous people in the former missions:

> The towns of Chiquitos, so rich before, so numerous and prospering, are now in a real misery. The industries that they had ceased to exist; some families have returned to the savage life; many are carried off by pox, others are brought to work in the rubber industry by deceit. (Cardús 1886:299)[37]

To be safe of the abuses of the *karay* settlers, many people left the towns to live in their surroundings. Some Paunaka settled north and a little west of Concepción at the headwaters of the Río Blanco approximately 20 leagues from Concepción. Others lived in a settlement nine leagues away from Concepción, together with Napeka and people of other ethnic groups, where they raised some cattle and held contacts to other indigenous people who were more remote (Cardús 1886:284-285). The Paunaka resisted attempts to be integrated into the Franciscan missions of Guarayos; Cardús (1886:285) tells about an encounter with some people who were brought to the Ubaimini mission but disappeared after a few days.

Other indigenous people remained in the former missions, d'Orbigny (1839b:275) estimates that 360 Paikoneka and 250 Paunaka lived in Concepción, and 300 had fled to the woods.

In 1845, the languages *tapacuraca, napeca, paunaca, paiconeca, quitemoca, jurucariquia* and *moncoca* were found in Concepción (Castelnau 1853 in Martínez 2015:247). It is noticeable that a group called *moncoca* is mentioned here for the first time. According to Martínez (2015:247), the general language Chiquito is also called *moncoca* in San Juan in 1845. Between 1873 and 1884 among the baptised people of Concepción were *napeca, moncoca, yurucariquia, quitemoca, paiconeca, paunaca*, and others that are called by the place of precedence rather than by ethnic group, e.g. native of Baures (Villalta Rojas 2012:9-10). After the entries of 1884, we lose track of the Paikoneka, who are not mentioned by any sources anymore.[38] Apart from 1898, the baptism register of Concepción did not record the ethnic group of a person anymore; the year coincides with the first rubber boom (Villalta Rojas 2012:9-10).

The rubber boom had severe consequences for the demographic composition of Bolivia. Many indigenous people from all over the Bolivian lowlands were brought to work in the rubber industry, where they were enslaved and suffered famine and physical abuse (cf. Nordenskiöld 1923). Life expectancy in the rubber production was of two or three years due to illness, work accidents, and attacks by wild animals like snakes and jaguars (Tonelli Justiniano 2004:228). Many indigenous people in the Chiquitania were taken into possession by *karay* settlers to work the lands that they had

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37. Los pueblos de Chiquitos, tan ricos antes, tan numerosos y florecientes, están ahora en una verdadera miseria. Las industrias que tenian no existen más; algunas familias se han vuelto á la vida salvaje; muchos sucumben por la viruela, otros son llevados por engaño á los trabajos de la goma. Translation: Lena Terhart

38. Cardús (1886:308) stated that Paikoneka was spoken in Concepción, but it is unclear to me whether this was his own observation or taken from d'Orbigny (1839a).

been granted in the vicinities of the former mission towns. A road from Santa Cruz increased the influx of *karay*. The rubber boom also increased the demand of food and stimulated the production of cattle and agricultural products on big estates like Altavista (see below in this section). From 1874 on, all indigenous people in the Chiquitania were incapacitated by the obligation to be under tutelage of a member of the dominant national society, a so-called *patrón*. This system is called *empatronamiento* (Riester s.d.:57-58).

In the early 20th century, a group of Paunaka lived on a territory approximately 15–20km east of today's Concepción. Some of them were hired by a man from Santa Cruz called Saturnino Saucedo to work in the construction of a road to the rubber tree habitat close to Puerto Alegre[39] at the Río Negro.[40] There was food shortage and workers suffered famine. Other Paunaka went to work in the extraction of rubber (Villalta Rojas 2012:11-12; Villalta Rojas 2013:1). Saucedo used a common strategy of that time (cf. Riester s.d.:58), and settled close to the Paunaka community, from where he began to take possession of the land where the Paunaka lived. He hired them to make a field for him, "paid" in goods and alcohol in advance and by doing so soon established a system of debt labour (Span. *enganche*). He made the indigenous people build a big house for his family on an elevated part of the estate that he called Altavista.[41] In addition, Saucedo had another house in Concepción with some indigenous servants living there (Villalta Rojas 2013:2). We know that there were some other estates, where Paunaka people used to live and work. When Riester did fieldwork among the Chiquitano in the 1960s, he also recorded some 20 minutes of Paunaka speech with a man called Juan Choma (or Chamo, see 1.6 above) on an estate called Retiro. Retiro ceased to exist today, and we have very little information about the estate except for the recorded report of the speaker about his life circumstances. In Altavista, the indigenous people – besides the approximately 30 Paunaka families (Villalta Rojas 2017, p.c.), there were also Napeka, Monkoka, and some Spanish-speaking Chiquitano – lived in a lower part of the estate close to a water reservoir. Every person, including the children, had a special task to fulfil for the *patrón,* in addition, people worked on their own fields for subsistence on Sundays (Villalta Rojas 2013:2). It was common at that time, that the *patrones* on such estates held the indigenous people in isolation from the external world in order to ease their dominance (Tonelli Justiniano 2004:260).

Although, according to their own statement, the Paunaka were the most numerous group in Altavista, the Monkoka were socially dominant, manifested for example in the fact that the lead workers were Monkoka or at least spoke Bésɨro (Villalta Rojas 2013:2). The Bésɨro language was considered superior, and as a consequence, many Paunaka learned some Bésɨro in addition to their maternal language and Spanish. The social relation between a *patrón* and the indigenous people was of bondage and the children born on the estate automatically entered into the same relation as their parents (Villalta Rojas 2013:4). Debt was hereditary and people could also be sold to other *patrones,* who simply had to pay the debt for a person to take her into possession (Tonelli Justiniano 2004:228). Indigenous workers were given certain goods for compensation – a portion of salt every week, soap, tobacco, some food supplies, a pair of trousers and a shirt (cf. recordings by Riester with Juan Choma in the 1960s). All items were

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39. It was impossible to identify the exact location of Puerto Alegre, but it must be somewhere north and east of Urubichá.
40. Saucedo was also involved in the construction of the road from San Ignacio to Santa Cruz via Concepción and San Javier (Tonelli Justiniano 2004:235).
41. The place exists until today, but nowadays houses a centre for studies of the tropical dry forest.

put on a so-called bill (Span. *cuenta*) for exorbitant prices that people could never pay back (cf. also Tonelli Justiniano 2004:261).

In the 1930s, some Paunaka people participated in the Chaco war, which lasted from 1932–1935 (Villalta Rojas 2012:13), but little is known about their fate. One of the consequences of the Chaco war was the abandonment of the forced *empatronamiento* in 1939. The indigenous workers often simply did not return to the estates and founded their own communities (Riester s.d.:61-62; Tonelli Justiniano 2004:293-294). In other parts, like Altavista, indigenous people remained on the estates, but their working conditions bettered (Tonelli Justiniano 2004:294). There was frequent migration between estates of different *patrones,* because people were in search of the least bad living conditions. The son-in-law of Saucedo, Benigno Suárez, who took over Altavista after Saucedo's death, was known as a clement *patrón* who did not allow physical punishment, and is still remembered respectfully by the Paunaka (Villalta Rojas 2013:4).

In the 1940s, a teacher gave lessons to the indigenous children on the estate. Some Paunaka acquired basic skills in reading and writing, but the teacher forbade the children to speak indigenous languages at all and under threat of punishment (Villalta Rojas 2013:4). In the 1950s, Hugo Suárez, the son of Benigno Suárez, took over the administration of Altavista. He reintroduced physical punishment, and as a consequence, people started to leave Altavista and settle in the vicinities to work for themselves without any *patrón* (Villalta Rojas 2013:5). When the Bolivian agrarian reform of 1952/1953 prohibited exploitation of indigenous people by debt labour, more people left Altavista, displaced by the *patrón,* as the Paunaka report, because of his fear to be obliged to pay for all the work the indigenous people had done on the estate in the previous decades.[42] In other parts of the Chiquitania, however, the system of *empatronamiento* persisted until the 1970s (Tonelli Justiniano 2004:300). Paunaka people founded the village of Santa Rita (Villalta Rojas 2013:5). Twelve families went with Hugo Suárez to the vicinity of Santa Rita, to build a new estate, which was never fully established, because Suárez got ill. They stayed in Santa Rita (Villalta Rojas 2012:14).

Other Paunaka founded the village Naranjito, which was abandoned in the 1960s, because the 1951 founded Apostolic vicariate of Ñuflo de Chávez claimed the territory to be of the church. Some of the people then founded San Miguelito de la Cruz, a village close to Santa Rita (Villalta Rojas 2013:5). Other people who had left Altavista went to the big cities to make their luck (Villalta Rojas 2012:14). The dispersal of people accelerated the loss of the Paunaka language.

1.7.4 Recent history and situation today

The villages Santa Rita and San Miguelito de la Cruz both belong to indigenous communities. In 1996, there were 314 such indigenous communities in the Chiquitania (Tonelli Justiniano 2004:337). They live in small villages in which land rights have been granted on a communal rather than personal basis (Tonelli Justiniano 2004:333; Villalta Rojas 2013:7). In case of the Paunaka people, they acquired title deeds in 1974 (Villalta Rojas 2013:5). In the villages where the Paunaka live, people belonging to

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42. The agrarian reform that – among other things – introduced a fixed wage of 5 Bolivianos per day for the indigenous workers certainly played a role in the decrease in significance of the estates and their commercial agricultural production. However, Tonelli Justiniano (2004:319, 332) identifies the influx of better and cheaper products from Brazil (especially sugar and coffee) into the markets of Santa Cruz and the Chiquitania, the increased production of sugar in the area north of Santa Cruz, and a drought in the Chiquitania in the 1960s and 1970s as decisive factors.

different ethno-linguistic groups (Paunaka, Napeka, Monkoka, and Spanish-speaking Chiquitano) mixed by establishing marital relationships to each other (Villalta Rojas 2013:6). In the 1970s, there was a massive work-related migration to other places, and many people never returned to the villages. This is also the time, when the languages – besides Paunaka also Napeka, and Bésɨro to a lesser extent – were not transmitted to the younger generation any more (Villalta Rojas 2013:5-6). Nowadays, all people in the villages speak Spanish, some speak Bésɨro, and only a handful of elders still speak Paunaka. The last speaker of Napeka passed away in 2011. In the 1980s, the indigenous organisation CICC (*Central Indígena de Comunidades de Concepción*) was founded in Concepción to defend the rights of indigenous people (Villalta Rojas 2013:7). The educational reform of 1994 established bilingual education in Bolivia – at least on paper. Some efforts were put into educational material in Bésɨro, but Paunaka was ignored (Villalta Rojas 2013:8). When two Paunaka people from Santa Rita were invited to the standardisation workshop of the Bésɨro language in 2008, they did not dare to demand linguistic rights for their own mother tongue, because they felt shame for it. In addition, none of the indigenous organisations of the region ever showed any interest in the Paunaka language (Villalta Rojas 2013:9-10). The combination of ignorance from official side and shame and insecurity on the side of the speakers prevented the Paunaka language from being officially recognised. It was therefore not included in the new Bolivian constitution of 2009 under Evo Morales, which recognises 36 indigenous languages in addition to Spanish as official languages of the state. Paunaka kept being an "invisible language" (cf. Langer & Havinga 2015:3). The general knowledge among the people in Concepción (and elsewhere in Bolivia) about the Paunaka language has been low. Many believed that the Paunaka people are a subgroup, a former *parcialidad,* of Bésɨro speakers and that Paunaka is a dialect of Bésɨro. This is slowly changing by now.

Some of the children of the speakers do understand Paunaka to some extent. However, their opinion about the language of their ancestors is not uniform: While some state that it would be nice to learn the language again (though practically impossible because of the workload, they say), others have a strong negative attitude towards the language, and even scold their parent for speaking Paunaka (Villalta Rojas 2013:10, 12-13).

Juana and María S., the two sisters who most naturally communicate in Paunaka, when they meet, unfortunately do not live in the same place – Juana lives in Concepción and María S. in Santa Rita. They do not meet very often. Both of them state that they always spoke Paunaka to each other in their childhood, when they went to their field.

The interest of foreign linguists in their language increased the esteem of the Paunaka language among its speakers. The alphabet booklet that the members of the documentation project produced as a result of a workshop with Paunaka speakers and descendants (see 1.6) was received very positively, and children started to learn isolated words from the book. In 2011, we applied for an ISO 639-3 code for the Paunaka language at Ethnologue, and the language has received the code *pnk* in 2012.[43] However, the language remained to be ignored from official side. Some of the Paunaka mentioned the Paunaka language as (one of) their mother tongue(s) in the official INE (*Instituto Nacional de Estadística* – National Statistics Institute) census of 2012. Nevertheless, it still did not appear in any official sources following the survey. A letter of complaint including citations from the INE interviews that proved that people were speaking about Paunaka was sent to INE, signed by two members of the documentation

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43. see: http://www-01.sil.org/iso639-3/documentation.asp?id=pnk, last checked 16-04-2021.

project, two Paunaka speakers, and a teacher who worked at that time in Santa Rita and partly did the survey for the INE. It was disposed with the answer that Paunaka was not mentioned as a first language by none of the speakers and therefore no data concerning the language was obtained. In 2018–2019, there were finally attempts from the IPELC (*Instituto Plurinacional de Estudio de Lengua y Cultura* – Plurinational Institute of the Study of Language and Culture) to apply for the official recognition of Paunaka in the constitution at the Ministry of Decolonisation. This process was delayed due to problems occurring in the national elections in 2019 but taken up again in 2021.

If they succeed, an ILC (*Instituto de Lengua y Cultura* – Institute of Language and Culture) will be installed for the Paunaka, thus offering the possibility to start education in and on Paunaka – at least theoretically, because with such a low number of speakers who are all elders and many of them illiterate, the establishment of education in Paunaka faces severe practical problems.

1.8   The structure of this work and general remarks

After having provided basic information about the site, the speakers and the fieldwork methods in this chapter, the remainder of this work divides into seven chapters. Chapter 2 describes the phonemes of the language, as well as suprasegmental phonology and morphophonological processes. Chapter 3 critically reviews the definitions of the notions of word, clitic and affix and explains the motivations behind what is considered a word and a grammatical marker in this grammar. In addition, it provides a short overview of word formation processes and a basic description of the parts of speech found in Paunaka. Chapter 4 is dedicated to the minor word classes, which comprise pronouns, nominal demonstratives, adjectives, numerals and quantifiers, adverbs, prepositions and connectives in Paunaka, the latter rather being a functional than a morphosyntactic category. Chapter 5 deals with the noun and the NP. The chapter includes a description about the composition of nouns and inflectional morphology that applies to the noun: possession, number, nominal irrealis, deceased, diminutive and locative marking. Subsequently, content and word order of the NP is considered. Chapter 6 is about the verb and starts with a description of the composition of verb stems including several derivational patterns. The inflectional categories found exclusively on the verb and those primarily relating to predicates (verbal and non-verbal ones alike) are also described in this chapter: person marking, reality status, associated motion, middle voice, TAME, and degree markers. Chapter 7 discusses different types of simple clauses, declaratives, interrogatives and imperatives. It includes a description of different word orders found in Paunaka, a section on standard negation and a detailed analysis of non-verbal predication. Finally, Chapter 8 describes the Paunaka strategies of coordination and subordination of clauses. The appendix contains a narrative from Miguel, an excerpt from a conversation between María S. and Juana, and a procedural text by Juana.

It is a demanding task to document, analyse and describe a priorly undescribed language and there are certainly still very many topics to explore. This work focuses on a description of morphosyntax. A basic analysis of the phonology is also provided, but this topic could be examined in greater detail in the future. An area that was touched only superficially is information structure. This and the principles underlying the creation of greater portions of discourse offer an array of possibilities for future research. The grammar is not written in any particular theoretical framework, but is informed by language typology.

Emphasis in citations is maintained and reproduced in the same way as in the original source unless otherwise stated. For sake of better readability, I deleted false starts and most hesitation marks from the examples given in this work. Hesitation marks comprise *¿chija?* 'what?', *eka* 'DEMa', *te* 'SEQ', *ee* 'er' and the like. It was not my aim to write about language contact, borrowing, code-switching or the like. As I have mentioned above, many words with a Spanish origin are used in Paunaka. Consider (1) from Juana. Only two words of this utterance, *kapunu* and *tiyÿseikanube* do *not* derive from Spanish.[44]

(1) *i pente repentekena kapunu pasaunube kristianunube repente tiyÿseikanube*

i	*pente*	*repente-kena*	*kapunu*	*pasau-nube*	*kristianu-nube*	*repente*
and	maybe	maybe-UNCERT	come	pass-PL	person-PL	maybe

ti-yÿseika-nube
3i-buy.IRR-PL

'and maybe, maybe people come passing by and maybe they buy (some drinks)'
[jxx-e110923l-2.11]

I do not want to claim that (1) is a typical Paunaka sentence, but it is a normal Paunaka sentence, just one sentence among others, which can also contain more or even exclusively words of Paunaka origin. I did not exclude examples like (1) from the analysis and I did not try to find the "purest" Paunaka. Any attempt to do so would have resulted in a very artificial variety being described here, and in addition, it would have drastically decreased the range of possible utterances to choose from. Words with Spanish (and to a lesser extent Bésiro) origin are adapted to the orthography used in this grammar and as far as they are phonetically adapted this is – of course – also reflected in the way the word is spelled.

One peculiarity of this work is that most examples are introduced by briefly providing the extralinguistic context. This is usually not done in grammatical descriptions. I started with this at some point, when I felt that context was necessary for understanding and then extended it further and further. Thus, the reader will not only learn about Paunaka, but also gain knowledge about the narratives and personal life stories of the speakers throughout this work. Whoever is irritated by this is kindly asked to simply overlook it. As far as extralinguistic context is not demanding for explanation of certain features, description of it follows the discussion of the linguistic features represented in the example. I tried to be as consistent as possible with this. I offer an array of different examples in this work, however, some of them repeat. Numbering is consecutive nonetheless, i.e. repeated examples receive a new number.

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44. In addition, the verb stem *-yÿseiku* 'buy' is probably an old loan from Guarayu *-yusei* 'want or wish s.th. edible' (Danielsen 2021, p.c.).

2 Phonology

This chapter provides a description of the segmental and suprasegmental phonology of Paunaka. The phonemic inventory is presented in Section 2.1. In Section 2.2, I describe rhinoglottophilia and vowel nasalisation. Section 2.3 deals with the orthography chosen to transcribe Paunaka throughout this work. The morphophonological processes of vowel elision and vowel assimilation at morpheme boundaries, as well as very restricted haplology is the topic of 2.4. Section 2.5 deals with possible syllable types and the minimal requirements of a Paunaka word. Section 2.6 is about stress and describes the two rhythmic patterns found in the language. Finally, in Section 2.7, I share some preliminary observations about intonational patterns.

2.1 Phonemic inventory

The phonemic inventory of Paunaka is relatively simple with twelve consonants, which are described in 2.1.1, and five vowels presented in 2.1.2. Each vowel can follow any other one, e.g. when two morphemes are adjoined; vowel sequences are described in 2.1.3. Section 2.1.4 deals with the realisation of sounds in loan words.

2.1.1 Consonants

Paunaka has twelve contrasting consonants plus another two that only occur in loans. The consonants are presented in Table 2.1. All of them occur word- and stem-initially and -internally, with two exceptions. The palatal nasal /ɲ/ is only found in very few words of assumed Paunaka origin and in a number of Spanish loans. The flap /ɾ/ occurs very infrequently, too. All consonants can precede all vowels, except for the glide /j/, which does not precede /i/. As for /ɲ/, it cannot be said with certainty whether there are any distributional constraints, because there are not enough words containing the nasal to make any statement. There is hardly any allophonic variation regarding the realisation of consonants, except for the realisation of the bilabial fricative /β/, which can be [β], [v], [w], and [b] depending on the following vowel. The glottal stop can only appear on the emphatic/affirmative marker, which is realised as [hã] or [hãʔã]. It is thus not considered phonemic here.

The consonant inventory is typical for a Southern Arawakan language. It also fits the pattern of the greater Arawakan phonemic profile presented by Aikhenvald (1999:76). Most noticeable in comparison with other Arawakan languages is the absence of the postalveolar fricative /ʃ/ in native words. This sound does occur, but only in loans from Bésɨro, see Section 2.1.4. As already mentioned above, the palatal nasal /ɲ/ occurs very infrequently, see Section 2.1.1.2, which is atypical for Arawakan languages in general, but not for the ones spoken in Bolivia. There are no voiced, aspirated, or palatalised plosives.

2.1.1.1 The plosives

There are three plosives, bilabial /p/, alveolar /t/, and velar /k/. All of them are voiceless and have no voiced allophones.

Table 2.1: Consonant inventory

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p	t				k	
Nasal	m	n			ɲ		
Flap		ɾ					
Fricative	β	s	(ʃ)	(ʂ)			h
Affricate		tʃ					
Approximant					j		

The bilabial plosive /p/ is presented in Example (2a) in word-initial position and in Example (2b) in word-internal position.

(2) a. [pi.ˈmu.ko]   /pimuku/   'you (SG) sleep'
         [pa.ˈta.vi]   /pataβi/   'sugarcane'
         [ˈpɛi]   /pɛi/   'agouti'
    b. [ˈka.pu.nʊ]   /kapunu/   'he/she/it comes'
         [ti.ˈpa.ku]   /tipaku/   'he/she/it dies'
         [ˈtɨ.pi]   /tɨ.pi/   'OBL'

The alveolar plosive /t/ can occur in word-initial position, as in Example (3a), and in word-internal position as in (3b).

(3) a. [ˈti.si]   /tisi/   'it is red'
         [ta.ˈkɨ.ɾa]   /takɨɾa/   'chicken'
         [tɨ.ˈβa.nɛ]   /tɨβanɛ/   'it is far'
    b. [ˈnɨ.ti]   /niti/   '1SG.PRN ('I')'
         [ni.ˈtu.pu]   /nitupu/   'I find'
         [pi.ˈti.wa]   /pitiβua/   'sit down!'

The alveolar plosive contrasts with the bilabial plosive, which is shown by the minimal pairs in Example (4).

(4) a. [ti.ˈju.nu]   /tijunu/   'he/she/it goes'
         [pi.ˈju.nu]   /pijunu/   'you (SG) go'
    b. [ˈti.si]   /tisi/   'it is red'
         [ˈpi.sɛ]   /pisɛ/   'bird'
    c. [mu.ˈtu.ɨ]   /mutuɨ/   'termite'
         [mu.ˈpuɨ]   /mupuɨ/   'silk floss tree'

The velar plosive /k/ is shown in Example (5a) in word-initial position and in Example (5b) in word-internal position.

(5) a. ['ka.və]   /kaβɛ/   'dog'
         ['kwi.na]   /kuina/   'NEG'
         [ki.'mɛ.no]   /kimɛnu/   'woods'
     b. ['na.ka]   /naka/   'here'
         [ni.'kɛ.tʃu]   /nikɛtʃu/   'I say'
         [pi.'ni.kʊ]   /piniku/   'you (SG) eat'

The velar plosive contrasts with the alveolar plosive. This can be seen in Example (6).

(6) a. ['kɨ.pu]   /kɨpu/   'sardine'
         ['tɨ.pi]   /tɨpi/   'OBL'
     b. [ni.'ku.pu]   /nikupu/   'I go down'
         [ni.'tu.pu]   /nitupu/   'I find'
     c. [nə.'ni.ku.ku]   /nɨnikuku/   'I eat, too'
         [nə.'ni.ku.tu]   /nɨnikutu/   'I already ate'

The plosives are represented by <p>, <t>, and <k> respectively throughout this work.

2.1.1.2 The nasals

There are three nasals, bilabial /m/, alveolar /n/, and palatal /ɲ/. While /m/ and /n/ are fully productive, /ɲ/ only occurs in two words of presumable Paunaka origin.

The bilabial nasal /m/   is presented in Example (7a) in word-initial position and in Example (7b) in word-internal position.

(7) a. ['ma.nɛ]   /manɛ/   'morning'
         ['mi.tʃa]   /mitʃa/   'good'
         [mu.'tɛ.pa]   /mutɛpa/   'dust, earth'
     b. ['sɨ.mɨ]   /simɨ/   'vulture'
         ['a.mɛ]   /amɛ/   'palm sp.' (*Attalea princeps*)
         [ni.'mu.ki.hĩ]   /nimukihi/   'my hair'

The bilabial nasal contrasts with the bilabial plosive. This is shown in Example (8).

(8) a. ['mai]   /mai/   'stone'
         ['pai]   /pai/   'priest, parson'
     b. [a.'mu.kɛ]   /amukɛ/   'corn'
         [a.'pu.kɛ]   /apukɛ/   'ground'
     c. [pi.'mui.kʊ]   /pimuiku/   'you (SG) dance'
         [pə.'pui.kʊ]   /pɛpuiku/   'you (SG) fish'

The alveolar nasal /n/   occurs in word-initial position, as in Example (9a), and in word-internal position, as in (9b).

(9) a. ['nɛ.na]   /nɛna/   'like, similar'
         ['ni.hã]   /niha/   'my name'
         ['nui.nə.kɨ]   /nuinɛkɨ/   'door'
     b. [pi.'ni.ku]   /piniku/   'you (SG) eat'
         [o.'ɾu.pu.nu]   /uɾupunu/   'red brocket' (*Mazama americana*)
         [a.'nɨ.kɛ]   /anɨkɛ/   'up'

The alveolar nasal contrasts with the alveolar plosive. Some minimal pairs are presented in Example (10).

(10) a. [ni.'sa.tʃu]   /nisatʃu/   'I want'
          [ti.'sa.tʃu]   /tisatʃu/   'he/she/it wants'
      b. [ti.'ju.nʊ]   /tijunu/   'he/she/it goes'
          ['ti.ju.tʊ]   /tijutu/   'it is ripe now'
      c. [tʃɨ.'sa.nɛ]   /tʃɨsanɛ/   'his/her field'
          [tʃɨ.'sa.tə.ko] /tʃɨsatɨku/   'he/she cuts'

The alveolar nasal contrasts with the bilabial nasal. There are no exact minimal pairs in my corpus to demonstrate this contrast, however some near minimal pairs do occur. They are presented in Example (11) below.

(11) a. ['ɨ.nɛ]   /ɨnɛ/   'water'
          ['ɨ.mu]   /ɨmu/   'piranha'
      b. ['ni.nə]   /ninɛ/   'my flea'
          ['mi.mi]   /mimi/   'mum'
      c. ['ni.tʃɛu]   /nitʃɛu/   'my feathers'
          ['mi.tʃi]   /mitʃi/   'cat'

The palatal nasal /ɲ/ is not fully productive. It only occurs in a few words, some of which are from Spanish and Bésɨro. Examples are shown in (12).

(12) [ku.'ɲũə̃]   /kuɲuɨ/   'tapeti' (*Sylvilagus brasiliensis*)
      ['u.ɲa]   /uɲa/   'gray brocket' (*Mazama gouazoubira*)
      ['a.ɲo]   /aɲu/   'year' (from Span. *año*)
      [u.'ɲa.ka]   /uɲaka/   'Southern three-banded armadillo' (*Tolypeutes matacus*, from Bés. *nuñakax*)

There are no minimal pairs in my corpus to demonstrate a phonemic difference between /ɲ/ and /n/ or /ɲ/ and /j/, but according to the speakers replacement of /ɲ/ by /n/ or /j/ in these words produces nonsense words, thus:

(13) a. * [ku.'nuɨ]
          * [ku.'juɨ]

      b. * ['u.na]
          * ['u.ja]

An infrequent occurrence such as the one of /ɲ/ may suggest that the sound has been borrowed into the language together with some words, as is the case for the Spanish loans containing the palatal nasal like *anyo* 'year' (/aɲo/, Span. *año*). However, the closely related Mojeño languages have similar forms for the 'gray brocket' – *ona* in

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Trinitario (Gill 1993:32) and *ana* in Ignaciano (Ott & Ott 1983:67).[1] Baure has *nor*. The words may well be cognates, which speaks against the hypothesis that the phoneme was borrowed together with the word.

In both Mojeño languages, Trinitario and Ignaciano, the palatal nasal is rather infrequent, too, but there are more words containing it than in Paunaka (cf. Ott & Ott 1983), and it has been claimed that the nasal formed part of the consonant inventory of Proto-Mojeño (de Carvalho & Rose 2018:13). Baure does not have phonemic /ɲ/.

The nasals are spelled as <m>, <n>, and <ny> respectively throughout this work.

2.1.1.3 The flap

Paunaka has one flap, the alveolar /ɾ/. Word-initially, it is found very rarely with most of the words being well-integrated loans from Spanish that originally start with /d/. The restriction on word-initial /ɾ/ is widespread among the Arawakan languages (Mihas 2017:787) and interestingly, it also holds for Bésiro where /ɾ/ is word-initially restricted to a few Spanish loans (cf. Sans 2010:61). In my corpus, the only word of non-Spanish origin starting with the flap is the noun *rupinu* 'banana sp.', which is presented in Example (14a). The same noun (though with a final retroflex [ʂ]: *rupinux*) is used in the local variety of Bésiro spoken in Concepción, but probably not native to this language either considering its own restriction to the sound /ɾ/.

Strikingly, de Carvalho (2018:415) found out that Paunaka lost /ɾ/ in inherited words and thus concludes that all word containing this consonant must have been borrowed. However, there are two words containing the flap in Paunaka that have cognates in the other Bolivian Arawakan languages: *urupunu* 'red brocket' (*Mazama americana*) an *ajumerku* 'paper'. As for *urupunu*, the cognate forms are *arapana* in Ignaciano[2] and *ropo* in Trinitario, while *ajumerku* seems to be related to Baure *-ajmer/jamerok*, Ignaciano *ajumerucu* and Trinitario *'jiumeruko*.[3]

Example (14a) presents some words that begin with /ɾ/, including Spanish loans. There are some verb stems that begin with /ɾ/ like the onomatopoeic verb *-ramuku* 'thunder', and /ɾ/ is also found stem-internally. Some examples are presented in (14b).

(14) a. [ɾu.ˈpi.no]   /ɾupinu/   'banana sp.'
           [ˈɾus.tʃɨ]   /ɾustʃɨ/   'two', (from Span. *dos*)
           [ɾu.ˈmi.ku]   /ɾumiku/   'Sunday', (from Span. *domingo*)
      b. [ti.ˈra.mu.kʊ]   /tiɾamuku/ 'it thunders'
           [nə.ˈhã.ɾə]   /nɨhaɾɛ/   'my namesake'
           [nə.ˈma.ɾɨ.ku] /nɨmaɾɨku/ 'I cut'

/ɾ/ contrasts with all other consonants. Example (15) lists some minimal pairs with the alveolar /t/.

1. Note, however, that Ott & Ott (1983:67) give 'red brocket' (*Mazama americana*, Span. *guaso*) as a translation. They gloss the gray brocket as *arapana*, which has a cognate form *urupunu* 'red brocket' in Paunaka. There seem to be some semantic shifts involved here.
2. See Footnote 1 above for the translation given by Ott & Ott (1983).
3. Thanks to Françoise Rose (2021, p.c.) for providing the Trinitario words.

(15)	a.	[ti.ˈɾɨ.ɾɨ.ku]	/tɨɾɨɾɨku/	'it burns'
		[ti.ˈɾɨ.tɨ.ku]	/tɨɾɨtɨku/	'he/she ties'
	b.	[ˈtʃɨ.ɾi]	/tʃɨɾi/	'parrot sp.'
		[ni.ˈtʃɨ.ti]	/nitʃɨti/	'my head'
	c.	[ˈmɛ.ɾɨ]	/mɛɾɨ/	'plantain'
		[ˈmɛ.tu]	/mɛtu/	'already'

Example (16) presents the contrast between /ɾ/ and /n/.

(16)	a.	[ka.ˈpu.ɾu]	/kapuru/	'catfish sp.' (*Callichthys spp.*)
		[ˈka.pu.nu]	/kapunu/	'come'
	b.	[pi.ˈɾi.ɾi.ku]	/piɾiɾiku/	'you (SG) knock'
		[pi.ˈni.ko]	/piniku/	'you (SG) eat'
	c.	[ni.ˈhã.ɾɛ]	/nihaɾɛ/	'my namesake'
		[ˈhã.nɛ]	/hanɛ/	'wasp'

The orthographic representation of the flap is <r> throughout this work.

2.1.1.4 The fricatives

There are three contrasting fricatives, the bilabial /β/, the alveolar /s/, and the glottal /h/. All of them can occur word- and stem-initially and -internally.

The bilabial fricative /β/ has four allophones [β], [b], [v], and [w]. Paunaka shares this kind of allophony with the other Bolivian Arawakan languages: the Baure phoneme is analysed as /v/ with the allophones [v], [β], [b], and [w] (Danielsen 2007:43), the Mojeño Ignaciano phoneme as /β/ with the allophones [β] and [w] (Ott & Ott 1983:6), and the Trinitario phoneme as /w/ with the allophones [w], [β] , [v], and [u̯](Rose 2021:10).

In Paunaka, the vowel that follows the phoneme is decisive for the choice of the allophone. [v] is found before the front vowels /i/ and /ɛ/, and [w] before the mid vowel /ɨ/. The sequences /βu/ and /βa/ are uttered with either [β] or more rarely [b]. The choice of [β] or [b] is dependent on the individual speaker. Occasionally, [w] may also be heard before /u/ and /a/ and the sequence /βu/ may be reduced to [w] in rapid speech. Examples (17) to (19) show all allophones in word-initial and word-internal position. Example (17) starts with the allophone [v].

(17)	a.	[ˈvi.ti]	/βiti/	'we'
		[vi.su.ˈma.tʃu]	/βisumatʃu/	'we like'
		[ˈvɛ.no]	/βɛnu/	'virgin'
		[ˈvɛ.tu.ku]	/βɛtuku/	'we bring'
	b.	[ˈna.vi]	/naβi/	'go!'
		[ni.ˌku.vi.ˈa.ku.βo]	/nikuβiakuβu/	'I am tired'
		[ˈka.və]	/kaβɛ/	'dog'
		[ti.ˈju.nu.ˌnu.vɛ]	/tijununuβɛ/	'they go'

Example (18) presents the allophone [w].

(18) a. [wɨ.ˈɾɨ.sii]   /βiɾɨsii/   'guava'
       b. [tʃi.ˈwɨ.kɛ]   /tʃiβikɛ/   'his/her face'
           [ni.ˈku.wɨ.u]   /nikuβɨu/   'I am drunk'
           [ˈnu.wiu]   /nuβiu/   'my house'
           [a.ˈni.wɨ]   /aniβɨ/   'mosquito'

Example (19) shows the allophones [β] and [b].

(19) a. [βu.ˈmɛi.ku]   /βumɛiku/   'we steal'
           [ˈbu.pu.nu]   /βupunu/   'we bring'
           [βa.ˈmi.tʃu]   /βamitʃu/   'we help'
           [ˈba.nau]   /βanau/   'we make'
       b. [ˈtʃi.bʊ]   /tʃiβu/   '3.TOP.PRN'
           [ˈhũ.tʃu.βu]   /hutʃuβu/   'where'
           [tɨ.ˈβa.nɛ]   /tɨβanɛ/   'it is far'
           [ti.ˌni.hã.ˈβa.ku.nə] /tinihaβakunɛ/   'he/she/it bites me'

The phoneme /β/ contrasts with the bilabial stop /p/, as can be seen in Example (20).

(20) a. [ˈvi.ti]   /βiti/   'we'
           [ˈpi.ti]   /piti/   'you (SG)'
       b. [ni.ˈku.βu]   /nikuβu/   'I bath'
           [ni.ˈku.pu]   /nikupu/   'I go down'
       c. [ni.ˈhã.bo]   /nihaβu/   'my thigh'
           [ˈhã.pu]   /hapu/   '*mate* calabash'

(21) shows the contrast between /β/ and /m/.

(21) a. [ˈtʃi.βu]   /tʃiβu/   '3TOP.PRN'
           [ˈtʃi.mu]   /tʃimu/   'he/she/it sees him/her/it'
       b. [nɛ.ˈβu.ko]   /nɛβuku/   'I sow, I plant'
           [ni.ˈmu.ko]   /nimuku/   'I sleep'
       c. [tɨ.ˈβa.nɛ]   /tɨβanɛ/   'far'
           [ˈmã.nɛ]   /manɛ/   'early morning'

The alveolar fricative /s/ occurs word-initially and word-internally, see (22a) and (22b), respectively.

(22) a. [ˈsɨ.ki]   /sɨki/   'basket'
           [si.ˈma.pa]   /simapa/   'ash'
           [ˈsa.tʃɛ]   /satʃɛ/   'sun'
       b. [ni.ˈsa.tʃu]   /nisatʃu/   'I want'
           [ku.ˈsɛ.pi]   /kusɛpi/   'thread'
           [tʃɨ.ˈkɛi.si]   /tʃɨkɛisi/   'its tail'

The alveolar fricative contrasts with all the other consonants, e.g. with the alveolar /ɾ/ in (23).

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(23) a. [ti.ˈsa.mu.ku]   /tisamuku/   'he/she/it listens'
            [ti.ˈɾa.mu.ku]   /tiɾamuku/   'it thunders'
      b. [ti.ˈwɨ.sɨu]   /tiβisɨu/   'he/she/it arrives'
            [ti.ˈwɨ.ɾu]   /tiβiɾu/   'it rots'

Example (24) presents the contrast between /s/ and /t/.

(24) a. [ni.ˈmu.su.hĩ]   /nimusuhi/   'my skin'
            [ˈmu.tu]   /mutu/   'armadillo'
      b. [ti.ˈsui.kʊ]   /tisuiku/   'he/she writes'
            [ti.ˈtui.kʊ]   /tituiku/   'he/she/it hunts'
      c. [ˈpi.sɛ]   /pisɛ/   'bird'
            [ˈpi.ti]   /piti/   'you (SG)'

The contrast between /s/ and /n/ is shown in (25).

(25) a. [pi.ˈsi.ka]   /pisika/   'your (SG) arm'
            [pi.ˈni.ka]   /pinika/   'you (SG) eat (IRR)'
      b. [ˈsɨ.ki]   /sɨki/   'basket'
            [a.ˈnɨ.kə]   /anɨkɛ/   'up'

Example (26) shows some minimal pairs with the fricative /β/.

(26) a. [ˈsi.a]   /sia/   'falcon sp.'
            [ˈvi.a]   /βia/   'God' (lit.: our father)
      b. [ni.ˈsa.nɛ]   /nisanɛ/   'my field'
            [tɨ.ˈβa.nɛ]   /tɨβanɛ/   'far'
      c. [ˈni.su]   /nisu/   'I weed'
            [ˈnɛ.βu]   /nɛβu/   '3OBL.TOP.PRN'

The postalveolar fricative /ʃ/ and the retroflexive fricative /ʂ/ were not origi-nally phonemes of Paunaka, but have entered the language via Bésɨro. However, they seem not be considered as "foreign" by the speakers since the words containing these sounds are not considered foreign. The retroflex sound has two allophones, voiceless [ʂ] and voiced [ʐ] in Paunaka.

The sounds /s/ and /ɾ/ of Spanish words are sometimes replaced by /ʂ/, when integrated into Paunaka speech. As for /ɾ/, this sound is also often pronounced as a postalveolar ([ʒ]) or retroflex ([ʐ]) sound in the speakers' Spanish,[4] but a syllable-final /s/ is rather realised as [h] in Eastern Bolivian Spanish.

In any case, all of the words that contain one of the fricatives are loans from other languages, either Bésɨro or Spanish or Spanish via Bésɨro (see 2.1.4), but not necessarily identified as such by the speakers.

Examples for the postalveolar fricative can be found in (27) and for the retroflex fricative in (28).

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4. Mendoza (2015:32) describes the sound as [z] for all varieties of Bolivian Spanish, but at least the Paunaka speakers rather pronounce a postalveolar or retroflex sound instead.

(27) [tu.ˈɾu.ʃi]   /tuɾuʃi/   'Altavista' (toponym)
      [ˈʃa.bu]   /ʃabu/   'soap'
      [ʃi.ˈkwɛ.ɾa]   /ʃikuɛɾa/   'school'
      [ɾi.ˈmo.nɛ.ʃi]   /ɾimunɛʃi/   'lemon'

(28) [ˈmaʂ]   /maʂ/   'more'
      [ˈʐi̩.o]   /ʂiu/   'river'
      [na.ˈɾaŋ.ka.ʂi]   /naɾankaʂi/   'orange'

The glottal fricative /h/   has an effect on following vowels that is perceived as nasalisation. This phenomenon has been called rhinoglottophilia and is further described in Section 2.2. The glottal fricative can occur at the beginning and in the middle of words, as can be seen in (29a) and (29b) respectively.

(29) a. [ˈhãi.kɛ]   /haikɛ/   'star'
          [ˈhĩ.mu]   /himu/   'fish'
          [ˈhũ.tʃu.βʊ]   /hutʃuβu/   'where'
      b. [ti.pa.ˈhĩ.ku]   /tipahɨku/   'he/she/it stays'
          [ni.ˈhã.βo]   /nihaβu/   'my thigh'
          [ni.ˈhɛ̃.pɛ.nə]   /nihɛpɛnɛ/   'my breast'

The glottal fricative contrasts with all other consonants, including the fricative /s/, see (30).

(30) a. [ˈhã.nɛ]   /hanɛ/   'wasp'
          [ni.ˈsa.nɛ]   /nisanɛ/   'my field'
      b. [ni.ˈhĩ.nɛ.pɨi]   /nihinɛpɨi/   'my daughter'
          [ni.ˈsi.nɛ.pɨi]   /nisinɛpɨi/   'my grandchild'
      c. [nɨ.ˈhɛ̃.ku.pu]   /nihɛkupu/   'I forget'
          [nɨ.ˈsɛ.ku.pu]   /nisɛkupu/   'I resemble'

Some minimal pairs with /β/ are shown in (31).

(31) a. [ˈhĩ.mu]   /himu/   'fish'
          [ˈvi.mu]   /βimu/   'we see'
      b. [ˈhã.nɛ]   /hanɛ/   'wasp'
          [tɨ.ˈβa.nɛ]   /tɨβanɛ/   'it is far'
      c. [ti.ˈkɛ.tʃu.hĩ]   /tikɛtʃuhi/   'he/she says, it is said'
          [ti.ˈkɛ.tʃu.vi]   /tikɛtʃuβi/   'he/she says to you (SG)/us'

The contrast between /h/ and the velar plosive /k/ is presented in (32).

(32) a. [nə.ˈhĩ.ku]   /nihɨku/   'I grow'
          [nə.ˈkɨ.ku]   /nikɨku/   'my uncle'
      b. [ˈhã.pu]   /hapu/   '*mate* calabash'
          [ˈka.pu.no]   /kapunu/   'he/she/it comes'
      c. [ti.ˈni.ka.nə]   /tinikanɨ/   'he/she/it eats me (IRR)'
          [ti.ni.hã.ˈnɛu]   /tinihanɛu/   'they (non-human) eat'

Throughout this work, the spelling of the fricatives is <b> for /β/ and <s> for /s/. Analogue to Bésɨro, <xh> is the spelling for /ʃ/ and <x> for /ʂ/. Due to orthographic conventions of Spanish <j> represents /h/.

2.1.1.5   The affricate

There is one affricate, the voiceless postalveolar /tʃ/. It appears word-initially as well as word-internally, see (33).

(33) a.   [ˈtʃɨ.ɾi]   /tʃɨɾi/   'parrot sp.'
          [tʃi.ˈku.jɛ]   /tʃikujɛ/   'it is like this'
          [ˈtʃi.ma]   /tʃima/   'her husband'
     b.   [kɛ.ˈtʃu.ɛ]   /kɛtʃuɛ/   'snake'
          [ˈmi.tʃa]   /mitʃa/   'good'
          [ti.ˈtʃɛ.mo]   /titʃɛmu/   'he/she/it gets up'

/tʃ/ contrasts with the alveolar plosive as well as with the alveolar fricative. Example (34) presents some minimal pairs with /t/.

(34) a.   [ni.ˈtʃu.pu]   /nitʃupu/   'I know'
          [ni.ˈtu.pu]   /nitupu/   'I find'
     b.   [ˈtʃi.ma]   /tʃima/   'her husband'
          [ˈti.ma]   /tima/   'it is cooked'
     c.   [ˈtʃi.hã]   /tʃiha/   'his/her/its name'
          [ti.ˈhãi]   /tihai/   'day'

Example (35) shows the contrast between /tʃ/ and /s/.

(35) a.   [ˈtʃɨ.kɨ]   /tʃɨkɨ/   'arroyo'
          [ˈsɨ.ki]   /siki/   'basket'
     b.   [ˈtʃɨ.tʃɨ]   /tʃɨtʃɨ/   'grandpa'
          [nɨ.ˈsɨ.sɨ]   /nisisi/   'my nose'
     c.   [ˈtʃa.ma]   /tʃama/   'much'
          [ni.ˈsa.ma]   /nisama/   'I hear (IRR)'

The affricate is represented as < ch > throughout this work.

2.1.1.6   The approximant

Paunaka has one approximant /j/. It can occur word-initially and -internally as shown by the following examples.

(36) a.   [ju.ˈma.hĩ]   /jumahi/   'hammock'
          [ˈjɨ.pi]   /jɨpi/   'jar'
          [ˈjɛ.jə]   /jɛjɛ/   'granny'
     b.   [ni.ja.ˈjau.mi]   /nijajaumi/   'I am happy'
          [ni.ˈju.nu]   /nijinu/   'I go'
          [ˈku.jə.pa]   /kujɛpa/   'salt'

/j/ does not usually precede /i/ in Paunaka. /j/ could therefore be argued to be an allophone of /i/ in rising diphthongs. However, onset-less diphthongs are only found word-initially (see 2.5)

Additional support for the assumption that /j/ is a separate phoneme comes from comparison with the Mojeño languages and Baure, where the phonemic status of /j/ is

Table 2.2: Cognate stems with /j/ in Paunaka, Trinitario, Ignacio, and Baure

Paunaka	Trinitario	Ignaciano	Baure	Gloss
-yenu	*-yeno*	*-yena*	*-eyon*	wife
-iyu	*-iyo'o*	*-íyaha*	*-ya*	cry
yÿpi	*yupi*	*yupi*	*jopi*	jar
yuti	*yoti*	*yati*	*yotoe'*; CLF: *-yiti*	night
yÿkÿ	*yucu*	*yucu*	*yaki*	fire
kuyae	*kiara*	*cayara*	*koyoroeawok*	palm sp. (*Acrocomia aculeata*)
-yunu	*-yono*	*-yana*	*-yon*	go, walk

clearer (cf. Rose 2014a:63; Danielsen 2007:48-49). Some cognates are listed in Table 2.2:[5]

/j/ contrasts with all the other consonants. Two minimal pairs with the glottal fricative /h/ are presented below in (37).

(37) a. [ni.ˈjɨ.kʊ]   /nijɨku/   'I shoot'
          [ni.ˈhɨ̃.kʊ]   /nihɨku/   'I grow'
      b. [ni.kʊ.ˈjui.nɛ]   /nikujuinɛ/   'I make bread'
          [ku.ˈhũ.ɛ]   /kuhuɛ/   'cotton'

The approximant is spelled <y> throughout this work.

2.1.2 Vowels

There are five phonemic vowels, which are presented in Table 2.3. This set of vowels is typical for an Arawakan language, but unlike a number of other Arawakan languages, Paunaka has no contrastive long vowels. The same is true for closely related Baure and Mojeño Ignaciano (cf. Aikhenvald 1999:76, 78).

Table 2.3: Vowel inventory

	front	central	back
high	i	ɨ	u
mid	ɛ		
low		a	

All vowels can be nasalised, when they are surrounded by nasal consonants, in addition there is rhinoglottophilia, which makes vowels sound as if they were nasalised after /h/ (see Section 2.2). However, nasality is not a contrastive feature for vowels.

Most surprising is the existence of a phonemic high central /ɨ/, which does occur in some Arawakan languages (cf. Aikhenvald 1999:78), but is not phonemic in the other Southern Arawakan languages.[6] However, it has been shown that /ɨ/ results

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5. Data is taken from Gill (1993) for Trinitario and Ott & Ott (1983) for Ignaciano, the Baure words were looked up in the Toolbox dictionary produced within the Baure Documentation Project.
6. Compare vowel charts or orthography lists in Danielsen (2007:33) for Baure, Olza Zubiri et al. (2004:9) for Ignaciano, Rose (2021:12-13) for Trinitario, Butler & Ekdahl (2012:9) for Terena, de Souza (2008:63) for Kinikinau.

from fronting of the back vowel *u of a presumed proto-language, while /u/ derives from *o (de Carvalho 2018; Ramirez & de França 2019).

2.1.2.1 The high vowels

The high vowel /i/ can occur word-initially, -internally, and -finally. When unstressed, it is sometimes pronounced as [ɪ], but there is certain variation among speakers. Especially María C. tends to pronounce the high vowels /i/ and /u/ lower than other speakers do. Some examples for the high vowel /i/ are given in (38).

(38) a.   [ˈi.ju]   /iju/   'monkey'
          [i.ˈsi.ni]   /isini/   'jaguar'
          [ɪ.ˈhɨ̃ũ.pɛ]   /ihɨupɛ/   'spindle'
      b.   [ki.ˈmɛ.nu]   /kimenu/   'woods'
          [ni.ˈtʃu.hĩ.ko]   /nitʃuhiku/   'I walk'
          [ˈpi.ma]   /pima/   'your husband'
      c.   [ju.ˈma.hĩ]   /jumahi/   'hammock'
          [ˈjɨ.pi]   /jɨpi/   'jar'
          [u.ˈtʃɛ.ti]   /utʃeti/   'chili'

The high vowel /u/ can occur word-initially, -internally, and -finally. When it appears in unstressed syllables, and especially in word-final syllables, it is frequently pronounced lower, i.e. [ʊ] or [o], but may well be [u], too. The pronunciation depends on speech velocity, the place of the word inside an utterance, and also on the speaker. Example (39) shows the occurrence of /u/ in different positions in the word.

(39) a.   [u.ˈpu.hĩ]   /upuhi/   'duck'
          [ˈu.ɛ]   /uɛ/   'rainbow, spirit of water'
          [u.ˈba.ra.mo]   /ubaramu/   'spider monkey'
      b.   [ˈnu.pu.nʊ]   /nupunu/   'I bring'
          [ti.ˈku.ti]   /tikuti/   'it hurts'
          [ti.kɛ.bu.ˈɾi.ku]   /tikɛbuɾiku/   'he/she removes grains'
      c.   [ˈhã.pu]   /hapu/   '*mate* calabash'
          [a.ˈnɨ.mu]   /anɨmu/   'sky'
          [o.ˈɾu.pu.nu]   /uɾupunu/   'red brocket'

The minimal pairs in Example (40) show that the high vowels /u/ and /i/ fully contrast.

(40) a.   [ˈu.ti]   /uti/   'plant sp.' (*Urera caracasana*)
          [ˈi.ti]   /iti/   'blood'
      b.   [ˈnu.ma]   /numa/   'I take (IRR)'
          [ˈni.ma]   /nima/   'my husband'
      c.   [ti.ˌwu.ɾʊ.ˈɾu.ku] /tiβuɾuruku/   'it boils'
          [ti.ˌwu.ɾɪ.ˈɾi.ku] /tiβuɾiriku/   'it falls out (hair)'

The high vowel /ɨ/ is presented below in word-initial, -medial and -final position.

(41) a. [ˈɨ.ku]   /ɨku/   'rain'
          [ˈɨ.βa]   /ɨβa/   'pig'
          [ˈɨ.nɛ]   /ɨnɛ/   'water'
      b. [ni.jɨ.tɪ.ˈka.po]   /nijɨtikapu/   'I cook'
          [ˈsɨ.ki]   /sɨki/   'basket'
          [mu.ˈkɨ.ɛ]   /mukɨɛ/   'squash'
      c. [a.ˈni.βɨ]   /aniβɨ/   'mosquito'
          [ni.ˈkɛ.pɨ]   /nikɛpɨ/   'my back'
          [ˈsɨ.mɨ]   /sɨmɨ/   'vulture'

/ɨ/ is less stable than the other high vowels. It is often hard to distinguish it from /u/ and /ɛ/, because it is often pronounced more like [ə] or [ʊ]. Thus, a speaker may pronounce the word /kusɨ/ (*kusiÿ* 'ant') like [kusiʊ] in rapid speech, and only when she utters the word very carefully and slowly, it is [kusiɨ]. This may be a hint that the fronting from *u to /ɨ/ is not totally completed. The confusion with /ɛ/ is due to the fact that both vowels may be reduced to [ə] in unstressed syllables. /ɨ/ has a tendency towards nasalisation, thus a nasalised schwa is rather an instance of /ɨ/ than of /ɛ/.

Some near minimal pairs with /ɨ/ are presented in Example (42).

(42) a. [nɨ.ˈhĩ.ku]   /nɨhɨku/   'I grow'
          [ˈni.hĩ.ku]   /nihiku/   'I spin'
      b. [ˈɨ.mu]   /ɨmu/   'piranha'
          [ˈhĩ.mu]   /himu/   'fish'
      c. [ti.ˈhã.pɨ.ku]   /tihapɨku/   'he/she fills'
          [ti.ˌhã.pi.ˈpi.ku]   /tihapipiku/   'it lightens'

Example (43) shows the contrast between /ɨ/ and /u/.

(43) a. [ˈɨ.tʃɨ]   /ɨtʃɨ/   'capybara'
          [ˈu.tʃu]   /utʃu/   'UNCERT.FUT'
      b. [ˈjɨ.nɨ]   /jɨnɨ/   'jabiru'
          [ˈju.nu]   /junu/   'tree sp.'
      c. [ˈjɨ.pi]   /jɨpi/   'jar'
          [ˈju.pu]   /ju.pu/   'paca'

The orthographic representation of the high vowel /i/ is <i>, /ɨ/ is spelled <ÿ>, and /u/ is given as <u> and in loans also as <o> throughout this work.

2.1.2.2 The mid vowel

There is one mid-vowel in Paunaka, which is /ɛ/. It can occur in all positions in a word. When unstressed, it may centralise and be realised as [ə]. Example (44) presents some words containing the mid vowel in different positions in the word.

(44) a. [ˈɛ.ka]   /ɛka/   'DEMa'
          [ɛ.ˈmu.ni.ki]   /ɛmuniki/   'ember'
          [ɛ.ˈsɛ.kɛɨ]   /ɛsɛkɛɨ/   'bean'
      b. [a.ˈsa.nɛ.ti]   /asanɛti/   'field'
          [ˈnɛ.tu.ku]   /nɛtuku/   'I put'
          [ˈtɛ.mɛ.na]   /tɛmɛna/   'big'
      c. [i.ˈti.ɛ]   /itiɛ/   'eel'
          [ˈma.nə]   /manɛ/   'morning'
          [a.ˈmu.kə]   /amukɛ/   'corn'

Since /ɨ/ has an identical allophone [ə] (see above), it is often hard to tell whether a sound corresponds to /ɛ/ or /ɨ/. Nevertheless, in stressed syllables, there is a clear audible difference between /ɨ/ and /ɛ/, as can be seen from the following examples.

(45) a. ['ɨ.mu]   /ɨmu/   'piranha'
            ['ɛ.mu]   /ɛmu/   'you (PL) see'
      b. ['ɨ.ku]   /ɨku/   'rain'
            ['ɛ.ka]   /ɛka/   'DEMa'
      c. ['ɨ.t͡ʃɨ]   /ɨt͡ʃɨ/   'capybara'
            ['ɛ.t͡ʃɨu]   /ɛt͡ʃɨu/   'DEMb'

The mid vowel also contrasts with the other high vowels. (46) presents some examples for the contrast with /i/.

(46) a. ['ɛ.ti]   /ɛti/   'you (PL)'
            ['i.ti]   /iti/   'blood'
      b. ['vi.tə]   /βitɛ/   'bat'
            ['vi.ti]   /βiti/   'we'
      c. [nə.'hɛ̃.ku.pu] /nɨhɛkupu/ 'I forget'
            [ni.'hɨ̃.ku.pu] /nihikupu/ 'I swallow'

(47) shows that /ɛ/ and /u/ fully contrast.

(47) a. ['ɛ.t͡ʃɨu]   /ɛt͡ʃɨu/   'DEMb'
            ['u.t͡ʃʊ]   /ut͡ʃu/   'UNCERT.FUT'
      b. ['mɛ.tu]   /mɛtu/   'already'
            ['mũ.tu]   /mutu/   'armadillo'
      c. [ni.'jɛ.nu]   /nijɛnu/   'my wife'
            [ni.'ju.nu]   /nijunu/   'I go'

The mid vowel is written <e> throughout this work.

2.1.2.3 The low vowel

There is one low vowel, the central /a/, which can occur at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of words. This is shown in (48a) to (48c).

(48) a. [a.'ni.βɨ]   /aniβɨ/   'mosquito'
            ['a.mɛ]   /amɛ/   'palm.sp'
            [a.'sa.nə.ti]   /asanɛti/   'field'
      b. ['nɨa.ti]   /nɨati/   'my brother (of female)'
            [ta.'nɨ.ma]   /tanɨma/   'now'
            ['ka.ku]   /kaku/   'exist'
      c. [ni.hũ.'nɛu.wa] /nihunɛuβua/ 'my bladder'
            ['mi.t͡ʃa]   /mit͡ʃa/   'good'
            [ni.'si.ka]   /nisika/   'my arm'

/a/ contrasts with all other vowels. For some minimal pairs with the high vowels /i/, see (49) below.

(49) a. ['mi.tʃa]   /mitʃa/   'good'
         ['mi.tʃi]   /mitʃi/   'cat'
     b. [ni.'hã.ku.pu]   /nihakupu/   'I receive'
         [ni.'hĩ.ku.pu]   /nihikupu/   'I swallow'
     c. [ni.'pa.ko]   /nipaku/   'I die'
         [ni.'pi.ko]   /nipiku/   'I am afraid'

In (50), some examples for the contrast between /a/ and /ɨ/ are given.

(50) a. ['ki.pa]   /kipa/   'rhea'
         ['ki.pɨ]   /kipɨ/   'turtle'
     b. [ni.'hã.ka]   /nihaka/   'my molar tooth'
         [nə.'hĩ.ka]   /nɨhɨka/   'I grow (IRR)'
     c. ['ka.ku]   /kaku/   'exist'
         [nɨ.'kɨ.ku]   /nikɨku/   'my uncle'

(51) shows that /a/ contrasts with /u/.

(51) a. [ni.'pa.ku]   /nipaku/   'I die'
         [ni.'pu.ku]   /nipuku/   'my forehead'
     b. [ni.'ni.ka]   /ninika/   'I eat (IRR)'
         [ni.'ni.ko]   /niniku/   'I eat (REAL)'
     c. ['ni.ma]   /nima/   'my husband'
         ['ni.mʊ]   /nimu/   'I see'

There is also a contrast with the mid vowel /ɛ/, see (52). However, there are a few words that have variants with either /a/ or /ɛ/ without any difference in meaning according to the speakers, e.g. *apuke* [a.'pu.kɛ] 'down, ground' has an alternative form as [ɛ.'pu.kɛ], the verb stem *-semaiku* [-sɛ.'mai.ku] can also be realised as [-sa.'mai.ku].

(52) a. ['na.na]   /nana/   'I make (IRR)'
         ['nɛ.na]   /nɛna/   'like, similar'
     b. ['a.tʃu]   /atʃu/   'fish sp.'
         ['ɛ.tʃɨu]   /ɛtʃɨu/   'DEMb'
     c. ['ka.vɛ]   /kaβɛ/   'dog'
         [ni.'kɛ.vɛ]   /nikɛβɛ/   'my tooth'

The low vowel is represented as <a> throughout this work.

2.1.3 Vowel sequences

There are a lot of vowel sequences in Paunaka, and it is not always clear whether such a sequence is better analysed as a diphthong or hiatus. If we compare to the other Bolivian Arawakan languages and also take the reconstructed proto-language into account (de Carvalho cf. 2018; Ramirez & de França 2019), it becomes clear that many of the vowel sequences result from the deletion of consonants in unstressed syllables. Mojeño Trinitario, for instance, often has either /ɾ/ or /ʔ/ and sometimes other consonants between two vowels, where Paunaka has a sequence of two vowels (Rose 2014, p.c.), see Table 2.4 for a few examples. The fact that some of these sequences have fused into a diphthong and others rather belong to two syllables may then reflect different time depth or degrees of lexicalisation of consonant deletion. I consider a sequence of two

vowels a diphthong, if it sounds short and the whole sequence is either stressed (most of the times) or unstressed. Two vowels in hiatus sound longer, and stress is assigned to only one vowel, but not to the other (if stress falls on one of the syllables at all). However, with a higher speech rate, a hiatus may also sound like a diphthong. It would therefore be worth doing a phonetic analysis of vowel sequences in the future, and the analysis given here can only be considered as tentative and preliminary.

Table 2.4: Cognate stems: Paunaka has a vowel sequence and Trinitario /ɾ/ or /ʔ/

Paunaka	Trinitario	Gloss
mai	*mari*	stone
sabae	*saware*	tobacco
ue	*'o'e*	rainbow
pei	*pe'i*	agouti

The clearest example of a hiatus is the word *ue*, a word that is exceptionally composed of only two V syllables.

(53) [ˈu.ɛ]   /uɛ/   'rainbow, spirit of waters'

There are more words with a final /ɛ/ preceded by another vowel, and the two vowels usually belong to two different syllables. The nouns ending in an /ɛ/ syllable mostly refer to animals or plants (or their fruits), thus the final /ɛ/ may go back to an old nominal suffix or classifier, which is not transparent anymore.[7] There are even two cases, in which the final /ɛ/ is preceded by a syllable with a nucleus /ɛ/, and in this case the last syllable has a long vowel. The Mojeño languages often have *-re* in plant names, where Paunaka has *-e* (Sell 2021, p.c.).

(54) [i.ˈti.ɛ]   /itiɛ/   'eel'
       [mu.ˈkɨ.ɛ]   /mukɨɛ/   'squash'
       [kɛ.ˈtʃu.ɛ]   /kɛtʃuɛ/   'snake'
       [sa.ˈβa.ɛ]   /saβaɛ/   'tobacco'
       [i.ˈnɛː]   /inɛɛ/   'fish sp.' (*Hoplias malabaricus*)
       [mu.ˈkɛː]   /mukɛɛ/   'rodent sp.' (Span. *cujuchi*)

An exception is the word *chapie* [tʃa.ˈpi̯e] 'thank you', a loan from Bésɨro, which is disyllabic with a diphthong /i̯ɛ/[8] in the second syllable.
Another vowel sequences that is rather found in hiatus is /ia/.

(55) [ˈvi.a]   /βia/   'God' (lit.: our father)
       [ˈkwɛ.pi.a]   /kuɛpia/   'kidney'
       [ni.ˌku.vi.ˈa.ku.βu] /nikuβiakuβu/   'I am tired'

The exception is again a Bésɨro loan; the word *mukianka* [mu.ˈkʲaŋ.ka] 'animal' which has a palatalised [k].

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7. The Mojeño languages both have a classifier *-'e/-he* and Baure has *-e*, but the list of items that fall into this class show no correspondences to the Paunaka nouns that have a final /Vɛ/ sequence, except for the fact that one kind of squash is classified by *-e* in Baure (cf. Olza Zubiri et al. 2004:232-235; Rose 2019a:464; Terhart 2016:141-142).
8. Note that diphthongs are marked by an inverted breve in this section only.

Most likely to be fused into diphthongs are the sequences /ai/, /ɛi/, /ui/, /ɨi/, /au/, /ɛu/, and some instances of /iu/, /ua/, and /uɛ/.

Here are some words with the diphthong /ai̯/.

(56) ['mai̯]   /mai/   'stone'
      [ti.'hãĩ̯]   /tihai/   'day'
      ['tɨ.nai̯]   /tɨnai/   'long'

The following words all have a diphthong /ɛi̯/.

(57) [ku.'pɛi̯]   /kupɛi/   'afternoon'
      [ʧu.'mɛi̯.ku]   /ʧumɛiku/   'he/she/it steals it'
      ['tɛi̯.hũ.ku]   /tɛihuku/   'he/she/it stinks'

The diphthong /ui̯/ is articulated with a semi-vowel after /k/. Here are some examples of the diphthong.

(58) ['kwi.na]   /kuina/   'NEG'
      [vɛ.mu.'sui̯.ka]   /βɛmusuika/   'we wash (IRR)'
      ['ʧu.bui̯]   /ʧuβui/   'old man'

Some words containing /ɨi̯/ are given below.

(59) [ni.'pɨi̯]   /nipɨi/   'my body'
      ['kɨi̯.kɛ]   /kɨikɛ/   'peanut'
      [nɨ.'kɨi̯.ki]   /nɨkɨiki/   'pot'

Here are some examples for the diphthong /au̯/ :[9]

(60) ['au̯.moɛ̥]   /aumuɛ/   'chicha'
      [i.'si.pau̯]   /isipau/   'strong (fermented) chicha'
      ['na.nau̯]   /nanau/   'I make'

The words below all have a diphthong /ɛu̯/.

(61) ['sɛu̯.nu.vɛ]   /sɛunuβɛ/   'woman'
      [ni.'pɛu̯]   /nipɛu/   'my animal'
      [mu.'vɛu̯̥]   /muβɛu/   'bird sp.' (*Columbina picui*)

There are only a few words containing the diphthong /aɨ/, two of them are given below.

(62) [ku.pi.'saɨ̯.ɾi]   /kupisaɨɾi/   'fox'
      [ʧu.'mu.taɨ̯]   /ʧumutaɨ/   'stool'

The sequence /iu/ is often a hiatus, especially in subordinate verbs, where *-i* is the subordinating suffix, but in rapid speech, the suffix may also only palatalise the preceding consonant, which is mostly /k/. Nevertheless, there are some instances where the sequence /iu̯/ is a diphthong, most often after /s/.

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9. *Chicha* is a beverage made of corn in most cases, but also of manioc, peanut etc. It is widespread in South America. If it ferments, it is called 'strong chicha' (Pau. *isipau*, Span. *chicha fuerte*).

(63)   ['ti.siu̯]   /tisiu/   'puma'
       [mu.si.'siu̯.pa]   /musisiupa/   'sand'
       [ti.vɛ.'ɾiu̯.ku]   /tiβɛɾiuku/   'he/she/it returns'

There are not many words with the diphthong /ua̯/ in my corpus, but some can be found. As with /ui̯/, it is articulated with a semi-vowel after /k/. Some examples are given below.

(64)   ['kwa.hĩ]   /kuahi/   'fishing net'
       ['nɛ.moa̯]   /nɛmua/   'my belly'
       ['pua̯.kɛ.nɛ]   /puakɛnɛ/   'other side'

As with /ui̯/ and /ua̯/, the diphthong /uɛ̯/ is articulated with a semi-vowel after /k/. The semi-vowel also occurs in the sequence /suɛ̯/ (which is thus pronounced [swɛ]). Some words with the diphthong are given below.

(65)   ['kwɛ.pi]   /kuɛpi/   'sweet potato'
       [ɛ.'pɛ.nuɛ̯]   /ɛpɛnuɛ/   'hole'
       [ku.'swɛ.nu]   /kusuɛnu/   'rabbit'

2.1.4   Phonological adaption of loan words

This section provides information about how the sounds of words with a foreign origin – as far as recognisable – are adapted. Spanish and Bésɨro are the two major sources for loans.[10] In addition, a few words are strikingly similar to the ones found in Guarayu, a Tupi-Guarani language, today spoken in an area North of the Chiquitania. Not every loan is recognised as such by the speakers of Paunaka.[11] As for words with a Spanish origin, there are some regular correspondences between Spanish and Paunaka sounds. They comprise /x/ and /g/→ /k/, /d/ and /l/ → /ɾ/, and /f/ → /β/ or /p/. Table 2.5 presents some examples for these correspondences, however, there will always also be words that retain the original sounds. This may partly have to do with how well words containing the sounds are integrated into the language and can be considered part of the Paunaka lexicon. Well-integrated loans tend to have a fixed phonological form. If speakers spontaneously resort to Spanish and Bésɨro words in conversation, the degree of adaption to Paunaka phonology may be lesser or greater from occasion to occasion (i.e. it is not the case that some speakers more likely adapt words phonologically than others). This also counts for some words they use regularly, i.e. where a certain integration into the lexicon can be assumed. To give but one example, the word *kanela* 'cinnamon' from Spanish *canela* always retains /l/ in Juana's speech although she uses this word relatively frequently.

The vowel /u/ of Paunaka has an allophone [o] (see 2.1.2.1), so that borrowed words containing an /o/ (precisely [o̞] in Spanish) may be pronounced either with an [u] or and [o], e.g. the Spanish word *año* 'year' may be ['a.ɲu] or ['a.ɲo] in Paunaka.

Since I do not speak Bésɨro, it is much harder for me to detect possible loans as long as they have the same syllabic and phonemic structure as native Paunaka words.

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10. I am grateful to Pierric Sans, who shared his field dictionary of Bésɨro with me (Sans 2011).

11. Quite telling in this regard was elicitation of plant names together with my colleague Lena Sell in 2018: the speakers gave a name for a plant, which was clearly of Bésɨro origin, since it contained the sound /ʂ/. When I asked what the name was in Bésɨro, however, the speakers replied that they did not know.

Table 2.5: Replacement of Spanish sounds

Pattern	Spanish		Paunaka		Translation
/x/ →	*trabajo*	[tɾaˈβa.xo]	*trabaku*	[tɾaˈβa.ku]	work
/k/	*Juana*	[ˈxua.na]	*Kuana*	[ˈkwa.na]	Juana (proper name)
/g/ →	*guineo*	[giˈnɛo]	*kineu*	[kiˈnɛu]	banana sp.
/k/	*domingo*	[doˈmiŋ.go]	*ruminko*	[ɾuˈmiŋ.ko]	Sunday
/d/ →	*dos*	[ˈdoh]	*ruschÿ*	[ˈɾus.tʃɨ]	two
/ɾ/	*después*	[dɛhˈpuɛh]	*repue*	[ɾɛˈpuɛ]	after
/l/ →	*mula*	[ˈmu.la]	*mura*	[ˈmu.ɾa]	mule, (Pau. also: horse)
/ɾ/	*pelota*	[pɛˈlo.ta]	*peruta*	[pɛˈɾu.ta]	ball
/f/ →	*foto*	[ˈfo.to]	*boto*	[ˈβo.to]	photo
/β/	*Federico*	[fɛ.dɛˈɾi.ko]	*Federico*	[βɛ.ɾɛˈɾi.ko]	Federico (proper name)
/f/ →	*fiesta*	[ˈfiɛs.ta]	*piesta*	[ˈpiɛs.ta]	feast, party
/p/	*faltado*	[falˈtao]	*paltau*	[palˈtau]	be missing (Span.: missed, lacked)

Clearly noticeable are all words containing the retroflex fricative [ʂ] or the postalveolar fricative [ʃ], which are retained in Paunaka loans.[12] The sounds are allophones in Bésɨro according to Sans (2010:70). Examples have been given in 2.1.1.4. The phonemic inventory of Bésɨro further differs from the Paunaka one by the existence of a palatal plosive /c/ and a phonemic /o/. I did not encounter instances of [c] in Paunaka, and as for Bésɨro /o/, it may be retained in Paunaka or be pronounced as [u], similar to the loans from Spanish (e.g. we find both [ˈto.sɛ] and [ˈtu.sɛ] 'noon', originally from Span. *doce* 'twelve' but probably borrowed via Bésɨro).

Some words with a Spanish origin must have entered the Paunaka lexicon via Bésɨro. They have a postalveolar [ʃ] in Paunaka and in Bésɨro, but not in Spanish. Three examples are provided in Table 2.6. Note that while the sound is retained in Paunaka, syllable structure (see 2.5) or stress assignment (see 2.6) may change to integrate the words into the Paunaka system.[13]

Table 2.6: [ʃ] in loans from Bésɨro with a Spanish origin

Spanish	Bésɨro	Paunaka	Translation
escuela [ɛsˈkwɛ.la]	*nixhkuéra* [niʃˈkwɛ.ɾa]	*xhikuera* [ʃiˈkwɛ.ɾa]	school
jabón [xaˈβon]	*xhabú* [ʃaˈβu]	*xhabu* [ˈʃa.βu]	soap
limón [liˈmon]	*rimonexi* [ɾiˈmo.nɛ.ʂɨ]	*rimonexhi* [ɾiˈmo.nɛ.ʃɨ]	lemon

Paunaka speakers also frequently pronounce a word-initial /ɾ/ of a Spanish loan as [ʂ] or [ʐ], but this is also done in the local variety of Spanish and thus no adaption takes place (see also Section 2.1.1.4 above). Peculiar, however, is that a syllable-final /s/ of words with Spanish origin can be pronounced as [ʂ] or [ʐ] in Paunaka. It remains

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12. But note that [ʂ] is often voiced and pronounced as [ʐ].
13. The *n-* in Bésɨro *nixhkuéra* is a nominal prefix to prevent vowel-initial nouns (cf. Sans 2013:20). It was presumably not interpreted as part of the lexeme by the Paunaka borrowers and thus deleted. The case of *rimonexhi* 'lemon' is also peculiar since the fricative is retroflex in Bésɨro, but postalveolar in Paunaka.

unclear, whether Paunaka speakers replace /s/ in this case, because the word is borrowed from Bésɨro, not from Spanish, or to make it sound less Spanish-like, in general. At least for the loan *max* [maz̧] 'more' from Spanish *más* [mas], there is a similar loan in Bésɨro, too, which is pronounced [mãŋ͡ş] (Sans 2010:98).

Finally, there are some words of Guarayu origin that are worth mentioning here. I already mentioned in Footnote 44 in 1.8 the Paunaka verb *-yÿseiku* ([yɨ.ˈsɛi.ku]) 'buy' could well derive from Guarayu *-yusei* 'want or wish s.th. edible'. If this is true, the word must have entered the language before the shift from /u/ to /ɨ/ took place in Paunaka (see Section 2.1.2). The other two loans I could detect are *merÿ* ([ˈmɛ.ɾɨ]) from *mberɨ* 'plantain' and *patabi* ([pa.ˈta.vi]) from *patavɨi* 'sugar cane'. The first of them, i.e. *merÿ*, actually already includes the high central vowel in the donor language. The prenasalised stop of the original language is exchanged for the nasal in Paunaka. In the second loan *patabi*, the final diphthong is resolved. Both words are otherwise unsuspicious.

We know that the Paunaka language has also been in close contact with Napeka (of the Chapacuran family), however, since there is almost no data obtainable about this language, possible loans (and other kinds of influences) cannot be detected for the time being.

2.2 Rhinoglottophilia and nasalisation

Paunaka has rhinoglottophilia, defined originally by Matisoff (1975) as an intersection of glottality and nasality which causes nasalisation on vowels following [h] or [ʔ] in various languages over the world. Phoneticians later found out that it is not precisely nasalisation that is caused by "high airflow segments like voiceless fricatives and aspirated stops". Instead, the "coupling between the oral and the subglottal cavities" that appears on vowels in rhinoglottophilia has the effect that vowels are perceived as nasal, although they are not nasal (Ohala & Ohala 1993:240).

Rhinoglottophilia can be found in a number of Arawakan languages, like Paresi (cf. da Silva 2009:85), Nanti (cf. Michael 2008:231), Iñapari (cf. Parker 1999:9), Warekena (cf. Aikhenvald 1998:401), Kurripako (cf. Granadillo 2006:75) and Yucuna (cf. Schauer & Schauer 1978:8), among others, and also in some other Amazonian languages that are not genetically related (cf. Aikhenvald 2012:116). It is not found in the other Bolivian Arawakan languages as far as I can tell.In Paunaka, rhinoglottophilia affects all vowels and diphthongs following /h/. Those vowels are marked with a tilde throughout this chapter. Some examples are presented in (66) below. More examples can be found in Section 2.1.1.4.

(66) [ˈhã.nɛ]   /hanɛ/   'wasp'
      [ˈhĩ.mu]   /himu/   'fish'
      [ɛ.ˈhũi]   /ɛhui/   'cock'

Vowels can be nasalised if they are surrounded by nasal consonants. However, this seems to be optional. I have not encountered any case in which nasalisation of a vowel is a distinctive feature. Some examples of nasalised vowels are given in (67).

(67) [ˈnũĩ.nɛ.kɨ]   /nuinɛkɨ/   'door'
      [ˈmĩũ.hĩ]   /mɨuhi/   'clothes'
      [-ˈmĩ.nə]   /minɨ/   'ᴅɪᴍ'

2.3 Orthography

Paunaka is not a written language. Indeed, most of the remaining speakers are illiterate. When the Paunaka Documentation Project started in 2011, there was no orthography that people had agreed upon. Nonetheless, there are some entries of Paunaka vocabulary by Cardús (1886:319) and some more by d'Orbigny scattered through his works, there are several manuscripts composed by Riester in the 1950s and 1960s, and there is even an unpublished grammar sketch compiled by Villafañe in 2005. None of the solutions how to write Paunaka was very consistent or practical. Therefore, during my first field trip in 2011, the members of the PDP conducted a workshop with the speakers and their families, in which an orthography was established for the production of an alphabet booklet (cf. Paunaka Documentation Project 2012).[14]

The result is an orthography which is based on the Spanish one, but differs from it in some important details, like having <ny> instead of <ñ> and <k> instead of <c, qu>. It is therefore easily legible, but still shows its disparity from Spanish. The choice of the letter <ÿ> over <ɨ> manifests Paunaka's differentness from Bésɨro. At the same time it is easy to type on Spanish keyboards, which have a key for diaeresis (¨). In comparison, the <ɨ> is prone to be typed as <i>, simply because people do not know how to get the barred i into their texts (Interview with Guarayu speakers, 05.05.2012).[15] Decisions on orthography were made back in 2011, and ten years later, Paunaka people hope to get their language officially recognised (see 1.7.4). It may thus well be the case that an official orthography will be created in the future that differs from the one used throughout this work. Time will tell.

The graphemes and digraphs used in the Paunaka alphabet throughout this work are the following: a, b, ch, e, i, j, k, m, n, ny, (o), p, r, s, t, u, x, xh, y, ÿ, ('). Table 2.7 shows how the phonemes of Paunaka are represented orthographically in this grammar, comparing it to previous attempts to transcribe the sounds of the language. As for punctuation, the Spanish system is used, including reversed question (¿) and exclamation (¡) marks to indicate the beginning of a question or exclamation.

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14. Unfortunately, we had not noticed prior to the workshop that most participants could not read or write. Due to the illiteracy of many people, there was hardly any discussion on possible orthographic alternatives, and when people were asked to vote for one or the other alternative, most of them simply repeated what the person before had said.

15. Time has passed since then, Guarayu speakers currently use special keyboards created for computers and cell phones or the sign + (Danielsen 2020, p.c.).

Table 2.7: Orthography

Sound	PDP	d'Orbigny 1839	Cardús 1886	Riester 1955, 1965, s.d.	Villafañe 2005
/i/	i	i	i	i	i
/ɨ/	ÿ	u?	i, e	ǐ, u, e, i, ö	ë, ï, ü
/u/	u, (o)	u, o	o, u	u, o	u, o
/ɛ/	e	e	e	e, ä	e
/a/	a	a	a	a	a
/p/	p	p	p	p	p
/t/	t	t	t	t	t
/k/	k	c, qu	c, qu	k	k
/ʔ/	(')		h	h	(')
/m/	m	m	m	m	m
/n/	n	n	n	n	n
/ɲ/	ny			ñ	ñ
/ɾ/	r			r	r
/β/	b		b, v	b, v, hu	b
/s/	s	c?	s	s, z	s
/h/	j	y, j?	j, h	h, j	j
/tʃ/	ch		ch	sh, š, ć, č	ch
/j/	y		y	j, y	y, i
/ʃ/	xh				sh
/ʂ/	x				

2.4 Morphophonological processes

There are some morphophonological processes, i.e. phonological processes that occur at morpheme boundaries. First of all, Paunaka has vowel elision in person markers that attach to vowel-initial stems (see 2.4.1), a process typical for Arawakan languages. In addition, it also often deletes the initial vowel of the non-verbal irrealis marker, when it follows a stem that ends in a diphthong. If the last vowel of the stem is /a/ and the irrealis marker *-ina* is attached, both vowels can fuse into a diphthong /ɛi/, see 2.4.2. There are also very few cases of haplology, which are presented in 2.4.3.

2.4.1 Vowel elision

Vowel elision is a cross-linguistically widespread process of hiatus resolution. Paunaka has vowel elision at some morpheme boundaries, precisely when a) a person marker precedes a vowel-initial nominal or verbal stem and b) a morpheme with initial /i/ is attached to a stem that ends in a diphthong. The scenario described in a) is common in the Arawakan family. In those cases either the vowel of the prefix or the first vowel of the stem is deleted (Payne 1991:385). In Paunaka, it is the vowel of the prefix that is deleted. Table 2.8 gives a (simplified) verb paradigm showing the elision of the vowel of the person markers.

Table 2.8: Vowel elision on person markers

Person marker		Verb stem	Inflected verb	Translation
1SG	*nÿ-*		*nebuku*	I sow
2SG	*pi-*		*pebuku*	you sow
3	*ti-*	*-ebuku* 'sow'	*tebuku*	he/she sows
1PL	*bi-*		*bebuku*	we sow
2PL	*e-*		*ebuku*	you sow
3PL	*ti-...-nube*		*tebukunube*	they sow

Nevertheless, there are also a few noun stems that do not cause vowel elision on the prefix.[16] In those cases the rule does not seem to apply. Alternatively, one could also assume that the stem starts with a diphthong and the first vowel of the diphthong is deleted or fused with the vowel of the person marker. This may be true for some but not all of the stems as comparison to the words reconstructed for Proto-Mojeño suggests. In Table 2.9 all nouns known to me that do not cause vowel elision on the person marker are presented, here exemplified with the first person prefix *nÿ-*. For comparison, I also add the reconstructed Proto-Mojeño stems taken from de Carvalho & Rose (2018). In one case, the Proto-Mojeño noun for 'bone' a possible alternative form *-*Vyope* provided by Rose (2021, p.c.) is added.[17]

Regarding *nÿupeji* 'my bone', *nÿa* 'my father' and *chÿi* '(its) fruit', it might really be the case that another vowel is involved if we consider Proto-Mojeño and the fact that many vowel sequences in Paunaka seem to be the result of consonant deletion, see

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16. Some noun stems are obligatorily bound to a person marker or possibly to another noun stem. They are called inalienably possessed nouns in this grammar, see Section 5.3.

17. As for Proto-Bolivian-Arawakan, only one of the words has been reconstructed: *-*aʧʋ* 'grandfather' (cf. Ramirez & de França 2019:65).

Table 2.9: Vowel-initial nouns with no vowel elision on person marker

1SG		Noun stem	Possessed noun	Translation	Proto-Mojeño
nÿ-	+	*-use*	*nÿuse*	my grandmother	*-otse
nÿ-	+	*-uchiku*	*nÿuchiku*	my grandfather (of ♂)	*-otʃuko
ni-	+	*-uma*	*niuma*	my grandfather (of ♀)	
nÿ-	+	*-ukÿ*	*nÿukÿ*	my lower leg	
nÿ-	+	*-upeji*	*nÿupeji*	my bone	*-opera / *-Vjope
nÿ-	+	*-upekÿ*	*nÿupekÿ*	under me	
nÿ-	+	*-a*	*nÿa*	my father	*-ija
nÿ-	+	*-ati*	*nÿati*	my brother (of ♀)	
nÿ-	+	*-enu*	*nÿenu*	my mother	*-eno
nÿ-	+	*-eche*	*nÿeche*	my flesh	*-etʃe
chÿ-	+	*-i*	*chÿi*	(its) fruit	

Section 2.1.3. For the last form 'fruit', no Proto-Mojeño word has been reconstructed, but the Trinitario word is *-oʾi* (Rose 2021, p.c.). Regarding the stem *-upeji* 'bone', there is indeed a related free noun in Paunaka that starts with a diphthong: *eupe* 'bone'. However, we also know that a prefix *e-* is frequently used in closely related Baure to derive free from inalienably possessed nouns (cf. Danielsen 2007:119). The *e* in *eupe* could therefore also be an obsolete derivational prefix lexicalised on this noun. In any case, if we are dealing with vowel elision here, it exceptionally applies to the first vowel of the diphthong of the noun stem unlike in other cases, where the vowel of the person marker is deleted. Regarding *nÿa* and *chÿi*, the maintenance of the vowel of the prefix could also be due to minimal word requirements, see Section 2.5, without necessarily involving a diphthong.

I have no explanation for the maintenance of the vowel of the prefix on *nÿeche* 'my flesh'. In the case of *nÿenu* 'my mother', the vowel of the first person singular and third person prefix is maintained, but not the one of the second person singular and first person plural prefix, i.e. 'your mother' is *penu*.

Most of the vowel-initial stems that do not cause vowel elision on the prefix start with /u/ and the list in Table 2.9 is exhaustive for noun stems starting with /u/ as found in the corpus, thus bound nouns with initial /u/ never seem to cause vowel elision on the prefix. Possible exceptions are *-ubiu* 'house', but this is structurally a (highly lexicalised) subordinate verb, and *-upukene* 'load', which is a nominalised verb. In both cases, the vowel of the prefix is deleted. The maintenance of the vowel of a prefix is not found with the few verb stems starting with /u/ as is shown in Table 2.10.

The second kind of vowel elision applies to the non-verbal irrealis marker *-ina* (see 5.5). When this marker is attached to a stem that ends in a diphthong or in two adjacent V syllables (see discussion in 2.1.3), the initial vowel of the irrealis marker is lost. This is often the case with borrowed participles from Spanish (see 7.2.9), but also with a a few other words, see Table 2.11. The same could be true for the frustrative and deceased markers, which both have the form *-ini*, however, I have not found any examples in the corpus.

Table 2.10: Vowel elision caused by verb stems with initial /u/

1SG		Verb stem	Inflected verb	Translation
nÿ-	+	*-umu*	*numu*	I take
nÿ-	+	*-umeiku*	*numeiku*	I steal
nÿ-	+	*-upunu*	*nupunu*	I bring
nÿ-	+	*-ububuiku-bu*	*nububuikubu*	I am (in a place)

Table 2.11: Vowel elision caused by final diphthong or VV sequence

Word		Irrealis marker	Inflected stem	Translation
aumue	+	*-ina*	*aumuena*	chicha (IRR)
nÿ-a	+	*-ina*	*nÿana*	my father (IRR)
ni-yae	+	*-ina*	*niyaena*	my, mine (IRR)
arbirau	+	*-ina*	*arbirauna*	he/she/it forgets (IRR)
organisau	+	*-ina*	*organisauna*	he/she/it organises (IRR)

There is yet another type of vowel elision, which is apparently not morphophonological, because it does not affect vowels at morpheme boundaries.[18] Even though it is very restricted, it will be described here. Vowel elision applies to a few word with initial /a/ or /u/ before the plosives /p/ or /k/ in this case. Some lexemes that may appear with or without an initial vowel are shown in (2.12). Stress is on the same syllable regardless of whether the initial vowel is there or not; it is placed on the second syllable of the words containing the initial vowel, and on the first syllable if this vowel is absent. As for the word *(a)pimiya*, the differences could be gender-related, since Miguel and José use predominantly *apimiya*, Juana and María C. predominantly *pimiya*. However, Isidro and Alejo also rather use *pimiya* than *apimiya* and María S. and Juana have also been found using *apimiya*, although very rarely. Thus this question cannot be clarified. Gender-related differences (genderlects) are not a pervasive feature in Paunaka, except for a few peculiarities in kinship terms.[19] However, genderlects are found in Bésɨro, where male speakers produce some nouns with an initial vowel, while women use the form without initial vowel (Nikulin 2019b). The nouns in Table 2.12 could have a Bésɨro origin, but if so, they have changed in meaning and/or structure: *(u)pichai* 'medicine', could thus derive from *pichara* 'poison', and *apimiya* 'girl, young women' shows some similarity with *kupíkimia* 'girl' (Sans 2011:cf.), although this could also be a co-incidence.

The variation between *upichai / pichai* and *uchenekÿ / chenekÿ* is found with several speakers. *Upunachÿ* with the initial /u/ has only been found in the corpus to be produced by Juana, and does not occur very frequently, *ukajanechÿ* was used by Juana and María S.

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18. There is possibly even a third type, but this is even more restricted (see Section 2.5).
19. There is one word, *-piji* for a sibling of the same sex, the brother of a woman is *-ati* and the sister of a man *-etine*. In addition, the grandfather of a woman is *-uma* and of a man *-uchiku*. However, these terms describe gender differences of the ego term of the kinship relation (i.e. the possessor), it is not the case that female and male speakers use different words or grammatical markers to refer to the same relationship (unlike in Trinitario, where this happens marginally, cf. Rose 2013).

Table 2.12: Word-initial vowel elision

With initial vowel	Without initial vowel	Translation
apimiya	pimiya	girl, young woman
uchenekÿ	chenekÿ	way, path, street
upichai	pichai	medicine
upunachÿ	punachÿ	other
ukajanechÿ	kajanechÿ	how many

It should also be mentioned that María C. frequently omits the first vowels of vowel-initial words, e.g. for *isipau* (/isipau/) 'fermented chicha' she says *sipau* (/sipau/). This, however, may indeed be due to interference with genderlects in Bésɨro (see Section 1.5).

2.4.2 Vowel assimilation

When the non-verbal irrealis marker *-ina* is attached to a stem with a final /a/, both vowels fuse into a diphthong, which is mostly [ɛi] and only sometimes [ai]. Some examples with [ɛi] are given below, in (68a) and (68b), the latter examples being loans from Spanish.

(68) a. /nɛna/   +   /ina/   =   /nɛnɛina/   'like (IRR)'
          /puna/   +   /ina/   =   /punɛina/   'other (IRR)'
      b. /kuɛsta/ +   /ina/   =   /kuɛstɛina/ 'difficult (IRR)'
          /kapija/ +   /ina/   =   /kapijɛina/ 'chapel (IRR)'

Note that this assimilation does usually not take place, when the deceased or the frustrative marker, which are both *-ini*, attach after /a/. The diphthong is [ai] in that case, two examples are given in (69)

(69) a. /taita/   +   /ini/   =   /taitaini/   '(my) late dad'
      b. /nijuna/   +   /ini/   =   /nijunaini/   'I would go'
          /pipahɨka/ +   /ini/   =   /pipahɨkaini/ 'you (SG) would stay'

2.4.3 Haplology

Haplology is a process by which adjacent identical or very similar syllables or morphemes are avoided. There are only very few cases of haplology in Paunaka, but they shall be mentioned here: The first person plural form of the verb *-beu* 'take way' may be realised as *beu* instead of *bibeu*. The third person marker *chÿ-* is sometimes omitted on the noun *-chuku* 'side', so we find *chukuyae* besides *chÿchukuyae* 'close to him/her/it, at his/her/its side'.

If a suffix that ends in *nu* is followed by the plural marker *-nube*, the two syllables *nu* may fuse. Thus for instance the regressive suffix *-pupunu* plus plural marker *-nube* can fuse into *-pupunube*, see Example (70).

(70) *tibÿsÿupupunube*

    ti-bÿsÿu-pupunu-nube
    3i-come-REG-PL

    'they came back'

<div align="right">[mqx-p110826l.084]</div>

As for the prior motion marker *-punu* followed by *-nube,* it is hard to interpret whether there are cases of haplology since there is also a dislocative marker *-pu,* and both can occur in similar contexts, see 6.6.

2.5 Syllable and word structure

In this section, the structure of possible syllables is explained in 2.5.1. In 2.5.2, I describe the minimal requirements for a word.

2.5.1 Structure of the syllable

The syllable structure is (C)V(V), with CV being the most frequent type. In addition, there are some loans with closed syllables. VV̯ syllables without an onset only occur word-initially and are very restricted. Syllables that only consist of V occur word-initially and word-finally. Whether they also occur in the middle of words depends on how vowel sequences are analysed, a question that could not be solved in this work (see 2.1.3).

Some examples of the different syllable types are given in Table 2.13.

<div align="center">Table 2.13: Syllable structures</div>

Syllable type	Example		Translation
V	[**a**.ˈpu.kɛ]	/apukɛ/	ground
	[mu.ˈkɨ.**ɛ**]	/mukɨɛ/	squash
VV̯	[ˈ**au**.moɛ]	/aumue/	chicha
	[ˈ**ɛu**.pɛ]	/ɛupɛ/	bone
CV	[ˈ**jɨ**.ki]	/jɨki/	fire
	[i.ˈsi.**ni**]	/isini/	jaguar
CVV̯	[ˈ**hãĩ**.kɛ]	/haikɛ/	star
	[hã.ˈ**mui**.kɛ]	/hamuikɛ/	countryside

Closed syllables are found with some loans. There are a few examples with a nasal coda consonant, and two with /s/.[20] Interestingly, while the Spanish sound /s/ is frequently reduced to [h] in coda position in local Spanish, this dos not hold for the

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20. Note, that Bésɨro has a similar restriction of coda consonants to [s], [ʂ], and [ʃ] (cf. Sans 2010:53). What is interpreted as a nasal coda consonant in Paunaka, is a prenasalised onset of a new syllable in Bésɨro. According to Sans (2010:93), Bésɨro obstruents have prenasalised allophones when preceded by a nasal vowel. Paunaka does not have prenasalised obstruents in nasal environments, the loans with a sequence (C)VC$_{nasal}$C$_{plosive}$V must therefore be interpreted as containing a closed syllable with a nasal coda consonant followed by an open syllable ((C)VC$_{nasal}$.C$_{plosive}$V).

forms borrowed into Paunaka, they have [s]. Table 2.14 presents some loans containing closed syllables.[21]

Table 2.14: Closed syllables in loans

Source language	Source word	Phonemic representation in Paunaka	Translation
Spanish	*dos*	/ɾus.tʃɨ/	two
	tres	/tɾɛs.tʃɨ/	three
	gente	/hɛn.tɛ/	man (Span. 'people')
	de repente	/ɾɛ.pɛn.tɛ/	maybe
Bésɨro	*numukiánxɨ*	/mu.kian.ka/	animal

In addition, there are two words with a CVC syllable that most probably resulted from vowel elision. Vowel elision is usually restricted to morpheme boundaries in Paunaka (see 2.4.1), but more pervasively found in Trinitario and Baure.[22] The two words are given below.

(71) [a.hũ.ˈmɛɾ.ku]   /ahumɛɾku/   'paper'
       [nɨ.ˈpuɾ.tu.ku]   /nɨpuɾutuku/   'I put into'

In both cases, deletion has affected a vowel between /ɾ/ and a plosive, most likely the vowel /u/.[23] The first example, the noun *ajumerku* 'paper' ([a.hũ.ˈmɛɾ.ku]) apparently has cognate forms in Baure and Mojeño (Baure: *jamerok* and *-ajmer*, Ignaciano *ajumeruca* cf. Olza Zubiri et al. 2004:885, Trinitario *'jiumeruko* (Rose 2021, p.c.)). However, peculiar about this word is that both Paunaka and Ignaciano have /u/ in the second syllable. While /u/ is a reflex of *o in Paunaka (de Carvalho 2018), the reflex of this vowel is /a/ in Ignaciano (de Carvalho & Rose 2018). Nonetheless, since this word is segmentable in Mojeño (Rose 2021, p.c.), it is most probably a cognate form. *Ajumerku* never occurs with an additional [u] in Paunaka (thus */ahumɛɾuku/).

The second word with the alleged deleted /u/ is the verb *-purtuku* 'put into'. In careful speech, however, a very short [u] is audible between the flap and the plosive, so that it may surface as [-pu.ɾu.ˈtu.ku] (thus the phonemic form is /puɾutuku/). The verb is also sometimes pronounced [-ˈpu.tu.ku], with deletion of the whole syllable. When the classifier *-e* 'to, in, into water' (see 6.2.7) is inserted in the verb stem, the /u/ also shows up; *-purutueku* 'immerse in water'.

Some loans from Spanish have syllables with complex onsets consisting of a plosive and the flap, see Table 2.15.

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21. As for the last word in the table, the Bésɨro citation form has the singular marker *-xɨ*, whereas the Paunaka singular form is lexicalised with the Bésɨro plural marker *-ka*, see also 1.2 for occurrence of the plural marker on the name of the language.

22. In Baure, vowel elision applies to the vowels /o/ and to a lesser degree /i/. They are deleted, when they are unstressed, mostly word-finally, but also in the middle of words. Elision in Baure depends to some degree on the speed of pronunciation (cf. Danielsen 2007:53-54; Baptista & Wallin 1968). In Trinitario, elision applies to all metrically weak vowels save the final one (cf. Rose 2019c:1). In both languages, it has the effect that closed syllables arise in the spoken language, although there are no closed syllables underlyingly. One lexical word has different surface forms, depending on speed of speech, the presence of certain morphemes and its position in a phonological phrase.

23. This is somehow surprising, since /ɾ/ was usually deleted in Paunaka words, see 2.1.1.3 and de Carvalho (2018), leaving behind quite a few vowel sequences, see 2.1.3. In Mojeño Trinitario, rhythmic syncope would predict elision of exactly those vowels (Rose 2021, p.c.).

Table 2.15: Complex onsets in loans

Spanish word	Paunaka word	Translation
plato [ˈpla.to]	*pratuchÿ* [ˈpɾa.tu.tʃɨ]	plate
trabajo [tɾa.ˈβa.xo]	*trabaku* [tɾa.ˈba.ku]	work
patrón [pa.ˈtɾon]	*patrun* [pa.ˈtɾun]	lord, employer, boss
Clara [ˈkla.ɾa]	*Krara* [ˈkɾa.ɾa]	Clara (proper name)

However, complex onsets can also be dissolved by insertion of a vowel, like in (72).

(72)   [ˈsan.ta ˈku.ɾu]   /santa kuɾu/   'Santa Cruz' (city name)

This last example may also be pronounced [ˈsan.ta ˈkɾu].

2.5.2   Prosodic structure of the word

In Paunaka, all content words are at least bimoraic, and most of the bimoraic words are disyllabic. There are only a few monosyllabic words, and they all have a heavy syllable with an onset consonant and a diphthong. Some examples are given in (73). There are some monomoraic verb roots, but they obligatorily combine with person and reality status markers, so that they never appear monomoraically. There are also a few monomoraic function words.

(73)   [ˈmai]   /mai/   'stone'
       [ˈpɛi]   /pɛi/   'agouti'
       [ˈtʃɨi]   /tʃɨi/   'fruit'
       [ˈjui]   /jui/   'bread'

There is a large number of disyllabic and trisyllabic content words. Disyllabic words of the structure CV.V are very rare, and there is also only one word to my knowledge, which is composed of two V syllables only (see also 2.6). Example (74) lists two words of the structure (C)V.V.

(74)   [ˈu.ɛ]   /uɛ/   'rainbow, spirit'
       [ˈnɨ.a]   /nɨa/   'my father'

Tetrasyllabic nouns, especially names of animals, often, but not always, contain repeated syllables, have the same vowel in all four syllables or have a specific pattern $(C)V_1CV_2CV_2CV_1$. Examples are given in Table 2.16.

Paunaka words can be very long. This is especially true for verbs that can undergo several derivational processes like reduplication of roots or stems, insertion of classifiers, noun incorporation, and several inflectional processes. Example (75) gives a verb with twelve syllables. Usually, however, verbs are much shorter.

(75)   *tijatÿtÿkeikukukÿubunubeji*
       [ti.ˌhã.ti.ˌtɨ.ˈkɛi.ku.ku.ˌkɨu.bu.ˌnu.vɛ.hĩ]
       'they went pulling themselves up with the help of sticks, it is said'

[jxx-p151016l-2]

Table 2.16: Structure of some tetrasyllabic nouns

Pattern	Example	Gloss
Repeated syllables	*pujukeke*	*patasca*, a stew
	churupepe	butterfly
	barereki	pot
Same V in all syllables	*pÿrÿsÿsÿ*	armadillo sp.
	urupunu	red brocket
$(C)V_1CV_2CV_2CV_1$	*apimiya*	girl
	ubaramu	spider monkey
	pichuruki	dragonfly

2.6   Word stress

A stressed syllable in Paunaka is generally louder and longer than an unstressed one and has a higher pitch; thus it has features that are cross-linguistically widespread to mark stress (cf. Kager 2007:195). There is remarkable difference between the speakers here; Juana pronounces stressed syllables with such a high pitch that her Paunaka sounds like a tonal language at first impression. She does not produce such a high pitch on accented syllables when speaking Spanish. However, there are only two words that are distinguished solely by stress (see Example (85) in Section 2.6.1). Thus, the explanation by Yip (2007:230) of a tonal language as "one in which an indication of pitch enters into the lexical realisation of at least some morphemes" does not hold for Paunaka.

Stress assignment is best explained with metrical patterns (cf. Hayes 1995).[24] It is similar to the stress patterns found in the Mojeño languages (de Carvalho & Rose 2018; Rose 2019c) and usually follows a iambic pattern with left-to-right parsing, which is sensitive to morae (2.6.1). The last syllable of a word is always extrametrical, i.e. it is "invisible" for stress parsing. Morae are organised into feet, and primary stress is usually found on the last foot of the word, sometimes on the last foot that belongs to the word *stem*, depending on how many markers are attached. Secondary stress is on every other foot. Bimoraic words have a trochaic pattern for stress assignment (2.6.2). When grammatical markers are attached to the word stem, the metric pattern of the stem is maintained, i.e. words with iambic stems follow a iambic pattern, words with trochaic stems have a trochaic pattern.

2.6.1   Iambic pattern

The iambic pattern found with most words that have a stem with three or more morae is presented in Table 2.17. It holds for both inflected and uninflected words, with a few exceptions.[25] I only present uninflected or minimally inflected words here, but the same patterns apply for words with more inflectional markers.

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24. Thanks to Françoise Rose for pointing this out to me and for her very helpful comments on this section.
25. Note that uninflected almost exclusively applies to nouns since verb stems never show up without inflection.

Table 2.17: Iambic pattern

Number of morae	Morae, feet and stress assignment
odd	μ μ ... μ μ μ (. x) ... (. x) . x
even	μ μ ... μ μ μ μ (. x) ... (. x) . . x

Some words with three syllables are given below. They are all uninflected or minimally inflected.[26]

(76) *Trisyllabic words with rhythmic pattern* (. x) .

      [ta.ˈkɨ.ra]   ‘hen’
      [tʃi.ˈkɛ.pɨ]   ‘his/her back’
      [pi.ˈni.ku]   ‘you (SG) eat’
      [ta.ˈnɨ.ma]   ‘now’

Tetrasyllabic words also usually have a iambic parse, see (77):

(77) *Tetrasyllabic words with iambic pattern* (. x) . .

      [tʃu.ˈɾu.pɛ.pɛ]   ‘butterfly’
      [ni.ˈtʃi.nu.mi]   ‘I am sad’
      [tɨ.ˈβɨ̃.βɨ̃.ka]   ‘it flies (IRR)’
      [mu.ˈtɛ.mɛ.na]   big

Words with five syllables are given in (78):

(78) *Pentasyllabic words with iambic pattern* (. x) (. x) .

      [tʃi.ˌhɨ̃.ku.ˈpu.pi]   ‘his/her oesophagus’
      [pi.ˌpɨ.su.ˈsi.ka]   ‘your (SG) elbow’
      [ti.ˌbu.ɾu.ˈɾu.ka]   ‘it boils (IRR)’
      [pi.ˌjɨ.ti.ˈka.pu]   ‘you (SG) cook (IRR)’

Finally, some hexasyllabic verbs are shown in (79). There are no uninflected or minimally inflected hexasyllabic nouns to my knowledge.

(79) *Hexasyllabic words with iambic pattern* (. x) (. x) . .

      [ti.ˌku.pa.ˈnɛ.hɨ̃.ku]   ‘he/she/it steps on’
      [ti.ˌpɨ.si.ˈsi.ku.βu]   ‘he/she/it is alone’
      [ni.ˌku.ɾu.ˈmɛ.hɨ̃.ku]   ‘I pierce’
      [pi.ˌjɨ.ti.ˈpa.hɨ̃.ku]   ‘you (SG) make chicha’

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26. By minimally inflected, I mean that these words consist of roots with obligatory morphology only, i.e. I do not give bare word stems, e.g. for verbs or inalienably possessed nouns.

That parsing is sensitive to morae and not to syllables becomes apparent, when considering words that contain diphthongs.[27] The following examples in (80) thus all follow a iambic pattern.

(80) *Disyllabic, trimoraic words with iambic pattern (. x) .*

  [ɛ.ˈhũi]   'cock'
  [ku.ˈpɛi]   'afternoon'
  [ni.ˈmɪ̃u]   'my clothes'

The same holds for longer words that contain a diphthong, most notable in words with four syllables[28] Primary stress falls on the fourth mora, a vowel that fuses into a diphthong with the preceding one. Secondary stress is deleted due to stress clash.

(81) *Tetrasyllabic, pentamoraic words with iambic pattern (. x) (. x) .*

  [pi.sa.ˈmui.ku]   'you (SG) listen'
  [ti.ma.ˈhãĩ.ku]   'it barks'
  [ni.ja.ˈjau.mi]   'I am happy'
  [ka.ja.ˈɾau.nu]   '*karay*, man from Santa Cruz' (pejorative)

A few words seemingly do not respect iambic parse. There may be different reasons, and not all of them can be explained with my current knowledge. First of all, a morphophonemic rule deletes vowels from person markers preceding a stem that begins with a vowel (see 2.4.1). The surface form of those words that are affected by this rule has one syllable less than the underlying form. Iambic parse holds for these words, but only for the underlying form, which tells us that stress assignment is prior to vowel deletion of the person marker, consider the following examples:

(82)
Morphological parse	*Underlying form*		*Surface form*	*Translation*
nɨ-ɛtuku	[nɨ.ˈɛ.tu.ku]	→	[ˈnɛ.tu.ku]	'I put'
pi-upuna	[pi.ˈu.pu.na]	→	[ˈpu.pu.na]	'you bring (IRR)'
βi-ɛhĩku	[vi.ˈɛ.hĩ.ku]	→	[ˈvɛ.hĩ.ku]	'we transport'
ʧɨ-imumuku	[ʧɨ.ˌi.mu.ˈmu.ku]	→	[ˌʧi.mu.ˈmu.ku]	'he/she/it looks at him/her/it'

Second, reduplicated or repeated syllables may be extrametrical, but there are enough cases, in which they are metrical (see examples above), so that this analysis is weak (and the first word given in (83) does not fit this analysis at all). Below are some examples with repetition that do not follow a iambic pattern.

(83) *Words with repeated syllables violating iambic pattern*

  [pu.hũ.ˈkɛ.kɛ]   'patasca' (a stew)
  [ti.ˌku.ja.hĩ.ˈhĩ.ku]   'he/she laughs'
  [ti.ˌja.pi.pi.ˈpi.ku]   'it wags its tail'

Third, some verbs that contain a syllable [hĩ] or [hɨ̃] also violate the iambic pattern, since this syllable seems to attract stress.

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27. But remember that many diphthongs result from consonant deletion (see 2.1.3), a diphthong may thus still count as if it was two CV syllables.

28. This has to do with the place diphthongs occur in words. With regard to tri- and pentasyllabic words, iambic parse by syllable and morae would result in the same stressed syllable.

(84) *Verbs with a sequence /hi/ or /hɨ/ violating iambic pattern*

      [ˌvi.nɛ.ˈhĩ.ka]   ‘we leave it (IRR)’
      [tu.ˈhĩ.ku]   ‘it suckles’
      [ˌti.pa.ˈhĩ.ka]   ‘he/she/it stays (IRR)’
      [ˌvi.mi.ˈhĩ.ku]   ‘we raise someone’

However, this is not always the case, i.e. there are verbs containing [hĩ] or [hɨ̃] that have the normal iambic parse, e.g. [ni.ˈje.hĩ.ku] ‘I tear out, harvest’. There is even one case, in which two words containing the syllable [hĩ] are distinguished by stress placement, see (85).

(85)   [ni.ˈtʃu.hĩ.ku]   ‘I speak’
        [ˌni.tʃu.ˈhĩ.ku]   ‘I harvest’

It could be the case that all verb stems in (83) to (85) that do not follow the iambic pattern actually start with an /i/, which is then merged with the person marker,[29] so that the iambic pattern holds for an underlying form, but not for the surface form, however this analysis is excluded for [tu.ˈhĩ.ku] in (84), which should have the same stress pattern as the verbs in (82).

2.6.2 Trochaic pattern

The trochaic pattern (x .) is found on bimoraic words. This holds for disyllabic ones (86) as well as well as monosyllabic ones (87).

(86) *Disyllabic words with trochaic pattern* (x .)

      [ˈku.su]   ‘mouse’
      [ˈɨ.nɛ]   ‘water’
      [ˈmi.mi]   ‘(my) mum’
      [ˈnɨ.a]   ‘my father’

(87) *Monosyllabic words with trochaic pattern* (x .)

      [ˈpai]   ‘priest’
      [ˈpɛi]   ‘agouti’
      [ˈmai]   ‘stone’
      [ˈjui]   ‘bread’

That we are dealing with a trochaic pattern and not with a iambic one with degenerate feet becomes apparent, when we attach suffixes to these word stems: the parse remains trochaic. However, there is some variation concerning primary stress placement: it sometimes remains on the word stem and sometimes shifts to the suffix to keep with the rule that stress is on the last foot of the word. I do not know, whether there are any factors that determine whether one or the other option is chosen (and actually, primary stress of at least some words can fall on both, the last mora of the word stem or of the word).

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29. Since all person markers contain or may contain the vowel /i/ and verbs never show up without a person marker, it is impossible to tell, whether a stem begins with this vowel. As for *-imumuku* ‘look’ in (82), we only know about the initial vowel, because there is a related stative verb *-imubÿke* and since stative verbs are marked for irrealis by a prefix (see 6.5.1), the initial /i/ shows up on the surface form of the irrealis verb.

(88) | *Word stem* | | *Marker* | | *Surface form* | *Translation* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [ˈku.su] | + | [mɨ.nɨ] | → | [ˈku.su.ˌmɨ.nɨ] | 'little mouse' |
| [ˈɨ.nɛ] | + | [ja.ɛ] | → | [ˌɨ.nɛ.ˈja.ɛ] | 'water (IRR)' |
| [ˈmai] | + | [ha.nɛ] | → | [ˈmai.ha.nɛ] | 'stones' |

A suffix with an initial vowel fuses with the last vowel of the stem, however, under-lyingly, parse is still trochaic: there are four morae, two belonging to the lexical stem and two to the grammatical marker. Primary stress is assigned to the first vowel of the grammatical marker, which is its first mora. When this vowel fuses with the preceding one of the lexical stem, stress falls on the diphthong, thus on the second syllable of the word. Secondary stress should be on the first syllable of the word then, but it is deleted to prevent stress clash.

(89) | *Word stem* | | *Marker* | | *Surface form* | *Translation* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [ˈɨ.nɛ] | + | [i.na] | → | [ɨ.ˈnɛi.na] | 'in(to) the water' |
| [ˈmi.mi] | + | [i.ni] | → | [mi.ˈmi.ni] | '(my) late mum' |

2.7 Intonation

For the time being, I cannot present an in-depth study of intonational patterns in Paunaka. Nevertheless, there are some observations that I consider worth mentioning here.

Polar questions can be identified by a rising tone at the end of the utterance. Simple declarative sentences usually have a falling tone and a pitch accent on the stress-bearing syllable of the word in focus, which is often the last content word of the utterance.

(90) *nÿti nichuna nijiku*
[ˈnɨ.ti ni.ˈtʃu.na **ˈni**.hɨ̃.ku]
'I know how to spin' [jxx-p120515l-1.059]

The speakers may, however, emphasise the last syllable of an utterance with stress, a lengthening of the vowel and greater loudness. It is not clear to me, what the intended effect is. I observed that María C., who uses this emphasis most often, employs it when moaning about her health, the lack of interest of the young generation in speaking Paunaka, etc.

(91) *nemusuikamÿnÿ kuinabu naimubÿkemÿnÿ*
[nə.mu.ˈsui.ka.ˌmɨ.nə ˈkwi.na.wo nai.ˌmu.βʊ.ˌkə.mʊ.**ˈnəː**]
'I wash a little bit, I can't see [well] anymore' [cux-c120410ls.107]

María C. is the oldest speaker. The other speakers do not frequently make use of this intonational pattern. But interestingly, in a personal narrative about two old Paunaka ladies, whom she met when she was a young woman (jxx-p120515l-1), Juana also often emphasises last syllables of utterances when she reproduces the old ladies' speech. It may thus be a speech style that speakers priorly adopted at high age, but which has got out of use among most of the remaining speakers.

It may also signal the end of a turn and offer the conversational partner the possibility to take the turn. In the old recordings of Riester, the lengthening of final syllables is almost absent, but that may be due to the monologues character of the interviews, with

a researcher unable to understand what the speaker is telling. Stressing of utterance-final syllables appears only in one file (nxx-a630101g-3), which is about the intended or imagined theft of a young woman and directed to an imaginary addressee, who is included into the discourse by usage of first plural. Another characteristic that is more prominent in the speech of Juan Ch. is a reduced speed towards the end of the utterance. The word with the intonational pitch is even more often the last one of an utterance. The monologic character of many of the recordings that make up my corpus may also have an influence on the rarer occurrence of emphasised utterance-final syllables. Most often there is only one speaker present together with one or two interviewers, who certainly get more acquainted with the language over time, but cannot replace a fully proficient Paunaka speaker as a conversational partner.

A fine-grained study about Paunaka discourse style could certainly shed light on the function of this and other intonational patterns.

3 The architecture of Paunaka words

This chapter starts with a description of what I mean when talking about a Paunaka "word" (3.1). It goes on with a discussion of the structure of words in 3.2 and the general word formation processes found in the language in 3.3 to 3.5. At the end of this chapter, 3.6 provides a short summary about the different parts of speech that can be identified in Paunaka.

3.1 A word about "word"

In this grammar, I make use of the notion of "word", since I believe a grammatical description without this concept would unnecessarily complicate the matter. The words I identified as such are separated from each other by spaces, just like it is common in writing with Greek-derived alphabets (Haspelmath 2011:33). However, "word" is not an unproblematic concept. Dixon & Aikhenvald (2003) remind us that we have to be careful to distinguish phonological from grammatical words, and Haspelmath (2011) even showed that there are no criteria that could be implied in a cross-linguistically valid definition of "word". How do I come to my decisions as to how strings of sounds are instantiations of different words?

Actually, I did not "examine wordhood using test batteries" (Haspelmath 2011:60), i.e. I did not apply different kinds of available criteria that have been proposed in the definition of word and considered the results. My decisions were rather based on intuition. Intuition does not come out of the blue, of course. In doing fieldwork with a language priorly unknown to me, the first attempts to transcribe the utterances produced by speakers and sort them into different words, was heavily influenced by prosodic criteria, thus stress assignment and pauses. This was rather perceived unconsciously, because from the beginning on, I had been rather busy with trying to decipher the meaning of the utterances than with phonological structure, this being bound to my personal preference for certain kinds of linguistic topics over others. Nonetheless, in the very first step, I considered purely phonological words. With growing knowledge on how different parts of the identified words (i.e. the morphemes) realise different meanings and how these morphemes are ordered with respect to each other, these criteria became ever more important in the analysis. I am, of course, biased in my decisions by decisions made by others for all the languages I have acquired, tried to learn or studied in my life as well as the scholarly literature on languages both related and not related to Paunaka. This may sound trivial, but I think it is necessary to be clear about it. Thus what constitutes a word in this grammar (as indicated by being put between spaces) is determined by a mixture of grammatical and phonological criteria as well as tradition in Arawakan or Amazonian linguistics. Other researchers with different backgrounds and/or in applying other criteria may arrive at different results. Thus a "word" in this work is a convenient solution that is apt, I believe, to describe grammatical properties of Paunaka. The question whether the grammatical and phonological word coincides largely depends on how the status of certain markers is analysed, which are phonologically bound to words belonging to different word classes. Does this mean they are clitics? And if so, is it a logical consequence that they are grammatical words of their own? I pursue this issue further in the following section.

3.2 Roots, stems, affixes, and clitics

A word can be composed of different layers in Paunaka. This especially regards verbs, where we can often distinguish roots, stems, and derivational and inflectional affixes. I do not make use of the concept of "clitic" in this work, the reasons will become apparent throughout this section.

Root and affix have been defined as two kinds of morphemes, one of which encodes lexical, the other one grammatical meaning. Although this distinction is not always unproblematic, especially as to what is the semantic basis of lexical vs. grammatical meaning (cf. Croft 2000), it is a widely accepted one. Roots can encode very basic lexical meaning, which is enhanced by derivation. A root together with all derivational processes is a stem, which may still be different from a full word form (cf. Mel'čuk 2000:523). Especially verb stems can be fairly complex.[1]

Derivational processes can be marked by derivational affixes, but there are also other means, e.g. reduplication (see 3.4). In addition, compounding and incorporation as non-derivational processes can alter the meaning of a word, while attachment of classifiers lies on the edge between compounding and derivation. Some derivational processes are clear-cut, this is the case, whenever we find a derivational affix encoding the same meaning or having the same function together with various roots. There are other cases of totally opaque derivational processes, i.e. we can identify a root and a stem, but not the affixes or processes that lead from the root to the stem. Most derivational affixes follow the root, i.e. Paunaka is mainly suffixing in this regard.

Consider (92), which shows the composition of four related verb stems. The root is *-pa* 'die' in all cases. This root is minimally accompanied by the thematic suffix *-ku* (irrealis *-ka*). The meaning of this thematic suffix is very opaque, but it only appears on active verbs and it has cognates in the most closely related languages. From the verb stem *-paku* 'die', the verb *-kupaku* 'kill' can be derived by a causative prefix *ku-*. The stem *-kupaku* is the base for insertion of the extension applicative suffix *-i*, which yields *-kupaiku* 'slaughter'. This again is the base for another derivation whose result is *-kupaikechu* with the pluractional meaning 'kill all' or 'kill everybody', however in this case, it is not clear what the derivational process actually looks like. It is possible that the last sequence *-chu* of *-kechu* is the other thematic suffix *-chu* 'TH2', it is also possible that the /k/ is a remnant from the more frequent thematic suffix *-ku*, but this is only speculation. There is only one other verb stem with a similar derivation, the related *-paikechu* 'all die', and it is not possible to derive new verbs with *-kechu*. We can thus certainly state that derivation has been at work here, but we do not know about its exact nature.

(92)   *-paku, -kupaku, -kupaiku, -kupaikechu*

    pa-ku   *ku-pa-ku*   *ku-pa-i-ku*   *ku-pa-i-ke-chu*
    die-TH1 CAUS-die-TH1 CAUS-die-EXT-TH1 CAUS-die-EXT-?-TH2?

    'verb stems: die, kill, slaughter, kill all/everbody'

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1. I basically follow the analysis of Danielsen (2007:217), who identifies several layers in the composition of a verb in Baure. Nonetheless, I do not make use of her notion of "verb base" since "base" is usually understood as the basic form to which derivational processes apply, while it is general inflectional morphology that follows the Baure "verb base". I acknowledge, though, that the last suffix (especially the so-called thematic suffixes) of a verb stem works on a different layer than the derivational suffixes preceding it. See Figure 3.2 in Section 3.2.1 for the schema of an active verb's composition.

Another example is (93). In this case, *-yunu* 'go' has no thematic suffix,[2] and it seems, we are dealing with a root here. If we consider, however, that there is also *-yuiku* 'walk', which looks as if related to *-yunu*, we might conclude that the root must be only *-yu*. But unlike a thematic suffix like the one we have found in (92) above, the syllable *nu* does not detach from *-yunu* in any case. There are two more possible derivations though, *-yupu* and *-yupunu*, both meaning 'go out, come out, sprout'.

(93)   *-yunu, -yuiku, -yupu, -yupunu*

    yunu *yu-i-ku*   *yu-pu*   *yu-punu*
    go   go?-EXT-TH1 go?-DLOC go?-AM.PRIOR

    'verb stems: go, walk, come out, come out'

The relation between root and stem is thus not always clear, especially if there do not happen to be several related verb stems.[3] Furthermore, since most verb stems are totally lexicalised, it is not always possible to determine which part of the meaning is realised by which part exactly. As a citation form in text and interlinear glosses, I have therefore chosen the stem and not the root. There are some exceptions to this, mainly if a classifier or incorporated noun is part of the verb stem, which is not generally lexicalised on it. This happens relatively rarely and thus I believe it is worth to highlight these cases. More information on the composition of verb stems is given in Chapter 6.

The verb stems of (92) and (93) are not complete words nor are they citation forms used by the speakers themselves, e.g. in offering a translation for a Spanish word. Verbs need to minimally inflect for person and reality status (RS).[4] Cross-linguistically, inflection is often carried out by inflectional affixes, however, the case is not totally clear in Paunaka, which may be claimed to use mainly clitics to encode inflection (see discussion below). Regardless of whether inflectional markers are analysed as affixes or clitics, most of them follow the stem.

The boundaries between derivation and inflection are not sharp, both processes can rather be defined as two points on a continuum (Croft 2000:261). In Paunaka, this is especially clear for all kinds of markers that attach to the edge of an active verb stem replacing or directly following the thematic suffixes (if applicable, as we have just seen in (93), not all active verb stems have a thematic suffix), thus those markers which fuse with RS marking.

Turning to the notion of "clitic" now, this term has been applied to a wide range of phenomena (Nevis 2000:388). In summarising what has been written about clitics, Spencer & Luís (2012:37) propose seven properties to distinguish them from words and affixes, they are given in Figure 3.1.

Their second criterion states that clitics are unstressable. Nonetheless, the authors devote a whole subchapter to clitics and stress (cf. Spencer & Luís 2012:84-92), thus we learn that there are indeed clitics which fall under general stress assignment rules of the

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2. This verb has cognates in other Arawakan languages.
3. Note that Baptista & Wallin (1965) in their tagmemic grammar of Baure identified five recurring final syllables found on active verbs' roots, which belong to their 'fv-fund' class, i.e. the 'formative-fundament' class of verbs (see Baptista & Wallin 1965:42 & 49-50 for examples). One of these syllables happens to be *no*, which is the Baure equivalent of Paunaka *nu*. It may thus be possible to analyse the structure of a verb even more deeply, but I did not undertake this task.
4. Actually, according to my own analysis RS marking of active verbs fuses with the last suffix or vowel of the stem or of the marker directly following the stem, so that the forms in (92) and (93) can be analysed to already contain RS inflection, which is realis in this case by absence of irrealis marking. The irrealis forms of (92) are *-paka, -kupaka, -kupaika, -kupaikecha* and of (93) *-yuna, -yuika, -yupa,* and *-yupuna*. This will be explained in some more detail below and especially in 6.5.

1. Clitics express functional (inflectional) categories or discourse functions.

2. Clitics are generally unstressed (and unstressable).

3. Clitics require a host to attach to.

4. Clitics show low selectivity towards their host (promiscuous attachment).

5. Clitics typically appear in rigidly ordered clusters (templates).

6. Clitics and clitic clusters often have different syntax from fully-fledged words. A particularly common phenomenon is the 2P clitic (cluster), in which the clitics have to be placed after the first constituent (word/phrase) of the phrase or clause they relate to.

7. Pronominal clitics often serve as the argument of the verb, but in some languages the clitics can be doubled by full noun phrases, giving the appearance of subject-verb or object-verb agreement.

Figure 3.1: Criteria for clitics after Spencer & Luís (2012:37)

language or even establish their own rules of stress assignment, so that this criterion seems to be obsolete. If we contrast the other criteria with properties of affixes, we find that 1, 3, 5, and 7 are valid for both. It is then only criteria 4 and 6 that distinguish affixes from clitics. What remains in distinguishing clitics from affixes is thus a possible specific syntactic behaviour and their "promiscuous attachment" or "low selectivity", which is often mentioned to be the main criterion in distinguishing clitics from affixes (cf. Spencer & Luís 2012:40 citing Zwicky & Pullum 1983).[5] Paunaka has a number of markers with such a low selectivity, which is why I started this discussion in the first place. Those markers are generally subject to stress assignment rules of the language (see 2.6) and no specific restrictions on syntactic positions inside the clause could be found.

Clitics and affixes overlap in many important ways, no matter how many properties of clitics may be identified. Zwicky & Pullum (1983) name only six, Sadock (1991:52) proposes 15 criteria, and equally does Aikhenvald (2003b). Note that the latter author explicitly states that clitics "can be characterised" by these criteria (Aikhenvald 2003b:43), thus she does not state that clitics can be *defined* by them, and Sadock (1991:55) is convinced that there are markers that are clitics although they differ from most of his proposed criteria. On the contrary, Haspelmath (2015:277) criticises that "there is no single set of properties that always uniquely identifies clitics and distinguishes them from affixes", and this is why regardless of how many criteria are applied, unambiguous results cannot be obtained.[6] In short, if there are no defining criteria of clitics, it gets impossible to prove that certain grammatical morpheme are (not) clitics.

If we want to maintain a distinction between affix and clitic, they are best not considered as two totally different categories, or as Aikhenvald (2003b:43) states: "each

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5. See also Bickel & Nichols (2007:174-175), who mention this as the only criterion of one of the two kinds of clitics they discuss (commonly called "simple" and "special" clitics, see Footnote 9). They are even convinced that that "[a]n element is a clitic only if it can attach to hosts of diverse categories" (Bickel & Nichols 2007:176). For a critical view on non-selectivity as indicative of clitic (i.e. word) status see Haspelmath (2011:45-47).

6. Consider also citations in Haspelmath (2015:289) about proponents of clitics having doubts that they exist as a separate category.

prosodically deficient morpheme occupies a particular place within a multidimensional continuum, from a fully bound to a fully independent morpheme."[7] In applying her criteria, she succeeds to identify clitics and distinguish them from affixes in Tariana, an Arawakan language distantly related to Paunaka. She does not explain, however, why she dismisses the analysis as clitic for some markers that are found with words belonging to different classes such as the privative and attributive markers as well as the person markers (Aikhenvald 2003b:73).[8] Her study thus shows that it is finally a matter of individual decision where to draw the line between clitic and affix.

Person markers are an interesting case in the Arawakan languages. They are cognate throughout the whole family, at least in parts of the paradigm, and they can be used to mark possessors on nouns and S/A participants on verbs in general (Danielsen 2014a), thus they can be claimed to show low selectivity. In describing them for individual languages, some researchers have defined them as affixes and some as clitics. Person markers behave differently throughout the family, e.g. with regard to co-occurring or alternating with pronouns, and this may be a decisive factor in the choice of one or the other analysis. Yet there is some insecurity about their status. Concerning Alto Perené, a language of the Kampan branch, thus more closely related to Paunaka than aforementioned Tariana, Mihas (2015:101) states: "The syntactic status of person/possessor morphemes remains a difficult issue. In my doctoral thesis (Mihas 2010), I classified them as phrasal clitics. Additional evidence, collected during the last years, indicates they are more affix-like in their behavior." She then goes on to discuss the criteria which make them resemble clitics and those that point to status of an affix.

A different solution to the problem of how to define markers that attach to words of several classes in an Arawakan language has been found by Facundes (2000). For not being satisfied with the tripartite distinction into simple clitics, special clitics and bound words, which was proposed by Zwicky (1977),[9] he uses a language-specific category that he calls "special bound formatives" for Apurinã. This category is characterised by showing low selectivity that is not triggered by position in a clause (i.e. they are no second- or other position clitics, but rather "floating"), by being positioned quite on the edge of a word ("outside of the more typical affixal morphology"),[10] "and/or the way in which they interact with phrasal or clausal constructions" (Facundes 2000:431). While this definition at first does not sound much different from the ones proposed for clitics, the author definitely opposes the idea that these markers are subject to purely

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7. Spencer & Luís (2012:3) also propose a continuum, but rather because they consider clitics to represent an intermediate stage in a grammaticalisation path that leads from independent word to affix.

8. This is not to say I do not agree with her. If person markers and privative and attributive work similarly as in Paunaka, I would come to the same conclusion since person markers have different functions on nouns and on verbs and the privative and attributive marker are derivational rather than inflectional morphemes. Note, however, that while derivation is usually not believed to fall under the realm of clitics, there are proponents of derivational clitics as well, see Spencer & Luís (2012:228-232) for a summary.

9. Simple clitics are phonologically reduced forms of words that are phonologically bound to neighbouring words, but can be independently stressed in other occasions, an example being English pronouns. They occur in the same syntactic slots as the full forms. Special clitics are also related to full forms, but the relationship is less straightforward. They are found in other positions than corresponding free forms. An example are French pronouns (Zwicky 1977:4-6). Finally, bound words are defined as "[c]ases where a morpheme that is always bound and always unaccented show considerable syntactic freedom, in the sense that they can be associated with words of a variety of morphosyntactic categories" (Zwicky 1977:6). As an example, he names the Latin conjunction -que 'and'. The term "bound word" was not taken up in later works, this type was rather subsumed under "special clitic".

10. The criterium of being positioned outside of affixes, at the edges of words has not been mentioned in this discussion so-far, but it is commonly believed to be true of clitics as well to a greater or lesser degree (cf. Zwicky & Pullum 1983:504; Sadock 1991:52; Nevis 2000:389; Aikhenvald 2003b:43).

syntactical operations, but rather belong to the morphology of the language (Facundes 2000:432). This again, depends on how much one is confined to the idea that morphology and syntax are two autonomous systems. In any case, some of the morphemes that have been defined as special bound formatives in Apurinã encode similar concepts as the Paunaka markers with low selectivity.

I think the previous short discussion has sufficiently shown that the case is far from being clear in general and also specifically as regards Arawakan languages. Many have noted this before me. Considering Paunaka now, there are some markers with low selectivity which could felicitously be defined as clitics. This is the case with most of the TAME markers, which attach to the edge of a verb (or to other parts of speech). The person markers, I would tempt to analyse as affixes, because they fulfil different functions on verb and noun. However, this is more convincing for the markers preceding the stems than for the ones following them. There are also cases that I am very insecure about. Since I did not want to arbitrarily draw a line between affixes and clitics, I finally decided not to distinguish them at all in the glosses by using equal signs (=) as opposed to dashes (-). With regards to terminology in explanatory texts, I often make use of the neutral term "marker". Markers are grammatical morphemes that mark a certain feature of a certain grammatical category and are phonologically attached to a word. This includes affixes, clitics and borderline cases. I only speak of affixes (prefix, suffix) if I am convinced that the marker is indeed an affix. I avoid the term "clitic" with one exception: demonstratives can occasionally be realised as a phonetically reduced, unstressed form attached to a preceding word. If this happens, the process may be referred to as cliticisation. It would count as a case including simple clitics in the terminology of Zwicky (1977) (see Footnote 9).

The following sections are dedicated to those markers with promiscuous attachment in terms of their possible hosts and loci as well as their possible different functions on words of different classes. More complete descriptions of their semantics are found in subsequent chapters. I decided to describe person and number marking separately for nouns and verbs. Diminutives are described in the chapter on nouns, because they primarily relate to nouns, even if they are not attached to nouns. Correspondingly, TAME markers are described in the chapter about verbs, because they primarily relate to predicates. In addition, degree markers are also found in the chapter about verbs.

3.2.1 Markers with low selectivity

Since active verbs are usually among the classes of words that markers with low selectivity attach to, Figure 3.2 provides a schematic overview of the structure of such a verb. Markers that only occur on verbs are marked in grey, there is no reason a priori to challenge their status as affixes. Reduplication as a "nonlinear formative" (Bickel & Nichols 2007:183) will not be considered here either.

Everything marked with an asterisk * must be expressed on a verb: subject marking, verb stem and RS marking are always obligatory, however RS marking fuses with either the last suffix of the stem or one of the markers directly following the stem. As for the object markers and the plural marker, they are only demanded under specific conditions: if the verb has an SAP object, an object marker occurs obligatorily and if it has a human third person plural subject or object, the plural marker has to be used. Not all of the markers can co-occur on a verb, only one aspect marker is possible (INCMP, PRSP, DSC, IAM) and only one that encodes epistemic modality (UNCERT, DED). Intensive (INTS) and limitative (LIM1 and LIM2) markers are not compatible either. There is often no morphology at all besides the obligatory categories of person and RS. If other

Figure 3.2: Template of an active verb

markers are added, there are usually not more than two, though exceptions are found, which shows that theoretically the number of markers can be higher. Some markers can appear in two different slots, this is indicated by a superscript number, the one closer to the stem takes the number 1 in these cases. Besides the ones overtly marked by these numbers, some other markers have occasionally also been found in other slots. Since most of them are disyllabic and encode only one feature, they are easily recognisable as meaningful units. This makes them manipulable. If, for instance, a speaker has forgotten to insert a marker in its usual slot, she can just add it later. In real speech, we thus find verbs with orders of markers that deviate from the template, in elicitation, however, such forms are not accepted. I believe that this general recognisability and 1:1 correspondence between form and meaning is also the reason why these markers can attach promiscuously to words of different classes. It is a reduction of linguistic effort if the same (or very similar) notions can be expressed by one marker instead of two or more.

3.2.1.1 TAME markers

The tense, aspect, modality and evidentiality (TAME) markers are probably the ones that could most felicitously be defined as clitics.[11] They show low selectivity insofar that they can minimally attach to verbal and non-verbal predicates alike, just as is usual in Arawakan languages (cf. Overall et al. 2018:13). Some can also be found on non-predicatively used adverbs and nouns in the clause and/or the negative particle *kuina*. The uncertainty marker *-kena* 'UNCERT' and the remote marker *-bane* 'REM' have identical free forms (*kena* and *bane*), and the iamitive marker *-tu* 'IAM' probably goes back to the adverb *metu* 'ready, already', but has an extended meaning. Other TAME markers do not show any similarity with free forms. Consider (94) which exemplifies the free and the bound use of the remote marker *-bane*. Both co-occur in one clause here, but this is not necessary in general.

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11. The positions of the two alternating optative markers *-yuini* and *-jÿti* on a verb could not be established due to lack of data. While *-yuini* can attach to predicates as well as to the negative particle, *-jÿti* can only attach to predicates. These predicates need not be verbal predicates though.

(94) *bane kuina takikikÿbane chenekÿ*

    bane kuina ti-a-ki-ki-kÿ-bane   *chenekÿ*
    REM NEG   3i-IRR-be.many-RDPL-CLF:bounded-REM way

    'in the old days the way was not wide'

                                                                        [rxx-p181101l-2.067]

Most TAME markers are occasionally used more than once in a clause,[12] one example with the reportive marker being attached to verb and object NP is given in (95)

(95) *tumuji nÿkÿikimÿnÿji yÿtÿuku*

    ti-umu-ji   nÿkÿiki-mÿnÿ-ji yÿtÿuku
    3i-take-RPRT pot-DIM-RPRT   food

    'she took her little pot with food, it is said'

                                                                       [mox-n110920l.061]

Most TAME markers occur quite remote from the verb stem and follow the object and plural markers. They thus violate the Affix ordering hierarchy by Booij (2010:521), which is given in Figure 3.3.

<div align="center">

Voice > Aspect > Tense > Agreement

Figure 3.3: Affix ordering hierarchy after Booij (2010:521)

</div>

This hierarchy indicates that tense and aspect affixes are usually closer to the stem than agreement markers.[13] As can be seen in (96), however, the iamitive follows the 1SG object marker.

(96) *tekichunÿtu*

    ti-ekichu-nÿ-tu
    3i-invite-1SG-IAM

    'she invited me (food)'

                                                                         [jmx-e090727s.171]

There are two exceptions to this placement remote from the stem. First, the discontinuous marker, meaning '(not) anymore', can either precede or follow the plural marker. I do not know what lets the speaker choose one or the other option. Both combinations are rare in the corpus. The difference does not depend on the plural marker belonging to the subject or object participant.

(97) *kuina nichupuikabunube*

    kuina ni-chupuika-bu-nube
    NEG   1SG-know.IRR-DSC-PL

    'I don't know them anymore'

                                                                      [rxx-e181022le]

---

12. Exceptions are the prospective (PRSP), avertive (AVERT) and deductive (DED) markers that have only been found once per clause in the corpus and possibly the optative markers.

13. Note, however, that person markers are not strictly agreement markers in Paunaka, but I suppose that the hierarchy is equally true for person indexes (for the term "index" see Haspelmath 2013).

(98) *kuina tisamuikanubebu*

    kuina ti-samuika-nube-bu
    NEG   3i-listen.IRR-PL-DSC

    'they don't listen anymore'

<div align="right">[jxx-e190210s-01]</div>

The incompletive marker does not only precede the plural, but also the distributive marker in its second possible slot, and is thus even closer to the verb stem than the discontinuous marker.[14]

(99) *tujikukuÿjaneyu*

    ti-ujiku-kuÿ-jane-yu
    3i-suckle-INCMP-DISTR-INTS

    'they still suckle a lot'

<div align="right">[rxx-e120511l.364]</div>

In summary, most TAME markers follow the ones connected to person (i.e. person, plural, distributive, diminutive), but two of them always or sometimes precede them. Thus they do not behave uniformly and some are better candidates for clitic status than others. More information about TAME markers can be found in section 6.8.

3.2.1.2 Classifiers

While TAME markers are probably the best candidates for clitic status, classifiers are arguably the worst. They combine with verbs, nouns and adjectives in Paunaka. Classifiers can derive nouns from verb stems and nouns with new meanings from other nouns. The combination of noun or verb stem with a specific classifier is often totally lexicalised in these cases. When combined with adjectives and verbs, classifiers specify some properties of a referent, mostly shape and consistency. Classifiers occur inside the verb stem. Their nature is not inflectional in Paunaka, they can be considered purely derivational devices on the edge of being lexical, i.e. if a classifier derives a new noun, the process resembles compounding. Thus due to their position close to the root and their derivational function they can clearly be considered affixes, a special type of lexical affix in spite of their promiscuous attachment. Example (100) shows a noun and a verb stem lexicalised with the classifier *-pa*, which is used with dusty things, flour, small particles and the like. In case of the noun in (100a), the stem never occurs without a classifier,[15] in case of the verb in (100b), the root *-yÿti* 'set on fire' also occurs without classifier and can thus be identified.

(100) a. *mutepa*

      mute-pa
      earth-CLF:particle

      'earth, dust'

---

14. It could be deduced that it must also precede the object markers, since they occur after the second possible slot for the distributive marker, thus this case would be in compliance with the agreement hierarchy. The incompletive marker is (semantically) stativising though, which may be the reason that object markers are never found on a verb with incompletive aspect, and thus we cannot make any statements about the hierarchy.
15. There is also *muteji* 'mud' with the same noun stem and a different classifier.

b. *-yÿtipajiku*

   yÿti-pa-ji-ku
   set.on.fire-CLF:particle-INTSV-TH1

   'cook chicha'

Classifiers are discussed in more detail in 3.3 below.

3.2.1.3 Person markers

There are two sets of related person markers, one preceding stems and the other one following stems. One of the two third person markers, *ti-* '3i', only shows up on verbs and only precedes the stem, so there is no need to discuss its status here. All other person markers occur on verbs, nouns and marginally other parts of speech. I first consider person markers preceding stems. On verbs they mark subjects, as in (101a), and on nouns they mark possessors, as in (101b).

(101) a. *piniku*

   pi-niku
   2SG-eat

   'you ate'

   b. *pijinepÿi*

   pi-jinepÿi
   2SG-daughter

   'your daughter'

Regarding the person markers following the stem, they mark objects on verbs (102a) and subjects on non-verbal predicates of different types, e.g. nouns as in (102b).

(102) a. *pisimune*

   pi-simu-ne
   2SG-find-1SG

   'you found me'

   b. *baichane*

   baicha-ne
   orphan-1SG

   'I am an orphan'

As has become apparent from (101) and (102), person markers do show a low selectivity, but the functions encoded differ for nouns and verbs. This may be more apparent for the ones preceding the stem, because on verbs they mark arguments while on nouns they mark possessors, although as Danielsen (2021, p.c.) rightly remarks, in both cases "it is all about the primary argument". The person markers following the stem both mark arguments, secondary arguments so to say, but there is a very clear distinction as to the syntactic function of the argument. In addition, person markers do not alternate with pronouns in Paunaka, so I believe there is no reason to classify them

as clitics. In applying the terminology by Haspelmath (2013), person markers are also called "indexes" in this grammar.

More information on argument indexing on verbs can be found in 6.4. Encoding of possession is discussed in 5.3, and argument indexing on non-verbal predicates is topic of 7.2.

3.2.1.4 Plural marker

The plural marker *-nube* is found on nouns and verbs, as well as on adjectives, numerals and pronouns. First of all, it can mark plural number of a noun like in (103). It is then mostly used with human nouns and generally obligatory with them.

(103)   *apimiyanube*

   apimiya-nube
   girl-PL

   'girls'

In addition, the plural marker can combine with the third person markers *ti-* and *chÿ-/chi-*. Both are unspecified for number; if plural number of a human participant is to be encoded, the plural marker is simply added after the stem. The plural marker thus occurs in the same contexts in which person markers occur, see 3.2.1.3 above. As for possession marking, if both possessor and possessed are human third person, there is ambiguity as to the question whether the plural marker belongs to the possessor or the possessed. Consider the following example: in (104a) the plural marker belongs to the possessed, in (104b) it belongs to the possessor, however, in (104c) it can theoretically belong to either the possessed or possessor or to both. It is only the context that can clarify what precisely is meant.

(104)   a.   *nijinepÿinube*

         ni-jinepÿi-nube
         1SG-daughter-PL

         'my daughters'

      b.   *chiputrerunenube*

         chi-putreru-ne-nube
         3-pasture-POSSD-PL

         'their pasture'

      c.   *chijinepÿinube*

         chi-jinepÿi-nube
         3-daughter-PL

         'his/her daughters'
         or: 'their daughter'
         or: 'their daughters'

The plural marker's ambiguity on verbs is bound to the question whether it refers to a third person plural subject or object. If the verb is intransitive, it can only belong to the subject marker as in (105a). If the subject of a transitive verb is a speech act

participant (SAP), it can only mark the object, see (105b). However, if both subject and object of a transitive verb are human third persons, it is again only context that can clarify who is the plural participant, see (105c).

(105) a. *tiyununube*

      ti-yunu-nube
      3i-go-PL

      'they go'

   b. *nichupuikunube*

      ni-chupuiku-nube
      1SG-know-PL

      'I know them'

   c. *chimunube*

      chi-imu-nube
      3-see-PL

      'he/she sees them'
      or: 'they see him/her'
      or: 'they see them'

If a clause has both an index on the verb and a conominal NP, the plural marker usually occurs on both the verb and the NP, as in (106).

(106) *suntabunube chumunubetu labionyae*

      suntabu-nube chÿ-umu-nube-tu labion-yae
      soldier-PL   3-take-PL-IAM   plane-LOC

      'the soldiers (i.e. policemen) took her to the plane'

                               [jxx-p120430l-1.232]

In complementation, however, the plural marker often occurs only once, namely on the complement verb as in (107). It also attaches to both verbs sometimes, but it can only occur exclusively on the complement-taking verb if the complement verb has a different subject.

(107) *tisachu tinikanube*

      ti-sachu ti-nika-nube
      3i-want 3i-eat.IRR-PL

      'they want to eat'

                                 [jxx-e190210s-01]

The plural marker also occurs only once if a plural noun is modified by a demonstrative as in (108). It can be attached to demonstratives as well, but in those cases there is usually no noun.

(108) *echÿu jentenube*

    echÿu jente-nube
    DEMb man-PL

    'these men'

<div align="right">[mxx-p110825l.045]</div>

For Proto-Arawakan, a separate third person plural index **na* is postulated,[16] however, there is a number of languages that encode plural separately from third person (Danielsen 2014a). The plural marker has probably first been used with nouns exclusively and was subsequently employed to number marking together with the unspecified third person markers. We can state that its function is to express plural number of human nouns (and demonstratives referring to humans) or plural number of the third person markers. Subject, object and possessor marking derive from the latter. On non-verbal predicates with human third person referents, it can also specify the number of a subject argument without this being bound to person marking, like in (109).[17]

(109) *kapununube naka ...*

    kapunu-nube naka
    come-PL   here

    'they came here...'

<div align="right">[jmx-e090727s.322]</div>

The marker has some properties of an agreement affix like being attached to both noun and verb as in (106), but it fails to indicate agreement in other cases like complementation (107) and modification of a noun by a demonstrative (108).

More information about the plural marking on nouns is given in 5.4 and on verbs as a part of person marking in 6.4.2.1.

3.2.1.5 Distributive marker

The distributive marker *-jane* is used to mark plural number of non-human referents. Theoretically, the same kind of ambiguities described in 3.2.1.4 above also apply to the distributive marker, but being optional, it is generally employed less frequently than the plural marker. There are, for instance, no examples in the corpus in which *-jane* would mark a plural possessor, but this is possibly due to pragmatic reasons, because non-human entities are in general less likely to be construed as possessors of something. In addition, contrary to the plural marker, if an NP conominates an argument indexed on a verb, *-jane* usually appears on either the NP argument or – more frequently – the verb, with only a few examples in which it is found on both.

While the description up to here may point to a clitic-like behaviour of the distributive marker, its position on the verb points in another direction. Note that *-jane* can occur in two slots with no difference in meaning. One of these slots is right on the edge of the stem, even before RS marking, which is very tightly connected with verbs. In this case, the distributive marker replaces the stem-closing thematic suffix *-ku* (if the

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16. See Danielsen (2011b:505, 513) for a summary of different approaches to reconstruct Proto-Arawakan person markers.

17. Note that third person marking is largely restricted to prefixes, third person suffixes only occur in a few specific contexts including speech verbs and subordinate verbs, see Section 6.4.2.2. Non-verbal predicates index subjects by suffixes (see Section 7.2, thus third person subjects are not marked on them.

verb in question usually takes this suffix). This would be highly unusual for a clitic. Example (110) shows the two possible positions of the distributive marker on an active verb, in (110a) it follows the thematic suffix, in (110b) it replaces it.[18] Example (111) illustrates the use of *-jane* on a noun.

(110) a. *tujikujane*

        ti-ujiku-jane
        3i-suckle-DISTR

        'they suckle'

   b. *tujijaneu*

        ti-uji-jane-u
        3i-suckle-DISTR-REAL

        'they suckle'

(111) *bakajane*

     baka-jane
     COW-DISTR

     'cows'

More information about distributive marking on nouns can be found in 5.4.2 and on verbs as part of person marking in 6.4.2.1. In addition, *-jane* is also occasionally found on adjectives and demonstratives.

3.2.1.6 Collective marker

The collective marker is highly selective, but for semantic reasons rather than for word class. As for the latter, it has been found on nouns, adjectives and stative verbs (which is why it does not show up in the verb template in Figure 3.2 since this template shows an active verb).[19] Regarding adjectives and stative verbs, it is used only with expressions of colour and size, often in combination with a classifier or incorporated noun. (112) is an example of an adjective and (113) of a stative verb bearing the collective marker.

(112) *temetapuji*

     teme-tapu-ji
     big-CLF:scales-COL

     'big ones (referring to piranhas here, but it can also refer to other fish species)'
                                        [cux-c120414ls-2.014]

---

18. As for the question why there is a realis marker on (110b) and apparently no realis marker on (110a) see 6.5.1.

19. There seems to be one exception to this, the verb for 'fight' has a reciprocal suffix followed by the collective marker, see Example (125) below. I have not found any other active verb taking the collective marker, which is why I neglect this single case here.

(113)　*tisururukiji*

　　　ti-sururu-ki-ji
　　　3i-be.clear-CLF:spherical-COL

　　　'they are all light-coloured'

<div align="right">[jxx-e150925l-1.164]</div>

　　　Some nouns referring to small animals that occur in groups or swarms rather show up in the collective than in the singular form, especially some fish species, the same is true for *-muki-ji* 'hair'. Strikingly, the collective marker also obligatorily occurs on the kinship terms for 'mother', 'father', 'brother', 'sister', 'sibling (of same sex)' and 'son' if the possessor, the possessed or both have plural referents, as well as on the plural-only noun *sesejinube* 'children'. The collective marker then precedes the plural marker like in (114). Other nouns do not usually take the collective marker.

(114)　*chipijijinube*

　　　chi-piji-ji-nube
　　　3-sibling-COL-PL

　　　'his/her sibling (of the same sex)'
　　　or: 'their sibling'
　　　or: 'their siblings'

　　　More information about collective marking on nouns can be found in 5.4.3 and on verbs as part of person marking in 6.4.2.1. Some more examples with adjectives taking the collective marker are scattered through Section 4.2.1.

3.2.1.7　Diminutive

The diminutive marker *-mÿnÿ* can attach to nouns, adjectives, verbs, and more rarely demonstratives and numerals. It can express smallness, but also emotional affection (sympathy, pity, modesty), and the latter is often more important in the choice to use a diminutive than mere size. The diminutive usually expresses that the speaker has some emotional affection towards one specific participant in the clause or that one participant is small or both. It does not matter to which word it attaches, i.e. in (115) it attaches to a noun, in (116) to a stative verb, but in both cases it refers to a participant of the clause.

(115)　*kaku kabemÿnÿ naka*

　　　kaku kabe-mÿnÿ naka
　　　exist dog-DIM   here

　　　'here's a little dog'

<div align="right">[mox-a110920l-2.007]</div>

(116)　*kuina tatÿkemiumÿnÿ*

　　　kuina ti-a-tÿkemiu-mÿnÿ
　　　NEG   3i-IRR-be.quiet-DIM

　　　'it (i.e. the little baby) doesn't calm down'

<div align="right">[jxx-e120430l-4.04]</div>

The diminutive is also marginally used to attenuate a verb's meaning, which is, of course, another extension from smallness and affection marking. However, the case being like this, it acquires an extra-function on verbs, different from the ones encoded when it is attached to nouns. One example is given in (117), which could be produced to describe that somebody is eating a small quantity of food, but also that somebody is eating at least a bit of light food again after having been ill, although she might still not be eating properly. In the first scenario, the diminutive refers to the object participant, the second scenario is a case of attenuation.

(117) *tinikumÿnÿtu*

    ti-niku-mÿnÿ-tu
    3i-eat-DIM-IAM

    'he is already eating a bit'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181024l.116]</div>

The diminutive marker is discussed in more detail in 5.7.

3.2.1.8 Associated motion and regressive markers

The concurrent associated motion (AM) markers have been found once on a noun and once on a numeral in the corpus. I believe this does not challenge their status as suffixes, but rather shows the flexibility of the whole system of inflectional markers: given that there is an appropriate semantic context, these markers can be employed to express an inflectional notion, no matter which word class a particular word may belong to. AM markers are actually on the edge of being derivational and inflectional. They definitely add semantic content to the verb, however there is a small paradigm of different mutually exclusive markers. AM markers can either replace a thematic suffix of a stem or follow it,[20] with no apparent difference in meaning. If an AM marker is present on the verb, it becomes the locus of RS inflection, the verb stem ends in default /u/ in this case. Since RS is the most important inflectional category besides person, this is meaningful and shows the deep integration of an AM marker with the stem. Example (118) shows the use of the cislocative concurrent motion marker on a numeral and (119) is the corresponding expression with a verb.[21]

(118) *chÿnanakÿupunuchÿ*

    chÿna-nakÿupunu-chÿ
    one-AM.CONC.CIS-3

    'she came alone'

<div align="right">[cux-120410ls.173]</div>

---

20. Replacement of a stem suffix has not been found with the subsequent motion marker, but this one is almost out of use.

21. Note that although the last morpheme in (118) is glossed as a third person marker, it belongs to the numeral whose simple form without any further morphology is *chÿnachÿ* 'one'. This numeral is probably composed of *chÿ-na-chÿ* 3-CLF:general-3. As for the different forms of the AM marker, its form is actually *-(CV)kÿupunu*, i.e. it is optionally accompanied by a reduplicated syllable.

(119) *pipipÿsisikÿupunu*

   pi-pipÿsisi-kÿupunu
   2SG-be.alone-AM.CONC.CIS

   'you came alone'

The regressive marker is derived from an AM marker. It encodes regressive motion on motion verbs and repetition on any other word. Besides verbs, it has been found on nouns and adverbs. If used with verbs, the regressive marker is the place for RS inflection, just like the AM markers are, i.e. it is placed very close to the stem. The regressive marker has several allomorphs and sometimes forms a phonological word of its own. In some occasions, it occurs on the verb and another word in the clause, sometimes its placement seems to correspond to its Spanish equivalent *de nuevo* 'again'. One example of the latter is given in (120).

(120) *titukanube eka beteapunuku...*

   ti-itu-uka-nube   *eka*   *bi-etea-punuku*
   3i-manage-ADD.IRR-PL DEMa 1PL-language-REG

   'they will also learn our language again...'

A detailed discussion about associated motion and related categories is found in 6.6.

3.2.1.9 Degree markers

The category of degree markers subsumes the intensive marker (or intensifier) *-yu*, the limitative markers *-jiku* and *-yÿchi*, additive *-uku*, and the emphatic markers *-ja* and *-kene*. They occur in different slots of the verb, some closer, some more remote from the stem.

   The intensifier *-yu* can be translated with 'very' or 'a lot' most of the times. It mainly occurs on predicates, which may be verbs, adjectives, quantifiers or nouns. Thus while it is not selective to word class, it is selective to syntactic function. One example with a verbal predicate is given in (121) and one with an adjective in (122)

(121) *tinikunubeyu*

   ti-niku-nube-yu
   3i-eat-PL-INTS

   'they ate a lot'

(122) *michanikiyu yÿtÿuku*

   michaniki-yu   *yÿtÿuku*
   delicious-INTS food

   'the food is very delicious'

There is one other context in which the intensive marker occurs. This is different from the uses described above, because it does not involve plain predication:[22] the intensive marker can also attach to kinship terms to produce a polite or cordial address form, see (123).

(123)   *¿michae? nipijiyue netinejiyue*

    micha-e   *ni-piji-yu-e*   *nÿ-etine-ji-yu-e*
    good-2PL 1SG-sibling-INTS-2PL 1SG-sister-COL-INTS-2PL

    'how are you, my dear brothers and sisters?'

<div align="right">[mxx-x110916]</div>

The two limitative markers are *-jiku* 'LIM1' and *-yÿchi* 'LIM2'. They indicate exhaustive focus, i.e. they translate as 'only, just'. According to the speakers, there is no difference in meaning, and both markers can have wide and narrow scope. The additive marker *-uku* is used to express additive focus and can be translated as 'also, too'. Like the English adverbs, these focus markers are relatively free in selecting a word, depending on focus, not on word class. They seem to attach to different slots in the active verb, however, it was not possible to determine their exact place due to lack of sufficient examples in which other markers co-occur. It seems to be the case that one of them precedes the object and plural markers, the other one follows them, compare (124) and (125). Actually, these are the only two examples I found in which the limitative markers combine with plural or object markers on a verb.

(124)   *echÿu tichupuikujikunÿ*

    echÿu *ti-chupuiku-jiku-nÿ*
    DEMb 3-know-LIM1-1SG

    'she knew only me'

<div align="right">[ump-p110815sf.011]</div>

(125)   *teukukujinubeyÿchi*

    ti-eu-kuku-ji-nube-yÿchi
    3i-hit-RCPC-COL-PL-LIM2

    'they are only fighting with each other'

<div align="right">[jxx-e120516l-1.089]</div>

Two examples of the limitative markers on words other than verbs follow, (126) shows the use of *-jiku* with a preposition, (127) the use of *-yÿchi* with a noun.

(126)   *chitÿpijikunube*

    chi-tÿpi-jiku-nube
    3-OBL-LIM1-PL

    'it was only for them'

<div align="right">[mxx-p181027l-1.028]</div>

---

22. The nouns involved can probably be understood as predicates of a headless relative clause, i.e. (123) translates as 'how are you, who are my dear brothers and sisters'.

(127) *maneyÿchi biyunu asaneti*

mane-yÿchi   bi-yunu asaneti
morning-LIM2 1PL-go   field

'we just went to the field in the mornings'

The additive marker most often goes to the predicate, but it can also attach to other constituents of a clause, as in (128).

(128) *nÿtiuku kuina nichupa*

nÿti-uku   kuina ni-chupa
1SG.PRN-ADD NEG   1SG-know.IRR

'me too, I don't know it (i.e. I don't know it either)'

While this kind of promiscuous attachment makes it look like a good candidate for a prototypical clitic, its position on the verb is not in concord with this. The additive marker occurs directly after the stem of an active verb. If the verb stem ends in a thematic suffix, the additive marker even inflects for RS, in case that the verb stem does not end in a thematic suffix, RS is marked on the stem and the additive follows directly. Compare the two irrealis verbs in (129), the verb in (a) has a thematic suffix, the one in (b) has none.

(129) a. *ninikuka*

        ni-niku-uka
        1SG-eat-ADD.IRR

        'I will eat, too'

     b. *niyunauku*

        ni-yuna-uku
        1SG-go.IRR-ADD

        'I will go, too'

The case being like this, the additive also occurs prior to inflectional suffixes like the middle voice marker *-bu*, see (130).

(130) *pikubiakukubu*

pi-kubiaku-uku-bu
2SG-be.tired-ADD-MID

'you are tired, too'

There are two emphatic markers. One of them, *-kene* 'EMPH2', occurs very sporadically and will thus not be considered further here. The other one has the form *-ja* with the gloss 'EMPH1'. It can attach to words of different classes an exhibit wide or narrow scope in the clause. According to its function to emphasise whatever is worth being emphasised, *-ja* could well be called a clitic. One example is given in (131), where the

emphatic marker attaches to the free form of the uncertainty marker and is followed by another uncertainty and a iamitive marker.

(131)   *¿kenajakenatu?*

    kena-ja-kena-tu
    UNCERT-EMPH1-UNCERT-IAM

    'when may that take place (i.e. the project on running water that was an-nounced quite some time ago)?'

<div align="right">[mqx-p110826l.136]</div>

More information about the degree markers is given in 6.9.

I hope that this short presentation of markers with promiscuous attachment has shown that low selectivity is not necessarily a deciding factor in classifying a grammatical marker as "clitic". The case is much more complicated, with some markers being more on the clitic side, others tending more towards affix, and a big number that falls somewhere in-between these two points on a continuum. This indeterminacy is the reason why I decided not to sharply distinguish affixes and clitics throughout this work.

The following sections are dedicated to some affixes and mechanisms found in word formation.

3.3   Classifiers

Classifiers constitute a special class of lexical suffix in Paunaka. Most of them have CV shape. They combine with stems of nouns, adjectives, and verbs (see 5.2.3 for combinations of classifiers with nouns, 4.2.1 for adjectives and 6.1.6 and 6.2.7 for verbs).[23] Classifiers do not occur with numerals in Paunaka in general, which may be important to mention explicitly, because this is the only part of speech with which classifiers obligatorily occur in Baure and the Mojeño languages, but see more on this below.

Since classifiers do not show up very often in Paunaka, except for nouns that are lexicalised with a classifier, it is not entirely clear how many classifiers there are. The ones I could identify are summarised in Table 3.1. Most of these classifiers have a semantic basis in shape, which is typical for classifiers in general (cf. Allan 1977:300-301; Aikhenvald 2003a:273).

All of these classifiers, except for *-tapu* 'CLF:scales' have cognate forms in at least one of the Mojeño languages, most of them also in Baure. The classifier *-tapu* derives from an identical noun *-tapu* 'scales', however, when used as a classifier, it refers to animals with scales (or carapace), not to the scales themselves, like in (132).

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23. A lot of paper has been spent on the attempt to grasp the function and meaning of classifiers, but there is no convincing interpretation of the type of classifier system found in the Bolivian Arawakan languages. A detailed discussion about this issue for the Baure system can be found in Terhart (2016:174-177). The Paunaka system is similar to the Baure one except for the fact that numerals do not take classifiers. In total, it is less open and less productive than the Baure system.

Table 3.1: Classifiers

Form	Gloss	Examples	Description
-be	CFL:pointed	*-mube* 'comb', *kusaube* 'hook', *esebe* 'thorn, sting'	pointed objects
-e	CLF:water	*-bÿtuekubu* 'fall into water'	only found with active verbs where it always refers to obliques
-i	CLF:fruit	*bÿrÿsÿi* 'guava', *yÿkÿi* 'pot'	also possessed noun (*chÿi* 'fruit'), possibly also used for round containers
-ji	CLF:soft.mass	*muteji* 'loam, mud', *kuaji* 'fishing net'	soft masses, dough
-ke	CLF:cylindrical	*amuke* 'corn', *kÿike* 'peanut' *yÿkÿke* 'tree, stick, wood'	cylindrical objects: seeds, sticks, totally lexicalised and not transparent for the speakers; a homophonous affix is sometimes used for places like *anÿke* 'up', *jamuike* 'pampa'
-ki	CLF:spherical	*-kakaki* 'nape', *-kiyuraki* 'brain', *ukabaki* 'beetle sp.'	more frequent in incorporation, often with reference to head or insects
-kÿ	CLF:bounded	*kimenukÿ* 'woods' *kÿpenukÿ* 'water hole, hollow'	objects are perceived as a container, when combined with CLF
-na	CLF:general	*chÿnachÿ* 'one', *michana* 'nice'	only found in adjectives and the numeral 'one'
-pa	CLF:particle	*yÿbapa* 'flour', *mutepa* 'earth, dust', *kuyepa* 'salt'	dusty things, particles, also steam, a homophonous suffix is found on *-jimunepa* 'ribs', *-musipa* 'eyelashes' and *tÿmuepa* 'knife'
-pai	CLF:ground	*nekupai* 'outside, yard', *-ubiupai* 'home, own land, village'	mainly refers to obliques on verbs
-pe	CLF:flat	*kÿnupe* 'fish sp.', *churupepe* 'butterfly'	flat, relatively rigid objects, more frequent in incorporation
-pi	CLF:long.flexible	*jupipi* 'liana', *kechuepi* 'worm', *kusepi* 'thread'	long and rather flexible objects
-tapu	CLF:scales	*temetapuji* 'big fish'	the noun *-tapu* means 'scales', but on adjectives it refers to animals with scales/carapace (fish, tortoise, armadillo)
-umu	CLF:liquid	*patabiumu* 'cane juice', *ipitiumu* 'honey'	liquids

(132)   *kaku mutemetapuji*

    kaku muteme-tapu-ji
    exist big-CLF:scales-COL

    'there are big ones (piranhas)'

Many objects fall into the same classes in all Bolivian Arawakan languages, but there are also some differences. To give just one example, the classifier for pointed objects is *-be* 'CLF:pointed' in Paunaka. Trinitario has a cognate form *-ve*, but the classifier seems to be absent from Baure and Ignaciano. Instead of this, in both languages (and partly also in Trinitario), pointed objects are classified with *-po/-pa*, i.e. a form identical to the classifier for dusty things. In Paunaka, some objects that are possibly conceived as pointed are also construed with final *-pa*. As for *-jimunepa* 'ribs' and *-musipa* 'eyelashes', there is also a special parallel arrangement of single longish items. This does not seem to hold for *tÿmuepa* 'knife'.[24] Thus we find that most pointed objects are classified by *-be* in Paunaka and by *-pa/-po* in Ignaciano and Baure, but a few of them are also classified by *-pa* in Paunaka. There seem to be several (temporal) layers of how classifiers come into being and get out of use again, some shared by all languages, some only by a subset of them or restricted to a single language. This results in several possible classes an item can be assigned to and in differences between the related languages.

It has already been mentioned that numerals do not take classifiers in Paunaka, but suspiciously, the numeral *chÿnachÿ* 'one' has a syllable *na* as does the related adjective *punachÿ* 'other'. Baure and the Mojeño languages have a neutral or unspecified classifier, which has the form *-no* in Baure and *-na* in Trinitario and Ignaciano (Terhart 2016:148). This classifier is also used with human referents, which is why it has been glossed as 'CLF:human' by Danielsen (2007:148). This very same classifier can be used with numerals to replace any other more specific classifier, and indeed, this is very frequently the case in these languages, thus Rose (2019a) speaks of a generic classifier. In Paunaka, there are also a few adjectives and stative verbs that have a sequence *na* in their most neutral form, and some of them change exactly this syllable for a specific classifier or a noun denoting a body or plant part. This is why I postulate that there is a default or general classifier *-na* in Paunaka cognate to the forms found in the other Bolivian Arawakan languages.[25] The words I have found containing the general classifier are summarised in Table 3.2.

Processes related to classifiers include compounding and incorporation (see 3.5).

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24. One could think of the serrated blade as indicating a similar arrangement, but it is not clear whether the word was originally derived for knifes with serrated or smooth blades or both. Other objects with parallel arrangement take a different classifier (*-be*: *-mube* 'comb') or no classifier at all (*-kaba* 'palm leaf').

25. Danielsen (2020, p.c.) remarks that the final *-na* could also go back to a nominaliser since many Baure adjectives have a similar nominaliser in exactly this word-final slot. I do not believe this is the case in Paunaka. First, there is no (productive) nominaliser with the form *-na* in Paunaka. Second, Baure productively derives adjectives from stative verbs with this nominaliser, but this is not the case in Paunaka, where adjectives constitute a very small class. The stative verbs *-ÿnai* 'be long, be tall' and *-sabana* 'be big, be fat' always inflect like stative verbs, i.e. they take person prefixes despite including *-na*. If they were not verbal, they should not be able to do so. The irrealis form of the adjective *michana* 'nice' is most often realised as a verb, too. Third, in Baure the nominaliser remains on the derived adjective if it takes a specific classifier, however, as has been mentioned above, in Paunaka the syllable *-na* is exchanged for a specific classifier.

Table 3.2: Words containing the presumed classifier *-na*

Word	Gloss	POS
chÿnachÿ	one	numeral
punachÿ	other	adjective
(mu)temena	big	adjective
michana	beautiful	adjective
kana	be of this size (showing)	adjective
-ÿnai	be long, be tall	stative verb
-sabana	be big, be fat	stative verb

3.4 Repetition and reduplication

Repetition is found on stems of verbs, nouns, and adjectives, but true reduplication is only found on verbs, i.e. "the repetition of morphemes or parts of morphemes by which a new morpheme with a new, related meaning is created, or by which a grammatical function is systematically expressed" (Gómez & van der Voort 2014:2). Reduplication can express iterative, durative, and intensive aktionsart on active verbs (see 6.2.6) and possibly inchoative aktionsart on stative verbs (see 6.1.5). These categories, among others, have been identified by Rubino (2005:19) to be expressed by reduplication cross-linguistically. Most nouns with a repeated syllable are totally lexicalised, but considering the ones that also have a form without these repeated syllables, we can assume that the combination with the collective marker plays a role and the meaning conveyed is one of distributivity (see 5.2.1). On adjectives, repetition only affects the general classifier *-na* if it is followed by the collective marker *-ji* (see 4.2.1).

There is almost exclusively progressive partial reduplication, and it is usually restricted to duplication, however a few cases of triplication exist in verbs, e.g. *-japipipiku* 'wag tail' and *-pÿsisisiku* 'smoke, smoulder'.

A reduplicated syllable occurs in continuous and optionally also in concurrent associated motion marking, but is accompanied by additional material. As for the concurrent motion marker, this can be considered a case of "automatic reduplication", defined as "reduplication that is obligatory in combination with another affix" (Rubino 2005:18). It is not obligatory, but can be considered automatic nonetheless, with the affix being *-kÿu*, which can be accompanied by reduplication of the last syllable of the stem (see 6.6.1). The case of continuous marking is harder to define since the reduplicated syllable is accompanied by two markers, *-i* and *-ku/-ka* that also occur elsewhere in the stem as an aktionsart and a thematic suffix respectively, and it is the combination of reduplication with these two markers that expresses the continuous reading as in (133). For more examples of continuous marking see 6.2.6.

(133)   *tikusabenunuiku chisabenu*

   ti-kusabenu-nuiku   chi-sabenu
   3i-play.flute-CONT   3-flute

   'he was playing the flute'

[mox-n110920l.049]

3.5   Compounding, incorporation and derivation

Compounding and incorporation are both minor processes in Paunaka at least as productivity of these processes is concerned. A number of body part terms results from compounding, but productive compounding is largely restricted to inalienably possessed nouns denoting plant parts attaching to plant names. Incorporation is restricted to body-part terms, which also by large belong to the class of inalienably possessed nouns. They can incorporate into active and stative verb stems and combine with adjectives.[26] Some stative verbs have lexicalised with the body-part term. Some of them do not have forms without the incorporated noun, others do, but have partly developed idiosyncratic meanings (cf. Danielsen & Terhart subm).

As regards derivation, some processes show certain productivity and are thus analysable. Examples have already been given as (92) and (93) in 3.2 above. As far as derivational processes are analysable, they are discussed in the individual chapters on nouns, verbs, and other parts of speech. Other processes are totally opaque, often to the degree that they are not recognisable anymore.

3.6   Parts of speech

This section provides a very short overview about the different parts of speech. More complete descriptions are given in the following chapters. The most important distinction is between verbs as typical predicates and nouns as typical arguments of a clause. All other classes can be considered minor. Pronouns and demonstratives are closed classes, all others are open, they can gain new members by borrowing, grammaticalisation, derivation etc. However, some classes certainly acquire new members more easily than others.

3.6.1   Nouns

Nouns typically express "the most time-stable concepts" (Payne 1997:33) in a language, and this is also the case in Paunaka.

Paunaka distinguishes three classes of nouns, inalienably possessed, alienably possessed and non-possessable. Inalienably possessed nouns obligatorily take a person marker that expresses the possessor. Non-possessed nouns can be derived from some of them. Alienably possessed nouns do not need a possessor, they can stand on their own. Some alienably possessed nouns can take a possessor prefix without any further change, others need to derive a possessable form first. Non-possessable nouns are never marked for possession directly, neither is there any derivational device that could derive possessable nouns from non-possessables. Some of them can, however, be juxtaposed to a possessable noun to indicate possession.

Plural marking is obligatory for human nouns with a plural marker *-nube* and optional for non-human nouns that rather take the distributive marker *-jane* or collective *-ji*. Other categories associated with nouns are diminutive, nominal irrealis, nominal past and "deceased" marking. In the clause, they mainly function as arguments. They head NPs, where they can be modified by demonstratives, numerals, and sometimes also by adjectives and quantifiers. There is no case marking, but some locative relations

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26. The last process may also be classified as a kind of compounding, but I believe that adjectives are closer to verbs than to nouns.

are expressed by attaching the suffix *-yae* to a noun and few other oblique relations are expressed with the help of prepositions preceding the noun.

New nouns can also be used predicatively and then be marked for reality status (RS), aspect, tense, modality and evidentiality.

New nouns can be formed by compounding, attachment of classifiers or nominalisation of verbs with the suffix *-kene*, the latter being rare. Nouns can also easily be borrowed from Spanish and Bésɨro and then be inflected just like Paunaka words. Borrowed nouns are usually alienably possessed.

3.6.2 Verbs

Verbs typically express the "least time-stable concepts" (Payne 1997:47). Members of the word class of verbs are mostly used as predicates, but can also figure as arguments, when realised as headless relative clauses.

Verbs obligatorily inflect for person and RS, i.e. they never appear as bare stems. The position of irrealis marking is decisive for the classification of a verb as either stative or active: on stative verbs, realis is unmarked (134a), irrealis is marked by a prefix *a-* (134b); active verbs have realis RS if none of the suffixes that can mark RS is realised in its irrealis form, i.e. all of these suffixes end in the vowel *u* (135a), irrealis is indicated by one of these suffixes taking a final vowel *a* instead (135b).

(134) a. *tikutiu*

       ti-kutiu
       3i-be.ill

       'he is ill'

   b. *kuina takutiu*

       kuina ti-a-kutiu
       NEG   3i-IRR-be.ill

       'he is not ill'

(135) a. *nimuku*

       ni-mu-ku
       1SG-sleep-TH1

       'I sleep'

   b. *kuina nimuka*

       kuina ni-mu-ka
       NEG   1SG-sleep-TH1.IRR

       'I could not sleep'

In general, stative verbs are intransitive, but there are a few that are stative by their stem and RS placement, but transitive by inflection for person, i.e. they can take object markers. Active verbs can be intransitive, transitive or ditransitive, the latter being rare.

The verb stems of many active verbs end in one of two thematic suffixes, stative verb stems do not carry thematic suffixes. There are two mechanisms that re-arrange

the syntactic roles of verabl arguments and only occur with active verbs; causative and benefactive. Middle voice is also restricted to active verbs, there is a number of deponent middle verbs. Semantically, many middle verbs are very similar to stative verbs. Passive voice does not exist. A difference between transitive and intransitive verbs (active and stative ones alike) is that one of the two third person markers, *chÿ-*, can only be combined with transitive verbs since it encodes 3 > 3 relations.

Aspect, tense, reported evidentiality, and modality can optionally be expressed on all verbs. The category of associated motion lies on the edge between inflection and derivation. In addition, the diminutive is also frequently found on verbs. There is no compounding of two or more verb stems, but we find incorporation of nouns, and attachment of classifiers to verb stems.

With regard to borrowing of verbs, it is often past participles that are borrowed from Spanish, which are then integrated into Paunaka as non-verbal predicates (cf. Terhart 2017). This is somehow problematic since these words do not neatly fit into any of the word classes postulated for Paunaka. They are definitely not verbs, because they do not inflect like verbs. They are not nouns either. Their main function is predication and they are thus hardly ever used as arguments.[27] I often simply speak of non-verbal predicates when I mean these words, but the term obviously has shortcomings, since it can also refer to any other type of predicate that is not a verb. It is also possible to verbalise these participles (or other verbal stems from Spanish) by the thematic suffix *-chu* and inflect them like regular Paunaka verbs.[28]

Verbs can also act as arguments without any further derivation. Everything they need is being accompanied by a demonstrative. Such a construction can be analysed as a headless relative clause.

3.6.3   Other parts of speech

There are personal pronouns for first and second person singular and plural, but not for the third person. To refer to a third person pronominally, a demonstrative or topic pronoun can be used.[29] There is also a topic pronoun for inanimate obliques. Three nominal demonstratives can be distinguished. One of them is exclusively used in locative contexts and could also be defined as an adverb since it has nominal and adverbial demonstrative functions.

There are only a few adjectives since most properties and qualities that are encoded by adjectives in other languages are expressed by stative verbs in Paunaka. The adjective *micha* 'good' and its derivations show up quite frequently in the corpus, as do *(mu)temena* 'big' and the deictic adjective *kana* 'this size', which is accompanied by a gesture. All other adjectives are used very rarely.

All numerals except for *chÿnachÿ* 'one' are borrowed from Spanish. The numerals *ruschÿ* 'two' and *treschÿ* 'three' are both relatively fixed with the third person marker *-chÿ*, just like *chÿnachÿ*. Numerals higher than three can also attach *-chÿ*, but the higher the number, the less likely that *-chÿ* appears on it. Some of the quantifiers derive from Bésɨro. They hardly ever modify nouns, but are rather used predicatively or modify a verb.

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27. One exception is *trabaku* 'work', which can be used as predicate or argument.

28. Note that both Baure and Trinitario integrate Spanish verbs into their verbal systems by cognate suffixes.

29. Topic pronouns are used among other things to topicalise third person referents, they are described in more detail in Section 4.1.2.

Among the adverbs are words that express locative, temporal, aspectual and modal relations.

There is a number of connectives, some borrowed from Spanish and others of presumable Paunaka origin (cf. Danielsen & Terhart 2015a). Regarding their word class, some of them may be defined as particles and others as adverbs, but they are described together in one section due to their common function.

Four prepositions could be identified. They possibly derive from verbs, two of them being highly grammaticalised and two less so. There is one general oblique preposition *(-)tÿpi*, the others are used with source, accompaniment and instrument or cause expressions.

In the following chapter minor parts of speech are presented in more detail.

4 Minor word classes

The major word classes in Paunaka can be considered nouns and verbs, just like in many other languages around the world. They are large and open and described in detail in Chapters 5 and 6, respectively.

There are, however, also minor word classes, minor in the sense that they are rather small, with considerably less members. Only one of them can be considered absolutely closed, this is the pronouns and nominal demonstratives. Adpositions can also be considered a fairly closed class. Among adjectives, numerals, quantifiers, adverbs, and connectives, however, we find loans from Spanish and Bésɨro, which shows that these classes are open for new members.

This chapter is organised as follows: 4.1 is about pronouns and nominal demonstratives. In 4.2, adjectives and numerals are described. 4.3 deals with different kinds of adverbs. The topic of 4.4 is prepositions and 4.5 offers a description of connective words. There are no articles in Paunaka.

4.1 Pronouns and nominal demonstratives

This section is about pronouns, both personal and topic pronouns, and about nominal demonstratives. The reason why they are all treated together here is that first, there is no personal pronoun for the third person, so that a topic pronoun or nominal demonstrative can be used to fill this gap and second, there are certain overlaps in the way how pronouns and nominal demonstratives are construed. These overlaps also include the demonstrative adverbs and are illustrated in Figure 4.1.

personal pronouns	nÿ	+	ti
	pi	+	ti
	bi	+	ti
	e	+	ti
topic pronouns	chi	+	bu
	ne	+	bu
nominal/adverbial demonstrative	ne	+	chÿ + u
nominal demonstratives	e	+	chÿ + u
	e	+	ka
adverbial demonstratives	na	+	ka
	na	+	uku

Figure 4.1: The composition of personal and topic pronouns and demonstratives

The figure shows that personal pronouns consist of a person prefix (*nÿ-, pi-, bi-, e-*) and a suffix *-ti*. There is no third person pronoun, but the topic pronoun *chibu* can fill this gap in some contexts. Just like the personal pronouns, *chibu* has a person prefix,

the third person marker *chÿ-* or *chi-*, but another suffix is added, which is *-bu.* This suffix also occurs on *nebu,* the oblique variant of the topic pronoun (though with a somehow restricted use). The prefix *ne-* again is also found on *nechÿu,* which is analysed as demonstrative with nominal and adverbial function. It shares with the nominal demonstrative *echÿu* that both end in *-chÿ-u. Echÿu* has in common with the other nominal demonstrative *eka* that they both begin with *e-,* while both *eka* and *naka,* the latter being the proximal demonstrative adverb, end in *-ka.* The other demonstrative adverb is *nauku.* This one also starts with *na-,* it ends in *-uku.* A suffix *-uku* can be attached to personal pronouns to predicate location (see Example (141) below) and this is where the circle closes.

In addition to the words given in Figure 4.1, there is a negative third person pronoun, which is *chÿina.* It alternates with *chibu* and is thus described in the section on topic pronouns. There are also some additional deictic words that seem to build on the prefix *ne-,* but they are described elsewhere: for *nechikue* 'therefore, that's why' see 4.5, and for *nena* '(be) like/similar to, resemble' see 7.2.7.

The remainder of this section is structured as follows. First, personal pronouns are described in more detail in 4.1.1. Section 4.1.2 then turns to topic pronouns . The three nominal demonstratives are discussed in 4.1.3 and finally, use of two question words as indefinite pronouns is described in 4.1.4.

4.1.1   Personal pronouns

As has been stated above, the personal pronouns are composed of the person markers (see 6.4 and 5.3) and a syllable *ti,* which is probably identical to the non-possessed marker *-ti* (see 5.3.1). They closely resemble the pronouns found in the other Bolivian Arawakan languages and to a lesser degree also the ones found in more distantly related Arawakan languages (cf. Danielsen 2011b). There is no third person pronoun, but a topic pronoun (see 4.1.2) or nominal demonstrative (see 4.1.3) can be used instead. All personal pronouns are listed in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Personal Pronouns

Pronoun	Gloss	Translation
nÿti	1SG.PRN	I
piti	2SG.PRN	you
biti	1PL.PRN	we
eti	2PL.PRN	you

The personal pronouns are used for special emphasis and are thus most often found in preverbal position. They do not alternate with person indexes on the verb, unlike in some other Arawakan languages,[1] i.e. personal pronoun and person index co-occur in Paunaka.

(136) comes from Miguel who was talking about the past with Juan C.

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1. This is the case in rather distantly related languages, but it is also true for a special set of focus pronouns in the Kampan language Nanti (cf. Michael 2008:346), which is a little closer to Paunaka. Alternation of personal pronouns and person markers is not found in the Southern Arawakan languages.

(136) *eti ebÿsÿupunu naka epajÿkutu naka*

    eti   *e-bÿsÿupunu naka e-pajÿku-tu*   *naka*
    2PL.PRN 2PL-come   here 2PL-stay-IAM here

    'you came here and stayed here'

<div align="right">[mqx-p110826l.061]</div>

In (137), Juana corrects her previous assumption that Miguel would have visited me in Concepción, when I had visited him in Santa Rita.

(137) *aa piti piyunu nauku chubiuyae*

    aa   *piti*   *pi-yunu nauku chÿ-ubiu-yae*
    INTJ 2SG.PRN 2SG-go there   3-house-LOC

    'ah, you went there to his house'

<div align="right">[jxx-e110923l-1.028]</div>

Some morphology can be added to personal pronouns, among them the diminutive (5.7), additive (6.9.2), limitative (6.9.3), and some of the TAM markers (6.8.1).

(138) has an uncertainty marker attached to the pronoun. The sentence comes from Juana who had hoped that Miguel would come by, because she had forgotten the name of a bird. She thought that either he might know the name or could at least help her remember it.

(138) *echÿu chichupa o nÿtikena*

    echÿu chi-chupa   *o* *nÿti-kena*
    DEMb 3-know.IRR or 1SG.PRN-UNCERT

    'either he would know it or maybe I would'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-1.094]</div>

In (139), the fact that Miguel talked about former times is made explicit by the use of the remote marker, which attaches to the pronoun in this case.

(139) *bitibane bubiuyae naka Turuxhiyae*

    biti-bane   *bi-ubiu-yae*   *naka Turuxhi-yae*
    1PL.PRN-REM 1PL-house-LOC here Altavista-LOC

    'before, we used to live here in Altavista'

<div align="right">[mxx-p110825l.012]</div>

Specific to pronouns is the attachment of locative copular morpheme *-uku* 'PRN.LOC' for predication of location of the referent. This morpheme could also have played a role in the grammaticalisation of the distal demonstrative adverb *nauku* 'there' and possibly also the non-verbal existential copula *kaku* (see also discussion in 4.1.3). It is homophonous with the additive marker, but can be distinguished from it by context. Compare (140) with the additive marker and (141) with the locative copular morpheme.

In (140), Miguel tells me about how it came he went to school. Some other children showed him their exercises, told him he would learn to write his name and invited

him. They had already learned something, and Miguel wanted to follow suit. The additive marker does not only occur on the pronoun here, but also on both verbs of the complement construction.

(140)   *entonses nÿtiuku nÿsachuku nituka*

entonses	*nÿti-uku*	*nÿ-sachu-uku*	*ni-itu-uka*
thus	1SG.PRN-ADD	1SG-want-ADD	1SG-master-ADD.IRR

‘thus I also wanted to learn it’

<div align="right">[mxx-p181027l-1.013]</div>

(141) was elicited from Juana for the purpose of me being able to say it to everyone I meet. There is no addition involved here.[2]

(141)   *tÿbutu nÿtiuku naka*

ti-ÿbutu	*nÿti-uku*	*naka*
3i-be.long.time-IAM	1SG.PRN-PRN.LOC	here

‘it has been a long time since I was here’

<div align="right">[jxx-e150925l-1.046]</div>

Personal pronouns can only be used if the referent is the subject of the clause. If the referent is the object, a person-marked form of the oblique preposition *-tÿpi* is used instead. There are very few examples of conominal marking of an object by the oblique preposition in the corpus, and in all of them, the object is emphasised, as is the case in Example (142). The first person singular object is already encoded by a person marker on the verb in this case. The sentence was produced by María S. in an elicitation session. I had asked her about a sentence from Juana which I had not understood, so she made a suggestion what the original sentence could have been.

(142)   *nÿtÿpi tikichupunÿnube*

nÿ-tÿpi	*ti-kichupu-nÿ-nube*
1SG-OBL	3i-wait-1SG-PL

‘for me they are waiting’

<div align="right">[rxx-e181022le.201]</div>

Any other relation is also encoded by the oblique marker, e.g. a recipient. In (143), the recipient cannot be indexed on the verb (an object index would be understood as to encode the patient or theme in this specific case). The sentence comes from Miguel who told María C. about a leaflet for the workshop on Paunaka we had planned in 2011.

(143)   *binejika eka ajumerku pitÿpi*

bi-nejika	*eka*	*ajumerku*	*pi-tÿpi*
1PL-leave.IRR	DEMa	paper	2PL-OBL

‘we will leave this paper with you’

<div align="right">[mux-c110810l.011]</div>

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2. For more examples see 7.2.4.

4.1.2 Topic pronouns

There are two topic pronouns, *chibu* and *nebu*. Both exclusively have third person referents, *chibu* is used with subjects and objects, *nebu* with obliques, mainly locations. The term "topic pronoun" may be a bit misleading, since prototypical topics are encoded by person markers alone. The pronouns rather have to do with topicalisation of accessible, but non-topical participants, and *chibu* is also often used to indicate contrastive topics or focus. Both pronouns thus contribute to discourse cohesion. They always occupy the first position of a clause, which is associated with topicalisation or focus (see 7.1.4). *Chibu* is found in more contexts than *nebu* and can partly be used to fill the gap in the paradigm of personal pronouns (see 4.1.1 above).

Considering *chibu* first, we can distinguish an endophoric – or more precisely anaphoric – and an exophoric use of the pronoun. In its anaphoric use, it can take up a referent mentioned, but only if there is low referential distance to the previous occurrence of it (cf. Givón 1985:13). In other words, the referent has been mentioned very shortly before. This can be the preceding clause or a left dislocated NP.

In (144), there are two left-dislocated NPs, which introduce the contrastive topics of the two coordinated clauses. They are both resumed by *chibu*, which serves as the co-nominal subject of the verbs. The example comes from Juana telling me how she learned different languages. The commas indicate clause boundaries by intonation.

(144) *yeye Maritina, chibu timesumeikunÿ eka tiseteiku, i nÿuse Kuana chibu*
       timesumeikunÿ paunaka

yeye	*Maritina*	*chibu*	*ti-mesumeiku-nÿ*	*eka*	*tiseteiku*	*i*
granny	Martina	3TOP.PRN	3i-teach-1SG	DEMa	Bésɨro	and

nÿ-use	*Kuana*	*chibu*	*ti-mesumeiku-nÿ*	*paunaka*
1SG-grandmother	Juana	3TOP.PRN	3i-teach-1SG	Paunaka

'Mrs. Martina, she taught me Bésɨro, and my grandmother Juana, she taught me Paunaka'

[jxx-p120430l-1.044-048]

A similar example with a contrastive topic preceded by a left-dislocated subject is (145). The left-dislocated subject is expressed by an unmarked headless relative clause in this case (*tikuyaechi ubiae* 'the one who owns the house'). It is common that verbs of possession are used as arguments in Paunaka. The sentence also comes from Juana who was afraid that their landlord was betraying them, since they had to pay for electricity.

(145) *"kue arkilaubina tikuyaechi ubiae chibu tisipuiku", tikechu*

kue	*arkilau-bi-ina*	*ti-kuyae-chi*	*ubiae*	*chibu*	*ti-sipuiku*	*ti-kechu*
if	rent-1PL-IRR.NV	3i-own-3	house	3TOP.PRN	3i-pay	3i-say

'"if we rent (a house), the owner of the house, he pays (for electricity)", she said'

[jxx-p120430l-1.350]

In (146), the referent of *chibu* is mentioned in the preceding clause. This example also includes contrast. The two clauses, i.e. the one including the antecedent and the one with *chibu* referring to this antecedent, are produced by one and the same speaker in this case, but this is not necessarily the case. It is also possible to connect to an antecedent mentioned by another speaker with the pronoun. *Chibu* is the object of the clause in this case, but this only became apparent because María S. translated her

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sentence for me later on, it could also well be the subject (i.e. 'he accompanied her to town'). The statement is about her sister Juana, who was the one who did the shopping in town for the family in the old days, buying soap and salt and other things that the family could not grow on their field. Later on, she founded her own family and then did the shopping for herself together with her husband.

(146) *kakutu chima chibu chebaneupu uneku*

      kaku-tu   *chi-ima*   *chibu*   *chi-eibaneu-pu* *uneku*
      exist-IAM 3-husband 3TOP.PRN 3-pursue-DLOC town

      'when she had a husband, it was him whom she accompanied (going) to town'
                                             [rxx-p181101l-2.104]

One peculiarity is that in clauses that include *chibu,* verbs with a third person subject and third person object are most often indexed by a prefix *ti-* for the subject and a suffix *-chÿ* for the object (insofar, (146) is exceptional). It is highly unusual in general that this combination of indexes is used (see 6.4.2.2), 3 > 3 relationships are normally encoded by the prefix *chÿ-*, see 6.4.2. One example for subject and object indexing by a combination of *ti-* and *-chÿ* is given in (147). It comes from María C. who had just described how sorcerers killed her father. This sentence thus provides a kind of summary.

(147) *chibu tikupakuchÿ*

      chibu   *ti-kupaku-chÿ*
      3TOP.PRN 3i-kill-3

      'this killed him'

                                             [ump-p110815sf.165]

If the referent of *chibu* is the object, speakers generally prefer a cleft construction. In this case, *chibu* is followed by a relative clause (see also 8.5.4). This does neither mean that a cleft construction is demanded if *chibu* is the object, nor that a cleft construction is excluded if *chibu* is the subject, but a tendency is noticeable.

(148) is an example for *chibu* used in a cleft construction. It comes from Juana who told me how some of her siblings died.

(148) *tikutiukumÿnÿ Akustin, chibu echÿu nÿmijÿkubane Akustin*

      ti-kutiu-uku-mÿnÿ *Akustin* *chibu*   *echÿu* *nÿ-mijÿku-bane* *Akustin*
      3i-be.ill-ADD-DIM Agustín 3TOP.PRN DEMb 1SG-raise-REM Agustín

      'Agustín also got ill, he is the one I raised, Agustín
                                      [jxx-p120430l-2.473-474]

Chibu can also be used as the argument of a non-verbal predicate. This is the case in (149), a sentence Miguel produced when telling me about the history of Santa Rita.

(149) *chanaunubetu echÿu albanilnube echÿu ubiae chibu echÿu xhikuera*

      chÿ-anau-nube-tu *echÿu* *albanil-nube* *echÿu* *ubiae* *chibu*   *echÿu* *xhikuera*
      3-make-PL-IAM   DEMb bricklayer-PL DEMb house 3TOP.PRN DEMb school

      'the bricklayers made the house, which is the school'

                                         [mxx-p110825l.116]

The pronoun can not only refer to a single aforementioned item, but also to whole situations. This is the case in (150). Juan C. had just explained that he would like to have a book which shows pictures of animals together with their names in Paunaka. Miguel uses *chibu* to refer to all the things he mentioned; the book, the drawings and the names.

(150) *chakuyekena chibu echÿu tisumachunube eka donya Lena, donya Sintia*

    chÿ-a-kuye-kena   *chibu*   *echÿu ti-sumachu-nube eka*   *donya*
    3-IRR-be.like.this.IRR-UNCERT 3TOP.PRN DEMb 3i-want-PL   DEMa HON

      Lena donya Sintia
      Lena HON   Swintha

    'it will be like this, this is what Lena and Swintha want'

                                                         [mqx-p110826l.685-688]

Chibu often occurs in sentences that sum up what has been said before. If used in such a way, *chibu* signals that a discourse topic is coming to an end. It anticipates the switch to a new discourse topic, like in (151) and (152), and is thus an important means of discourse organisation.

In (151), María S. speaks about the scarcity of meat, when she was a child. She listed some crops her parents grew and explained that they made *patasca*, a thick stew. *Chibu* refers back to the stew, the clause finishes the food topic by expressing that this was an exhaustive listing. María S. reinforces this reading by closing the section with the stem *kuye* (abbreviated from the manner demonstrative verb *chi-kuye*) 'it was like that' or 'that's it'. Actually, in this specific case, María S. went on telling me that they ground peanuts, but this can be considered an addition, something that she had just remembered was missing in her account about nutrition in her childhood.

(151) *tebuku esekeÿ banau pujukeke chibu biniku. kuye*

    ti-ebuku esekeÿ bi-anau   *pujukeke chibu*   *bi-niku kuye*
    3i-sow   bean   1PL-make patasca 3TOP.PRN 1PL-eat be.like.this

    'they sowed beans, we made *patasca*, this we ate. It was like that'

                                                      [rxx-p181101l-2.202]

(152) is an example, in which the end of the conversational topic is even verbalised. *Chibu* refers to the whole account about the past of Santa Rita, to everything that Miguel had just told me.

(152) *chibu echÿu nÿkueteiku naka chitÿpi eka pasau*

    chibu   *echÿu nÿ-kueteiku naka chi-tÿpi eka*   *pasau*
    3TOP.PRN DEMb 1SG-tell   here 3-OBL DEMa past

    'this is what I told [you] here about the past'

                                                      [mxx-p110825l.142-145]

Up to here, all examples showed the anaphoric use of *chibu*, but it can also have exophoric referents. Just like in anaphoric use, *chibu* has to occupy the first position of the clause. It differs in this respect from the nominal demonstratives, whose position in the clause is less restricted. In exophoric use, *chibu* often occurs in non-verbal clauses

that specify the identity of somebody (equative or proper inclusion, see 7.2.1) and thus function like "demonstrative identifiers" (Diessel 1999:79).

In the following example, Juana asks for a photo on the desktop of my laptop.

(153) *¿chibu pijinepÿimÿnÿ?*

    chibu   *pi-jinepÿi-mÿnÿ*
    3TOP.PRN 2SG-daughter-DIM

    'this is your little daughter?'

<div align="right">[jxx-e120430l-3a]</div>

(154) comes from a story told by Miguel. It is about a man whose cows are taken away by the spirit of the hill.[3] After searching for them in vain, the spirit invites the man to come with him and the man accepts. Having taken him to his world inside the hill, the spirit shows the man his cows:

(154) *"chibu eka bakajane eka pisemaiku", tikechuchÿji echÿu pÿsi*

    chibu   *eka*   *baka-jane*   *eka*   *pi-semaiku* *ti-kechu-chÿ-ji* *echÿu*
    3TOP.PRN DEMa   cow-DISTR DEMa 2SG-search 3i-say-3-RPRT DEMb
       pÿsi
       spirit.of.hill

    '"these are the cows that you were looking for", the spirit of the hill said to him, it is said'

<div align="right">[mxx-n151017l-1.44]</div>

(155) is from María S. and the context is as follows. I had brought gingerbread from Germany to give away to the people. Some days before I actually gave it to them, I had already announced to María S. that I brought some Christmas pastry. Upon receiving it, she said:

(155) *aa chibu echÿu pikuetea*

    aa   *chibu*   *echÿu* *pi-kuetea*
    INTJ 3TOP.PRN DEMb 2SG-tell

    'ah, this is what you spoke about'

<div align="right">[jrx-c151001fls-8.27]</div>

Finally, in the elicited Example (156), *chibu* is an emphasised pronominal third person subject.

(156) *chibu timukukukubu*

    chibu   *ti-mukukuku-bu*
    3TOP.PRN 3i-sleep.CONT-MID

    'SHE is sleeping'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181024l]</div>

Chibu cannot be negated (with one counter-example in an elicitation context). In negative sentences, the negative pronoun *chÿina* is used instead. This pronoun is clearly

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3. The complete story is given in the appendix.

analysable as composed of the third person marker *chÿ-* plus the non-verbal irrealis marker *-ina*. Two examples follow to illustrate the use of it.

(154) comes from Isidro who tries to identify a picture on a puzzle game. It was actually a squirrel that was depicted, which he found out shortly after.

(157)   *chÿina echÿu kupisaÿrÿ, chÿina*

    chÿina   *echÿu*   *kupisaÿrÿ*   *chÿina*
    3NEG.PRN DEMb   fox   3NEG.PRN

    'this one is not a fox, it is not'

<div align="right">[dxx-d120416s.021]</div>

(158) was elicited from María S.

(158)   *chÿina nÿpukaina*

    chÿina   *nÿ-puka-ina*
    3NEG.PRN 1SG-firewood-IRR.NV

    'it is not my firewood'

<div align="right">[rxx-e201231f.09]</div>

Contrary to *chibu, nebu* is used when the syntactic function to be expressed is that of a non-core argument. More precisely, it refers to a location in most of the cases, sometimes also to a goal or a temporal point. *Nebu* is only used anaphorically. It is never negated, nor do I know that any alternative form would replace it in negation. It often has the same summarising function as *chibu*.

In (159), *nebu* refers to a location that was previously described in Juana's account about her family members.

(159)   *i chima tiyÿseikuku nauku punachÿ chenekÿ tÿpi Cochabamba, nebu chubiu*

    i   *chi-ima*   *ti-yÿseiku-uku*   *nauku*   *punachÿ*   *chenekÿ*   *tÿpi*   *Cochabamba,*
    and 3-husband 3i-buy-ADD   there   other   way   OBL   Cochabamba
        nebu   *chÿ-ubiu*
        3OBL.TOP.PRN 3-house

    'and her husband also bought (terrain) there by the other road to Cochabamba, there is his house'
<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-1.407-409]</div>

In (160), Juan C. tells Miguel about a stage in his life.[4]

(160)   *niyunu nakaupupunu Ingavi. nebu trabakunÿ*

    ni-yunu   *naka-upupunu*   *Ingavi*   *nebu*   *trabaku-nÿ*
    1SG-go   here-REG   Ingavi   3OBL.TOP.PRN work-1SG

    'I went back here to Ingavi. There I worked'
<div align="right">[mqx-p110826l.478-480]</div>

In (161), *nebu* refers to a goal. The example comes from Juana who told me about the death of her sister.

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4. Ingavi is a province in the department of La Paz, the use of *naka* 'here' to refer to it is a bit unexpected. It might be the case that there is a place closer by which is also called Ingavi.

(161) *tepajÿku la clinica América nebu chumunube*

ti-pajÿku   la clinica América   nebu   chÿ-umu-nube
3i-stay   the clinic América   3OBL.TOP.PRN   3-take-PL

'she stayed in the clinic *América,* to there they had taken her'

[jxx-p120430l-2.215-217]

In (162), the referent of *nebu* can either be analysed as a location or an instrument for writing. The example stems from Miguel telling me about how he started to go to school in Altavista.

(162) *"pikechuchÿji echÿu pia tisemaika echÿu yÿkÿke tana taurapamÿnÿ i nebu pisuikia",*
tikechu

pi-kechu-chÿ-ji   echÿu   pi-a   ti-semaika   echÿu   yÿkÿke   ti-ana
2SG-say-3-IMP   DEMb   2SG-father   3i-search.IRR   DEMb   wood   3i-make.IRR

taurapa-mÿnÿ   i   nebu   pi-suik-i-a   ti-kechu
board-DIM   and   3OBL.TOP.PRN   2SG-write-SUBORD-IRR   3i-say

'"tell your father to look for wood to make a small board and on that one you can write", he said'

[mxx-p181027l-1.022]

Like *chibu, nebu* can also refer to a whole situation rather than a specific place, like in (163), a sentence with which Miguel finishes telling the story about the fox and the jaguar. Actually Juana takes over in this case and Miguel intervenes again so that finally two more episodes follow.

(163) *nebujiku echÿu tÿnajiku echÿu kuento. pero nebu eka bien nÿchupu*

nebu-jiku   echÿu   ti-ÿnai-jiku   echÿu   kuento   pero   nebu
3OBL.TOP.PRN-LIM1   DEMb   3i-be.long-LIM1   DEMb   story   but   3OBL.TOP.PRN

eka   bien   nÿ-chupu
DEMa   well   1SG-know

'until here it goes, the story is just very long. But until here is what I know well'

[jmx-n120429ls-x5.216-219]

Finally, it is also possible to make a reference to a previously mentioned time with *nebu*. In that case, the iamitive marker *-tu* (see 6.8.1.1) usually follows the pronoun. This is the case in (164), which comes from Juana.

(164) *metu nijÿkutu te nebutu eka nÿsamu echÿu tiseteiku*

metu   ni-jÿku-tu   te   nebu-tu   eka   nÿ-samu   echÿu
already   1SG-grow-IAM   SEQ   3OBL.TOP.PRN-IAM   DEMa   1SG-hear   DEMb

tiseteiku
Bésɨro

'when I had already grown older, only then it was that I heard Bésɨro'

[jxx-p120430l-1.033]

4.1.3 Nominal demonstratives

Paunaka has three nominal demonstratives, *eka* 'DEMa', *echÿu* 'DEMb' and *nechÿu* 'DEMc'. All of them can have exophoric and endophoric referents, and all can be used pronominally and adnominally without change of form. According to Diessel (1999:60), "most languages use the same demonstrative forms in the position of independent pronouns and adjacent to a cooccuring [sic!] noun"; this type of demonstrative has been called "nominal demonstrative" by Dixon (2003:65). When used adnominally, the nominal demonstratives always precede the noun in Paunaka. There are no articles, neither definite nor indefinite ones, with which the nominal demonstratives could contrast. *Nechÿu* is used in spatial contexts. This is explained in the end of this section. I first provide information about *eka* and *echÿu*. In short, both of these demonstratives seem to have partly developed into definite articles, but speakers differ in which of the two is generalised. Because of this confusion, I has been impossible to find out in which feature(s) *eka* and *echÿu* contrast. This is why they are generally translated with a definite article throughout this work.

To start with, the following examples show the pronominal and adnominal use of the two nominal demonstratives. (165) is an example of *eka* being used pronominally and (166) shows the same demonstrative being used adnominally. (167) and (168) show the same two usages with *echÿu*.

In (165), María S. uses *eka* (with plural marking) to refer to her aforementioned sisters who moved to town, thus the Supepí family does no longer live together in Santa Rita.

(165)   *depue tiyununube ekanube uneku*

    depue   *ti-yunu-nube* *eka-nube* *uneku*
    afterwards 3i-go-PL   DEMa-PL town

    'then they went to town (to live there)'

                                      [rxx-p181101l-2.266]

(166) was produced by Juana when she collected loam in the vicinity of Santa Rita to make an earthen pot for her daughter.

(166)   *netuka eka muteji naka nichÿtiyae*

    nÿ-etuka   *eka*   *muteji* *naka* *ni-chÿti-yae*
    1SG-put.IRR DEMa loam   here 1SG-head-LOC

    'I will put the loam here on my head'

                                        [jmx-d110918ls-1.041]

In (167), Juana uses *echÿu* to refer to her aforementioned grandson for whom she cared.

(167)   *i trabakuyÿchina repente echÿu tanÿma tenikane*

    i   *trabaku-yÿchi-ina* *repente* *echÿu* *tanÿma* *ti-nika-ne*
    and work-LIM2-IRR.NV maybe DEMb now   3i-feed.IRR-1SG

    'and once he works, maybe he will support me'

                                      [jxx-p110923l-1.208-211]

Table 4.2: Annotations with the nominal demonstratives *eka* 'DEMa' and *echÿu* 'DEMb'

Speaker	Annotations with DEMa and/or DEMb	Annotations with DEMa	Annotations with DEMb
	in % of total number of annotations by speaker		
Juana	15.5	11.1	4.8
Miguel	18.5	7.8	11.7
María S.	5.0	2.2	2.8
María C.	10.8	4.9	6.1
Clara	13.2	6.5	6.9

(168) was produced by Miguel, when he told the story about the two hunters who meet the devil in the woods. The devil eats up all the animals they hunted.

(168)   *tibukubutuji echÿu chÿeche*

    ti-buku-bu-tu-ji   *echÿu* *chÿeche*
    3i-finish-MID-IAM-RPRT DEMb meat

    'the meat was finished, it is said' (i.e. there was no meat left)
                                   [mxx-n101017s-1.044]

As has been stated above, the semantic or functional distinction between *eka* and *echÿu* is not straightforward. Demonstratives usually "indicate the relative distance of an object, location or person vis-à-vis the deictic center" (Diessel 1999:36). Nonetheless, I never got the impression that distance plays a role in the speakers' choice of one or the other nominal demonstrative. I had actually planned to spend some time on demonstrative elicitation on a fieldtrip that was originally scheduled for 2020, but could not take place due to the corona pandemic. Thus I can only rely on the use of demonstrative as found in the corpus. Unfortunately, I found that there is little concordance between the speakers in their usage of the two demonstratives.

Table 4.2 illustrates how different speakers use the nominal demonstratives *eka* and *echÿu*. The number of a speaker's annotations, in which a demonstrative occurs is hereby correlated with the total number of annotations by that speaker. The whole transcribed part of the corpus is included, i.e. the count contains elicitation as well as more spontaneous speech. I counted only non-inflected uses of *eka* and *echÿu*. I only included the speakers for whom I have more than 500 annotations. Annotations are relatively short and comprise intonation units. One annotation unit may be a complete sentence, a clause or less than this, in some cases also more. However, average length of annotations is relatively consistent throughout the corpus. There are still shortcomings, e.g. especially in the beginning of the project, Spanish comments by the speakers were sometimes transcribed on the same tier as Paunaka speech. The corpus was never created to do statistical analyses, so I explicitly do not want to make any absolute claims here. Nonetheless, I think that this count is apt to show certain tendencies in the usage of the nominal demonstratives.

What becomes apparent is that my three main consultants, Juana, Miguel and María S., use nominal demonstratives very differently: Juana prefers *eka* to *echÿu*,[5] while Miguel uses *echÿu* more often than *eka*. Both seem to have (partly) grammaticalised one demonstrative as a determiner,[6] but not the same one. María S. on the other hand, does not use many demonstratives in general – the number of annotations with demonstratives is significantly lower for her than for any other of the speakers compared here. Given these differences, it is extremely hard to make any generalisations about the use of nominal demonstratives in general and about the distinction between *eka* and *echÿu* in particular.

I had some hypothesis concerning the difference, but in trying to find proof of them in the corpus, I recognised that examples in favour often came from a single speaker and could not be confirmed with data from the others, thus they remain speculative for the time being.[7] It would thus definitely be necessary to do some video-recorded elicitation with each of the speakers, analyse the results for each of them individually, and check the results with their usage in larger portions of text, before possibly arriving at a more general classification.[8]

Eka and *echÿu* do not resemble the nominal demonstratives found in Baure or Terena in form, but they share some traits with the demonstrative and pronominal system found in Trinitario. Since I believe the Trinitario system may shed some light on the Paunaka one, I will provide a short comparison. The information about Trinitario is based on the descriptions by Rose (2015b, 2017).

Paunaka has two third person prefixes on verbs, *ti-* and *chÿ-*. They do not distinguish number or gender, but are used according to transitivity of the verb and person of the object (see 6.4.2). On nouns, only *chÿ-* is used to mark third person possessors (see 5.3). Like Paunaka, Trinitario has a third person marker *ti-*, which occurs in similar contexts as the Paunaka one. However, in addition to *ti-*, Trinitario does not only have a single contrasting third person marker, but a whole set of different ones which distinguish gender, number and non-humanness. To give but one example, the feminine singular third person marker is *su-*. Person markers can also occur as free forms in Trinitario. They function as articles in this case, so *su* is the feminine singular article, and it is also analysed as the third person singular feminine root. Third person pronouns are derived from third person roots by prefixing *e-*, thus the third person singular feminine pronoun is *esu*. Turning back to Paunaka now, the demonstrative *echÿu* seems to be derived by the same principle; a prefix *e-* is attached to a third person root *chÿ*, which can also act as a third person marker on verbs and nouns (*chÿ-*).[9] The difference to the Trinitario system is a) that *chÿ-* never occurs as a free form, b) that the Paunaka

5. It should be mentioned here that Juana sometimes uses *eka* as a filler in hesitation or to introduce clauses, so that the actual number of *eka* being used as nominal demonstrative is certainly a bit lower than indicated in the table. Nonetheless, a qualitative check of her data reveals that she does indeed use *eka* more often than *echÿu* as a nominal demonstrative.
6. I use the restriction of "(partly)" here because the demonstratives are still not used obligatorily with every definite NP.
7. One thing I can say with relative certainty is that Miguel even uses *echÿu* with specific, but indefinite referents sometimes. This may also be true for María S. and Juana, but the data was not sufficiently clear to make a general claim about it.
8. It would be interesting in particular to find out whether speakers use the demonstratives contrastively in contexts in which two objects of the same kind have to be referred to, one of them being located more closely and the other more distantly with respect to the speaker. Such tests were created and employed by Admiraal (2016) in her research on the Baure grammar of space.
9. Note also that a prefix *e-* is used in Baure to derive free forms from inalienably possessed nouns with an unknown or unspecified possessor (Danielsen 2007:119). In Paunaka, there is only one possible lexicalised occurrence of this prefix on a noun (Danielsen & Terhart subm).

form also occurs adnominally (hence its analysis as a nominal demonstrative, not as a personal pronoun) and c) that a vowel *u* is added to the end of the demonstrative. In addition, the Paunaka demonstrative lacks the specificity in gender and number, but this is due to the presumed root *chÿ* not expressing this difference. As for the ending in *u*, this could actually be cognate to the demonstrative suffix *-ro* of Trinitario considering that the vowel **o* of the common ancestor of both languages changed to *u* in Paunaka and that **r* was lost (cf. de Carvalho 2018). Demonstratives are construed with a prefix *p-* in Trinitario, to which a person root is added. Eight different demonstrative suffixes can be added optionally. Together with two other suffixes, *-ro* forms a subset. This subset works as "a speaker-centered distance-oriented three-term system" (Rose 2017:2), with *-ro* being the marker that encodes medial distance. This also fits with the medial nominal and adverbial demonstrative *nechÿu* in Paunaka, which only takes a different prefix (see below).

Turning to *eka* now, we can also find some similarities with Trinitario. *Eka* does not include a person marker, but just like *echÿu*, it has a prefix *e-*. The morpheme *-ka* is reminiscent of Trinitario *-ka*, which is the demonstrative suffix encoding proximate distance.[10] This analysis is fostered by the form of the proximate adverbial demonstrative being *naka* 'here' in Paunaka.

It seems thus plausible that *eka* encodes proximate and *echÿu* medial distance or that they once encoded this distinction and lost it at some point.[11] If there was a medial demonstrative, a third demonstrative encoding distal distance would also be expected, but there is none in Pauanaka.[12] According to Diessel (1999:38), distance-neutral demonstratives are cross-linguistically rare, but do occur.[13]

Although their basic deictic functions thus remain unclear for the time being, it is noticeable that both *eka* and *echÿu* have further grammaticalised into various directions. Both are used to introduce relative clauses, but *echÿu* is clearly preferred in this context (see 8.5.2). *Eka* can be used as a complementiser, although this is only a marginal strategy in complementation (see 8.4.3). *Eka* is also used as a filler in hesitation, especially by Juana, but generally, the question word *chija* 'what, who' more commonly fulfils this function. All three usages, relativisation, complementation and hesitation are common in the grammaticalisation path of nominal demonstratives (cf. Diessel 1999:ch. 6).

Furthermore, the demonstrative *eka* or more precisely the demonstrative morpheme *ka* may have played a role in word formation. First, there is the non-verbal existential copula *kaku*. According to Diessel (1999:143), non-verbal copulas can develop from demonstratives in identificational usage (i.e. uses of the kind "this is …" or "here/there is …"). The syllable *ku*, which is added to *ka* could be related to the locational suffix *-uku*, which can attach to personal pronouns (see 4.1.1 above). The copula is mainly used to encode the existence of something (like Spanish *haber*), but also with reference to location (like Spanish *estar*), the latter is illustrated by (169), which is a statement by Juana about her daughter.

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10. This suffix has an allomorph *-ni* in Trinitario, used in the context of a plural demonstrative.
11. The individually different use of demonstratives could possibly be analysed as an example of that sort of variability that is typical advanced language shift (cf. Palosaari & Campbell 2011:111-112).
12. The distal demonstrative suffix is *-ena* in Trinitario. No related suffix has been found in Paunaka. Note that the adverbial demonstratives start with *na-*, but this is not related to distance, since both proximal *naka* 'here' and distal *nauku* 'there' have this morpheme, see 4.3.1.
13. This only holds for adnominal and pronominal demonstratives. There are no distance-neutral demonstrative adverbs according to the author.

(169)   *kaku Espanya*

    kaku Espanya
    exist Spain

    'she is in Spain'

<div align="right">[jxx-p110923l-1.229]</div>

Second, apart from the existential copula, there is also a non-verbal predicate *ka-punu* 'come'. This one has probably arisen from the very same morpheme *ka* together with the associated motion suffix *-punu* (see 6.6.2). I suspect that it emerged as a presentational predicate ("here comes …"),[14] but has by now been extended to all contexts in which the action of coming is predicated to a third person referent, e.g. a question like in (170), which comes from Juana telling me about the life of her sister. Some soldiers asked her sister for her husband.

(170)   *"¿kapunu pima?"*

    kapunu pi-ima
    come   2SG-husband

    '"did your husband come?"'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-2.128]</div>

In addition, *ka* also appears in the question word *kajane* 'how many', together with the distributive marker *-jane* (see 7.4.2.4), as well as in the deictic adjective *kana* 'this size', which is always accompanied by a gesture showing the size (see 4.2.1).

The demonstrative *eka* cannot be used if the referent is in a spatial relation to the rest of the clause. *Echÿu* is sometimes used together with a locative-marked noun by Miguel, but not so much by the other speakers. Instead of this, they mostly resort to *nechÿu*, which can be used together with a locative-marked noun or without one, the latter being the case in (171). This example comes from Juana explaining the advantage of a fixed post in the market of Concepción, where she used to sell food.

(171)   *kuina tetukapu mutepa nechÿu*

    kuina ti-etuka-pu   mutepa nechÿu
    NEG   3i-put.IRR-MID   earth   DEMc

    'no dust can enter there'

<div align="right">[jxx-e110923l-2.164]</div>

Nechÿu could be analysed as a nominal or adverbial demonstrative.[15] In its composition, *ne-* and *-chÿ-u*, it resembles the pronoun *nebu* as well as the nominal demonstrative *echÿu* more than the demonstrative adverbs *naka* 'here' and *nauku* 'there' (see Figure 4.1 above). If an NP follows *nechÿu*, this NP is not modified by *eka* or *echÿu*, thus *nechÿu* seems to form a paradigm with those nominal demonstratives. This might be an argument in favour of an analysis as nominal demonstrative, but unfortunately the same restriction holds for NPs combining with the adverbs *naka* and *nauku*, so that this

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14. Note that Trinitario has such a presentational construction, in which an AM marker is attached to a third person pronoun or demonstrative (cf. Rose 2018a:68).

15. There are possibly differences between the speakers. I got the impression that Miguel uses *nechÿu* in much the same way he uses the Spanish medial adverb *ahí*, while Juana uses it more like one of the other nominal demonstratives.

restriction does not prove anything. *Nechÿu* often refers to an item or object, but it can also refer to a place as in (171) above. It is then usually place nouns that are combined with or anaphorically taken up by *nechÿu*, i.e. nouns that prototypically refer to places excluding toponyms (cf. Stolz et al. 2014:42). *Nauku* and *naka* mostly denote places expressed by both toponyms and place nouns.

Consider (172), in which *nechÿu* is combined with a noun. Whether it is an adverb or a nominal demonstrative is not clear, it could be both. Translation by a nominal demonstrative sounds better in this case, but this does not tell us anything about the word class of the original language. The example comes from a story by Miguel about a lazy man, who does not make his field. As a consequence, his family has nothing to eat anymore, so he finally climbs a *cusi* palm (*Attalea speciosa*) and cuts off his limbs pretending they were *cusi* racemes. From up on the top of the palm, he tells his son to put the supposed raceme (the second leg he has cut off) into his basket.

(172)   *"pue ¡pinukaji nechÿu sÿkikÿyae!"*

    pue   pi-nuka-ji   nechÿu sÿki-kÿ-yae
    well 2SG-put.IRR-IMP DEMc   basket-CLF:bounded-LOC

    '"well, put it into that basket!"'

<div align="right">[mox-n110920l.107]</div>

Nechÿu is not used with exophoric referents that are very close to the speaker or far away as far as I can tell. In Example (172) above, *nechÿu* is used to indicate a location close to the addressee: The basket supposedly stands on the ground, thus close to the son. The demonstrative thus indeed seems to be related to medial distance. When used anaphorically, however, no distance distinctions are made as far as I can tell.

I gloss *nechÿu* as 'DEMc' in this grammar, a gloss that suggests it is part of a paradigm together with the nominal demonstratives. This was a decision taken at some point, motivated by the similarity to *echÿu*, and by the fact that it often refers to items not to locations. However, I must admit at this point that I am insecure about this analysis. I suggest that there is considerable overlap in adverbial and nominal functions in this case,[16] and propose there is a continuum from more nominal to more adverbial demonstratives, in which *nechÿu* occupies a middle position, see Figure 4.2.

nominal   adverbial

←───→

eka/echÿu   *nechÿu*   *naka/nauku*
chibu/nebu
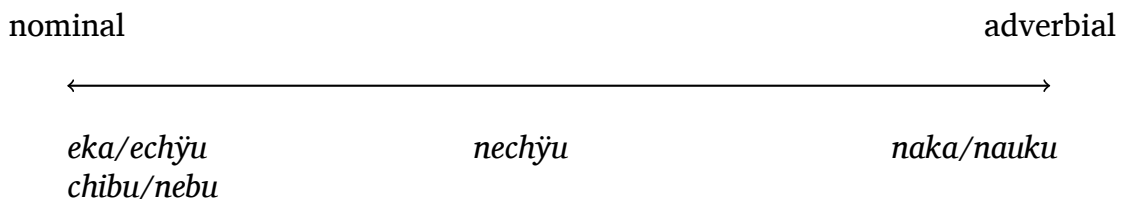
Figure 4.2: Continuum from more nominal to more adverbial demonstratives

A few more examples with *nechÿu* follow to illustrate the exophoric use of the demonstrative. In (173) and (174), it refers to something that is close to the speaker but not within the current interactional space.

In (173), *nechÿu* occurs with the locative marked NP *nuinekÿyae chubiu bia* 'at the door of the church'. With this utterance, Miguel described the location of a wooden figure in relation to some other wooden toys that I had placed on my notebook. It is

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16. See also Diessel (1999:75-78) for a discussion on how Finnish nominal demonstratives marked for external locational cases overlap with demonstrative adverbs.

thus a location I had control over, but Miguel had not, thus it was not in his engagement area.[17]

(173) *ja, kaku nechÿu nuinekÿyae chubiu bia*

    ja   *kaku* *nechÿu* *nuinekÿ-yae*   *chÿ-ubiu bia*
    AFM   exist DEMc   door-LOC   3-house God

    'yes, it is at the door of the church there'

<div align="right">[mox-e110914l-1.076]</div>

In (174), Juana tells me about her plans to put a cool box she had just bought in the corridor of her house to sell chicha. We were sitting in the yard, behind the house, the corridor was close to both of us, but not within our (shared) engagement area.

(174) *nÿsachu netuka nechÿu kureruyae*

    nÿ-sachu *nÿ-etuka*   *nechÿu* *kureru-yae*
    1SG-want 1SG-put.IRR DEMc   corridor-LOC

    'I want to put it in the corridor over there'

<div align="right">[jxx-e110923l-2.111]</div>

The following examples show the anaphoric use of *nechÿu*, i.e. its use to refer back to an antecedent that has either been mentioned by the same speaker or by another person. In (175), *nechÿu* refers to the school, *xhikuera*. The sentence comes from Juan C. talking with Miguel about their past and the history of the villages. They had just talked about how much San Miguelito de la Cruz had grown in the preceding decades.

(175) *nena tanÿma echÿu xhikuera kaku ruschÿ nechÿu, ruschÿ aula metu*

    nena tanÿma echÿu xhikuera kaku ruschÿ nechÿu ruschÿ aula metu
    like now   DEMb school   exist two   DEMc two   room already

    'it is like with the school now, there are two there, two rooms already'

<div align="right">[mqx-p110826l.184-186]</div>

A similar example is (176) by María S., where *nechÿu* anaphorically refers to the basket, which is construed as a location for clothes and some food and drink. Note that *-yunu apuke* has an idiomatic meaning 'walk, go by foot' (lit.: 'go on ground') as opposed to 'go by vehicle'.

(176) *apuke niyunupu, apuke nupukenemÿnÿ chupaimÿnÿ nimÿu nechÿu nitapikine*

    apuke *ni-yunupu* *apuke*   *nÿ-upukene-mÿnÿ* *chupai-mÿnÿ* *ni-mÿu*   *nechÿu*
    ground 1SG-go.to ground 1SG-load-DIM   basket-DIM 1SG-clothes DEMc
        ni-tapiki-ne
        1SG-travel.supplies-POSSD

    'I walked, walked, with my load, a basket with my clothes in there and my travel supplies'

<div align="right">[rxx-p181101l-2.036-038]</div>

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17. The engagement area is "the place which is, at moment *t*, the conceived site of a person's currently dominant manual and attentional engagement" (Enfield 2003:89).

Although *nechÿu* is primarily locative, the expression *tukiu nechÿu* containing the source preposition *tukiu* 'from' is often used with a temporal meaning by Juana. This is the case in (177), where there is no location in the preceding discourse that could be the referent of *nechÿu*. It is rather the situation itself that is meant here by the demonstrative.[18] Other speakers do not use this expression as far as I can tell from the data.

(177)   *tukiu nechÿu te chinekupunubetuji*

    tukiu nechÿu te   chi-nekupu-nube-tu-ji
    from DEMc SEQ 3-see.come-PL-IAM-RPRT

    'at that point they saw it coming, it is said'

                                             [jxx-p151016l-2.110]

I want to conclude with example (178), which has the adverb *nauku* 'there', the oblique topic pronoun *nebu* and the demonstrative *nechÿu* 'DEMc'. The adverb *nauku* is used to introduce a location into the discourse, in the following clause this location is referred to by the oblique topic pronoun *nebu*, which appears in first position (see 4.1.2) and once the location is topical, it is again taken up by the demonstrative *nechÿu*. The English translation is 'there' in all three cases. The example comes from Juana and is about her plans to move to another part of the city of Santa Cruz, where she was living at that time to care for her grandchildren.

(178)   *biyunupuna nauku, mÿbane la feria, nebu bisemaiku, kakutu nechÿu pero mil bolivianos tÿpi entero ubiae*

    bi-yunupuna   nauku mÿbane la feria nebu   bi-semaiku kaku-tu
    1PL-go.back.IRR there close   the fair 3OBL.TOP.PRN 1PL-search exist-IAM

      nechÿu pero mil   bolivianos tÿpi entero ubiae
      DEMc but 1000 bolivianos OBL whole house

    'we may go back there, close to the fair, there we looked for it (i.e. a house), there is one now there (offered for rent), but it is (i.e. costs) 1000 bolivianos for the whole house'

                                           [jxx-p120430l-1.365-369]

4.1.4 Indefinite pronouns

Paunaka uses the question words *chija* 'what, who' and *juchubu* 'where' as indefinite pronouns with the meaning 'something, someone' and 'somewhere' respectively. It is relatively common cross-linguistically to use "bare interrogatives" as indefinite pronouns, i.e. interrogative pronouns that do not carry any derivational device (Haspelmath 2001:170, 174). In this scenario, the indefinite use is always secondary to the interrogative use according to Haspelmath (2001:5), which is why *chija* and *juchubu* are primarily analysed as question words throughout this work (see Section 7.4.2). I also follow Haspelmath (2001) in presenting *juchubu* as an indefinite *pronoun* while it could also be considered an indefinite *adverb* in a stricter sense.

Use of the indefinite pronouns is relatively rare in Paunaka and they are usually accompanied by a relative clause to provide some additional information (see also

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18. As for the sequential connective *te*, it sometimes follows *tukiu nechÿu*, but does not seem to be required. There are similar examples without *te*, too.

8.5.1 and Footnote 49 in that section), thus the construction structurally resembles a content question including a question word very much, a sign that use of the question words as indefinite pronouns is not fully grammaticalised. However, regarding the use of *chija*, a word of caution is necessary: speakers also use *¿chija?* as a filler in hesitation ('what was it?'), and it is thus not always clear which function the word has in a specific clause. This is the case in the following Example (179), which I elicited from María S. in order to speak about Juana, who was making her house in Concepción at that time. Although *chija* could well be an indefinite pronoun here semantically, intonation sets it apart from the rest of the sentence and it is preceded by a false start so it is probably rather to be analysed as a filler here:

(179) *tisemaiku ti- ¿chija? tisuachi chubiupai*

     ti-semaiku ti- chija ti-isua-chi   chÿ-ubiupai
     3i-search 3i- what 3i-weed.IRR-3 3-plot

     'she is looking for ¿what was it? someone to weed her plot'

                                   [rxx-e120511l.047]

In the other examples I give here *chija* is not set apart from the rest of the sentence by intonation, pauses or false starts, thus I am fairly confident that we are dealing with the indefinite pronoun rather than with any other use of the word. There may be more examples of the indefinite use that I have mistakenly taken to represent the use as filler.

(180) comes from Juana, who told me about her personal domain to speak Paunaka in the past: the way to the field she walked together with her sister María S.[19]

(180) *chija echÿu bimu cheiku chenekÿ bichujijikÿubÿu bitupubu asaneti*

     chija   echÿu bi-imu   chÿ-eiku   chenekÿ bi-chujiji-kÿu-bu
     what   DEMb   1PL-see   3-along?   way   1PL-talk-AM.CONC.TR-MID

      bi-tupu-bu   asaneti
      1PL-find-MID field

     'what we saw along the way we talked about walking (until) we reached the field'

                                     [jxx-p120430l-1.053]

Example (181) includes the negative particle *kuina*. It is taken from María S.' story about the two hunters who meet the devil in the woods. One man feeds the devil with the meat they hunted, but the devil does not fill up thus finally, the man has to admit:

(181) *"kuinabutu chija nenikapi"*

     kuina-bu-tu chija nÿ-nika-pi
     NEG-DSC   what 1SG-feed.IRR-2SG

     '"there isn't anything left that I could give you to eat"'

                                    [rxx-n120511l-2.45-46]

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19. This example is also interesting for the use of the verb *-eiku* 'follow' as a preposition with the meaning 'along', see also 33 in Section 8.3.3.1, and for the verb form *bichujijikÿubÿu* 'converse walking' in which the translocative associated motion marker *-CVkÿu* merges with the middle marker *-bu,* however, this can be considered an exception.

The next example also contains *kuina* and comes from the recordings made by Riester. Juan Ch. talks about his life in Retiro.

(182) *kuina chija baejumikine, micha bubiu nakaja*

kuina	*chija*	*bi-a-ejumi-kene*	*micha*	*bi-ub-i-u*
NEG	what	1PL-IRR-remember-EMPH2	good	1PL-be-SUBORD-REAL

naka-ja
here-EMPH1

'there is nothing to think about (i.e. complain about?), our living here is good'
[nxx-p630101g-1.175]

It is possible that *chija* needs to be accompanied obligatorily by further material to be made more precise, this would explain why Juana adds *echÿu* in the following example. She is making a statement here about me getting my stuff ready to travel back to Germany.

(183) *komoraubinatu [...] masa arbiraubina chija echÿu*

komorau-bi-ina-tu	*masa*	*arbirau-bi-ina*	*chija*	*echÿu*
accomodate-2SG-IRR.NV-IAM	lest	forget-2SG-IRR.NV	what	DEMb

'you have to arrange (your stuff) lest you forget something'
[jxx-p120515l-2.276-278]

In contrast, *juchubu* 'where' can stand on its own in indefinite use, although this is rare. An example of its free use is (184) from Juana talking about a house they want to pay with a credit.

(184) *i kue biyunatu juchubu tipuabinube tÿmuepupunuku*

i	*kue*	*bi-yuna-tu*	*juchubu*	*ti-pua-bi-nube*	*tÿmue-pupunuku*
and	if	1PL-go.IRR-IAM	where	3i-give.IRR-1PL-PL	money-REG

'and if we go somewhere else, they give us the money back'
[jxx-p120430l-1.388]

Usually, however, *juchubu* is also accompanied by a relative clause to specify the nature of the indefinite place like in (185), where María S. tells Swintha about how tortoises lay their eggs.

(185) *juchubu tisachu tisukupunuka, naukuku tisekumÿnÿ epenue, tisukuka nechÿu, depue tiyunuka*

juchubu	*ti-sachu*	*ti-suku-punuka*	*nauku-uku*	*ti-seku-mÿnÿ*	*epenue*
where	3i-want	3i-lay.egg-REG.IRR	there-ADD	3i-dig.hole-DIM	hole

ti-suku-uka	*nechÿu*	*depue*	*ti-yunuka*
3i-lay.egg-ADD.IRR	DEMc	afterwards	3i-go.on.IRR

'where it (the tortoise) wants to lay eggs again, there it also digs a little hole to lay eggs again there, then it will go on'
[rxx-e121128s-1.090]

A similar example comes from Juana telling me about the journey of her grandparents back home from Moxos, where they had bought cows.

(186) *juchubu kaku eka mÿiji tinikujane baka*

    juchubu kaku eka   mÿiji   ti-niku-jane baka
    where   exist grass 3i-eat-DISTR cow

    'where there was grass, the cows ate'

<div align="right">[jxx-p151016l-2.047]</div>

Just like in questions, *juchubu* can be followed by a deranked verb as in (187), elicited from Miguel.

(187) *ukuine niyunu nisemaikupa juchubu nanaia nisaneina*

    ukuine   ni-yunu ni-semaiku-pa   juchubu nÿ-ana-i-a
    yesterday 1SG-go 1SG-search-DLOC.IRR where   1SG-make-SUBORD-IRR

        ni-sane-ina
        1SG-field-IRR.NV

    'yesterday I went to look for somewhere to make my future field'

<div align="right">[mxx-e160811sd.152]</div>

It is unclear at the moment which conditions favour the use of a deranked verb, this must remain a question for further research for the time being.

4.2   Adjectives, numerals and quantifiers

In this section, adjectives, numerals and quantifiers are described. The latter two are often subsumed under the former, but they differ from adjectives in some ways.

There are only very few adjectives, since most property concepts are expressed by stative verbs (6.1). Thus adjectives constitute a minor category in Paunaka. They express value, dimension, colour and shape. They are seldom used attributively in Paunaka, most of the time they occur as predicates. They are easily distinguished from verbs since they do not take person prefixes to index a subject. They do not take person suffixes very frequently either, but this may be directly connected to adjectives having primarily third person referents. Occurrence of third person suffixes on words is very restricted in general (see 6.4.2). The only adjective taking person markers from time to time is *micha* 'good' and the adjectives derived from it. The person marker follows the adjective in this case, which is just what we expect in non-verbal predication, see 7.2.

Micha and its derivations are also easily distinguishable from nouns: when negated, a verbal form of the word occurs, which makes *micha* suspicious to have been derived from a stative verb originally.[20]

As for other adjectives, a possibility to distinguish them from nouns is their behaviour when combining with classifiers (see 3.3). If an adjective combines with a classifier, this classifier expresses a property (mostly shape) of the referent and thus it provides additional information about the referent. Nouns can also combine with classifiers, but the process resembles compounding and the product of the process is a new noun denoting a new referent. Adjectives are thus much more flexible in combining with a classifier than nouns, and they share this flexibility with the subgroup of descriptive stative verbs that can also take classifiers (6.1.6). There are words, however,

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20. Interestingly, Michael (2008:313) reports that in Nanti adjectives derived from verbs tend to occur in positive attributional clauses, while the corresponding verbs tend to occur in the negative counterparts.

which are ambiguous as to whether they are nouns or should rather be analysed as adjectives.

Numerals are often defined as a subclass of adjectives, but there are features that distinguish them from adjectives in general. This is probably due to different functions of adjectives and numerals: "Whereas an adjective indicates a property of a noun, a numeral is not a property of the object itself but of a set of objects, often a nonce-property" (Greenberg 2000:770). In Paunaka, the most important difference is that numerals often occur attributively, while adjectives can in general occur attributively, but do not do so very frequently. Nonetheless, numerals can also be used as predicates. The only numeral of presumably Paunaka origin is *chÿnachÿ* 'one', all numbers higher than 'one' have been borrowed from Spanish with different degrees of integration into Paunaka. The word for 'other', *punachÿ* is very similar to *chÿnachÿ* in the way it is composed. It is thus also treated in the section about numerals. Both words probably contain the general classifier *-na*, which is also found on the adjectives *(mu)temena* 'big' and *kana* 'this size'.

Quantifiers are also described in this chapter, although they were priorly analysed as adverbs because they do not frequently modify nouns, but are more often used predicatively or adverbially. However, adjectives do not often occur as nominal modifiers either. Semantically, quantifiers come close to numerals, since both provide information about a quantity. The most frequently used quantifiers are loans from Bésɨro.

In the NP, both quantifiers and numerals can only precede the noun, while adjectives can also follows it, although the latter case could possibly be described as a kind of modification by a relative clause (see 5.9).

The following Section 4.2.1 describes adjectives in more detail, Section 4.2.2 is about numerals and the word for 'other' and Section 4.2.3 discusses the quantifiers found in Paunaka.

4.2.1 Adjectives

There are only a few adjectives in Paunaka, thus Section 4.2.1.1 is dedicated to a describing the ones that occur, while Section 4.2.1.2 examines the different usages of adjectives as predicates, attributes, adverbs, and secondary predicates.

4.2.1.1 Inventory

The most important adjectives are *micha* 'good', some derivations of *micha*, *(mu)temena* 'big' and the deictic adjective *kana* 'this size'.

The most frequent among them is *micha* 'good'. One example with it is (188), which is a statement by Miguel after having looked at a puzzle game that shows a story about a boy and his squirrel.[21]

(188) *michayu chÿnÿnÿikiu eka aitubuchepÿimÿnÿ*

    micha-yu   chÿ-nÿnÿik-i-u   eka   aitubuchepÿi-mÿnÿ
    good-INTS 3-live-SUBORD-REAL DEMa boy-DIM

    'the life of the little boy is very good'

                              [mdx-c120416ls.191]

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21. Note that the subordinating suffix *-i* creates morphologically semi-nominal words, there is no subordination involved in this example, see also Section 8.6.

Micha usually does not take a person marker, with one exception: when meeting another person, people use a greeting formula including *micha* and a second person index. Literally, this is a question about the condition of the other. The formulaic answer is without a person marker, see example (189), which is a little lecture of this convention (in Spanish) that Juana gave to Swintha.

(189) *yo primero "¿michabi?" y usted me contesta "micha"*

     yo primero micha-bi   y usted me contesta   micha
     I first   good-2SG and you me answer good

     'me first "¿michabi?" (= are you doing fine?) and you answer "micha" (= fine)'
                                                  [jxx-n101013s-1.080-083]

A number of other adjectives have been derived from *micha*, these are *michana* 'nice', which probably includes the general classifier, a further derivation *michanabÿke* 'beautiful, pretty, handsome' used in reference to people, which additionally takes the noun *-bÿke* 'face', *michaniki* 'delicious' probably includes the verb stem *-nik(ɯ)* 'eat', and *michamue* 'sunny weather, sky without clouds' presumably includes the same sequence *-mu* that is also found in *anÿmu* 'sky' (as opposed to *anÿke* 'up, above'). The proposed composition of these derived adjectives is found in the following Examples (190) to (193), interlinear glosses of these words are usually not given in this detail in the remainder of this work.

In (190), Juana talks about the house of an acquaintance in Austria.

(190) *michana ubiae puru teka*

     micha-na   *ubiae puru teka*
     good-CLF:general house mere brick

     'the house is nice, (it has) mere bricks'
                                                  [jxx-p110923l-2.146]

In (191), María S. corrects my use of *michana* in reference to a baby.

(191) *michanabÿke*

     micha-na-bÿke
     good-CLF:general-face

     'she is pretty'
                                                   [rxx-e120511l.327]

(192) is a statement by María S. about the fish Juana is talking about.

(192) *ja, michaniki*

     ja   micha-nik-i
     AFM good-eat-?

     'yes, it is delicious'
                                             [jrx-c151001lsf-11.010]

(193) was elicited from Juana.

(193) *michamue*

　　micha-mu-e
　　good-CLF:sky?-?

　　'the weather (lit.: sky) is nice'

<div align="right">[jcx-e090727s.127]</div>

A verbal form is preferred, when these concepts are negated, see (194) and (195). Since there are no lexical antonyms, this happens relatively frequently.
　　In (194), Juana talks about her mother.

(194) *i tanÿma kuina tamicha chiyuikia mimi*

　　i　　　tanÿma kuina ti-a-micha　　chi-yuik-i-a　　　　mimi
　　and　now　　NEG　3i-IRR-good　3-walk-SUBORD-IRR　mum

　　'and by that time my mother couldn't walk well (lit.: her walking was not good) anymore'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-2.499]</div>

(195) is about the school building in Santa Rita, which was in a miserable state. A new building was thus constructed.

(195) *kuina tamichana echÿu, tikebupu echÿu*

　　kuina ti-a-michana echÿu ti-kebu-pu　　echÿu
　　NEG　3i-IRR-nice　DEMb　3i-rain-DLOC　DEMb

　　'it wasn't good, it dripped in'

<div align="right">[mxx-p110825l.089]</div>

I have also found one example, in which *michanabÿke* takes a first person prefix in a positive sentence, another proof for the semi-verbal behaviour of these adjectives. In this example, (196), Juana cites the water spirit whom their grandparents met on their way back home from Moxos, where they had bought some cows. The water spirit wanted to lure away Juana's grandfather from his wife by appearing to him at night and telling him his wife was ugly and she was beautiful. It is not clear to me, why Juana used the reportive *-ji* on the connective *chijikiu* 'however', since I believe this word belongs to the quoted speech.

(196) *"chÿjikiuji bien nimichanabÿke", dice*

　　chÿjikiu-ji　　　bien　ni-michanabÿke　dice
　　however-RPRT　well　1SG-beautiful　　she.says

　　'"however, I am very beautiful"' she says

<div align="right">[jxx-p151016l-2.190]</div>

On the other hand, I have also found one non-verbal form of *micha* with irrealis RS in the corpus, which is presented in (197). There are a few more examples with derived forms taking the non-verbal irrealis marker, like the one in (198).
　　(197) was produced by María S. and directed to me to say farewell.

(197)   ¡*michaina pibÿbÿkupunia!*

    micha-ina   *pi-bÿbÿkupun-i-a*
    good-IRR.NV 2SG-fly.back-SUBORD-IRR

    'may your flight back be good!'

<div align="right">[rxx-e120511l.204]</div>

(198) comes from Juana. There had been heavy rainfalls and the road where she lived was very muddy, but the forecast had announced that rain would stop for a while. Note that Juana incorrectly uses the incompletive marker *-kuÿ* here instead of the discontinuous marker *-bu,* but she corrected herself in the utterance that immediately followed.

(198)   *michamuenatu te tajaitu kuinakuÿ tikeba*

    michamue-ina-tu   *te*   *tajaitu*   *kuina-kuÿ* *ti-keba*
    good.weather-IRR.NV-IAM SEQ tomorrow NEG-INCMP 3i-rain.IRR

    'the weather will be nice now, tomorrow it won't rain anymore'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120515l-2.269]</div>

In summary, *micha* and its derivations have a verbal and a non-verbal form. Choice is sensitive to reality status, with realis triggering a non-verbal and irrealis a verbal realisation. However, the correlation is not perfect, there are a few counter-examples in the corpus.

A second relatively frequent adjective is *temena/mutemena* 'big'. Both forms can be used interchangeably without any difference in meaning.[22] Juana clearly prefers *temena,* Miguel *mutemena* and María S. seems to use both equally frequently. The last syllable *na* probably goes back to the general classifier *-na* (see 3.3), it detaches, when another classifier is added (see below).

(199) is an example of the form *mutemena* used by María S. in making jokes with Swintha. The other examples in this section all include the shorter form *temena.*

(199)   *aja, mutemena pichubatÿi*

    aja, *mutemena* *pi-chubatÿi*
    AFM   big   2SG-buttocks

    'yes, your butt is big'

<div align="right">[rxx-e121128s-4x.107]</div>

When the collective marker is attached to the adjective (as well as to other adjectives and verbs that end in *na*), the last syllable is usually repeated. It could be the case that repetition intensifies the collective meaning, but this would not explain, why it occurs with the general classifier only, not with any other one.[23] Thus repetition does not seem to indicate anything in this case (which is why it is just glossed as 'REP', i.e. 'repetition', here), it just comes automatically with the collective marker, as in the following Example (200), where María S. talks about ripe fruits that are falling from the trees.

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22. The first syllable *mu* of the longer form *mutemena* could appear to be related to the non-productive privative marker. However, this would imply that some kind of negation is involved in the meaning of *mutemena.* This is not the case: *temena* and *mutemena* have exactly the same meaning. The two Paunaka words containing the privative marker are discussed in Footnote 4 of Section 7.1.5.
23. There are a few cases of repetition on nouns taking the collective marker, though, see 5.2.1.

(200)   *tebakaupujanetu temenanajitu*

    ti-ebakaupu-jane-tu temena-na-ji-tu
    3i-fall.down-DISTR big-REP-COL-IAM

    'they (fruits) are falling down, they are big now'

<div align="right">[rxx-e121128s-3.07]</div>

    (Mu)temena can take classifiers or combine with body-part terms and in this case *-na* is dropped. Example (201) contains a classifier and (202) an inalienably possessed plant part. Both were elicited from Juana.

(201)   *temekiji anibÿ*

    teme-ki-ji   *anibÿ*
    big-CLF:spherical-COL mosquito

    'the mosquitos are big'

<div align="right">[jxx-e150925l-1.187]</div>

(202)   *temepuneji*

    teme-pune-ji
    big-leaf-COL

    'big leaves'

<div align="right">[jxx-e081025s-1.183]</div>

    Kana 'this size' is a deictic adjective that is always accompanied by a gesture showing the size. One example is (203), which comes from Miguel who was speaking about the whip of his teacher back in the old days when he went to school in Altavista.

(203)   *kaku echÿu asotera chija bitÿpi echÿu, kana echÿu, chimusuji eka baka*

    kaku echÿu asotera chi-ija bi-tÿpi   echÿu kana   echÿu chi-musuji eka
    exist DEMb whip   3-name 1PL-OBL DEMb this.size DEMb 3-skin   DEMa
       baka
       cow

    'he had what we call an *azotera* (= whip), it was of this size (showing with hands), made from cowhide'

<div align="right">[mxx-p181027l-1.056-057]</div>

    As is the case with *(mu)temena*, the last syllable of *kana* is repeated, when a collective marker is added, see Example (204) from Juana, where she speaks about some shells she needs for polishing a clay pot.

(204)   *kananaji micha sipÿ*

    kana-na-ji   *micha sipÿ*
    this.size-REP-COL good   shell

    'very big like this, the shells'

<div align="right">[jmx-d110918ls-1.105]</div>

Apart from the adjectives presented up to here, there are a few more words that express qualities. If they do not take classifiers, it is sometimes hard to decide whether they are nouns or adjectives. Consider the expressions of age such as *chubui* 'old man; old (male)' and *juberÿpu* 'old woman; old (female)' as well as *sepitÿ* or *chepitÿ* 'child, offspring; small, little'. I treat *chubui* and *juberÿpu* as nouns in this grammar, and *sepitÿ/chepitÿ* as noun or adjective, depending on the context. I admit, there is ambiguity in the decisions I made. There are simply no good criteria to arrive at a clear decision. Like adjectives, *chubui*, *juberÿpu* and *sepitÿ/chepitÿ* often occur predicatively, however, they also frequently head an NP. In addition to these criteria, *sepitÿ/chepitÿ* can also take the limitative marker *-jiku* and is then often used adverbially. In reference to non-singular participants, speakers may also use *sese-ji* instead of *sepitÿ*, which is probably derived from the same root *se*. This word, however, is usually realised as *sesejinube* with the fixed meaning 'children', while other more adjective-like uses are very rare. Some examples that point to the words for 'small' being adjectives are given below.

In (205), Juana uses *sepitÿ* to contrast small and big clay pots.

(205)   *sepitÿ i temena*

    sepitÿ i   temena
    small and big

    'small ones and big ones'

                                         [jxx-d110923l-2.35]

(206) is a statement by María S. about a tortoise.

(206)   *sepitÿmÿnÿ chikebÿke*

    sepitÿ-mÿnÿ chi-kebÿke
    small-DIM   3-eye

    'its eyes are small'

                                      [rxx-e121128s-4x.039]

In (207), María S. makes use of *sese-ji-* in speaking about some fruits that still have to ripen.

(207)   *sesejikuÿmÿnÿ nikechubi*

    sese-ji-kuÿ-mÿnÿ   *ni-kechu-bi*
    small-COL-INCMP-DIM 1SG-say-2SG

    'they are still very small as I said to you'

                                      [rxx-e121126s-3.29]

(208) was elicited from Juana and comes from the same context as (202) above. It seems that the general classifier shows up on this form together with an incorporated noun. Due to lack of more examples with classifiers or nouns being attached to the stem, I cannot make any judgements about this being grammatical or not. It seems strange though considering that other adjectives usually drop *-na*, when they combine with another classifier or noun.

(208) *sesepunenaji*

    sese-pune-na-ji
    small-leaf-CLF:general?-COL

    'very small leaves'

<div align="right">[jxx-e081025s-1.187]</div>

Other adjectives are *enui* 'green, not ripe, raw' and the borrowed colour terms *asuru* 'blue' and *amariyo* 'yellow'. All of them occur extremely infrequently in the corpus and none of them takes classifiers. The reason to treat them as adjectives is a purely semantic one. The terms for 'white' *-kipÿpa* and 'black' *-pisÿ* are stative verbs. The term for 'red', *tisi*, is most probably a verb, too. It is shorter than other colour terms, and it never occurs with reference to a first or second person in the corpus (and attempts to elicit such forms failed). However, Mojeño Trinitario has a cognate form *-itsi*, which is clearly a verb (Rose 2021, p.c.). *Kachu-* 'big and round', possibly related to *kana* 'this size', occurs twice in the corpus and takes a classifier or inalienably possessed noun, the latter is the case in (209) which comes from Juana who produced it in elicitation with some pictures.

(209) *isijibÿ, kachujibÿ eka tarupe*

    isijibÿ *kachu-jibÿ*   *eka*   *tarupe*
    flower big.round-flower DEMa flower.sp

    'a flower, the *taropé* (*Dorstenia brasiliensis*) has a big and round blossom'

<div align="right">[jcx-e090727s.027]</div>

4.2.1.2 Usage

Adjectives are used predicatively most of the time, which is evident from the examples given above. If there is a noun in the sentence to which the property is predicated, the adjective usually comes first, then comes the NP. (210) and (211) provide two examples of this. Adjectives are also often the only constituent of a clause.

In (210), Juana speaks about a bird of prey that once stole her dog.

(210) *temena echÿu sia*

    temena *echÿu* *sia*
    big   DEMb hawk.sp

    'the hawk is big'

<div align="right">[jxx-a120516l-a.206]</div>

(211) comes from a listing of different crops by María C.

(211) *michanikiyuku echÿu papayu*

    michaniki-yu-uku   *echÿu* *papayu*
    delicious-INTS-ADD DEMb papaya

    'papayas are delicious, too'

<div align="right">[uxx-p110825l.193]</div>

Adjectives are seldom used attributively in free speech. One spontaneous example with an attributive adjective is (212). Juana talks about the making of pasture by the people from Santa Rita in exchange for the construction of their reservoir.

(212) *i echÿu max temenanaji yÿkÿke kapunu makina, motosierra chibu*

i	*echÿu*	*max*	*temena-na-ji*	*yÿkÿke*	*kapunu*	*makina*	*motosierra*	*chibu*
and	DEMb	more	big-REP-COL	tree	come	machine	chain.saw	3TOP.PRN

'and [for] the biggest trees, a machine came, a chain saw more precisely'

[jxx-p120515l-2.115]

An example including the deictic adjective *kana* used as an attribute is (213). It comes from a correction session with María S. She first repeats the word her brother Miguel used in telling the story about the fox and the jaguarundi: *karutemÿnÿ* 'small club'. Probably because of the Spanish origin of this word (Span. *garrote* 'club'), she adds a Paunaka expression herself that was not used by Miguel in the original utterance, and this expression consists of a noun modified by *kana*.[24]

(213) *chisatÿkuji karutemÿnÿ kana yÿkÿkekemÿnÿ – ¡pa! – chikupakutu*

chi-satÿku-ji	*karute-mÿnÿ*	*kana*	*yÿkÿke-ke-mÿnÿ*	*pa*	*chi-kupaku-tu*
3-cut-RPRT	club-DIM	this.size	tree-CLF:cylindrical-DIM	IDPH	3-kill-IAM

'he cut a small club, a small stick of this size, it is said, and – bang! – he killed him'

[rxx-e150220s-2]

There are a few more examples of nouns modified by an adjective that were produced in elicitation.

The adjective *micha* 'good' can also be used adverbially and translates as "well", "nicely", "really" or "a lot" in this case. The adjective usually follows the verb it modifies, as in Example (214), but it can also precede it if emphasised, which is the case in (215).

(214) comes from Juan C. speaking about frogs.

(214) *pero yuti tikusuninechu micha peÿ*

pero	*yuti*	*ti-kusuninechu*	*micha*	*peÿ*
but	night	3i-sing	good	frog

'but at night the frogs sing a lot'

[mqx-p110826l.617-618]

In (215), Juana tells me who taught her Paunaka.

(215) *nÿuse – chibu micha timesumeikunÿ*

nÿ-use	*chibu*	*micha*	*ti-mesumeiku-nÿ*
1SG-grandmother	3TOP.PRN	good	3i-teach-1SG

'my grandmother – she is the one who taught me well'

[jxx-p120430l-1.050-051]

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24. As for the second syllable *ke* in *yÿkÿkekemÿnÿ*, it is actually not clear whether this is the classifier as proposed by the glosses or repetition of the previous syllable. The noun *yÿkÿke* has both meanings 'tree' and 'stick' (and also 'wood'), and it is already derived with the classifier *-ke* for cylindrical items from *yÿkÿ* 'fire', although this is probably not transparent for the speakers.

Adjectives are also sometimes found in depictive use, i.e. as a secondary predicate (cf. Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann 2004). This is the case in Example (216), in which the adjective specifies a property of the object, which is not conominated, a corn cob that was not completely roasted, yet, when Swintha wanted to eat it. The warning comes from María S.

(216) *¡masaini piniku enui!, painuepÿi*

   masaini pi-niku enui p-a-inuepÿi
   ADM 2SG-eat green 2SG-IRR-have.wind

   'don't eat it raw! You will have wind'

<div align="right">[rxx-e150220s-1.25]</div>

4.2.2 Numerals and 'other'

There is only one numeral of supposedly Paunaka origin, *chÿnachÿ* 'one'. This numeral consists of three parts. The first part, *chÿ* seems to coincide with the third person marker *chÿ-*. The syllable *na* may well go back to the default classifier *-na* given the fact that numerals in the related Bolivian Arawakan languages obligatorily take a classifier, and they have a classifier *-no* or *-na*, which serves as a default classifier (Terhart 2016:147-148). However, unlike in the related languages, the classifier *-na* is lexicalised on the numeral, i.e. it never changes, regardless of which item is counted, and no other classifier can be elicited with the numeral. The final part of the numeral *chÿnachÿ* might again be a third person marker *-chÿ*, however with bleached semantics.[25] It is usually omitted if other morphology is attached to the numeral.

In (217) Juana speaks about her daughter, who had fallen and badly injured her leg.

(217) *eka chÿnachÿ kuje kuina puero tichema*

   eka chÿnachÿ kuje kuina puero ti-chema
   DEMa one   month NEG can 3i-stand.up.IRR

   'she could not stand up for one month'

<div align="right">[jxx-p110923l-1.474]</div>

(218) comes from Miguel's story about the lazybones. Instead of making a field to nurture his family, he cuts off his own limbs in the end of the story, pretending they were *cusi* palm fruits.

(218) *chisatÿkujitu chinachÿ chijabu*

   chi-satÿku-ji-tu chinachÿ chi-jabu
   3-cut-RPRT-IAM one   3-leg

   'he cut off one of his legs, it is said'

<div align="right">[mox-n110920l.097]</div>

(219) also comes from Miguel, here he talks about his experience in school.

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25. Rose (2021, p.c.) suggests that the final syllable could be related to the limitative marker *-yÿchi*. This only makes sense if we assume it was first used with the numeral 'one' exclusively and extended to the other ones after it had lost its semantic content. This is a plausible hypothesis, but impossible to prove.

(219) *pasautu chÿnachÿ anyo nÿti nÿchupupaikutu echÿu nÿtareane*

    pasau-tu   *chÿnachÿ* *anyo* *nÿti*   *nÿ-chupu-paiku-tu*   *echÿu*
    pass-IAM   one   year 1SG.PRN 1SG-know-PUNCT-IAM DEMa
      nÿ-tarea-ne
      1SG-exercise-POSSD

    'one year passed and I had learned my exercises'

                                                [mxx-p181027l-1.087]

The numeral is sometimes used like an indefinite article, which can be assumed is due to influence of Spanish, where the numeral *uno* and the indefinite article *un/una* are very similar (as is the case in many languages and directly connected to the fact that the indefinite article often derives from the numeral).

(220) is the introductory sentence of the story about the lazybones told by Miguel.

(220) *kakubaneji chÿnachÿ jente i tipÿkubai*

    kaku-bane-ji   *chÿnachÿ* *jente* *i*   *ti-pÿkubai*
    exist-REM-RPRT one   man and 3i-be.lazy

    'once upon a time there was a man, it is said, and he was lazy'

                                                  [mox-n110920l.011]

The numeral can take the limitative marker *-jiku* and in that case, the suffix *-chÿ* is detached.

In (221), María C. asks me about my children.

(221) *¿chÿnajiku pichecha?*

    chÿna-jiku *pi-checha*
    one-LIM1   2SG-son

    'you have only one child?'

                                                  [uxx-p110825l.242]

(222) is from the story about the fox and the jaguarundi. The fox boosts about knowing 25 jumps, the jaguarundi has to admit to know only one (which saves him in the end, while the fox is killed).

(222) *"kuina kakuina beintisinko nikeuchi, chÿnajiku", tikechuji*

    kuina *kaku-ina*   *beintisinko* *ni-keuchi* *chÿna-jiku* *ti-kechu-ji*
    NEG   exist-IRR.NV twenty-five 1SG-INS one-LIM1 3i-say-RPRT

    '"I don't have 25, only one", he said, it is said'

                                             [jmx-n120429ls-x5.363]

Finally, the number occurs in an exclamation equivalent to the English 'oh Lord!' or 'good Lord!' (Spanish '¡aiy señor!'), like in (223), which comes from Miguel.

(223) *¡chÿnayue!*

    chÿna-yu-e
    one-INTS-2PL

    'good Lord!' (lit.: you (PL) dear one)

                                                [rmx-e150922l.060]

All numbers higher than 'one' have been borrowed from Spanish. Some of them also attach *-chÿ*. This is obligatory with *ruschÿ* 'two', and highly usual with *treschÿ* 'three'. From 'four' on, it gets less likely the higher the number in general,[26] however, the numeral 'twenty' has also been found with the suffix once. The number 'two', *ruschÿ*, is phonologically integrated into Paunaka, the Spanish word is *dos* and /d/ changed to /r/ and /o/ to /u/ here. Other numerals are less integrated phonologically, e.g. the consonant cluster in *treschÿ* from Spanish *tres* 'three' is not dissolved.

(224) is an example for the numeral 'two' and (225) for 'three'. In (224), Juana makes a statement about her daughter.

(224) *kaku ruschÿ chilotene nauku*

      kaku ruschÿ chi-lote-ne nauku
      exist two 3-plot-POSSD there

      'she has two plots there'

                                             [jxx-p110923l-1.421]

(225) is also from Juana. She tells me about the duration of her grandson's university studies here.

(225) *sinko anyo tiyunuku treschÿ anyo*

      sinko anyo ti-yunuku treschÿ anyo
      five year 3i-go.on three year

      'five years (in total), he goes on for three years'

                                             [jxx-p110923l-1.191]

In Example (226), Miguel uses several numerals, 'two' and 'three' are realised with the suffix *-chÿ*, but 'four' is not. His statement provides the answer to Swintha's question how many baking trays of rice bread he baked together with his family. Note that the last verb is irregularly used without a subject index here.

(226) *kuatru tipurtukabu jurnuye, pero ruschÿ banaiu entonses banaukupunuku punachÿ*
      ruschÿ o treschÿ purtukupunuku

      kuatru ti-purtuka-bu jurnu-yae pero ruschÿ bi-ana-i-u
      four 3i-put.in.IRR-MID oven-LOC but two 1PL-make-SUBORD-REAL

        entonses bi-anau-uku-punuku punachÿ ruschÿ o treschÿ purtuku-punuku
        thus 1PL-make-ADD-REG other two or three put.in-REG

      'four can be put into the oven, but having made two, then we made another two or three and put them in again'

                                          [mxx-e120415ls.096-097]

On the other hand in (227), Juana uses the numeral 'four' with suffix *-chÿ*. The sentence refers to the picture in the end of the frog story, where the boy finds his frog again, together with a frog lady and several little frogs.

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26. Interestingly, a similar observation has been made for Trinitario (Rose 2020:23), and it also applies to Baure, but it is a classifier which is more unlikely to be attached to higher numerals in those cases. Note that Trinitario and Baure both have native numerals up to 'three'.

(227)   *puru peӱjane kuatrochӱ chichecha*

    puru   peӱ-jane   kuatruchӱ chi-checha
    mere   frog-DISTR   four   3-son

    'mere frogs, it has four children'

<div align="right">[jxx-a120516l-a.435]</div>

Numerals can take some morphology, e.g. the iamitive marker in (228), where María S. tells me about her situation.

(228)   *ruschӱtu anyo kuina nakuesanebu*

    ruschӱ-tu anyo kuina nӱ-a-kuesane-bu
    two-IAM   year NEG   1SG-IRR-have.field-DSC

    'it's already two years that I don't have a field anymore'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181017l.018]</div>

The numerals 'two' and 'three' can also take a person marker in reference to humans, like in (229), or the plural marker, like in (1004). In the latter case, the suffix *-chӱ* of *ruschӱ* and *treschӱ*, sometimes together with the final /s/ of the stem, weakens into [ʃ], [ʂ] or [ʐ], represented orthographically as <xh> and <x> in the examples. The suffix *-chӱ* may then be attached if the numeral has third person reference. This is usually bound to the numeral being used predicatively, with a few counter-examples, where a numeral construed in this way is used attributively.

In (229), Juana speaks about the Supepí sisters who are still alive.

(229)   *i nӱti, Maria, Krara, tresxhexheikubimӱnӱ tanӱma*

    i   nӱti   Maria Krara tresxhe-xheiku-bi-mӱnӱ tanӱma
    and 1SG.PRN María Clara three-CONT-1PL-DIM   now

    'and me, María, Clara, we are only three now'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-2.352-353]</div>

María C. was once severely injured by black magic. In (230) she states how many frogs she had in her belly.

(230)   *rusxenubechӱ*

    rusxe-nube-chӱ
    two-PL-3

    'there were two of them'

<div align="right">[ump-p110815sf.312]</div>

If the numeral is used attributively, the plural marker can also be attached to it, but usually follows *-chӱ* in that case and no sound change is involved, as in (231). The plural marker is not obligatory though.

In the following example, María S. speaks about her sister Juana, referring to the time when the family still lived more remote.

(231) *kakutu ruschÿnube chichechajimÿnÿbane*

      kaku-tu   *ruschÿ-nube* *chi-checha-ji-mÿnÿ-bane*
      exist-IAM two-PL   3-son-COL-DIM-REM

      'she already had two little children by that time long ago'
                                                  [rxx-p181101l-2.107]

(232) combines two possibilities. María S. first uses the numeral 'two' in an equative sentence juxtaposed to a demonstrative. The demonstrative has the plural marker, the numeral does not. She then repeats the numeral as the sole predicate of a clause, and since this clause still refers to humans, the plural marker is attached to the numeral and the third person suffix *-chÿ* follows. This is a statement about my children.

(232) *ruschÿkena ekanube, rusxhunubechÿ*

      ruschÿ-kena   *eka-nube* *rusxhu-nube-chÿ*
      two-UNCERT DEMa-PL two-PL-3

      'they are probably two, they are two'
                                            [rmx-e150922l.078]

(233) is the only example with a numeral higher than 'three' that I have found taking a plural marker. It is the number 'five' used attributively, nonetheless, the plural marker comes first and then comes the suffix *-chÿ* and finally an irrealis marker. The sentence comes from Miguel's story about the cowherd who is enchanted by the spirit of the hill. The spirit first takes away the cows and hides them in his hill, but in the end of the story the cows are brought to a village for the people there to eat.

(233) *"kapununubeina sinkonubechina jentenube ayaraunubeina bitÿpi eka bumia eka bakajane"*

      kapunu-nube-ina *sinko-nube-chi-ina* *jente-nube* *ayarau-nube-ina* *bi-tÿpi*   *eka*
      come-PL-IRR.NV five-PL-3-IRR.NV man-PL   help-PL-IRR.NV 1PL-OBL DEMa

        bi-um-i-a   *eka*   *baka-jane*
        1PL-take-SUBORD-IRR DEMa cow-DISTR

      '"... may five men come to help us take the cows"'
                                              [mxx-n151017l-1.78]

Dates and times of the day are realised with Spanish numerals without attachment of *-chÿ*. As for times of the day, the numeral is usually accompanied by the Spanish feminine article *la(s)* and regarding 'one o'clock' and 'two o'clock', the numerals *una* and *dos* are used rather than the Paunaka ones as in (234) and (235).

(234) is the answer of María S. to my question whether she had been to Concepción. Note that the verb does not carry the middle marker here, which is unusual, especially since there is no overt goal.

(234) *hm, nitupunu la una*

      hm   *ni-tupunu* *la una*
      AFM 1SG-reach at one o'clock

      'hm, I arrived at one o'clock'
                                              [rxx-e120511l.002]

(235) comes from Juana telling me about the last things her brother did before he suddenly and unexpectedly died.

(235) *titupunubuji nauku las doskena*

    ti-tupunubu-ji   nauku las dos-kena
    3i-arrive-RPRT there at two o'clock-UNCERT

    'he arrived there at two o'clock maybe, it is said'

                                           [jxx-p120430l-2.404]

The noun *tose* 'noon' has probably been borrowed from Bésɨro, although it presumably originates from the Spanish numeral *doce* 'twelve'. *Tose* is exclusively used with reference to the midday, if the number is meant, speakers use *dose*,[27] compare (236) with the noun and (237) with the numeral.

(236) is a question by Clara directed to Swintha and me. We had been to Santa Rita that same day before visiting her and María C.

(236) *¿tose etupupunubu o kupeitu?*

    tose e-tupupunu-bu   o kupei-tu
    noon 2PL-arrive.back-MID or afternoon-IAM

    'did you arrive back (from Santa Rita) at noon or in the afternoon?'
                                         [cux-c120414ls-2.332]

(237) comes from Miguel telling the history of Santa Rita, which was founded after people were let free from forced labour in Altavista.

(237) *kapunutu kuineini taitaini pero kapununube dose familia*

    kapunu-tu kuineini taita-ini pero kapunu-nube dose   familia
    come-IAM deceased dad-DEC but come-PL   twelve family

    'my late father had come (here), but twelve families came (altogether)'
                                         [mxx-p110825l.056]

The word for 'other' is *punachÿ*. It resembles the numeral *chÿnachÿ* in the way it is composed. The first syllable *pu* is possibly related to the Proto-Arawakan numeral **pa-* 'one', which has developed into an impersonal pronoun in some Arawakan languages Aikhenvald (1999:85). Sometimes, Juana preposes a /u/ yielding *upunachÿ*, but this is more frequent in the derived forms (see below).[28]

Punachÿ can be used as a modifier like in (238) or head an NP like in (239).

In (238), Juana tells me about her plans to move to another house in Santa Cruz together with the family of her daughter.

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27. Surprisingly, in Mojeño Trinitario it is the other way round: *te las doce* means 'at noon' and *ntose* is used for counting (Rose 2021, p.c.).

28. The preposed /u/ is expected by the stress pattern (see Section 2.6), and it also relates Paunaka to Mojeño Trinitario, where the cognate form *(')po-na* sometimes occurs with an initial glottal stop that corresponds to a syncopated vowel (Rose 2021, p.c.).

(238) *repente bisemaika punachÿ kuarto nauku*

      repente bi-semaika   punachÿ kuarto nauku
      maybe 1PL-search.IRR   other   room   there

      'maybe we want to look for another room (i.e. house with one more room) there'

                                    [jxx-p120430l-1.355]

Interestingly, in (239) María S. uses *punachÿ* twice to contrast two men, where English (and also Spanish) would use the numeral 'one' in contrast with 'other'. There are more examples in the corpus that point into a similar direction, but none is as clear as this one. It comes from the story about the two men who meet the devil in the woods. One of them interacts with the devil and is finally eaten, the other hides away on a tree and can escape in the end.

(239) *echÿu punachÿ tipunu anÿke, mhm, i echÿu punachÿ kuina tipunaji …*

      echÿu punachÿ ti-punu   anÿke mhm i   echÿu punachÿ kuina
      DEMa   other   3i-go.up up   INTJ and DEMa   other   NEG
         ti-puna-ji
         3i-go.up.IRR-RPRT

      'one of them climbed up, mhm, and the other one didn't climb up, it is said…'
                                    [rxx-n120511l-2.32-35]

Like numerals, *punachÿ* can take some morphology. The final *-chÿ* is sometimes detached, but this happens relatively infrequently. Consider Examples (240) and (241), which come from Miguel and María S. respectively and were produced one after the other. In (240), the irrealis and the uncertainty marker are attached to the full form *punachÿ*, in (241), the final *-chÿ* is detached and replaced by the irrealis marker. Both sentences refer to my announced return to Bolivia. Note that in local Spanish, people use 'other' in combination with a temporal noun to refer to the next day, week, month or year, although this is not very precise and can sometimes also refer to the time unit following the next one.

(240) *punachinakena anyo tibÿsÿupunuka*

      punachÿ-ina-kena   anyo ti-bÿsÿu-punuka
      other-IRR.NV-UNCERT year 3i-come-REG.IRR

      'maybe next year she will come back'

                                    [mrx-c120509l.125]

(241) *¿puneina anyo pibÿsÿupunuka?*

      puna-ina   anyo pi-bÿsÿu-punuka
      other-IRR.NV year 2SG-come-REG.IRR

      'you will come back next year?'

                                    [mrx-c120509l.126]

Unlike *chÿnachÿ*, *punachÿ* can detach the supposed classifier *-na* in three cases. First of all, it can combine with the verbal root *-jai* 'be light, day' followed by a syllable *-ne*, which is probably the possessed marker (see 5.3.2), yielding *(u)pujaine* 'the other

day'. Second, it can also combine with the relational noun *-akene* 'non-visible side' as *(u)puakene* 'other side'.[29] Whether the initial /u/ occurs on both words seems to be bound to the rhythm of the whole sentence. Third, the distributive marker is attached directly to the root, in this case the plural marker usually follows the distributive (except for one example in the corpus), thus the form is *pujanenube* 'the others'. It is often used to refer to 'all the others', but not exclusively. While *(u)puakene* is often found with a third person suffix, *(u)pujaine* and *pujanenube* never take a third person suffix. One example of each derived form is given below.

In (242), Juana talks about one of her daughters building of a house.

(242) *ja'a puakenechÿ tanaunube chubiunubeina*

    ja'a *pu-akene-chÿ*   *ti-anau-nube* *chÿ-ubiu-nube-ina*
    AFM other-non.vis.side-3 3i-make-PL 3-house-PL-IRR.NV

    'yes, on the other side (of the street) they are making their future house'
                                  [jxx-p110923l-2.154]

(243) comes from María S. telling me about the former times, or more precisely, the food her mother cooked in former times.

(243) *chÿnachÿ tijai tiyÿtikapumÿnÿ arusuji pujaine pujukekepupunukutu tiniku*

    chÿnachÿ *tijai* *ti-yÿtikapu-mÿnÿ* *arusu-ji*   *pu-jai-ne*
    one   day 3i-cook.IRR-DIM rice-CLF:soft.mass other-day-POSSD

      pujukeke-pupunuku-tu *ti-niku*
      patasca-REG-IAM   3i-eat

    'one day she would cook a rice stew, the other day she ate *patasca* again'
                                    [rxx-p181101l-2.250]

Finally in (244) from the same recording as the previous example, María S. explained me why she did not have friends when she was a child. She lived with her family a little remote, while other families already settled in the place where the village of Santa Rita is located until now.

(244) *chijikiu pujanenube naka chubiunube*

    chijikiu *pu-jane-nube*   *naka* *chÿ-ubiu-nube*
    however other-DISTR-PL here 3-house-PL

    'in contrast, all the others had their houses here'
                                    [rxx-p181101l-2.119]

4.2.3 Quantifiers

Quantifiers provide information about the quantity of something. They can modify nouns, but only marginally. More often, they are used as heads of NPs, as predicates (see also 5.9) or they modify a verb. Table 4.4 provides an overview of the quantifiers found in the corpus.

The quantifier *pario* has been borrowed from Bésiro (cf. Fuss & Riester 1986:333), and *pariki* seems to be related to it. However, I do not know whether the latter one

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29. When combining with a person marker, this noun is also sometimes pronounced *-ekene*, see 5.8.

Table 4.4: Quantifiers

Quantifier	Translation	Comment
chama	much, many, a lot	loan from Bésɨro
pariki	many, much, a lot	
pario	some, something, to some degree	loan from Bésɨro
pasayu	much, a lot	
musume	many	
tumuyubu	all	derived verb

is also used in Bésɨro or has been derived from the former in Paunaka. While *pario* encodes that something holds to some degree as in (245), *pariki* tells us that something holds to a high degree as in (246). Synonyme with the latter is *musume* as in (247), which is also sometimes given as *musube*.

(245) comes from María C. who echoes a prior statement by Clara about her son. This kind of echoing is frequently used in conversation as a back-channelling device.

(245) *tichupumÿnÿ pario paunaka*

    ti-chupu-mÿnÿ pario paunaka
    3i-know-DIM   some Paunaka

    'he knows some Paunaka'

                                   [cux-c120414ls-2.269]

In (246), Juana makes a statement about the water reservoir of Santa Rita.

(246) *pariki jimu nechÿu*

    pariki jimu nechÿu
    many fish DEMc

    'there is lots of fish'

                                   [jxx-p120515l-2.135]

In (247), Juana talks about the viciousness of the *karay* who, realising that the speakers' grandparents had bought many cows, made plans to usurp them.

(247) *chimunube musume, te tiyunukunubetu chibejiukunubetu chipeu baka*

    chi-imu-nube musume te   ti-yunuku-nube-tu chi-bejiuku-nube-tu   chi-peu
    3-see-PL   many   SEQ 3i-go.on-PL-IAM   3-take.away-PL-IAM 3-animal
     baka
     cow

    'they saw that there were many (cows), so they went to take away their cows'
                                     [jxx-e150925l-1.258]

While both *pariki* and *musume* are predominantly used for countable items, *chama* is used with non-countable things, e.g. water, compare (248) to (246) above.

(248) is also about a water reservoir, but this time about the one in Altavista. The statement comes from Clara.

(248) *chama ÿne nechÿu*

  chama   ÿne   nechÿu
  much   water   DEMc

  'there is a lot of water there'

  [cux-c120414ls-1.207]

María C. produced (249) when we were making fun about being drunk (resulting from Swintha asking Clara for the word for 'be drunk'.)

(249) *chama teukena*

  chama   ti-eu-kena
  much   3i-drink-UNCERT

  'maybe she has drunken a lot'

  [cux-c120414ls-1.056]

However, *pariki* is sometimes also found in connection with non-countable and *chama* with countable things, so that the distinction is somehow blurred.

An alternative to *chama* is *pasayu* 'much, a lot', but it is used less often and majorly by María S. (250), however, is an example that stems from the recordings made by Riester in the 1960s. Juan Ch. talks about the amount of work he is forced to do, in this case weeding in the peanut plantation:

(250) *... pasayu chikeuchi bipatrunenube*

  pasayu   chi-keuchi   bi-patrun-ne-nube
  much   3-INST

  'it is a lot because of our *patrones*'

  [nxx-p630101g-2.26]

(251) is an example for an adverbial use of a quantifier. It comes from Miguel telling José the frog story. It refers to the picture on which the boy sees the beehive.

(251) *i naka tiyuyuikutu pario eka aitubuchepÿimÿnÿ*

  i   naka   ti-iyuyuiku-tu   pario   eka   aitubuchepÿi-mÿnÿ
  and   here   3i-cry-IAM   some   DEMa   boy-DIM

  'and here the little boy is crying a bit'

  [mox-a110920l-2.067]

The quantifier *tumuyubu* looks like a lexicalised middle verb (see 6.7). It can possibly be decomposed as *ti-umu-bu-yu* (3i-take-MID-INTS) 'much is taken'. Its meaning is 'all, everything'. One example is (252). A very small part of Juana's speech is omitted from this example, since she only confirms a side question of me and then goes on with her utterance. She lists all the things a couple from Germany had brought to Concepción in order to sell them in their shop.

(252) *tupununube mÿiji (...) i tumuyubu tÿmuepa yubuti eka kuicha, tumuyubu*

    ti-upunu-nube mÿiji i   tumuyubu tÿmuepa yubuti eka   kuicha tumuyubu
    3i-bring-PL   grass and all   knife   axe   DEMa spade all

    'they brought grass (seeds) (...) and everything, knifes, axes, spades, everything'
                        [jxx-p120515l-2.036-039]

If the referent is human, the plural marker can be added to the quantifier. One example of this is given in (253), where *tumuyubunube* 'all of them' is the subject of the non-verbal motion predicate. This example also comes from Juana and refers to the people of Santa Rita who had all planned to come to Concepción to see the appearance of Evo Morales in the multi-purpose hall.

(253) *tumuyubunube kapununubeina*

    tumuyubu-nube kapunu-nube-ina
    all-PL   come-PL-IRR.NV

    'they will all come'
                        [jxx-p150920l.079]

This was the last example of this section, the following one deals with adverbs.

4.3 Adverbs

Adverbs typically form a large heterogeneous class. They have been described as "a "catch-all" category" that lumps together "[a]ny word with semantic content (i.e., other than grammatical particles) that is not clearly a noun, a verb, or an adjective" (Payne 1997:69). Adverbs typically modify, but unlike adjectives, they do not primarily modify nouns but verbs, adjectives, other adverbs, nouns and full clauses (Evans 2000:715).

The adverbs of Paunaka are not marked for person or for number and they do not take the locative marker *-yae*, either. They cannot occur as arguments of a verb and they are never modified by a nominal demonstrative. This definition excludes some locative words which are often used adverbially, but are rather analysed as nouns due to their ability to occur with the locative marker or as an argument of a verb.

Adverbs can be subdivided into subclasses depending on their semantics, there are locative (4.3.1), temporal and aspectual (4.3.2), and modal (4.3.3) adverbs. The different subclasses of adverbs can take different modal, temporal, aspectual and/or other markers.

4.3.1 Locative adverbs

Locative adverbs provide clues about the spatial setting of an event. They definitely comprise the demonstrative adverbs *naka* 'here' and *nauku* 'there', i.e. not here, (far) away, see (254). What exactly is perceived as "here" varies, as it does in other languages, and largely depends on the situational "engagement area" of a speaker, i.e. the space that she is currently focussed on by paying attention to this space and acting in

it (cf. Enfield 2003:89).[30] In addition, there is another demonstrative, *nechÿu* glossed as 'DEMc', with the approximate meaning of meaning of 'in that place, there', i.e. in an identifiable place of mostly medial distance. *Nechÿu* has nominal and adverbial properties. This has been described in more detail in 4.1.3. The locative adverbs are given in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: Locative adverbs

Adverb	Translation	Comment
naka	here	demonstrative adverb
nauku	there (distal)	demonstrative adverb
nechÿu	there (medial)	nominal/adverbial demonstrative

In (254), Juana uses two demonstrative adverbs. She speaks about a relocation within the city of Santa Cruz after her grandson finished his premilitary service.

(254)　*tukiu nauku tanÿma bibÿsÿu naka*

　　tukiu nauku tanÿma bi-bÿsÿu　naka
　　from　there　now　　1PL-come　here

　　'from there we came here now'

（右寄せ）
[jxx-p110923l-1.182]

The demonstrative adverbs (including *nechÿu*) can be used on their own or be accompanied by a noun phrase that specifies the exact location.

In (255), the location meant by *naka* is shown by a gesture, thus no NP co-occurs. *Naka* refers to the belly of the María C. in this case, where a sorcerer had introduced a frog.

(255)　*ani naka peÿ*

　　ani　naka peÿ
　　look　here　frog

　　'look, here [I had] a frog'

[ump-p110815sf.300]

In (256) María C. specifies what she means by *naka* with a prepositional phrase. She had moved from Santa Rita to Concepción that year and was now living next to Clara. Note that she drops the second person singular person prefix on the verb, which is typical for her speech, but not necessarily accepted by the other speakers.

(256)　*simukunÿ naka tÿpi eka nipiji*

　　simuku-nÿ naka tÿpi eka　　ni-piji
　　find-1SG　here　OBL　DEMa　1SG-sibling

　　'you have found me here at my sister's'

[cux-120410ls.007]

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30. It should be mentioned here that the use of *naka* 'here' and *nauku* 'there' sometimes runs counter my intuition. It remains to be analysed how Paunaka speakers conceptualise their here-sphere. See Admiraal (2016:251-257) for an analysis of "here" in closely related Baure.

In (257), the distal adverb *nauku* is used. The exact location that it refers to is unknown, at least to me, the addressee. Specific location is not important in this context, the utterance is rather about Clara being away from her house, which is included in the here-location of that situation – the yard of María C.'s house next to Clara's house.

(257)   *tiyunu nauku, mhm, trabaku*

      ti-yunu nauku mhm trabaku
      3i-go   there INTJ work

      'she went there, mhm, in order to work'

<div align="right">[uxx-e120427l.089]</div>

In (258) on the other hand, the exact location of *nauku* is of importance since this sentence is about origin. Thus an NP is used together with the adverb. *Nauku* conveys the additional information that the exact location, Santa Rita, is in a not-here sphere for María C., not in her engagement area anymore, since she had moved to Concepción to live with her son's family after her husband had died.

(258)   *nÿti tukiu nauku Santa Rita*

      nÿti   *tukiu nauku Santa Rita*
      1SG.PRN from there Santa Rita

      'I am from Santa Rita there'

<div align="right">[cux-120410ls.010]</div>

(259) provides an example for *nechÿu,* more examples can be found in 4.1.3. It comes from a narrative by Miguel, the exact location to which *nechÿu* refers directly follows; a type of basket which can be carried. Into this basket, the limbs of the main character of the story are stored, which he had just cut off and given to his son pretending they were racemes of *cusi* palm fruit.

(259)   *bueno, chikamureikuji echÿu chinachÿ chijabu punachÿ chijabu nechÿu sÿkikÿyae*

      bueno chi-kamureiku-ji   *echÿu chinachÿ chi-jabu punachÿ chi-jabu*
      well   3-accommodate-RPRT DEMb one   3-leg   other   3-leg
      nechÿu sÿki-kÿ-yae
      DEMc basket-CLF:bounded-LOC

      'well, he accommodated his one leg and his other leg there in the basket, it is said'

<div align="right">[mox-n110920l.110]</div>

As for the rest of the spatial words, it is not clear to me at the moment whether they should rather be classified as adverbs or nouns. The antonyms *nujekÿ* 'inside' and *nekupai* 'outside, yard' are mainly used adverbially. But both also occur with the locative marker occasionally, which might be a hint that they are nouns rather than adverbs. On the other hand, none of them is modified by nominal demonstratives in the corpus, which might be a hint that they are adverbs rather than nouns. The same holds for the two words that describe an horizontal axis, *anÿke* 'up, above' and *apuke* 'ground, down', the latter one occasionally takes a locative marker, but it has not been found on *anÿke* in the corpus.

Thus if we consider only (260), *apuke* could well be an adverb. It describes the direction of gaze of Juana's daughter, when she was sitting in an airplane and only saw water below her.

<div align="center">145</div>

(260) *timumuku apuke*

    ti-imumuku apuke
    3i-look   ground

    'she looked down'

                                                  [jxx-p110923l-1.412]

In (261), however, which comes from Miguel, *apuke* takes a locative marker. It is used as a noun that denotes the ground as our known world, which is contrasted in the story with the world inside the hill, where the spirit lives.

(261) *tibÿchÿupupunukuji naka apukeyae*

    ti-bÿchÿu-pupunuku-ji naka apuke-yae
    3i-leave-REG-RPRT   here ground-LOC

    'he left to the ground here again, it is said (i.e. this world after having been inside the hill with the spirit)'

                                                    [mxx-n151017l-1.58]

Apuke can even be the object of a verb, like in (262), which comes from Juana and is from her account about her grandparents' journey to Moxos. On their way back home, they are surprised by heavy rainfalls and have to pass an arroyo that has filled with water.

(262) *kuinaji chitupa apuke*

    kuina-ji   chi-tupa   apuke
    NEG-RPRT 3-find.IRR ground

    'she didn't reach the ground (of the river with her feet), it is said'
                                                    [jxx-p151016l-2.144]

Thus, two kinds of overlaps concerning locative words can be found. First, there is an overlap between nominal and adverbial function of the demonstrative *nechÿu*, and second, certain words with locative semantics do not neatly fit into either of the categories of noun and adverb.

4.3.2 Temporal and aspectual adverbs

Temporal and aspectual adverbs comprise those words that provide information about the temporal setting of an event, its internal constituency or its relation to another event.

Table 4.6 lists the temporal adverbs. In addition, there are a few more words referring to times of the day that are probably rather nouns than adverbs, although they are used adverbially most of the time. Among them are *mane* 'morning', *tose* 'noon, midday', *kupei* 'afternoon' (also used with the meaning 'late' as its equivalent *tarde* in Spanish), *yuti* 'night'. *Mane*, *kupei* and *yuti* can be modified by a demonstrative, but this happens rarely. *Tose* occurs with the locative marker *-yae* once in the corpus. The word for 'day', *tijai*, is a stative verb, and so are the words derived from it, e.g. *ti-jaikenekÿu* 'dawn', *tajaitu* 'tomorrow' or *tajaibÿti* with the idiomatic meaning 'see you tomorrow/another day'.

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Table 4.6: Temporal and aspectual adverbs

Adverb	Translation
abane	finally
janeka	never
maneiku	soon
metu	already
nÿmayu	just
tanÿma	now
(u)chuine	just now, recently, a few moments to hours ago, same day
ukuine	yesterday, a few days ago
(u)kuinebu	some day in the intermediate past, a few days, weeks or months ago
upunuku	again

The adverb *metu* 'already' is used very frequently and probably the source for the iamitive marker *-tu* (see 6.8.1.1). Just like the iamitive marker, *metu* can be used both when an event is completed, (263), and when it is ongoing at the moment in question, (264), with or without a connotation of earliness. Thus, depending on the specific context and the aktionsart of the predicate, 'now' is sometimes a more appropriate translation than 'already'. *Metu* always precedes the predicate.

(263) was elicited from María S. and refers to an imagined pot.

(263)   *nimutu metu terabajikutu*

    ni-imu-tu   metu   ti-rabajiku-tu
    1SG-see-IAM already 3i-break-IAM

    'when I saw it, it was already broken'

                                   [rxx-e181021les.222]

(264) is a statement by Juana about herself.

(264)   *nÿti metu juberÿpunÿtu*

    nÿti   metu   juberÿpu-nÿ-tu
    1SG.PRN already old.woman-1SG-IAM

    'I am old already/now'

                                   [jxx-p110923l-1.205]

Equally frequent is *tanÿma* 'now'. This adverb may have originated from a stative verb, the initial *t* being a fixed third person marker, and *-nÿma* an associated motion marker (see 6.6.3). However, the word is totally lexicalised. When a morpheme is added, especially *-yu*, the first syllable is usually dropped today, resulting in a form *nÿmayu*. In the recordings by Riester, we find the full form *tanÿmayu*. *Nÿmayu* is punctual and best translated as 'just'.

(265) is a statement by María S. which refers to me having changed the position of my chair a bit because the sun was shining on me. When I was sitting in the shade again, she said:

(265)   *michatu tanÿma*

    micha-tu   tanÿma
    good-IAM now

    'now it is good'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181024l.019]</div>

(266) comes from Juana and refers to the work the people of Santa Rita did for a lady from Germany in exchange for the construction of the reservoir.

(266)   *juu nÿmayu tijaipai tiyununubetu techikanube*

    juu   nÿmayu ti-jai-pai   ti-yunu-nube-tu ti-echika-nube
    INTJ just   3i-be.light-CLF:ground 3i-go-PL-IAM   3i-fell.tree.IRR-PL

    'oh, when it just began to dawn (lit.: there was just light on the ground), they already went to fell trees'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120515l-2.179]</div>

The adverb *(u)chuine* is used if the point in time is not considered as "now" because the event expressed by the verb is completed, but it is still perceived as something in the very recent past, like in Example (267). The word is only used to refer to points in time of the current day. It may be derived from the uncertain future marker *uchu* 'some day (perhaps, in an uncertain future)' (see 6.8.2.2), at the same time it resembles the adverb *ukuine* 'yesterday, some day in the recent past', which also refers to a recent past, but less recent than the current day, see (268). The translation with 'yesterday' is not very precise since *ukuine* can also refer to the day before yesterday or another day in the recent past. However, most of the times it is used to refer to the day preceding the current day.

(267) is a statement by Juana about her daughter including *uchuine*.

(267)   *uchuine chÿnachÿtu ora tichujiku tukiu nauku*

    uchuine   chÿnachÿ-tu ora   ti-chujiku tukiu nauku
    just.now one-IAM   hour 3i-speak from there

    'just an hour ago she talked [with me] from there (on telephone)'
<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-1.335-336]</div>

(268) contains *ukuine* and also comes from Juana, who tells me about the source of her knowledge about her brother's health.

(268)   *chikuetea chijinepÿi ukuine*

    chi-kuetea chi-jinepÿi   ukuine
    3-tell   3-daughter yesterday

    'his daughter told it [to me] yesterday (or a few days ago)'
<div align="right">[jxx-e150925l-1.124]</div>

In addition, *(u)kuinebu* refers to points in time in an intermediate past which may be some days ago, but also some weeks or months ago, like in Example (269), which was recorded in April and the event that Juana is referring to happened some months ago: some friends of the daughter who live in Argentina came to visit her over New Year and brought some coffee as a present.

(269) *nauku Argentina tupununube uikuinebu*

nauku Argentina ti-upunu-nube uikuinebu
there Argentina 3i-bring-PL   some.time.ago

'they brought it from Argentina some time ago'

<div align="right">[jxx-e120430l-4.28]</div>

The adverbs *tanÿma* and *(u)chuine* can be intensified by a marker *-paiku/a*, which narrows the possible time frame.[31] The following Example (270) comes from Miguel who told us a story, while we sat to eat and relax a bit on our visit to Altavista.

(270) *... tiyuna paseana nenabi biti tanÿmapaiku*

ti-yuna   pasea-ina   nena-bi biti   tanÿma-paiku
3i-go.IRR stroll-IRR.NV like-1PL 1PL.PRN now-PUNCT

'... he will go on a jaunt like we are doing right now'

<div align="right">[mxx-n120423lsf-X.15]</div>

In Example (271), María S. asks me about my arrival in Santa Rita that day.

(271) *¿chuinepaiku pitupunubu?*

chuine-paiku   pi-tupunubu
just.now-PUNCT 2SG-arrive

'you have just arrived?'

<div align="right">[rxx-e120511l.005]</div>

The adverb *maneiku* 'soon' is probably derived from *mane* 'morning'. It is used very infrequently. One example is given in (272), where Juana makes a statement about my departure to Germany being close in contrast to Swintha's, who had plans to stay a bit longer.

(272) *asi max temprano piyunupuna, maneiku piyuna*

asi max   temprano pi-yunupuna   maneiku pi-yuna
so more early   2SG-go.back.IRR soon   2SG-go.IRR

'so you go back earlier, you go soon'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-2.635]</div>

Janeka 'never' seldom shows up in the corpus, but one example from Juana is given below. It is not clear to me, why she uses realis RS here. She speaks about the pot she was going to make with the clay she had just collected.

(273) *janeka chikurabaku*

janeka chi-kurabaku
never   3-break

'nobody ever breaks it' (lit.: 'never [a non-specified agent] breaks it')

<div align="right">[jmx-d110918ls-1.078]</div>

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31. This marker also shows up on verbs, but very infrequently. I suppose it fulfils the same function there.

Finally, there is *abane,* which means 'finally'. It expresses that something that has been expected is completed after a time span that is considered (too) long, like in (274), where Juana's daughter finally calls her boss to accompany her to the airport and speak to the people in charge to put in a good word for her sister who had arrived to Spain without a valid visa.

(274) *abane chichujiku te tiyununubetu*

abane   chi-chujiku   te   ti-yunu-nube-tu
finally   3-speak   SEQ   3i-go-PL-IAM

'finally she spoke to him and they went (to the airport)'

[jxx-p110923l-1.351]

4.3.3 Modal adverbs

Modal meanings are seldom expressed by adverbs, since most information of this kind is marked on the predicate or more rarely other constituents of the clause (see 6.8.3). However, a few modal adverbs are used in Paunaka and they are given in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7: Modal adverbs

Adverb	Translation	Comment
nakayenetu	almost	proximate
nakayenetÿini	almost	avertive
repente	maybe	loan from Spanish

Repente is a loan from Spanish *de repente* 'maybe' (also 'suddenly', which is also another meaning of the Paunaka word, but less frequently). It is more or less synonyme with the uncertainty marker *(-)kena* that expresses uncertainty (see 6.8.3.2). *Kena* is phonologically bound to another word most of the time, and it can also attach to *repente. Repente* has some variants *pente* and *depente,* but they are less frequent than *repente.* (275) offers one example of the adverb, which comes from Miguel when talking with María C. about her husband, who was ill.

(275) *pero repentekena michaupunu punachina semana*

pero repente-kena   micha-upunu punachÿ-ina semana
but   maybe-UNCERT good-REG   other-IRR   week

'but maybe he has recovered (lit.: is good again) next week'

[mux-c110810l.037]

The adverb *nakayenetu/nakayenetÿini* 'almost' is complex, at least as its ending is concerned. It contains either the iamitive marker *-tu* or the avertive marker *-tÿini* (see 6.8.1.1 for iamitive aspect and 6.8.3.1 for avertive modality). As for the rest of the word, *naka* could derive from the demonstrative adverb (see 4.3.1 above), and *yene* could relate to the deductive marker *-yenu* (6.8.3.2), but this is speculative. In any way, the difference between both variants of the adverb is that *nakayenetu* is proximate, i.e. the event is temporally close and realisable, while *nakayenetÿini* is avertive, i.e. the event was imminent but did not occur.

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(276) is one example for the proximate use of the adverb. Juana answers my question here, when they were going to eat.

(276)   *nakayenetu toseina binika*

       nakayenetu   *tuse-ina*   *bi-nika*
       almost   noon-IRR.NV 1PL-eat.IRR

       'we will eat just before noon'

<div align="right">[jxx-p110923l-2.099]</div>

(277) gives one example for the avertive version of the adverb. Juana was searching for the Paunaka name for 'deer', there must have been one and it must have sounded similar to *yÿnÿ* 'jabiru' (a bird: *Jabiru mycteria*).

(277)   *nakayenetÿini chija eka nikecha yÿnÿ*

       nakayenetÿini *chi-ija*   *eka*   *ni-kecha*   *yÿnÿ*
       almost   3-name   DEMa 1SG-say.IRR jabiru

       'I would have almost said *yÿnÿ* (i.e. jabiru) is its name'

<div align="right">[jxx-a120516l-a.240-241]</div>

The following section describes prepositions.

4.4 Prepositions

There are four words that can be analysed as prepositions, they are given in Table 4.8. These prepositions are used to mark constituents as obliques (see 7.1.3). They encode an instrument, a causer, source, benefactive, result or recipient or a comitative relation.

Table 4.8: Prepositions

preposition	Translation	Comment
-aj(i)echubu	with	always person-marked, least grammaticalised preposition
-keuchi	by, with	usually with person marker, but possible without
tukiu	from	never person-marked
(-)tÿpi	OBL, for	possible with and without person marker, also used for clause-linking

In addition to these prepositions, Paunaka makes use of a few words that express specific locative relations to a referent. This is often achieved by using adpositions in other languages, however, in Paunaka these words are better analysed as relational nouns since they obligatorily take the locative marker to specify that a locative relation is expressed (see 5.8). If a noun is juxtaposed to the relational noun, it can be defined as its possessor. The possessor noun does not take the locative marker. In contrast to relational nouns, the locative marker is never attached to the prepositions described in this section, not even to *tukiu,* which is used to mark source expressions, i.e. a spatial relation. However, the noun that *tukiu* relates to can take the locative marker.

Compare Examples (278) and (279). In (278) the locative marker is attached to the noun following the preposition and the preposition itself is unmarked. In (279), the locative marker is attached to the relational noun and its possessor is unmarked.

(278) was produced by Miguel in talking with Juan C. about their past.

(278) *ja bibÿsÿupunu tukiu Turuxhiyae sinkuenta i dos*

    ja   bi-bÿsÿupunu tukiu Turuxhi-yae   sinkuenta i dos
    AFM 1PL-come   from Altavista-LOC fifty-two

    'well, we came from Altavista in 52'

<div align="right">[mqx-p110826l.055]</div>

(279) also comes from Miguel and refers to the picture in the frog story in which the dog stands on a log (and the boy leans over that log).

(279) *tijipuikutuji chÿineyae echÿu yÿkÿke*

    ti-jipuiku-tu-ji   chÿ-ine-yae echÿu yÿkÿke
    3i-jump-IAM-RPRT 3-top-LOC   DEMb tree

    'it has jumped on top of the log, it is said'

<div align="right">[mtx-a110906l.207]</div>

Prepositions are always placed before the NP they are related to, but not all of them necessarily occur together with an NP: if they take a first or second person marker, no NP shows up with the preposition, and if they take a third person marker, an NP is optional. The source preposition *tukiu* is never marked for person. Consequently, it always occurs together with a noun or an adverb. The comitative preposition *-ajiechubu* is always marked for person. The instrument/cause preposition *-keuchi* is normally person-marked, it only rarely drops a third person index. As regards *(-)tÿpi*, first and second person markers are obligatory, while the third person marker usually alternates with an NP, although sometimes there is both a third person index on the preposition and an NP following it.

The degree of grammaticalisation of the prepositions differs with the verbal origin being still recognisable in the instrument/cause preposition *-keuchi* and the comitative *-aj(i)echubu*, while the sources of the prepositions *(-)tÿpi* and *tukiu* are not clear. This will be explained in more detail in the individual sections on the prepositions that follow. The source preposition *tukiu* is described in 4.4.1, the many different functions of the general oblique marker *(-)tÿpi* are illustrated in 4.4.2, the instrument and cause preposition *-keuchi* is described in 4.4.3, and finally 4.4.4 is dedicated to the least grammaticalised adpostion, the comitative marker *-aj(i)echubu*.

4.4.1 The source preposition

The preposition *tukiu* introduces source expressions and thus occurs a lot in sentences describing motion events. It never takes a person marker. The initial *t* of the preposition could be a hint that it derives from a verb inflected with the third person marker *ti-*, *-u* we also find in the defective verb *-ubu* 'be, live'.[32] The sequence *kiu* resembles what

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32. This verb probably contains the middle marker *-bu,* thus its root is *u.*

we find in deranked verbs, a thematic suffix + subordinate marking, but then again, deranked verbs rather take the third person marker *chÿ-* instead of *ti-* (see 8.1.4).[33]

Tukiu is usually preposed to a locative adverb, especially *naka* 'here' and *nauku* 'there', or to a noun. Locative adverb and noun can also combine to yield a more precise source expression. If there is a noun in the source expression, it can take the locative marker *-yae*, while adverbs never take this marker.

In the following Example (280), the noun in the source expression, a toponym, takes the locative marker. It is from María C.'s account about her life. She was once very ill and went to San Pedrito crawling, where they extracted two frogs from her belly. Note that she does not use the verb for 'crawl' in this sentence, but resorts to a collocation with a Spanish origin, *kuatrupie* from *a cuatro pies* 'on hands and knees', which is used adverbially.

(280) *kuatrupie niyunu San Pedrito tukiu Arubeituyae*

    kuatrupie   *ni-yunu San Pedrito tukiu Arubeitu-yae*
    on.hands.and.knees 1SG-go San Pedrito from Arubeito-LOC

    'on hands and knees I went to San Pedrito from Arubeito'
                                            [ump-p110815sf.303]

(281) has a source expression in which the toponym (i.e. a noun) occurs without a locative marker. It was produced by Juana while sitting at her house in Concepción. She informed me about the plans of the inhabitants of Santa Rita to participate in the public appearance of Evo Morales in Concepción in 2015.

(281) *aja las ocho naka kapununubeina titupunapunube tukiu Santa Rita*

    aja   *las ocho*   *naka kapunu-nube-ina ti-tupunapu-nube tukiu Santa Rita*
    INTJ at eight o'clock here come-PL-IRR.NV 3i-arrive.IRR-PL from Santa Rita

    'yes, at eight o'clock they will come here, they will arrive from Santa Rita'
                                              [jxx-p150920l.078]

In (282), the source is expressed with the adverb *nauku* 'there'. This sentence stems from Juana. I had been waiting for her at the zoo, when she had just arrived home from elsewhere.

(282) *las dies nibÿsÿu tukiu nauku, nubiuyae*

    las dies   *ni-bÿsÿu*   *tukiu nauku nÿ-ubiu-yae*
    at ten o'clock 1SG-come from there 1SG-house-LOC

    'at ten I came home from there, to my house'
                                            [jxx-p110923l-2.043]

In the source expression of (283), we have both the adverb *nauku* and a complex locative expression containing the relational noun *-chuku* 'side'. The sentence comes from María S., who told me about her life. The family had once lived more remote from where Santa Rita is located today. Only José remained in this remote location, the other siblings moved away.

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33. Note that Rose (2021, p.c.) proposes a link to the Mojeño Trinitario verb *os'o* 'come from, be from'. This could possibly also explain the sequence *kiu*. There is no related verb in Paunaka synchronically.

(283)   *bijechikutu tukiu nauku chukuyae Kose*

    bi-jechiku-tu   tukiu nauku chi-chuku-yae Kose
    1PL-move-IAM from there 3-side-LOC   José

    'we moved from there close to José's'

<div align="right">[rxx-p181101l-2.257]</div>

The source preposition is also often used to encode sources of non-motion events. It might be the case that this is due to influence of Spanish, which would also make use of the source preposition *de* to encode these cases. Two examples of this use are given below, both were produced by Juana.

In the first of these examples, the source is a source of knowledge, not of motion along a path. It comes from Juana's account about her encounter with two old Paunaka ladies, who first did not recognise that she understood them. In (284), Juana cites what one of the ladies said to her after Juana had introduced herself to them.

(284)   *"ja'a nichupuikubane pia tukiu Turuxhiyae"*

    ja'a ni-chupuiku-bane pi-a   tukiu Turuxhi-yae
    AFM 1SG-know-REM   2SG-father from Altavista-LOC

    '"yes, I know your father from Altavista in the old days"'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120515l-1.134]</div>

(285) is from the story about the fox and the jaguar. The jaguar has already drowned in a pond at this point of the story. Some months later, approximately in August, the fox comes back to speak with the skeleton of the jaguar. The pond has fallen dry by that time.

(285)   *tibukubutu echÿu ÿne tukiu nechÿu kurichiyae*

    ti-buku-bu-tu   echÿu ÿne   tukiu nechÿu kurichi-yae
    3i-finish-MID-IAM DEMb water from DEMc   pond-LOC

    'the water had vanished (lit.: finished) from the pond'

<div align="right">[jmx-n120429ls-x5.283]</div>

The following section is dedicated to the general oblique marker *(-)tÿpi*, which is the most frequent preposition.

4.4.2   The oblique preposition

The preposition *(-)tÿpi* is the one found with the largest array of different functions and is thus simply glossed 'OBL' for 'oblique'. It is often used with constituents that have the semantic role of a benefactive, but also with aims or results, recipients, temporal expressions, and sometimes also with goals. The preposition is also used to introduce purpose clauses. In general, *(-)tÿpi* can be found in most of the contexts in which the speakers would use the prepositions *para* or *por* (both among other things mean 'for'), when speaking Spanish.

As for its origin, there is a stative verb *-tÿpina* 'be straight, be correct', but the similarity to the preposition may be co-incidental. If the preposition is in some way related to the verb, the semantic connection is blurred.

In what follows, I will give examples for the many different uses of *(-)tÿpi*. Among the most frequent are the expression of benefactives and results or aims. To illustrate these uses, compare the following two examples, in which *(-)tÿpi* is used once to mark a benefactive constituent in (286) and once to mark a result or aim in (287). They were both produced by Juana in an elicitation session, but (286) was requested as a translation of a Spanish sentence and (287) was added by Juana herself.

(286) *nupunu eka merÿ pitÿpi*

      nÿ-upunu   eka   merÿ   pi-tÿpi
      1SG-bring DEMa plantain 1SG-OBL

      'I brought these plantains for you'

                                                  [jxx-e191021e-2]

(287) *bupunu echÿu merÿ tÿpi masakujina*

      bi-upunu   echÿu merÿ   tÿpi masaku-ji-ina
      1PL-bring DEMb plantain OBL masaco-CLF:soft.mass-IRR.NV

      'we brought these plantains for *masaco* (a dish made with plantains and cheese)'
                                                  [jxx-e191021e-2]

An example with two benefactives introduced by *(-)tÿpi* is (288), in which Miguel cites a monk who came to Santa Rita and helped the people there build a school for the children.

(288) *"nana ubiae nitÿpi xhikuera naka etÿpi", tikechu*

      nÿ-ana   ubiae ni-tÿpi   xhikuera naka e-tÿpi   ti-kechu
      1SG-make.IRR house 1SG-OBL school   here 2PL-OBL 3i-say

      '"I can make a house for myself and a school for you", he said'
                                             [mxx-p110825l.110-111]

The following example is an excerpt from a conversation between Miguel and Juan C. What we see here is that *(-)tÿpi* can mark an NP as a benefactive oblique as in (289a), but it can also be used as a connective that introduces purpose clauses as in (289b). More examples for purpose clauses with *(-)tÿpi* are found in 8.3.1.4 and 8.3.2.2. Miguel had just told Juan C. that he thought about planting sweet potatoes and apparently Juan C. thought it was useless to plant them, because they are eaten by armadillos. He expressed this by stating that the sweet potatoes are meant for the armadillo, and Miguel takes up this joke. Both men were laughing.

(289) a. q: *aa chibu tÿpi pÿrÿsÿsÿ*

         aa   chibu   tÿpi pÿrÿsÿsÿ
         INTJ 3TOP.PRN OBL armadillo

         'ah, that is for the armadillo'

b. m: *tÿpi chinika pÿrÿsÿsÿ*

> *tÿpi chi-nika pÿrÿsÿsÿ*
> OBL 3-eat.IRR armadillo

'so that the armadillo can eat it'

[mqx-p110826l.578-580]

The following two examples illustrate the use of *(-)tÿpi* to encode results or aims of an action. (290) was elicited from Juana in order to obtain more knowledge about causatives, the oblique phrase *tÿpi upichai*, which encodes what the object of the verb, the cinnamon, is meant for, was added by Juana herself.

(290) *nÿbÿcheku tiyunu tiyeseikupa eka kanela tÿpi upichai*

> *nÿ-bÿcheku ti-yunu ti-yeseiku-pa   eka   kanela   tÿpi upichai*
> 1SG-order 3i-go 3i-buy-DLOC.IRR DEMa cinnamon OBL medicine

'I sent her to go and buy cinnamon for the medicine'

[jxx-e191021e-2]

In (291), María C. tells me what she still has at home to prepare food, there was no meat anymore.

(291) *sekeÿ tÿpi yÿtÿuku*

> *esekeÿ tÿpi yÿtÿuku*
> bean   OBL food

'beans for food'

[uxx-e120427l.203]

(-)Tÿpi can be used for the expression of recipients or addressees. This is the case in the following example with the verb *-kuetea* 'tell'. Contrary to the verb *-kechu* 'say', the addressee (or recipient of the information) cannot be indexed on this verb as an object. This is the beginning of Miguel's narration of the frog story while looking at the picture book together with Alejo.

(292) *nikuetea pitÿpi, Arejo, eka kakuji eka chinachÿ aitubuchepÿimÿnÿ*

> *ni-kuetea pi-tÿpi Arejo eka   kaku-ji   eka   chinachÿ aitubuchepÿi-mÿnÿ*
> 1SG-tell 2SG-OBL Alejo DEMa exist-RPRT DEMa one   boy-DIM

'I tell you, Alejo, that there was this one boy, it is said'

[mtx-a110906l.002]

In (293), we have a verb from Spanish that is integrated into Paunaka as a non-verbal predicate *regalau* 'give as a present' (see 7.2.9 for this strategy to integrate borrowed verbs). While the semantically related verb *-punaku* 'give' is ditransitive and can index the recipient as an object, non-verbal predicates in general cannot index any other argument than the subject. Thus the recipient is integrated into the clause as an oblique with *-tÿpi*. Juana told me with this sentence that the coffee we were drinking was a present some friends of her daughter had brought from Argentina.

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(293) *nauku Argentina tupununube uikuinebu i regalau nitÿpi*

nauku Argentina ti-upunu-nube uikuinebu   i   regalau   ni-tÿpi
there   Argentina   3i-bring-PL   some.time.ago and give.as.present 1SG-OBL

'they brought it from Argentina some time ago and gave it to me as a present'
[jxx-e120430l-4.28-29]

If a referent is affected by the existence of something or, even more importantly, by the non-existence, it can be added to the existential clause with the help of *-tÿpi* like in the following example, which comes from María S. in explaining why she has not finished making her hammock, yet.

(294) *kuina tiempoina nÿtÿpi*

kuina tiempo-ina   nÿ-tÿpi
NEG   time-IRR.NV   1SG-OBL

'I didn't have time (lit.: there was no time for me)'
[rxx-e181022le]

The preposition can also be used in goal expressions, whenever there is no intention involved to actually reach the goal. This is the case in (295), where María C. makes a statement about the distance between Altavista and Concepción.

(295) *son unos cinco leguas tukiu Turuxhi tÿpi Conce*

son unos cinco leguas   tukiu Turuxhi   tÿpi Conce
it is approximately five leagues from   Altavista OBL Concepción

'it is approximately five leagues from Altavista to Concepción'
[cux-c120414ls-1.159]

If a quantity of something is set in relation to another entity, *(-)tÿpi* can be placed between the two NPs, like in (296), which was produced by Juana to tell me the price of the rent of a house her daughter had been looking at.

(296) *mil bolivianos tÿpi entero ubiae*

mil   bolivianos tÿpi entero ubiae
1000   bolivianos   OBL whole   house

'1000 bolivianos for the whole house'
[jxx-p120430l-1.368-369]

Consequently, *(-)tÿpi* is also used in statements or questions about age, like in (297), which was elicited from Isidro to ask about the age of a baby.

(297) *¿kajanetu kuje chitÿpi?*

kajane-tu   kuje   chi-tÿpi?
how.many-IAM   month   3-OBL

'how many months old is he?
[dxx-d120416s.071]

To finish the discussion on *(-)tÿpi,* I will present one last example in which *tÿpi* is used with a temporal expression. (298) was produced by Miguel who was citing what Swintha had told him the year before about the time of her return to Bolivia.

(298)   *anyo pasau tikechu "nÿbÿsÿupuna tÿpi agustu"*

     anyo   pasau ti-kechu   nÿ-bÿsÿupuna   tÿpi agustu
     year   past   3i-say   1SG-come.IRR   OBL August

     'last year she said: "I will come in August"'

                                         [mxx-d110813s-2.057]

The remaining two prepositions, *-keuchi* and *-aj(i)echubu,* are much less frequent.

4.4.3   The instrument and cause preposition

The preposition *-keuchi* introduces obliques with the semantic roles of instrument or cause. It is glossed as 'INS' for instrument in this work, irrespective of whether it encodes instruments or causes. The preposition is usually indexed for person, regardless of whether an NP follows or not, but occasionally occurs without a person marker.

As for its origin, *-keuchi* is probably composed of the verbal root *-ke,* a default/realis suffix *-u* and a third person suffix *-chi* (*-ke-u-chi* -do?-REAL-3). The same verbal root is also found in the verb *-ke-chu* 'say', where *-chu* is a thematic suffix with default/realis marking.[34] The Paunaka preposition is grammaticalised insofar as the third person suffix is not detachable or replaceable by another person suffix and the RS cannot be changed, i.e. it is not possible to replace the /u/ following the root by /a/ to construe an irrealis form.

Some examples follow, (299) and (300) have instrument obliques and (301) to (303) cause obliques marked by *-keuchi* .

(299) comes from a description by Juana of how to make a clay pot.[35] The collected loam has to dry and then it has to be ground with the help of a pestle. The pestle, *yubauke,* is preceded by the preposition and thus cannot be mistaken to conominate the object of the verb (which is left unexpressed in this sentence).

(299)   *upujaine bitÿyajikatu chikeuchi yubauke*

     upu-jai-ne   bi-tÿyajika-tu   chi-keuchi yubauke
     other-day-POSSD 1PL-grind.IRR-IAM 3-INS   pestle

     'the next day we can grind it with a pestle'

                                         [jmx-d110918ls-2.07]

In (300), *keuchi* is placed before the nouns referring to the instruments used in pottery. No person marker is attached to *keuchi* in this case. The example comes from the very same description as (299) above and describes a further step in the production of the pot. The loam is rolled to coils, and then the coils are placed above each other and the loam is pulled up with help of a shell and water.

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34. Note that there is an empty verb root *-k(i)e* in Baure, which is often used with the meanings 'say' and 'do' (Danielsen 2007:221-222). This root is probably related to the Paunaka root *-ke* in the verb *-kechu* 'say' and the instrumental/cause preposition *-keuchi.*
35. The complete description is given in the appendix.

(300) *i keuchi sipÿ ÿne naka bijatÿkatu anÿke*

i	*keuchi*	*sipÿ*	*ÿne*	*naka*	*bi-jatÿka-tu*	*anÿke*
and	INS	shell	water	here	1PL-pull.IRR-IAM	up

'and with shell and water we pull it up here'

<div align="right">[jmx-d110918ls-2.18-19]</div>

In (301), *chikeuchi* marks the constituent *sipau* 'strong chicha' as a cause for drunkenness. María C. produced this sentence, when we were talking about the feast day of Santa Rita, and I asked her to show us once how to make chicha.

(301) *beamÿnÿ asipau bakubÿu chikeuchi sipau*

bi-ea-mÿnÿ	*isipau*	*bi-a-kubÿu*	*chi-keuchi*	*isipau*
1PL-drink.IRR-DIM	strong.chicha	1PL-IRR-be.drunk	3-INS	strong.chicha

'if we drink strong chicha, we get drunk by the strong chicha'

<div align="right">[uxx-p110825l.296]</div>

In the last two examples presented here, the cause is a person. (302) was produced by Juan C. when speaking with Miguel about the bad old times, when they still lived in Altavista. The *patrón* "paid" in goods, but sometimes even denied that payment. He is thus the one to blame that Juan C. did not have any trousers to wear anymore and this is indicated by the use of *chikeuchi* together with the noun referring to the *patrón*.

(302) *kuinabutu nÿkasuneina chikeuchi nÿpatrun*

kuina-bu-tu	*nÿ-kasune-ina*	*chi-keuchi*	*nÿ-patrun*
NEG-DSC-IAM	1SG-trousers-IRR.NV	3-INS	1SG-patrón

'I didn't have any trousers anymore because of my *patrón*'

<div align="right">[mqx-p110826l.454]</div>

Finally, in (303), in combination with the existential copula *kaku*, -*keuchi* refers to a possessor ('there is X caused by Y' = 'Y has X').[36] The possessor in this case is Juan Ch. himself who uttered this sentence in a recording session with Riester after having stated that he had hunted a gray brocket. The person prefix is thus *ni-* for first singular in this case and there is no NP following the preposition.

(303) *tanÿmapaiku kaku chÿeche nikeuchi nubiuyae tÿpi chinachÿ semana*

tanÿma-paiku	*kaku*	*chÿeche*	*ni-keuchi*	*nÿ-ubiu-yae*	*tÿpi*	*chinachÿ*	*semana*
now-PUNCT	exist	meat	1SG-INS	1SG-house-LOC	OBL	one	week

'right now I have meat for one week in my house'

<div align="right">[nxx-a630101g-1.56]</div>

The next section will discuss the status and use of the comitative preposition.

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36. This specific example is interesting because *chÿeche* 'meat' already carries a lexicalised (i.e. non-referential) third person marker indexing the possessor (*chÿ-eche* 'its flesh'). Thus indexation of the first person possessor on the noun could be morphologically blocked in this case. There are, however, a few similar examples in the corpus that do not include a noun already marked for possession.

4.4.4 The comitative preposition

The comitative role of a participant can be expressed by the preposition -*aj(i)echubu*.

This is the least grammaticalised preposition. It carries the middle marker -*bu*, thus it is decomposable as -*aj(i)echu-bu* and it inflects for RS like active verbs do, by changing the last /u/ of the stem to /a/. With irrealis RS, the form of the middle marker changes to -*pu*, which is just what we expect from middle verbs (see 6.7). The irrealis form of the preposition is thus -*aj(i)echapu*. Since middle verbs are notionally intransitive, they take the third person marker *ti*-, but this is not what we find with the comitative preposition. It always takes *chÿ*- as a third person marker and I take this as a sign that it has lost some of its verbal properties and can be considered a preposition, though not completely grammaticalised, yet. In addition, on its way from verb to preposition, the semantic role of the person indexed on -*aj(i)echubu* must have changed from accompanee to companion. The accompanee is defined as the person who is accompanied, the companion as the person who accompanies in the terminology of Stolz et al. (2006). The change of semantic roles will be explained in more detail towards the end of this section. There are also some cases in which the preposition seems to be used like a verb, but I will start the overview with some examples that point into the direction of -*aj(i)echubu* being a preposition.

The preposition itself is never inflected for plural in my corpus, but the verb in the sentence can take the plural marker if both participants, the subject of a verb and the comitative participant are third persons. Accompanee and companion are indexed together on the verb in this case. This is found in (304), where the third-person marked preposition *chajechubu* is placed before a plural NP to mark the companion. The accompanee is not conominated in this sentence, but it is clear from the context that it is a single man. The example stems from Juana's account about a criminal in-law of hers, who had to escape, when people found out that he had stolen cows. Apparently, his brothers were involved in the theft, because they fled together.

(304)   *chajechubu chipijijinube tikutijikunubeji kimenukÿ*

    chÿ-ajechubu *chi-piji-ji-nube* *ti-kutijiku-nube-ji* *kimenu-kÿ*
    3-COM   3-sibling-COL-PL 3i-flee-PL-RPRT   woods-CLF:bounded

    'together with his brothers he fled to the woods, it is said'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-2.087]</div>

From the same recording is (305). Like in (304) above, the verb carries a plural marker (and a reciprocal marker) to indicate joint action of the accompanee and the companion. This sentence is about the fight of one of the sons with his criminal father.

(305)   *i chijikiu punachÿ chipiji teukukujinubetu chajechubu chÿa*

    i   *chijikiu*   *punachÿ* *chi-piji* *ti-eu-kuku-ji-nube-tu*   *chÿ-ajechubu*
    and however other   3-sibling 3i-fight-RCPC-COL-PL-IAM 3-COM
      chÿ-a
      3-father

    'and nonetheless the other brother fought with his father'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-2.196]</div>

In (306), the preposition is marked for second person singular, i.e. we have a second person companion here. The verb, however, is indexed for first person singular, i.e.

<div align="center">160</div>

contrary to (304) and (305), the companion is not indexed on the verb together with the accompanee in this case. The sentence was produced by Clara, when she was supposed to make bread with her daughter, but sitting with us and chatting, had forgotten her duty, until her daughter showed up and reminded her.

(306)   *es que nitibubuiku ajiechubu naka dice*

       es que   *ni-tibubuiku* *a-jiechubu* *naka* *dice*
       it is the case that 1SG-sit   2PL-COM here she says

       'it is because I am sitting here with you, she says'

<div align="right">[cux-120410ls.222]</div>

(307) is an example that was elicited from María S. Like in (306) above, the second person singular companion is not indexed on the verb, instead the first person singular prefix only indexes the accompanee.

(307)   *nichujijikubu pajiechubu*

       ni-chujijiku-bu *pi-ajiechubu*
       1SG-talk-MID   2SG-COM

       'I am talking with you'

<div align="right">[rxx-e141230s.133]</div>

In (308), we have an irrealis form of the comitative preposition. Irrealis is due to future reference of the whole sentence. This is another example in which only the accompanee is realised as a subject of the predicate, which is of the non-verbal type and thus does not take any person affix to index a third person subject (but it could take a plural suffix to indicate that there is a plural subject). The sentence was produced by Juana in telling me about a planned visit by her daughter.

(308)   *kapupunuina tukiu nauku chajechapu treschÿnube chichechapÿimÿnÿ*

       kapupunu-ina   *tukiu* *nauku* *chÿ-ajechapu* *treschÿ-nube* *chi-chechapÿi-mÿnÿ*
       come.back-IRR.NV from there 3-COM   three-PL   3-son-DIM

       'she will come from there with her three children'

<div align="right">[jxx-p110923l-1.253-254]</div>

In all examples presented up to here, *-aji(e)chubu* can be defined as a preposition, but there are also some examples in the corpus that point to verbal status of the word bound to the way person is marked. In these cases, *-aj(i)echubu* takes the same person index that the (other) predicate of the clause has. It is thus the accompanee that is indexed on *-aj(i)echubu* and not the companion. The companion might even be indexed by a suffix, at least, this is what happens in the elicited Example (309). Compare this example to (307) above, which was elicited from the same speaker, María S., in another occasion. In (307), the second person singular companion is indexed on *-ajiechubu*, in (309) *-ajiechubu* carries the first person singular subject index of the accompanee. If *-aji(e)chubu* is defined as a verb in this case, we can state that the subject is identical to the one of the other verb in this sentence. In addition, *-ajiechubu* carries an object suffix which indexes the companion. If the subject of the verb *-aj(i)echubu* is the accompanee, then the middle marker makes totally sense, since it often encodes anticausatives (see 6.7), the meaning of the active verb *-aj(i)echu* can thus be defined as 'accompany',

and of the middle verb *-aj(i)echubu* as 'being accompanied'. In this case, it should be excluded that objects are indexed or that objects are present at all, but exactly this occurs in (309), as well as in the other two examples that follow, where the object is a third person expressed by an NP. The grammatical relation of the companion with the verb is thus very unclear in these cases.

(309)   *nichujijikubu najiechububi*

    ni-chujijiku-bu nÿ-ajiechu-bu-bi
    1SG-talk-MID   1SG-accompany-MID-2SG

    'I am talking with you'

<div align="right">[mrx-e150219s.006]</div>

Another example, in which the accompanee is indexed rather than the companion is (310), which was elicited from José. The companion is expressed by an NP.[37]

(310)   *biyejikupu arusu bajiechubu Miyel, bamichupu*

    bi-yejiku-pu   arusu bi-ajiechu-bu   Miyel   bi-amichupu
    1PL-tear.out-DLOC rice   1PL-accompany-MID Miguel 1PL-help

    'we went to harvest rice together with Miguel, we helped him'
<div align="right">[oxx-e120414ls-1a.120]</div>

Given that we have a similar example in the recordings from the 1960s by Riester (including an NP that expresses the companion), I suspect that this is the way accompaniment was expressed in prior times: by a middle marked verb that encodes accompaniment indexing the accompanee. Grammaticalisation into a preposition and change of the role indexed on *-aj(i)echubu* from accompanee to companion has probably happened recently and is motivated by the need to integrate the companion into the comitative expression. It is well possible that the way accompaniment is expressed in Spanish has played a role in this change.

The example from Riester's recordings is given here as (311). Juan Ch. talks about his life in Retiro here.

(311)   *nÿti nipÿsisikubu naka najechubu netinemÿnÿ*

    nÿti   ni-pÿsisikubu naka nÿ-ajechu-bu   nÿ-etine-mÿnÿ
    1SG.PRN 1SG-be.alone here 1SG-accompany-MID 1SG-sister-DIM

    'I am alone here together with my sister'
<div align="right">[nxx-p630101g-1.163-164]</div>

In addition to the prepositions described up to here, some others from Spanish may be used, but this occurs very rarely suggesting that their use is not grammaticalised. Thus we can proceed to the next section, which is about connectives.

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37. The dislocative marker on *-yejiku* probably belongs to a motion verb which was uttered before, or it is simply a repetition of the verb I used before with the dislocative marker in trying (and failing) to produce the sentence myself.

4.5 Connectives

In the grammaticography of standard average European (SAE) languages, words with a linking function are often divided into the class of conjunctions (or particles) and the class of adverbs. A number of words have a linking function in Paunaka, but as for their part of speech classification, this is less clear than it might be in some SAE languages, and this is why they are called "connectives" in this grammar. They are all discussed together in this section. As for *tÿpi* '*obl*' (or: 'for'), this is a preposition rather than an adverb or a conjunction, but it still has a linking function and is thus included in this description. Most connectives do not only link clauses, but also connect a piece of information to the previous discourse, i.e. they occur at the beginning of intonationally independent clauses, sometimes after a pause (Danielsen & Terhart 2015a:140-141).

Many connectives have been borrowed from Spanish: the three typical SAE conjunctions *pero* 'but', *o* 'or' and *i* 'and' can be found in Paunaka, but also the consecutive/temporal *entonses* 'so, thus, then', temporal *depue* 'afterwards, then' and causal *porke* 'because'. This is not surprising given that all connectives are prone to being borrowed since they fulfil an important role in managing the processing of discourse and speaker-addressee interaction in general, which leads to less attention towards the actual form used and finally to long-term borrowing (Matras 2009:194). As for *masa* 'lest', this connective could also be of Spanish origin, deriving from *más* 'more', which is sometimes also used as an adversative connective 'but'. *Masa* is used exclusively in apprehensional clauses (and together with the frustrative marker in warnings) today, but it seems to be the case that it was used in adversative coordination in former times (see 8.2.5). However, *masa* could also be related to Mojeño Ignaciano *machu* 'caution, beware of...' (Rose 2021, p.c.).

Table 4.9 lists the connective words of Paunaka. At least one example of the use of each of these connectives is given in this section.

Table 4.9: Connective words

Word	Translation	Class	Comment
che(je)puine	because	cause	
chijikiu	however, in contrast	adversative	
depue / repue	afterwards, then	temporal	loan from Spanish
entonses	so, thus, then	consecutive, temporal	loan from Spanish
i	and	conjunctive	loan from Spanish
kue	if	conditional	
masa	lest	apprehensional	possibly loan from Spanish
nechikue / nechukue	therefore, thus	consecutive	
o	or	disjunctive	loan from Spanish
pero	but	adversative	loan from Spanish
porke	because	cause	loan from Spanish
te	then ('SEQ')	sequential	
tÿpi	for ('OBL')	purpose	

The connective *nechikue* (or less frequently *nechukue*) is possibly related to the demonstrative *nechÿu* 'DEMc' (see 4.1.3), but it is totally lexicalised. It presents an

event as a consequence of another, preceding event. One example is given in (312), where Miguel speaks about how the family moved from Altavista to Santa Rita (not directly, but moving to several other villages and settlements elsewhere, before settling down there):

(312) *nauku echÿu ÿne sepitÿjiku kuina chitupuna bitÿpi, nechukue biyunuku naka Naranjito*

    nauku   echÿu   ÿne   sepitÿ-jiku   kuina   chi-tupuna   bi-tÿpi   nechukue
    there   DEMb   water   small-LIM1   NEG   3-reach.IRR   1PL-OBL   therefore
      bi-yunuku   naka   Naranjito
      1PL-go.on   here   Naranjito

‘there was little water, it wasn't enough for us, therefore we went on to Naranjito’

<div align="right">[mxx-p110825l.062-064]</div>

There is another consecutive connective, *entonses*, a loan from Spanish *entonces* ‘so, thus, then’. Its consecutive force is weaker than that of *nechikue*, but stronger than that of sequential *te* ‘then’. It introduces events that happen subsequently to previously mentioned events. However, these events are not only connected temporally, but the second one is also a consequence from the other. On the other hand, the event introduced by *nechikue* is most often temporally subsequent to the priorly mentioned event, but not necessarily so (Danielsen & Terhart 2015a:142). In (313), Miguel uses *entonses*. He has just explained that they put four baking trays with rice bread into the oven in total, and he goes on to tell us that they do not fit in altogether, but two or three at a time.

(313) *pero ruschÿ banaiu entonses banaukupunuku punachÿ ruschÿ o treschÿ purtukupunuku*

    pero   ruschÿ   bi-ana-i-u   *entonses   bi-anau-uku-punuku   punachÿ*
    but   two   1PL-make-SUBORD-REAL   thus   1PL-make-ADD-REG   other
      ruschÿ   o   treschÿ   purtuku-punuku
      two   or   three   put.in-REG

‘but having made two, then we made another two or three and put them in again’

<div align="right">[mxx-e120415ls.097]</div>

The connective *te* marks sequence. It can attach to the end of the first clause or to the beginning of the second as signaled by intonation: there may be a pause preceding or following it. (314) stems from an account by Juana about her daughter who had fallen down badly and had to stay in hospital, until:

(314) *metu michaupupunutu te tiyunupunutu chubiuyae*

    metu   micha-upupunu-tu   te   ti-yunupunu-tu   chÿ-ubiu-yae
    already   good-REG-IAM   SEQ   3i-go.back-IAM   3-house-LOC

‘once she had recovered, then she could go back home’

<div align="right">[jxx-p110923l-1.477]</div>

The borrowed adverb *depue* (from Span. *después* 'after')[38] is a connective insofar as it always refers to something that has been mentioned before. It usually occurs at the beginning of a clause, as in (315), but is also often combined with the connective *i* 'and'.

(315) *naukubane bubiu depue bijechikumÿnÿ naka*

     nauku-bane bi-ubiu   depue   bi-jechiku-mÿnÿ naka
     there-REM   1PL-house afterwards 1PL-move-DIM here

     'there was our house before, then we moved here'

                                     [rxx-e120511l.168]

In the following example, Juana describes how her in-law had escaped from the police that was trying to arrest him. The episode of his escape ends by him hiding in the woods. Then a new episode in the life of this man begins with his moving to San Ignacio. This beginning of a new episode is expressed by *i depue*.

(316) *... max nauku kimenukÿ tiyunu. i depue tiyunu San Inacio*

     max   nauku kimenu-kÿ   ti-yunu i   depue   ti-yunu San Inacio
     more there woods-CLF:bounded 3i-go   and afterwards 3i-go   San Ignacio

     '... deeper into the woods he went. And after that he went to San Ignacio'
                                     [jxx-p120430l-2.056-058]

In conditional clauses, as well as in temporal clauses, the connective *kue* 'if, when' is often found to introduce the antecedent (or: protasis), the clause encoding the condition, as can be seen in (317), where Juana talks about her hair care with palm fruit oil.

(317) *pero kue netuka kÿsi eka kuyae tejekupubu*

     pero kue nÿ-etuka   kÿsi eka   kuyae ti-jekupu-bu
     but if 1SG-put.IRR cusi DEMa totaí 3i-lose-MID

     'but if I put *cusi* or *totaí* [oil] (on my hair), it gets lost (i.e. the white colour)'
                                       [jxx-d181102l.50]

The causal connective *che(je)puine* is used by Miguel and María S., but not by Juana. Miguel uses *chejepuine*, María S. the shorter form *chepuine*. The connective signals that an event is seen as a reason or cause for another event. In (318), María S. explains why she does not remember much of her living in Altavista.

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38. It is also pronounced *despue, depues, despues, re(s)pue(s)* or *te(s)pue(s)*. The /s/ is mostly realised as [h] in coda position in Lowland Bolivian Spanish and may even delete completely in word-final position (Mendoza 2015:35) and there are different degrees of complete deletion of it in the Paunaka word. The change /d/ → /ɾ/ is regular in integration of Spanish loans, while /t/ is rather unexpected, but this variant is also the least frequent one.

(318) *pero kuina nichupa micha chepuine sepitÿkuÿnÿ nibÿsÿu tukiu nauku*

    pero kuina ni-chupa   micha chepuine sepitÿ-kuÿ-nÿ   ni-bÿsÿu   tukiu
    but NEG 1SG-know.IRR good because small-INCMP-1SG 1SG-come from

      nauku
      there

    'but I don't remember it (i.e. living in Altavista) well, because I was still a child
    when I came from there'
                                            [rxx-p181101l-2.005]

Instead of *che(je)puine,* Juana makes use of a loan from Spanish instead, *porke* from *porque* 'because'. This connective is also found with other speakers. In (319), Juana reports what the owner of the house where she lived with her daughter's family had told her daughter.

(319) *"¡esemaika juchubu ejecheka! porke kopaunatu nubiu", tikechu*

    e-semaika   juchubu e-jecheka   porke   kopau-ina-tu   nÿ-ubiu
    2PL-search.IRR where   2PL-move.IRR because use-IRR.NV-IAM 1SG-house

      ti-kechu
      3i-say

    '"look for where to move, because I want to use my house for myself!" he said'
                                            [jxx-p120430l-1.397]

If a speaker uses the connective *chijikiu* 'however', she establishes a contrast between two events. The connective introduces independent clauses, like in (320) from the story about the fox and the jaguarundi, where the drunken fox is killed by dogs, while the smart jaguarundi has escaped onto a tree, where he is safe. The story was mainly told by Miguel, but this was an intervention by Juana.

(320) *chikupaku kupisaÿrÿ. chijikiu tisepiu kaku anÿke*

    chi-kupaku kupisaÿrÿ chijikiu   tisepiu   kaku anÿke
    3-kill   fox   however jaguarundi exist up

    'they killed the fox. However, the jaguarundi was up (in the tree)'
                                       [jmx-n120429ls-x5.443-445]

The other adversative connective is *pero* 'but', which has been borrowed from Spanish. Like *chijikiu*, it can introduce independent clauses, but it can also link two clauses to construe a complex sentence, which is the case in (321). This example comes from Miguel telling me about the beginning of settlement in Santa Rita.

(321) *nebutu naka bipajÿkiu pero kuinauku eka ÿneina bitÿpi*

    nebu-tu   naka bi-pajÿk-i-u   pero kuina-uku eka
    3OBL.TOP.PRN-IAM here 1PL-stay-SUBORD-REAL but NEG-ADD DEMa

      ÿne-ina   bi-tÿpi
      water-IRR.NV 1PL-OBL

    'from that point on we stayed here, but there was no water for us either'
                                          [mxx-p110825l.060]

The connective *masa* 'lest' is used to construe apprehensional clauses. (322) is given here to exemplify this. It comes from the same description as (317) above and provides the answer to my question why Juana puts *totaí* oil on her head.

(322) *ja tÿpi eka betuka bichÿtiyae masa eka tayutu eka bimukiji; masa takipÿpa*

    ja   *tÿpi*   *eka*   *bi-etuka*   *bi-chÿti-yae*   *masa*   *eka*   *ti-a-yu-tu*
    AFM   OBL   DEMa   1PL-put.IRR   1PL-head-LOC   lest   DEMa   3i-IRR-be.ripe-IAM

    eka   *bi-muki-ji*   *masa*   *ti-a-kipÿpa*
    DEMa   1PL-hair-COL   lest   3i-IRR-be.white

'well, for this we put it on our heads, lest our hair gets ripe (i.e. grey); lest it gets white'

                                                [jxx-d181102l.05-07]

The positive counterpart of *masa* 'lest' is *tÿpi*, which is a preposition to mark different kinds of obliques (see 4.4.2), but can also be used to introduce purpose clauses, in which case it can be translated as 'to, in order to'. (323) was produced by Juana in telling me how she and her sister María S. spent time together speaking Paunaka. Irrealis RS is due to a habitual reading of the sentence.

(323) *bupupuna ubiaeyae tÿpi chinika takÿra, chinika upuji, chinika ..., tÿpi aumuena*

    bi-upupuna   *ubiae-yae*   *tÿpi*   *chi-nika*   *takÿra*   *chi-nika*   *upuji*
    1PL-bring.back.IRR   house-LOC   OBL   3-feed.IRR   chicken   3-feed.IRR   duck

    chi-nika   *tÿpi*   *aumue-ina*
    3-feed.IRR   OBL   chicha-IRR.NV

'we brought it (the corn) back to the house (from the field) to feed the chicken, feed the ducks, feed the ..., for chicha'

                                                [jxx-p120430l-1.055]

Finally, there are also *i* 'and' and *o* 'or', both borrowed from Spanish and used in conjunctive and disjunctive coordination, respectively. Two examples follow.

In (324), the connective *i* introduces a new intonation unit and thus attaches the clause to the preceding discourse. It is from the story about the two men who meet the devil in the woods as told by Miguel. This is how the disaster begins: one man answers the devil, who anounces his arrival by shouting.

(324) *i chinachÿ echÿu chikompanyerone chijakupu echÿu tiyÿbui*

    i   *chinachÿ*   *echÿu*   *chi-kompanyero-ne*   *chi-jakupu*   *echÿu*   *ti-yÿbui*
    and   one   DEMb   3-companion-POSSD   3-receive   DEMb   3i-shout

'and one of the companions answered the one who shouted'

                                                [mxx-n101017s-1.021]

(325) was produced by María S. to exemplify the use of the word *ubupunu* 'carry'. This word had been unknown to me, so I asked her what it meant.[39]

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39. Actually, rather than 'carry', which is the meaning I proposed and which was affirmed by María S., this verb might be the very same as the one in (323), a derivation of the verb *-upunu* 'bring' with the associated motion marker *-punu* to yield 'bring back' (see also 6.6.2).

(325) *nubupuna tukiu asaneti, nubupuna ubiaeyae, nubupuna merÿ o kÿjÿpi*

    ni-ubupuna   *tukiu asaneti* *ni-ubupuna*   *ubiae-yae* *ni-ubupuna*   *merÿ*
    1SG-carry.IRR from field   1SG-carry.IRR house-LOC 1SG-carry.IRR plantain

      o *kÿjÿpi*
      or manioc

'I carry it from the field, I carry it home, I carry plantain or manioc'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181020le]</div>

The topic of connectives will be taken up again in Chapter 8, where different kinds of clause combinations are described in more detail. At this place, a discussion of the two major word classes follows, starting with nouns in the following chapter.

5 The noun and the NP

This chapter is about nouns and NPs in their primary, referential use. Nouns can also act as predicates, this is described in 7.2.

First of all, the composition of simplex and complex noun stems is discussed in 5.1 and 5.2. There are different processes how to derive a complex noun from a nominal root, among them repetition, compounding and addition of classifiers. Nominalisation of verbs is a marginal strategy.

There is no grammatical gender in Paunaka, but three different classes of nouns can be distinguished by their interaction with possession marking: inalienable, alienable and non-possessable nouns. Possession marking with these three types of nouns is the topic of Section 5.3. The second main division in nouns regards human and non-human nouns and their possibilities to combine with plural and other number markers. This is described in 5.4.

Nominal irrealis is the topic of 5.5. This process is comparable to the better-known nominal tense marking, but in nominal irrealis marking, the referent is non-existent but pre-supposed. "Deceased" is a category marked on kinship terms and personal names in reference to people who have passed away, see 5.6. This could be considered a case of specialised nominal tense. The diminutive is discussed in 5.7. It does not only occur on nouns, but also on verbs and other parts of speech, but mostly relates to a referent, not to predication.

Core cases are not marked on nouns or on any other constituent of an NP, but there are a few prepositions to encode oblique relations, and there is a general locative suffix *-yae*. In order to express more specific locative notions, special locative noun stems are used in juxtaposition with a noun referring to the ground. This is the topic of 5.8. Information on content of the NP and word order within it is given, wherever it seems relevant to the topic discussed, but 5.9 summarises all this information and provides a unified description of the NP.

A schema of the noun including all markers that can attach to it in referential use is given in Figure 5.1. The locative marker occurs in two different slots. This is related to the fact that it precedes the diminutive marker and follows the plural marker, while the diminutive always precedes the plural marker. There are no examples in the corpus unfortunately, in which the three of them, diminutive, plural and locative are marked on the noun.[1]

1SG 2SG 3 1PL 2PL	root	REP noun *or other derivational processes*	CLF	POSSD NPOSSD NMLZ	COL DISTR	DEC DEC.PN	LOC^1	DIM	PL	IRR.NV	LOC^2	REM

noun stem

Figure 5.1: Template of a noun

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1. Examples with locative and plural or locative and diminutive are also rare.

5.1 The simplex noun

Compared to verbs, nouns have significantly less internal complexity. The great majority of simplex (i.e. non-derived non-composite) noun stems are di- or trisyllabic, in addition there are a few mono- and tetrasyllabic stems. Some of the latter have a specific phonological structure (see 2.5.2). Table 5.1 shows some non-possessed simplex noun stems with different quantities of syllables

Table 5.1: Simplex noun stems

	Noun stem	Gloss
Monosyllabic	*mai*	stone
	peÿ	frog
	yui	bread
Disyllabic	*jimu*	fish
	kuje	moon
	ÿku	rain
Trisyllabic	*kimenu*	woods
	kÿjÿpi	manioc
	uneku	town
Tetrasyllabic	*ajumerku*	paper
	kupisaÿrÿ	fox
	urupunu	red brocket

Among nouns, we find many loans from Spanish, especially among those objects and concepts that were introduced to the area by *karay* in different points in time like *baka* 'cow' from *vaca, arusu* 'rice' from *arroz, anyo* 'year' from *año, kupeta* 'gun' from *escopeta* etc. Some of them are phonologically more integrated than others, which may be a hint that they are older.

Certainly, there are also some nouns borrowed from Bésɨro. As long as they are similar to Paunaka's native nouns in phonemic and syllabic structure, they were largely not recognised by me, since I do not speak Bésɨro. As far as I can tell from checking a word list with 705 entries by Sans (2010) and the vocabulary lists compiled by Pinto (2010), they are surprisingly low in number,[2] but a more in-depth study may reveal that there are actually more loans.[3] A number of nouns with a Spanish origin must have entered Paunaka via Bésɨro, easily detectable if they contain the sounds [ʂ] and [ʃ], which are not part of the phonemic inventory of native Paunaka words. One of these loans is *remonixhi* 'lemon' from Bésɨro *nermónixhi* from Spanish *limón*. The Bésɨro noun contains the prefix *n-*, which is preposed to nominal roots starting with a vowel[4] and the "general case" suffix *-xhi*. Both are typical for Bésɨro nouns (Sans 2013:20). While the prefix is detached in Paunaka – and the first two sounds metathesised again,

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2. I did not check the complete dictionary by Fuss & Riester (1986), which is of a different variety anyway.

3. For instance, I immediately identified a few more loans when reading the relatively recent article by Nikulin (2019a) about Proto-Chiquitano.

4. The Spanish word *limón* does not start with a vowel, however, it is likely that the process of borrowing was as follows: Bésɨro speakers replaced Spanish /l/, which is not part of the phonemic inventory of Bésɨro, by /ɾ/. Since /ɾ/ does usually not occur word-initially, an epenthetic vowel was inserted or the syllable was metathesised and then the nasal prefix was attached (compare Sans 2010 and Sans 2013 for Bésɨro phonology).

reflecting the Spanish original –, the suffix is maintained. This cannot be considered a general pattern though, there is only a small number of nouns with final *xhi* (or similar sounds) in Paunaka, most are integrated differently.[5]

Two animal terms that are widespread in the area are found in Paunaka as well, where they have the specific forms *takÿra* 'chicken, hen' and *kabe* 'dog'. Probably borrowed from Guarayu are *merÿ* 'plantain' and *patabi* 'sugarcane'. Besides borrowing, new lexemes are created by word formation processes. This is the topic of the following section.

5.2 The complex noun

There are several processes that produce complex nouns, but none of them is very productive. A few nouns with repeated syllables are found, see 5.2.1. Compounding is largely restricted to plant parts, this is the topic of 5.2.2). Attachment of classifiers to a noun or verb stem is similar to compounding, this is discussed in 5.2.3. A different derivational pattern is found with some parts of body parts, see 5.2.4. Finally, some nouns are derived from verbs with nominalisers. Section 5.2.5 lists the few examples of nominalised nouns found in the corpus.

5.2.1 Repetition

Some noun stems contain repeated syllables, but this is hardly productive, and thus does not fall under the realm of reduplication by the narrow definitions of Rubino (2005:13) or Gómez & van der Voort (2014:2). Table 5.2 shows some noun stems with repeated syllables.

Table 5.2: Repetition in noun stems

Noun stem	Gloss
barereki	(clay) pot
churupepe	butterfly
jupipi	liana
mimi	mum (endearment form)
pujukeke	patasca (food)
pÿrÿsÿsÿ	armadillo sp.
-sÿsÿ	nose
-tabubuji	branches
tupapana	soursop
yeye	granny (endearment form), old lady
yÿkÿkekeji	branches

Repetition of more than one syllable is extremely rare. One example is *pichikurakura* 'thrush-like wren', a bird species with the scientific name Campylorhynchus turdinus, which seems to be named after the sound it makes when singing, the other one is *pasipasi* 'sand fly sp.', which might be onomatopoetic, too, considering the buzzing

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5. For instance, the noun 'orange', Spanish *naranja*, is *narankaxÿ* in Paunaka, with the [ʂ] sound suggesting that it was borrowed via Bésɨro, too, while 'tangerine', is *mantarina* from Spanish *mandarina*.

sound insects make. This is the complete list of nouns with more than one reduplicated syllable I found in the corpus. As for *pasipasi*, it is also one of the few examples of full repetition, most other cases of full repetition are disyllabic words, like the endearment forms *mimi* 'mum, mother' and *yeye* 'granny, grandmother, old lady'.

In most cases, there is no corresponding noun without the repeated syllable. However, as for two words at the bottom of the table, *-tabubuji* and *yÿkÿkekeji* there are also *yÿkÿke* 'tree, wood, stick' and *-tabu* 'branch, twig'. Both words including the repetition express a multitude of branches and twigs in the crown of a tree. Repetition is probably triggered by the collective marker here (see 5.4.3), since there is also repetition in adjectives with the general classifier if the collective marker is added, see 4.2.1.

5.2.2 Compounding

Compounding is not very productive in Paunaka, with the only exception being compounds of a plant name and a plant part, especially leaves of plants.[6] The plant name occurs in N1 position and it modifies the plant part in N2 position. The nouns in N2 position are always inalienably possessed.

(326)   *merÿpune, santiapune, amekaba, kuyaekaba*

    merÿ-pune   *santia-pune*   *ame-kaba,*   *kuyae-kaba*
    plantain-leaf watermelon-leaf palm.sp-palm.leaf palm.sp-palm.leaf

    'plantain leaf, watermelon leaf, leaf of *motacú* palm (*Attalea princeps*), leaf of *totaí* palm (*Acrocomia aculeata*)'

In addition, some seeds of plants can be construed as compounds, see (327).

(327)   *kÿikemuke, eniyemuke*

    kÿike-muke   *eniye-muke*
    peanut-seed achiote-seed

    'peanut seed, achiote seed'

<div align="right">(Sell 2021:11, 19)</div>

As for other plant parts, speakers rather construe complex NPs with a possessed form of the plant part followed by the plant name, as in Example (328), which is from Juana's telling of the frog story.

(328)   *chÿabÿkÿkutu chitabu yÿkÿke*

    chÿ-abÿkÿku-tu chi-tabu   yÿkÿke
    3-hold-IAM   3-branch tree

    'he is holding to a branch of a tree'

<div align="right">[jxx-a120516l-a.162]</div>

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6. The noun or classifier for fruits, *-i*, is possibly too short to be recognized as a proper stem. Miguel produced some compounds with *-i* in elicitation, his sister María S. did not and she even claimed that the compounds produced by her brother were incorrect. There is at least one generally agreed upon compound with *-i*, *ichÿi* 'tree calabash (*Crescentia cujete*)'. The general word for 'fruit' is *chÿi*, which is easily decomposable into the third person marker *chÿ-* and the noun *-i*.

The word for 'chicken egg' is a compound, too, see (329), but it can be considered a lexicalised compound, since other eggs of animals are rather expressed periphrastically, as in (330). The compound only denotes eggs, not little chicks. In reference to the latter, a diminutive marker is attaches to the noun *takÿra*.

(329) *takÿrachecha*

   takÿra-checha
   chicken-son

   'chicken egg'

(330) *chichecha kipÿ*

   chi-checha kipÿ
   3-son   tortoise

   'tortoise egg'

There are many compounds consisting of a human noun, most of the times a kinship term, in N1 position, and the possessed noun *-pÿi* 'body' in N2 position. In these constructions, *-pÿi* does not alter the lexical meaning of the compound. It rather signals affection or sympathy for the N1, similar to a diminutive.[7] It is mainly used with human nouns denoting people of younger age than the speaker, although, when asked, one speaker claimed that it is also possible to use a compound with *-pÿi* in reference to older people than oneself, like the own mother or father. Since the semantic connection of these compounds to the body-part term is totally opaque, *-pÿi* could also be analysed as a derivational suffix.[8] In (331), some examples for human nouns composed with *-pÿi* are given.[9] In the remainder of this work, the forms are usually not decomposed in the glosses of examples.

(331) *nichechapÿi, aitubuchepÿi, apimiyapÿi, nÿatipÿi*

   ni-checha-pÿi   aitubuche-pÿi apimiya-pÿi nÿ-ati-pÿi
   1SG-son-body boy-body   girl-body   1SG-brother-body

   'mi son, boy, girl, my brother (of a woman)'

When the collective suffix is added, *-pÿi* is detached from most forms, but it has completely lexicalised with the words *-jinepÿi* 'daughter' and *-sinepÿi* 'grandchild', i.e. these words are never found without *-pÿi*. Consequently, they do not take the collective marker (see 5.4.3). The first part of *-jinepÿi*, **jine*, has cognates in other Southern

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7. Note that *-pÿi* and the diminutive suffix *-mÿnÿ* are not mutually exclusive. Quite the contrary is true: Human noun compounds with *-pÿi* in N2 position often take diminutive marking, too.

8. Interestingly, in Apurinã, an Arawakan language in Brazil, a similar process might be at work: Pickering (2009:15) provides a gloss 'private, esteemed' for a form *mane*, which is translated as 'body of' by Facundes (2000:265). The latter nevertheless disagrees with Pickering's analyses stating that its only meaning is 'body'. The form seems to occur as a fixed part of two lexemes, one kinship term and one other human noun.

9. *Aitubuche* 'boy, young man' is a loan from Bésɨro. I am actually not sure whether it is used in present-day Bésɨro. It is not included in the word list by Sans (2011) nor in the dictionary by Fuss & Riester (1986), but Adelaar & Muysken (2004:479) offer the form *aitoboti* 'his stepson', which they found in historical data. This, I believe, is the source of the Paunaka noun.

Arawakan languages, the addition of *-pÿi* is an innovation that is only found in Paunaka.

Finally, a lot of lexicalised compounds are found among body part terms, especially for bones and hair (Danielsen & Terhart subm). While *-jiyu* 'body hair' can also occur in non-compound forms,[10] the sequence *-chupu/-chupea*, which is found in compounds denoting bones, is never used as a non-compound lexeme.

In body part compounds, strikingly, the order of modifier and modified noun seems to be reversed, with N1 being the semantic head. However, we cannot be sure, how these body parts were perceived originally, so, instead of 'face hair', the beard could have also been perceived as 'hair face', i.e. the part of the face with hair, so that the question which part is the semantic head cannot be resolved here. (332) lists a few examples for compounds with *-jiyu* and (333) with *-chupu*.

(332)   *chijiyumama – chijiyutaka – chijiyunÿkÿ*

  chi-jiyu-mama chi-jiyu-taka chi-jiyu-nÿkÿ
  3-hair-jaw 3-hair-armpit 3-hair-mouth

  'his jaw beard – his/her armpit hair – his mustache'

(333)   *chichupupiÿnÿ – chichuputÿi – chichupukekÿ*

  chi-chupu-piÿnÿ chi-chupu-tÿi chi-chupu-kekÿ
  3-bone-neck 3-bone-anus 3-bone-backside

  'his/her cervicals – his/her tailbone – his/her spine'

Both *-jiyu* 'hair' and *-chupu* 'bone' (in this specific case with the slightly different form *-chupea*) can also be combined in the word for eyebrow, literally 'hair bone face' (or 'hairy part of the boney part of the face'), see (334).

(334)   *chijiyuchupeabÿke*

  chi-jiyu-chupea-bÿke
  3-hair-bone-face

  'his/her eyebrow'

The body part noun *-bÿke* 'face' forms part of the exocentric compounds denoting cardinal directions (Danielsen & Terhart subm). The expressions are given in (335).[11]

(335)   *manebÿke – kupeibÿke – kujubÿke – tisÿeibÿke*

  mane-bÿke kupei-bÿke kuju-bÿke ti-sÿei-bÿke
  morning-face afternoon-face wind?-face 3i-be.cold-face

  'East – West – North – South'

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10. The noun is inalienably possessed and thus underlies the conditions specified in 5.3.1.

11. There is no noun **kuju,* but the form may be related to *tujubeiku* 'wind', which is most probably a verb structurally. Note that the wind usually comes from the North, unless it is cold wind from the South (*tisÿeipu* 'south wind, cold weather coming from the South').

5.2.3 Derivation of nouns with classifiers

Classifiers can derive nouns from other nouns and verbs. They are often completely lexicalised on the noun and cannot be detached. There is, for example, the word pair *mutepa* 'dust, earth' and *muteji* 'loam, mud'. Both must derive from a stem **mute*, but there is no such noun (or verb) in the language – at least not in the current stage of it. A list of all classifiers I could identify is given in 3.3.

Examples (336) and (337) list words in which the derivational process is still transparent, because the stems are also found without classifiers. The nouns in (336) are results of the combination of a noun with a classifier, while (337) lists two nouns which are derived from verb stems with the help of classifiers.

(336) *yÿkÿke – chicheneumu – yÿbapa jimupa – kechuepi*

        yÿkÿ-ke   *chi-chene-umu*   *yÿbapa jimu-pa*
        fire-CLF:cylindrical 3-breast-CLF:liquid flour fish-CLF:particle

        kechue-pi
        snake-CLF:long.flexible

        'tree, stick – milk – fish flour – worm'

(337) *nijikupupi – chimukuji*

        ni-jikupu-pi   *chi-muku-ji*
        1SG-swallow-CLF:long.flexible 3-sleep-CLF:soft.mass

        'my gullet – its nest'

There are also some idiosyncratic forms. The word *ÿneumu* may be composed of *ÿne* 'water' and *-umu*, the classifier for liquids. Its meaning, however, is 'inside the water'.[12] This word seems to be quite old, it was possibly already used in the Proto language of the Bolivian Arawakan languages, considering that we find a similar word in Old Mojeño,[13] <uneamukû> 'inside of the water' (Marbán 1894:94), although this one includes the boundedness classifier <-kû> – whose cognate form *-kÿ* is also found in the corpus on *ÿneumu* once. The latter is a reflex of Proto-Arawakan **-Vku* (cf. Payne 1991:384). It expresses boundedness, i.e. nouns with this classifier are perceived as having boundaries, as a kind of "container". It is a special case of classifier, since it is often used in locative expressions only, see 5.8, but also found lexicalised with some nouns outside of such contexts, e.g. the word *chenekÿ* 'way, path' occurs with *-kÿ* in locative and non-locative contexts.

I have claimed elsewhere (Terhart 2016:178-180) that the two word formation processes of compounding two noun stems and combination of a noun with a classifier can be seen as two ends of a continuum, where nouns have a more concrete lexical meaning and can typically occur on their own (or with a person marker if they are inalienably possessed), and classifiers have a broader meaning, mostly based on shape, and can never stand on their own, which makes them more reminiscent of derivational affixes, yet with a relatively concrete meaning.

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12. It could also include the same suffix found in *anÿmu* 'sky' (opposed to *anÿke* 'up, above'), but then the first *u* of *ÿneumu* would be unexplained.

13. Old Mojeño is the variety of Mojeño that was documented by the Jesuits in the late 17th century in a grammar and catechism (Marbán 1894).

5.2.4 Derivation of parts of body parts

There is one derivational prefix *ke-*, which attaches to a few body part terms to derive a part of this body part (Danielsen & Terhart subm). The process is not productive and restricted to the nouns listed in (338).

(338)   a.   *nibÿke – nikebÿke*

         ni-bÿke   *ni-ke-bÿke*
         1SG-face   1SG-DER-face

         'my face – my eye(s)'

   b.   *nibuÿ – nikebuÿ*

         ni-buÿ   *ni-ke-buÿ*
         1SG-hand   1SG-DER-hand

         'my hand(s) – my finger(s)'

   c.   *nibu – nikeibu*

         ni-ibu   *ni-ke-ibu*
         1SG-foot   1SG-DER-foot

         'my foot (feet) – my toe(s)'

The same derivation pattern seems to be at work in derivation of the word 'tail' from 'wing' as in (339), although the semantic relationship between those animal body parts is not the same as for the human body parts in (338), since a tail is not a part of the wings. An animal does not even necessarily have wings in order to have a tail.

(339)   *chisi – chikeisi*

      chÿ-isi   *chi-ke-isi*
      3-wing   3-DER-wing

      'its wing(s) – its tail'

5.2.5 Nominalisation

A few nouns result from nominalisation with the suffix *-kene,* they are listed in (340). All of them are inalienably possessed and given here with a first person plural possessor. They are objective nouns objective noun (cf. Comrie & Thompson 2007), i.e. the patient is nominalised.

(340)   *bejumikene – bupukene – bichabukene*

      bi-ejumi-kene   *bi-upu(nu)-kene*   *bi-chabu-kene*
      1PL-remember-NMLZ   1PL-bring-NMLZ   1PL-do-NMLZ

      'our thoughts – our load – our actions/deeds'

In addition, some more nouns that may or may not contain the nominaliser are *kuchepukene* 'sorcerer', *-akene/-ekene* 'non-visible side', in both cases no form without

-kene is known to me.[14] The word *tijaikenekÿu* 'dawn' is derived from *tijai* 'it is light, day', seemingly with *-kene* and the translocative concurrent motion marker *-kÿu*, but this does not make much sense to me since this marker usually encodes motion away from the scene ('the light that is going'?). Note that *tijai* is formally a verb, although used like a noun in most cases (see 8.5.1).

One further example of a nominalised verb form used referentially (as S of a non-verbal predicate) has been found in the data collected by Riester: Example (341), which is about scarcity of food due to a drought.

(341)   *nechikue sepitÿjiku tanÿma eka binikeneina*

    nechikue sepitÿ-jiku tanÿma eka   bi-ni-kene-ina
    therefore small-LIM1 now   DEMa 1PL-eat-NMLZ-IRR.NV

    'therefore we have little (possible) food now'
                                   [nxx-a630101g-1.38-39]

The form *-nikene* 'food' has not been found with the speakers I worked with. And there is even more to it: when working on parts of the recordings by Riester together with Miguel, Juana and María S., they repeated the nominalised verb *binikeneina* as *binikukeneina*, i.e. including a thematic suffix, see Section 6.2.2. This is not trivial since the thematic suffix is the place of reality status marking on verbs (see 6.5), while nouns take a different irrealis marker (see 5.5 and 7.2). There were a few more instances in the corpus where speakers used *-nikukene*, all of them taking the non-verbal irrealis marker *-ina*. One of them is (342) which is taken from a story by Miguel. The wife of the main character, who is very lazy, asks him to make a field, because they do not have food.

(342)   *"panajachÿu pario eka pisaneina kuina binikukeneina"*

    pi-ana-ja-chÿu   *pario eka   pi-sane-ina   kuina*
    2SG-make.IRR-EMPH1-DEMb some DEMa 2SG-field-IRR.NV NEG

     bi-niku-kene-ina
     1PL-eat-NMLZ-IRR.NV

    '"make something for your field, we do not have any food"'
                                     [mox-n110920l.015]

In addition to the nominaliser, there is a homophonous emphatic marker *-kene*, which is equally rare (see Section 6.9.4).

There are also a few nouns that seem to be derived from verbs by a suffix *-e*. I have only found three examples, which are given in (343), all of them with a first person plural possessor. I first thought they were deranked verbs (see 8.1.4) with a somehow inarticulate RS suffix, but there is a difference: the subordinating suffix *-i* comes after the thematic suffix, and here, the thematic suffix is detached, the /i/ is part of the verb stem. Just like derivation with *-kene*, this process does not seem to be productive in Paunaka considering the few number of words with this suffix in the corpus.[15]

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14. Rose (2021, p.c.) relates *kuchepukene* 'sorcerer' to the noun for 'bone' as in Mojeño Trinitario, where the form of the nominaliser is *-giene* (while Ignaciano has *-kene* (cf. Olza Zubiri et al. 2004:663-672)). 'Bone' is *eupe* or *-upeji* in Paunaka, thus the relation is not straightforward in this language. She further relates *-akene* 'non-visible side' to a different etymon given the fact that there are several forms in Trinitario containing the sequence *giene* that mean 'follow' or 'behind'.

15. It is noticeable that all verb stems begin with *yÿ*. As for *-yÿtiku* 'set on fire (to cook)' and *-yÿtipajiku* 'make/cook chicha', they are certainly related, the second one containing the classifier *-pa* for dusty

(343) *biyÿtie – biyÿtipajie – biyÿseie*

   bi-yÿti-e   *bi-yÿtipaji-e*   *bi-yÿsei-e*
   1PL-set.on.fire-NMLZ 1PL-make.chicha-NMLZ 1PL-buy-NMLZ

   'our food – our chicha (still being cooked) – our purchase'

We can conclude that nominalisation is a very rare process of word formation in Paunaka. This is because speakers rather use headless relative clauses in those contexts in which a nominalised verb would be expected in other languages.

We will leave the inner constituency of nouns now and have a look at nominal inflection, starting from the next section, which is about possession marking.

5.3 Possession

Possession is marked on the head noun, the noun denoting the possessed. Possessed nouns take a person prefix which indexes the possessor. The prefixes are given in Table 5.3. They are identical to the ones that index subjects on verbs, with the only difference being that two third person markers are available for verbs, which are connected to differential object marking (see 6.4.2), while nouns have only one third person marker. There is no difference in gender in the third person and the prefix is also unspecified for number. When a human third person plural possessor is to be expressed, the plural suffix *-nube* is added. The first person singular and the third person markers have allomorphs, both including a distinction between a high front and a high central vowel. The allomorphs with the front vowel predominantly occur, when the following syllable contains an /i/ or /u/, the ones with the central vowel before syllables with /ÿ/, /ɛ/ and /a/, but this distribution is a tendency rather than an absolute rule. With only one exception to my knowledge, only the markers containing the central vowel can precede a vowel-initial syllable, although in most cases, the vowel of the prefix is deleted in such cases (see 2.4.1).

In most contexts with third person plural possessors, there are also several possessed items, like in (344). This becomes apparent from the context in which these nouns are used. One exception is the noun *-ubiu* 'house'. There is often only one house for various people, see (345) .

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things and the aktionsart suffix *-ji*. The verb *-yÿseiku* 'buy', however, could be a loan from Guarayu (Danielsen 2021, p.c.).

Table 5.3: Person prefixes on possessed nouns

Person	Prefix
1SG	*nÿ-/ni-*
2SG	*pi-*
3	*chÿ-/chi-*
1PL	*bi-*
2PL	*e-*
3PL	*chÿ-/chi- … -nube*

(344) *chiyumaji – chiyumajinube*

　　chi-yumaji　chi-yumaji-nube
　　3-hammock　3-hammock-PL

　　'his/her hammock – their hammocks (or, less likely: their hammock)'

(345) *chubiu – chubiunube*

　　chi-ubiu　chi-ubiu-nube
　　3-house　3-house-PL

　　'his/her house – their house (or: their houses)'

If the possessed noun is non-human, the plural marker unambiguously relates to the possessor, but when it comes to possessed kin, it is often less clear whether the possessor or the possessed kin is pluralised. A detailed discussion about the ambiguity of plural marking concerning possessed kin with third person possessors is postponed to Section 5.4.3.

Nouns can be divided into three different classes according to how they interact with possession: there are inalienable, alienable and non-possessable nouns, see Sections 5.3.1, 5.3.2 and 5.3.3 below. Roughly, the first of them must be possessed, the second ones can be possessed and the third ones cannot be possessed. This tripartite division is very typical for Arawakan languages (cf. Aikhenvald 1999:82; Danielsen 2014a) and in addition, the existence of a class of inalienable nouns is common in Amazonian languages in general (Krasnoukhova 2012:88, 100).

5.3.1　Inalienable nouns

Inalienable nouns cannot be used without overt possessor marking. This is related to the fact that in inalienable possession, there are "inextricable, essential or unchangeable relations between 'possessor' and 'possessed'" (Chappel & McGregor 1996:4).

According to Nichols (1988:572), there is an implicational hierarchy among semantic groups that are conceived as inalienably possessed cross-linguistically. The hierarchy is given in Figure 5.2.

Kin terms and/or body parts < Part-whole and/or spatial relations < Culturally basic possessed items (e.g. arrows, domestic animals)

Figure 5.2: Inalienability Hierarchy (Nichols 1988:572)

The semantic groups of nouns that are inalienably possessed in Paunaka are kinship terms, body parts, plant parts (to some extent), spatial relations, and some culturally basic items, so that Paunaka fully confirms the hierarchy.

All inalienable nouns obligatorily mark the possessor by a person prefix on the possessed noun. An example with a kinship term is given in (346). It was elicited from Juana.

(346)   *nimu piati ukuine*

   ni-imu   pi-ati   ukuine
   1SG-see   2SG-brother yesterday

   'I saw your brother yesterday'

<div align="right">[jxx-e110923l-1.049]</div>

The noun *-ati* 'brother' is used to refer to male siblings of females and the term *-etine* 'sister' to refer to female siblings of males. If reference is to a sibling of the same sex as the possessor, the noun *-piji*, glossed here as 'sibling', is used, see (347). The example also comes from Juana and is about her daughter who did not go to the airport to pick up her sister.

(347)   *kuina tiyuna chipiji*

   kuina ti-yuna   chi-piji
   NEG   3i-go.IRR 3-sibling

   'her sister didn't go'

<div align="right">[jxx-p110923l-1.299]</div>

Whether the referent is a male or a female person is only recoverable by the context.[16] An example with the kinship term *-etine* 'sister' is given in (348). It comes from Isidro who greeted me.

(348)   *¿michabi?, netine*

   micha-bi   nÿ-etine
   good-2SG   1SG-sister

   'how are you, my sister?'

<div align="right">[mdx-c120416ls.008]</div>

The noun for 'God', *bia*, is also a kinship term, it consists of the noun *-a* 'father' and the first person plural prefix *bi-*, so literally it means 'our father', though this seems to be intransparent to the speakers. In order to mark the difference between 'our father' and 'God', it looks as if the Paunaka re-analysed the noun stem *-a* 'father' as *-ÿa*, see Example (349). But this is only true for the first person plural, the second person singular is still *pia* (*pi-a* 'your father'). If the stem was regularly *-*ÿa*, the second person singular should be **pÿa*.[17] In general, speakers rather avoid the first person plural form and speak of 'my father', *nÿa*, instead (*nÿ-a*). *Bÿa* only showed up in elicitation. The same is true for the second person plural form, for which I could elicit *ÿa*, but only after some contemplation about what the form could be.

(349)   *bia – bÿa*

   bi-a   bi-ÿa?
   1SG-father 1SG-father

   'God – our father'

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16. As has already been stated in 2.4.1, Paunaka does not make use of genderlects, with minimal exceptions.

17. But note that there is an additional vowel (or rather syllable) in the cognate form of Mojeño Trinitario *-iya*, and see also discussion in 2.4.1.

Some kinship terms have suppletive endearment forms, which are free, non-possessable nouns and used both as vocatives and referentials. The possessed forms on the other hand are never used as vocatives. Table 5.4 gives the forms. The female ones, *mimi* 'mum' and *yeye* 'granny' are used a lot, the latter can be used in respectful reference to any older indigenous female person.[18] *Taita* 'dad' can also be used with non-kins, but occurs only rarely.

Table 5.4: Kinship terminology with endearment forms

Kinship term	Endearment term	Translation
-enu	*mimi*	mother, mum
-a	*taita*	father, dad
-use	*yeye*	grandmother, granny
-uchiku / -uma	*chÿchÿ*	grandfather, granddad

Most body-part terms are inalienably possessed (Danielsen & Terhart subm), one example is given in (350). It comes from María C. who was worried that her chicha would soon be finished.

(350)   *tikuti nemua neamÿnÿ ÿne*

    ti-kuti   *nÿ-emua*   *nÿ-ea-mÿnÿ*   *ÿne*
    3i-hurt   1SG-belly   1SG-drink.IRR-DIM   water

    'my stomach hurts when I drink water'

                                           [ump-p110815sf.709-710]

Plant parts are semantically closely related to body parts. These parts usually occur with a third person prefix in Paunaka, the possessor is the plant in this case, which follows the possessed part, see Examples (351) and (352).[19]

(351)   *chipuneji kÿjÿpi*

    chi-pune-ji *kÿjÿpi*
    3-leaf-COL manioc

    'leaves of a manioc, manioc leaves'

                                         [nxx-a630101g-1.51]

(352)   *chimusuji merÿ*

    chi-musuji *merÿ*
    3-skin   plantain

    'banana peel'

                                            (Sell 2021:4)

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18. Non-indigenous women are rather called *senyora* 'Mrs, madame' or *senyorita* 'Miss' from Spanish *señora* and *señorita*, respectively.
19. The other possibility is to use the parts as N2s in compounds, but compounding is not very productive in general in Paunaka, see Section 5.2.2.

A third person possessor is also chosen, when no possessor is lexically expressed, like in Example (353), which has *chÿi* 'its fruit'.[20] María S. gives an explanation about a plant here.

(353) *takujibÿ eka te kanainatu chÿi te puero binika*

ti-a-kujibÿ	*eka*	*te*	*kana-ina-tu*	*chÿ-i*	*te*	*puero*
3i-IRR-have.flower	DEMa	SEQ	this.size-IRR.NV-IAM	3-fruit	SEQ	can

bi-nika
1PL-eat.IRR

'it blossoms and once its fruits have this size (showing with hands), we can eat them'

[rxx-e121126s-3.16]

Among the culturally basic items that are inalienably possessed in Paunaka are *-sane* 'field', *-mÿu* 'clothes', *-etea* 'language', and also some parasites like *-kane* 'worm' and *-ine* 'louse'. The word for 'house', *-ubiu* originated as a subordinate verb, but acquired some characteristics of a noun like being able to combine with the locative marker (see 8.1.4). It is also inalienably possessed. As for other nouns which typically fall into the class of inalienables, the word for 'arrow' is not remembered by the speakers and a word for 'village' does not exist.[21]

(354) was produced by Isidro to answer Swintha's question whether he would go to his field the next day.

(354) *tajaitu niyunupunuka nisaneyae*

tajaitu	*ni-yunu-punuka*	*ni-sane-yae*
tomorrow	1SG-go-REG.IRR	1SG-field-LOC

'tomorrow I will go to my field again'

[dxx-d120416s.129]

(355) comes from Miguel who was looking at a little wooden toy figure and identified it as female.

(355) *chimÿu tÿnai entonses apimiyapÿimÿnÿ*

chi-mÿu	*ti-ÿnai*	*entonses*	*apimiyapÿi-mÿnÿ*
3-clothes	3i-be.long	thus	girl-DIM

'its garment is long, so it is a girl'

[mox-e110914l-1.049]

Another semantic subclass of nouns that has been identified as a typical member of the inalienable class is spatial relations (cf. Nichols 1988:572). Some nouns expressing specific locative relations in Paunaka confirm this. They form a small class of relational nouns which can take the locative marker and are juxtaposed to the noun denoting the ground. The latter acts as the possessor of the relational noun. There is also a number

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20. In the case of 'leaf', an additional *e* is preposed to the plant part containing the third person possessor, for a reason unknown to me. Thus 'leaf' is normally realised as *echÿpune* (*e-chÿ-pune* ?-3-leaf), though the plural form is *chipuneji*, see (351).
21. There is, however *-epukie* 'homeland, home', which belongs to the inalienable class. In contrast, *uneku* 'town', is usually not possessed, but may be construed as indirectly possessed depending on the speaker, see 5.3.3 below.

of free spatial nouns like *anÿke* 'up, above', *apuke* 'down, ground' and *pÿkÿjÿe* 'middle' which are never possessed. Here is one example of a spatial relation that is inalienably possessed by the noun referring to the ground, more examples are given in 5.8.[22]

(356) comes from an elicitation session with Juana and María S. with playmobil toys.[23]

(356) *chÿupekÿ mura chipÿtapaikutu*

      chÿ-upekÿ   *mura* *chi-bÿtupaiku-tu*
      3-place.under horse 3-make.fall-IAM

      'it is under the horse, it throw it down'

<div align="right">[jrx-c151024lsf]</div>

As can be seen from the previous Examples (351), (352), and (354) to (356), if the possessor is expressed lexically, word order in the NP is always possessed – possessor.

Free nouns can be derived from inalienables by addition of the suffix *-ti*, see Examples (357) and (358). This is the only "non-possessed" suffix in the language.

(357) *nisane – asaneti*

      ni-sane   *asane-ti*
      1SG-field field-NPOSSD

      'my field – field'

(358) *nimukiji – mukitiji*

      ni-muki-ji   *muki-ti-ji*
      1SG-hair-COL hair-NPOSSD-COL

      'my hair – hair'

Apart from *asaneti* 'field', non-possessed forms of inalienable nouns are not very frequent in my data. The personal pronouns are derived from person markers by *-ti* (e.g. *nÿti* 'I'), a process also found in the other Southern Arawakan languages (Danielsen 2011b:503). The non-possessed suffix also seems to be lexicalised on the alienably possessed noun *yubuti* 'axe', i.e. it is not detached, when the noun is marked for possession.

There is no prefix for an unspecified possessor.[24] Instead of deriving a non-possessed form or marking an unspecified possessor on the inalienable noun, Paunaka speakers resort to a different strategy: a third person or a first person plural prefix can be used for more general reference of a noun.

Plant parts, for instance, are never marked as non-possessed in the corpus. They take a third person marker by default, even when the part is detached from the plant. The same is true for the noun *chÿeche* 'meat' (*chÿ-eche* 3-flesh, lit.: 'his/her/its flesh'), note that the same noun is used to refer to flesh as a body part, e.g. *nÿeche* 'my flesh' (*nÿ-eche* 1SG-flesh).

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22. This kind of locative construction is very similar to the one in Baure, see Admiraal (2016:72-74).

23. Note that Juana sometimes uses *-pÿtapaiku-bu* instead of *-bÿtupaiku-bu* 'fall' for reasons unknown to me.

24. A specialised prefix for an unspecified or indefinite possessor does exist in many Arawakan languages, e.g. in closely related Baure (Danielsen 2007:119-120) and more distantly related Tariana (Aikhenvald 2003a:123).

Table 5.5: Alienable nouns that can be marked for possession directly

Non-possessed form	Possessed form (1SG)	Translation
kasune	*nikasune*	(my) trousers
kuepia	*nikuepia*	(my) kidney
nÿkÿiki	*ninÿkÿiki*	(my) pot
pusane	*nipusane*	(my) bag
yumaji	*niyumaji*	(my) hammock

Use of a third person prefix to indicate a general possessor was also the solution the PDP team chose for the production of a poster with body part terminology for the speaker community (cf. Paunaka Documentation Project 2013). Although it was generally agreed on by the speakers that this was correct, we later found out that for general reference to body parts, such as in school books, medical descriptions etc., people rather use the first person plural prefix *bi-*,[25] consider (359), which comes from Juana who was telling me about the medical use of the soursop.[26]

(359) *jaja upichai tÿpi bikÿna*

    jaja upichai tÿpi bi-kÿna
    AFM medicine OBL 1PL-heart

    'yes, it is medicine for our heart'

<div align="right">[jxx-e150925l-1.066]</div>

5.3.2 Alienable nouns

Alienable possession is "less permanent and inherent" than inalienable possession (Chappel & McGregor 1996:4). Nouns denoting manipulable objects usually belong to the class of alienable nouns and this is also true for Paunaka. Loans from Spanish (and less often Bésɨro) are also typically alienable, even the ones denoting friends and kins – those latter ones usually show up in the derived, inalienable form (see below). Grammatically, alienability is reflected by the fact that these nouns are free forms in the first place.

There are two different sub-classes of alienably possessed nouns. A small number of nouns can be marked for possession directly, i.e. the only difference between a possessed and an unpossessed form is the presence of a person prefix. Some examples are given in Table 5.5.

(360) has a possessed form of *-yumaji* 'hammock', one of the few alienable nouns that do not take the possessed suffix. Compare with (361), in which the word occurs in non-possessed form.

(360) comes from María C., who was afraid that her hammock would get wet because it was about to rain.

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25. Nouns with first person plural possessors are also found in some of the few entries for Paunaka vocabulary by d'Orbigny without being analysed as such (Danielsen 2021, p.c.).
26. I translate *-kÿna* with 'heart' here, which is the core meaning of the noun, but it is also used for the stomach and the whole interior of the torso (cf. Danielsen & Terhart subm). Thus Juana could have also meant one of these concepts rather than precisely the heart.

(360) *kaku niyumaji nekupai*

kaku ni-yumaji   nekupai
exist 1SG-hammock outside

'my hammock is outside'

[cux-120410ls.258]

(361) was a question by Juana directed to me.

(361) *¿pisachu pibena yumaji?*

pi-sachu   pi-bena   yumaji
2SG-want 2SG-lie.down.IRR hammock

'do you want to lie down in the hammock?'

[jxx-p150920l.017]

The larger number of alienable nouns takes the suffix *-ne* to derive a possessable form. This form can be considered inalienable since it obligatorily takes a person prefix to mark the possessor. Two nouns in Table 5.5, *kasune* 'trousers' and *pusane* 'bag' also end in *-ne* in their non-possessed form.[27] Both are borrowed from Bésɨro or Proto-Chiquitano, *pusane* derives from Proto-Chiquitano */pɨtsaná-ʂɨ/ (Nikulin 2019a:10), and *kasune* from Bésɨro <*kasuná-x*>, which is itself a loan from Spanish *calzón* 'pants, underpants, shorts' (Nikulin 2019a:12). Thus in both cases the syllable *ne* can be considered part of the root.

Nouns derived with *-ne* take a person prefix to mark the possessor just like other inalienable nouns. According to Payne (1991:378), *-ne* is the most common possessive suffix among the Arawakan languages. It is the only one that Paunaka productively makes use of. This is mentioned here explicitly because some other Arawakan have more than one.

Two examples for inalienable nouns in their non-possessed and possessed forms follow.

(362) *tÿmuepa – nitÿmuepane*

tÿmuepa ni-tÿmuepa-ne
knife   1SG-knife-POSSD

'knife – my knife'

(363) *sÿki – nisÿkine*

sÿki   ni-sÿki-ne
basket 1SG-basket-POSSD

'basket – my basket'

The overwhelming number of nouns belonging to the class of alienables are loans from Spanish denoting either objects or people with a kinship or other social relation to the possessor. The following example shows a borrowed kinship term, *-kumare*[28] with

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27. In addition, there are also a few inalienable nouns that end in *ne*, e.g. *-etine* 'sister (of a male person)' and *-machapene* 'liver'.

28. *Kumare* comes from Spanish *comadre* and is used to denote either the godmother of one's child or godchild or a close friend of the same age group. It and has several other phonetic realisations, e.g. *kumade*.

and without possession marking occurring in a single sentence. It comes from Juana who was talking about the trip to Europe.

(364) *echÿu nikumarene nauku Concecion, kumare Nacha, kuina tisacha tiyuna, tÿbaneyu*

echÿu ni-kumare-ne   nauku Concecion   kumare Nacha kuina ti-sacha
DEMb 1SG-fellow-POSSD there Concepción fellow Nacha NEG   3i-want.IRR
ti-yuna   ti-ÿbane-yu
3i-go.IRR 3i-be.far-INTS

'my fellow there in Concepción, fellow Nacha, doesn't want to go, because it is very far'

[jxx-p120430l-1.175]

Example (365) has the Spanish loan *kama* from *cama* 'bed', which denotes an object. It comes from Isidro who was describing a picture of a puzzle game.

(365) *timuku eka chikamaneyae*

ti-muku eka   chi-kama-ne-yae
3i-sleep DEMa 3-bed-POSSD-LOC

'he sleeps in his bed'

[dxx-d120416s.002]

If attributive verbs (see 6.1.3) are derived from alienable nouns, the possessed form of the noun is used like in (366), which comes from elicitation with María S.

(366) *nikupanakune*

ni-ku-panaku-ne
1SG-ATTR-basket-POSSD

'I have a basket (on the back)'

[rxx-e181020le]

5.3.3 Non-possessable nouns

Paunaka has a number of non-possessable nouns, which cannot take person prefixes for possessor marking. Some of them can be possessed indirectly, they "require an additional grammatical element joining the two constituents" (i.e. the possessed and the possessor) (Krasnoukhova 2012:58). This is achieved by using a possessable noun to mark the possessor in juxtaposition to the non-possessable one. The possessed one always precedes the non-possessable in this case. Aikhenvald (1999:82) mentions that non-possessable nouns in Arawakan languages "may include astronomical bodies, natural phenomena, harmful animals and personal names".

In Paunaka, at least some speakers allow a possessed form of astronomical bodies if used in a metaphorical context, e.g. in talking to one's lover, see (367), which was elicited from Miguel.

(367) *nÿjaikine*

   nÿ-jaike-ne
   1SG-star-POSSD

   'my star'

This shows that non-possessability is for semantic reasons and does not have to do with morphological properties of the noun in question. Aikhenvald (2012:170) explains that it is common sense among speakers of Amazonian languages that some items simply cannot be possessed, but the principles underlying are language and culture specific.

The most important group of non-possessable nouns in Paunaka is animals – an exception being parasites like lice and worms, which are inalienably possessed. There is, however, an indirect strategy to express possession of animals related to the use of the inalienable noun *-peu* 'domestic animal' as a relational noun.[29] In possession marking of animals, this noun carries the person prefix and the noun denoting the specific animal follows it.[30]

An example is given in (368). It comes from María S., who was complaining that her chicken get stolen when she leaves her house.

(368) *kuina dejaunubeina nipeu takÿra*

   kuina dejau-nube-ina   ni-peu   takÿra
   NEG   leave-PL-IRR.NV 1SG-animal chicken

   'they don't leave my chicken alone (i.e. they steal them)'

(369) comes from Miguel telling Alejo the frog story. He describes the picture on which the boy stands on the stone.

(369) *pero kapunuji echÿu chipeu kabemÿnÿ*

   pero kapunu-ji   echÿu chi-peu   kabe-mÿnÿ
   but   come-RPRT DEMb 3-animal dog-DIM

   'but his dog is coming, it is said'

This pattern, i.e. the expression of possession of an animal by juxtaposition of a possessed noun 'domestic animal' and the name of the specific animal, is shared with Terena, the Mojeño languages, and Baure (cf. Butler & Ekdahl 2012:50; Olza Zubiri et al. 2004:51; Rose 2021, p.c.; Danielsen 2007:123-124) In the Mojeño languages, however, the cognate nouns only denotes rideable animals. Trinitario uses a more general relational noun for possession of non-rideable animals (cf. Rose 2014b:79).[31] Paunaka also

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29. It is only given as 'animal' in the glosses of examples for the sake of brevity.
30. This type of construction has also been treated in the literature under the heading of genitive classifiers (cf. Grinevald 2000:66; Campbell 2012b:283) or possessive classifiers (Fabre 2014). Languages with this kind of classifiers often have more elaborate systems, however, if a language in Amazonia has only one, it is usually the one for 'domestic animal' (Rose 2021, p.c.)).
31. Ignaciano on the other hand uses another specific noun for non-rideable domestic animals and the more general one for non-animals (Olza Zubiri et al. 2004:51).

has a (cognate) general relational noun *-yae*, which is semantically unspecific, this will be explained in more detail below.

Instead of using one of the relational nouns *-peu* or *-yae*, speakers may also use other possessable nouns in juxtaposition to the non-possessable ones. Consider (370), where the natural resource of water is marked as possessed by a preceding possessed noun that simultaneously acts as a measure term for the mass noun. The noun *tapiki* is borrowed from Spanish *tapeque* or Proto-Chiquitano *tapiki* 'travel supplies' (cf. Nikulin 2019a:9). This example comes from elicitation with María S.

(370) *pitapikine ÿne*

    pi-tapiki-ne   *ÿne*
    2SG-travel.supplies-POSSD water

    'your travel supplies of water'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181018le]</div>

The aforementioned general relational noun is *-yae*. It is identical to the locative marker, however, according to the analysis by Rose (2019b) for the Trinitario equivalent, it first arose as a general relational noun before spreading to other contexts. As such, it has cognate forms in other Arawakan languages (Rose 2019b:14, and consider also the "possessive *-ya-*" of Tariana, Aikhenvald 2003a:134). Note that Danielsen (2007:150) also considers that the Baure locative marker *-ye*, another cognate of Paunaka's *-yae*, could be a nominal root. Since function and morphosyntactic contexts are relatively different in current Paunaka, I use two different glosses for *-yae*. If it occurs in possession contexts, together with a person marker, I call it general relational noun, abbreviated GRN in following Rose (2019b), in locative contexts, however, where it is attached to a noun, I call it a locative marker, abbreviated LOC (for locative marking see 5.8).

In current Paunaka, the general relational noun is found in genitive predication (see 7.2.3), but it can also occur in contexts of attributive possession.

In (371) it occurs in combination with the noun *uneku* 'town'. According to Miguel, who provided this example in elicitation, this is the correct way to express the notion of one's town. According to María S., however, 'town' cannot be possessed at all.

(371) *uneku – niyae uneku*

    uneku *ni-yae*   *uneku*
    town   1SG-GRN town

    'town – my town'

<div align="right">[mxx-e181017l]</div>

In addition, possession of crops can be expressed in this way. I first came across this in one of the recordings of the 1960s by Riester, see (372).

(372) *akomoraupuna niyaemÿnÿ arusu*

    akomorau-puna   *ni-yae-mÿnÿ*   *arusu*
    accommodate-AM.PRIOR.IRR 1SG-GRN-DIM rice

    'I will go to store away my rice'

<div align="right">[nxx-p630101g-1.006]</div>

Elicitation showed that crops can either be marked as possessed in this way or using the alienable possession strategy explained above (see 5.3.2) with a possessed marker added to the noun stem. Which strategy is used for which crop may depend on frequency and speaker. To close this section, here is another example of a crop that was spontaneously marked for possession by using the general relational noun *-yae* in elicitation.

(373) *niyae ucheti*

    ni-yae   *ucheti*
    1SG-GRN chili

    'my chili'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181018le]</div>

The next section is about number marking on nouns.

5.4 Number

Plural marking is obligatory with human referents. There is one plural marker *-nube*, which is largely restricted to human nouns, see 5.4.1. In addition, the distributive marker *-jane* can be used to signal non-singularity of non-human referents, usually animate ones. It is described in 5.4.2. The collective marker *-ji* is used with nouns of two different semantic classes: things which are little individuated since they occur in masses or swarms and kinship terms with the plural marker (used for both plural kin and plural possessors), see 5.4.3. Although distributives and collectives are not part of the number system according to Corbett (2000:117, 119, 120), they are certainly semantically related since they also provide information about quantity. This is why they are all subsumed under the heading of "number" here. All three markers are also found on verbs (see Section 6.4.2.1).

5.4.1 The plural marker

The plural marker *-nube* is obligatory with non-singular human nouns. An example for such a constellation is given in (374), where the noun *(a)pimiya* 'girl, young woman' takes the plural suffix. Juana is speaking about the production of traditional clay pots here.

(374) *i tanÿma kuina tanabunube pimiyanube*

    i   *tanÿma* *kuina* *ti-ana-bu-nube*   *pimiya-nube*
    and now   NEG   3i-make.IRR-DSC-PL girl-PL

    'and today the young women don't make them any more'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-2.547]</div>

(375) comes from Miguel who was happy that Swintha knew a word he had forgotten because:

(375) *tiyÿsebÿkeunÿnube eka aitubuchepÿinube naka unekuyae*

    ti-yÿsebÿkeu-nÿ-nube eka   aitubuchepÿi-nube naka uneku-yae
    3i-ask-1SG-PL   DEMa boy-PL   here town-LOC

    'the boys here in town asked me (about it)'

                                                   [mdx-c120416ls.121]

The noun *aitubuche* 'boy, young man' in (375) is a loan from Bésɨro, and the plural marker can also be used with Spanish loans. An example is (376) with a plural-marked version of the noun *kristianu* 'person', borrowed from the Spanish noun *cristiano* 'Christian person'. The sentence comes from the recordings of the 1960s with Juan Ch., who introduced his playing the flute with a few words.

(376) *¡esamu!, kristianunube.*

    e-samu   kristianu-nube
    2PL-hear person-PL

    'listen, people!'

                                                   [nxx-a630101g-2.002]

The Spanish word *gente* 'people' is borrowed as a countable noun *jente* 'man' into Paunaka. Example (377) shows an occurrence of this noun with the plural marker. It comes from Juana telling about the work of the people of Santa Rita in exchange for the construction of their reservoir.

(377) *tropanube eka jentenube trabakunube*

    tropa-nube eka   jente-nube trabaku-nube
    pack-PL   DEMa man-PL   work-PL

    'the men worked in packs'

                                                   [jxx-p120515l-2.112]

Two nouns contain the plural marker as lexicalised part of the stem. One is *mu-pÿinube* 'devil'. The noun is composed of the privative marker *mu-*,[32] the body-part term *-pÿi* 'body' and the plural marker, signifying thus 'the ones without body', a term that presumably goes back to pre-Christian belief in spirits. The other noun is *seunube* 'woman'. I cannot offer any explanation why the plural marker lexicalised with the root **seu*. The plural of *seunube* 'woman' is *seunubenube* 'women', see (378). Juana counts the Supepí siblings here.

(378) *trexenubechÿ seunubenube i ruxhnubechÿ jentenube*

    trexe-nube-chÿ seunube-nube i   ruxh-nube-chÿ jente-nube
    three-PL-3   woman-PL   and two-PL-3   men-PL

    'the women are three and the men are two'

                                                   [jxx-p120515l-2.239]

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32. The privative marker is not productive anymore in Paunaka, but it can be traced back to Proto-Arawakan **ma-*. Many Arawakan languages have (productive) reflexes of this prefix (Michael 2014b:276).

There is also one plural-only noun: *sesejinube* 'children'. The corresponding singular forms are either *sepitÿ* 'small, child' or the gender-specific *(a)pimiya* 'girl, young woman' and *aitubuche* 'boy, young man', see Examples (374) and (375) above.

Plural is usually marked on both the noun and the verb if the noun conominates a subject or object index. There is thus a kind of agreement in number between verb and noun, see (374) and (375) above.

The plural marker *-nube* does not occur on non-human nouns with few exceptions. First, anthropomorphic characters in narratives can take the plural marker. However, in my data I only found this for verbs (see Section 6.4.2.1).[33]

Second, a few inanimate nouns occasionally take the plural marker. The noun *anyo* 'year', a loan from Spanish *año*, is such a case, which can be seen in (379), where Juana talks about her mother who was ill for a long time.

(379) *tibenunukubu yumaji anyonube*

    ti-benunuku-bu yumaji   anyo-nube
    3i-lie-MID   hammock year-PL

    'she lay in the hammock for years'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-2.501]</div>

Furthermore, the noun *ubiae* 'house' can take the plural marker when reference is to multiple houses, see (380). This noun is a special case, though, because it derives from a verb (*-ubu* 'be, live'), thus the use of the plural marker may be a relict of subject number marking.

Juan C. talks about his village, San Miguelito de la Cruz, in this example.

(380) *kakiu nechÿu pario ubiaenube*

    kakiu   *nechÿu pario ubiae-nube*
    exist.SUBORD? DEMc   some house-PL

    'there are some houses'

<div align="right">[mqx-p110826l.182]</div>

In addition, *ubiae* can also take the distributive marker *-jane* like in (381), where Miguel talks with Alejo and Polonia about the current state of Altavista.

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33. The reason for this is that there is hardly any story in which two or more animals or other anthropomorphic characters would be of the same species or kind, so that there is not much possibility for plural marking on a noun referring to them (like 'the foxes'). Of course, they could also be denominated by another noun that does not specify the species like 'the friends', but this is not the case in the stories I collected. There is one interesting example from a story told by María S. about how the tortoise obtained its carapace, in which there is a mismatch between plural marking on the verb and distributive marking on the noun, see (i), however this cannot be generalised.

(i) *te chisamunubetuji eka ubechajane*

    te   *chi-samu-nube-tu-ji*   *eka*   *ubecha-jane*
    SEQ 3-hear-PL-IAM-RPRT DEMa sheep-DISTR

    'then the sheep heard it, it is said'

<div align="right">[rxx-n121128s.10]</div>

(381) *i tanÿmatu echÿu ubiaejane kuinabutu*

    i   tanÿma-tu echÿu ubiae-jane   kuina-bu-tu
    and now-IAM   DEMb house-DISTR NEG-DSC-IAM

    'and now the houses do not exist anymore'

<div align="right">[mty-p110906l.200-201]</div>

There are not many occurrences of *ubiae* with the plural marker in my corpus and even less with the distributive marker, which is connected to the fact that non-human nouns do not have to be marked for number at all.

The nominal demonstratives can take the plural marker, when used pronominally, like in (382), which was elicited from Miguel. If they modify the noun, there is usually no plural marking on the demonstratives, see also 5.9.

(382) *echÿunube tichujijikubunube*

    echÿu-nube ti-chujijiku-bu-nube
    DEMb-PL   3i-talk-MID-PL

    'they are chatting'

<div align="right">[mrx-e150219s.011]</div>

5.4.2 The distributive marker

The plural marker cannot be used with non-human nouns, but there is another suffix, *-jane*, used mainly to express plurality of animals. This marker probably is called "distributive" in this grammar, although this term might be a bit misleading. According to Corbett (2000:112), the primary function of distributive marking on nouns is to "spread (distribute) various entities over various locations or over various sorts (types)". In current Paunaka, the function of the distributive is rather to express *overtly* that there are various non-humans tokens since number of non-human entities does not have to be specified at all. I had priorly just glossed the marker as a non-human plural until I noticed that there are a few cases in which *-jane* occurs together with *-nube*. In these cases, there would be a semantic mismatch if we analysed *-jane* as a non-human plural marker.

I have found three such cases. First of all, there is a question word *kajane* 'how many' and a quantifying stative verb *-kijane* 'be many', where the marker is a lexicalised part of the stem.[34] Both add the plural marker when they refer to quantities of humans. In addition, *-jane* also shows up in the plural form *pujane(nube)* 'others' of the singular form *punachÿ* 'other'. Distributives encode distinctiveness or individuation of referents (Corbett 2000:116), each member of a group is perceived individually in contrast to perceiving plurality as a unit. I suppose this may have once been the primary function of *-jane*, and this is still well visible in the question word *kajane* 'how many'. Asking for a number presupposes that each member of a group is counted individually. Nonetheless, the primary function of the distributive marker in current-day Paunaka is plural-marking of non-human referents. It is never attached to human nouns nor to verbs in reference to humans. Among the possible non-human referents, it is more

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34. The root *ka* of *kajane* is probably a demonstrative element to which *-jane* is added, see 4.1.3. The composition of *-kijane* is opaque, the element **ki* could not be identified.

commonly found with animate than with inanimate nouns and bigger, more individuated animals, like dogs, cows, and to a lesser extent pigs, are more likely to be marked by the distributive than smaller and less individuated animals like chicken and fish.

Contrary to the plural marker, *-jane* usually occurs only once in a clause, either on the predicate or on the NP conominating subject or object, with some exceptions. Which factors determine the choice of either predicate or NP taking the distributive marker remains to be investigated.[35] Thus, there is usually no agreement in *-jane* between the NP and the predicate, although a few counterexamples exist. All examples in this section show the use on the NP.

(383) was produced by Miguel, but in the story he was telling, it is uttered by the jaguarundi, who warns his companion, the drunken fox, to stop singing lest he calls the attention of the dogs. While the fox and the jaguarundi are anthropomorphic characters and thus subject of plural marking, the dogs are not; they behave like dogs and they do not speak but bark. Use of a distributive form makes clear that there are several dogs that could harm them, thus marking the situation extremely dangerous.

(383)   *"¡tch xhhh, kaku kabejane naka, kaku kabejane naka!"*

        tch   xhhh kaku kabe-jane   naka kaku kabe-jane   naka
        INTJ INTJ exist dog-DISTR here exist dog-DISTR here

        '"shh, shhh, there are dogs around here, there are dogs around here!"'
                                                     [jmx-n120429ls-x5.381]

In (384), the distributive marker attaches to *baka* 'cow'. The example comes from Juana who was telling me about the journey of her grandparents back home from Moxos. They had bought cows there. It is a long way from Moxos to the Chiquitania, which the grandparents went by foot. They slept in huts or temporary shelters and let the cows in enclosures they found along the way.

(384)   *kaku eka bakayayae eka bakajane*

        kaku eka   bakaya-yae   eka   baka-jane
        exist DEMa enclosure-LOC DEMa cow-DISTR

        'the cows were in the enclosure'
                                                     [jxx-p151016l-2.030]

(385) is another example with dogs, it comes from Juana who was telling me about her own dogs.

(385)   *tichaneikune eka kabejane*

        ti-chaneiku-ne   eka   kabe-jane
        3i-care.for-1SG DEM dog-DISTR

        'the dogs protect me'
                                                     [jxx-e150925l-1.093]

(386) is an example for the distributive marker on the word for 'pig' and was elicited from Miguel.

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35. It seems to be the case that distributive marking on the copula *kaku* 'exist' is dispreferred though not impossible.

(386) *tibÿjaneupuku ÿbajane*

ti-bÿ-jane-u-pu-uku   *ÿba-jane*
3i-go.in-DISTR-REAL-DLOC-ADD   pig-DISTR

'the pigs also go inside'

<div align="right">[mrx-e150219s.102]</div>

In (387), there are two inanimate nouns with plural referents, the 'stones' and the 'adobe bricks', however, only the first one takes the distributive marker. The example comes from Miguel who told me about the construction of the school building in Santa Rita a long time ago.

(387) *entonses bisemaikutu echÿu maijane banautu echÿu arubi*

entonses   *bi-semaiku-tu*   *echÿu*   *mai-jane*   *bi-anau-tu*   *echÿu*   *arubi*
thus   1PL-search-IAM   DEMb   stone-DISTR   1PL-make-IAM   DEMb   adobe

'thus we looked for stones, we made adobe bricks'

<div align="right">[mxx-p110825l.114]</div>

An example from Juana with two inanimate distributive-marked nouns is (388) in which the flower boxes they have in Cotoca, a small city famous for its ceramics, are compared to jars.

(388) *kaku echÿu maseterojane nena yÿpijanemÿnÿ*

kaku   *echÿu*   *masetero-jane*   *nena*   *yÿpi-jane-mÿnÿ*
exist   DEMb   flower.box-DISTR   like   jar-DISTR-DIM

'there are flower boxes that look like jars'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-2.616]</div>

5.4.3 The collective marker

In addition to plural and distributive marking, there is a suffix *-ji*, which can best be interpreted as a collective marker, since it is found on a number of nouns that occur in uncountable collections or groups like *-mukiji* 'hair' and *mÿiji* 'grass'. It is used with certain plant parts perceived as a collection rather than as countable objects like *yÿkÿkekeji* 'branches, twigs',[36] *chipuneji* 'leaves' and *chÿiji* 'fruits', and on names of small fish species that occur in swarms like *kÿnupeji* 'fish sp.' and *turukeji* 'fish sp.' (these fish are called *cupacá* and *tayoca* in local Spanish) as in Example (389), where Clara describes the fish, which are small but fat.

(389) *tisabananaji echÿu turukeji*

ti-sabana-na-ji   *echÿu*   *turuke-ji*
3i-be.fat-REP-COL   DEMb   fish.sp-COL

'the *tayoca* fish are fat'

<div align="right">[cux-c120414ls-2.152]</div>

(390) is a statement by Juana about her mother's hair.

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36. As noted in 5.2.1, the collective marker sometimes causes repetition of a preceding syllable for an unknown reason.

(390) *michana chimukijimÿnÿ nÿenubane*

    michana chi-muki-ji-mÿnÿ nÿ-enu-bane
    nice   3-hair-COL-DIM 1SG-mother-REM

    'my late mother had beautiful hair'

<div align="right">[jxx-d181102l.47]</div>

It is not always easy to distinguish the collective marker from one of homonyms, especially the classifier for soft masses (e.g. dough, mud), see Section 3.3. Both theoretically occur in different slots, see Figure 5.1 above,[37] but since the nouns derived with the classifier denote (soft) masses, collective marking is not applicable to them. *Muteji* 'loam, mud' is certainly a soft mass and *-mukiji* a collection of 'hair', but what about *-mÿuji* 'clothes' – is this a soft mass or a non-countable collection of individual pieces of garment? There may be a substantial semantic overlap in some cases.[38]

The collective marker also shows up on kinship terms if the possessed kin or the possessor is plural (or both). The first scenario is a case of regular plural marking on human nouns (see 5.4.1 above), the other one relates to regular possessor marking, where addition of the plural marker to a noun bearing the third person prefix compensates for the non-existence of a specific third person plural person prefix (see 5.3).

My hypothesis is that the collective was once used in addition to the plural marker if the possessed kin was the plural referent, while no collective marker showed up, when only the possessor was plural.

There are two examples in my corpus that hint at this. In those examples, there is no collective marker, and in both, plural reference is to the possessor while the possessed kin is singular. The first one, (391), was produced by Miguel in elicitation, the second one, (392), occurred in spontaneous speech of María C.

(391) *nÿti chÿenunube*

    nÿti   chÿ-enu-nube
    1SG.PRN 3-mother-PL

    'I am their mother'

<div align="right">[mxx-e090728s-3.081]</div>

(392) *chibu chÿanube*

    chibu   chÿ-a-nube
    3TOP.PRN 3-father-PL

    'he is their father'

<div align="right">[cux-c120414ls-1.114]</div>

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37. This is the case e.g. in collective marked *kÿnupeji*; the fish name is *kÿnupe* in Paunaka with the classifier *-pe* for flat things.

38. Note also that Baure has a similar marker *-je* which was glossed 'distributive' by Danielsen (2007:155-156), but has a collective function as well, resembling the Paunaka one (Danielsen 2021, p.c.). For the Mojeño languages, on the other hand, the form *-ji* was analysed as a classifier for amorphous items, applied among other things to "grass, leaves, small branches" (Rose 2020:17), i.e. items which I have analysed as including the collective marker. Nonetheless, Rose (2021, p.c.) confirms that a collective suffix *-ji* also exists in Trinitario and that some of the nouns priorly analysed to be built on the classifier may actually rather include the collective marker. The problem of distinguishing both markers remains for both languages, Paunaka and Trinitario.

In most cases, however, the collective marker also occurs if there is a singular possessed kin and a plural possessor. The following Example (393) shows this. Like (392), it was also produced by María C. in spontaneous speech and expresses exactly the same constellation: a plural possessor with a singular possessed kin (though with a different kinship term). Nonetheless, the collective marker is used together with the plural suffix in this case.

(393) *chÿenujinube ekanube*

       chÿ-enu-ji-nube   eka-nube
       3-mother-COL-PL DEMa-PL

       'the mother of them'

                                                   [cux-c120410ls.124]

In an elicitation session with María S. about this topic (rxx-e151021l-1), she explicitly confirmed that the collective marker is used with both third person plural possessors and plural possessed kins. Even more so, omission of the marker leads to ungrammatical forms according to her. This was verified by the phrases she produced in the elicitation with some playmobil toys that represented mothers and daughters in different constellations.

Here is another example with a third person plural possessor and a singular possessed kin. Both, the plural and the collective marker are used again. It is a description by Juana of a photo on which my husband cradles both our daughters in his arms.

(394) *i eka tanÿma chumu chÿajinube, chakachunube chÿajinube*

       i   eka   tanÿma chÿ-umu chÿ-a-ji-nube   ch-akachu-nube chÿ-a-ji-nube
       and DEMa now   3-take 3-father-COL-PL 3-lift-PL   3-father-COL-PL

       'and (on) this one, now their father takes them, he lifts them'
                                                   [jxx-p141024s-1.26]

The following examples have singular possessors and plural possessed kin. The plural marker thus relates to the possessed kin in these cases. (395) has a third person singular possessor, whereas in (396) the possessor is first person singular.

In (395), *chipijijinube* 'his brothers' is the possessed noun with the singular possessor and plural possessed. The example comes from Juana telling me about the life of her sister.

(395) *tikutijikuji chima, chajechubu chipijijinube tikutijikunubeji kimenukÿ*

       ti-kutijiku-ji   chi-ima,   chÿ-ajechubu chi-piji-ji-nube   ti-kutijiku-nube-ji
       3i-flee-RPRT 3-husband 3-COM   3-sibling-COL-PL 3i-flee-PL-RPRT
         kimenu-kÿ
         woods-CLF:bounded

       'her husband fled, together with his brothers he fled to the woods, it is said'
                                           [jxx-p120430l-2.086-087]

(396) is from María C.

(396) *nichechajinube kakunube uneku*

ni-checha-ji-nube   kaku-nube uneku
1SG-son-COL-PL exist-PL   town

'my children live in town'

Plural kinship terms do not take the collective suffix if they include the noun (or suffix) *-pÿi*, which literally means 'body', but is rather used to express endearment (see 5.2.2). The nouns *-jinepÿi* 'daughter' and *-sinepÿi* 'grandchild' are lexicalised with *-pÿi*, and since it is not detachable, these nouns cannot take the collective marker when pluralised.

An example is (397), where Clara speaks about her plans to spread the use of Paunaka.

(397) *nisachu nimeisumeikanube nijinepÿinube*

ni-sachu   ni-meisumeika-nube ni-jinepÿi-nube
1SG-want 1SG-teach.IRR-PL   1SG-daughter-PL

'I want to teach it to my daughters'

Other kinship terms can also take *-pÿi*, but usually occur without it, when pluralised. Thus, in the singular we mostly find *-chechapÿi* 'son, child', but in the plural, it is usually only *-checha*. An example was already given in (396) above. There are a few exceptions though, where *-chechapÿi* is pluralised without the collective marker, like in Example (398), which comes from a story told by Miguel about a lazy man. His wife is angry with him, when she finds out that he did not do the work he was supposed to do, so she refuses to give him food.

(398) *chÿnikujikutu chichechapÿinube*

chÿ-niku-jiku-tu   chi-chechapÿi-nube
3-feed-LIM1-IAM 3-son-PL

'she only gave food to her children'

Strikingly, there is also one utterance in my corpus, given here as (399), in which detachment of *-pÿi* in the plural also applies to *-jinepÿi* 'daughter', although *-jine* does not exist as an independent noun stem in Paunaka, contrary to *-checha* 'son, child, egg, offspring'. This shows that the underlying process of alternating *-pÿi* and *-ji* is transparent for the speakers.

The sentence comes from María C. and is about the supposed incapability of Clara's daughters to learn Paunaka.

(399) *kaku pijinejinube pero kuina puero chitanube*

kaku pi-jine-ji-nube   pero kuina puero chi-ita-nube
exist 2SG-daughter-COL-PL but NEG   can   3-master.IRR-PL

'you have daughters, but they can't figure it out'

Apart from kinship terminology, the collective marker also forms part of the plural-only word *sesejinube* 'children'.

The following sections are dedicated to other kinds of inflectional morphology, nominal irrealis and deceased. Both of these categories provide information about the existence of an entity at reference or utterance time.

5.5 Nominal irrealis

Nominal irrealis is a category that has not been widely described up to now. It is reminiscent of the better-known category of nominal tense (Nordlinger & Sadler 2004) (aka nominal temporal markers cf. Tonhauser 2008) – a relatively widespread feature in South American languages (Aikhenvald 2012:158-163; Campbell 2012b:258).

Nominal irrealis is marked by attaching *-ina* to the noun in question. The very same marker also figures as an irrealis marker in non-verbal predication. There is sometimes considerable overlap between both functions (see 7.2), but there are also enough cases in which nominal irrealis can well be distinguished from predication. These cases are described in this section.

Nouns can take the irrealis marker *-ina* to indicate that an entity is non-existent or has not come into existence yet. This is in compliance with the function it fulfils in predication (see 6.5). Regarding syntax, I have found irrealis marked objects and obliques, but no irrealis marked subjects.

Consider (400) from Juan C. Irrealis marking is due to the non-existence of a pair of trousers in the possession of the speaker here, because his *patrón* refused to give him one. Before the land reform of 1952, many people in the Chiquitania worked in a debt-bondage relation on the haciendas of big landowners, *patrones,* who were supposed to "pay" their workers in kind (see 1.7.3). Depending on the character or mood of the *patrón,* people were often paid badly or not paid at all.

(400)   *kuina tipunakane nikasuneina*

   kuina   ti-punaka-ne   ni-kasune-ina
   NEG   3i-give.IRR-1SG   1SG-trousers-IRR.NV

   'he didn't give me my supposed trousers'

   [mqx-p110826l.458]

Note that, if the pair of trousers in question existed, the object would not be marked for irrealis. Imagine, for example, a situation, in which a child wants to put on a pair of trousers, but the mother refuses to give it to her because it has just been washed and is drying, or because the child is supposed to wear that pair of trousers on Sunday service. In this situation, which was described to Miguel in elicitation, the statement of the child would be as in (401) and use of irrealis on the object would be incorrect.

(401)   *nÿenu kuina tipunakane nikasune*

   nÿ-enu   kuina ti-punaka-ne   ni-kasune
   1SG-mother   NEG   3i-give.IRR-1SG   1SG-trousers

   'my mother didn't give me my trousers'

   [mxx-e160811sd.039]

Example (402) is from the personal account about Juana's daughter who once wanted to emigrate to Spain to live with her sister as a nanny. The plan never worked out, this is why irrealis and frustrative is used on the predicate (see Section 6.8.3.1). The irrealis on the oblique noun with the function of functive (cf. Creissels 2014b) complies with this reading: the job as an attendant was never accomplished despite the strong expectation of the people involved.

(402) *i tiyunaini arsaroremÿnÿina tÿpi chisobrinonemÿnÿ*

      i   *ti-yuna-ini*   *arsarore-mÿnÿ-ina*   *tÿpi*   *chi-sobrino-ne-mÿnÿ*
      and   3i-go.IRR-FRUST attendant-DIM-IRR.NV OBL 3-nephew-POSSD-DIM

      'and she would have gone as an attendant of her nephew'

                                                        [jxx-p120430l-1.188]

In (403), the field that is talked about by Miguel has not been made at all because the main character of the story is a lazybones who prefers swinging in his hammock and playing the flute to the hard physical work of wresting a field from the woods.

(403) *kuinaji tana pario chisaneina*

      kuina-ji   *ti-ana*   *pario* *chi-sane-ina*
      NEG-RPRT 3i-make.IRR some 3-field-IRR.NV

      'he didn't do anything for his (supposed) field, it is said'

                                                        [mox-n110920l.012]

The previous examples have shown the use of the nominal irrealis to express non-existence in absolute terms. The other context for irrealis marking on objects is future reference. (404) is from a story by Miguel about ants and trees and their relation to humans: Trees are sad, when a boy is born because once he grows up, he fells trees for making his field. The irrealis marked object *chisaneina* 'his (future) field' has not come into existence by the reference time of the clause, which is the birth of the boy.

(404) *chejepuine echÿu aitubuchepÿi tijÿkatu, tiyunaji tebitaka chisaneina*

      chejepuine echÿu aitubuchepÿi ti-jÿka-tu   *ti-yuna-ji*   *ti-ebitaka*
      because   DEMb boy   3i-grow.IRR-IAM 3i-go.IRR-RPRT 3i-clear.IRR
         chi-sane-ina
         3-field-IRR.NV

      'because once the boy has grown up, he will go and clear his future field, it is said'

                                                   [mxx-n120423lsf-X.28]

Irrealis nouns also occur in purposive expressions. In (405) the aim of the action is additionally marked by the oblique preposition *tÿpi*. It comes from María S.

(405) *niyunu niyÿbamukeikupu arusu tÿpi niyitÿina*

      ni-yunu ni-yÿbamukeiku-pu arusu tÿpi ni-yÿti-ina
      1SG-go 1SG-husk-DLOC   rice   OBL 1SG-food-IRR

      'I went to husk rice (in machine in town) for my (future, not yet made) food'

                                                   [rxx-e120511l.024-025]

An irrealis object specifies the non-existence of the entity in question, be it absolute or only at reference time. It is not related to the semantics of RS marking of the predicate and should therefore be independent of RS marking of the predicate. Nonetheless, I have found only two examples of irrealis marked objects in combination with a realis predicate in my corpus. Both come from Juana, and both are about houses.

In (406), although the action of building the house is completed as signaled by the realis predicate and the general past setting of the story, the irrealis marker on the object is used to express that one of the main characters (Jesus in this case) does not live in the house by reference time, it is his future house, the one where he is going to live after marrying his wife.

(406)   *tanau chubiuna*

      ti-anau   *chÿ-ubiu-ina*
      3i-make 3-house-IRR.NV

      'he made his house (where he was going to live)'

                                      [jxx-n101013s-1.552]

In (407), Juana speaks about ongoing construction of the future house of one of her daughters.

(407)   *ja'a puakenechÿ tanaunube chubiunubeina*

      ja'a *pu-akene-chÿ*   *ti-anau-nube* *chÿ-ubiu-nube-ina*
      AFM other-non.vis.side-3 3i-make-PL 3-house-PL-IRR.NV

      'yes, on the other side (of the street) they are making their future house'

                                        [jxx-p110923l-2.154]

Last, non-verbal irrealis is also frequently found on temporal nouns or adverbs to trigger a future reading, like in (408), which comes from Juana who was talking about a visit of her brother at his other brother's. The latter was not at home.

(408)   *sabaruina kapunuina*

      sabaru-ina   *kapunu-ina*
      saturday-IRR.NV come-IRR.NV

      'he will come on Saturday'

                                        [jxx-p120430l-2.411]

In complex NPs, nominal irrealis is marked only once, i.e. it is not a feature of agreement between a noun and its modifier. This can be seen in Example (409), in which the irrealis suffix only occurs on the modifier *punachÿ* 'other', but not on the noun *semana* 'week'. The sentence comes from Miguel who was talking about Swintha here.

(409)   *punachina semana tiyunupunukatu*

      punachÿ-ina   *semana* *ti-yunu-punuka-tu*
      other-IRR.NV week   3i-go-REG.IRR-IAM

      'next week she will leave again'

                                        [mxx-d110813s-2.043]

The whole construction in (409) resembles the local Spanish expression *la otra semana* 'the other week', which can refer either to the preceding or coming week. In Paunaka, the distinction is made by using either an irrealis-marked NP for the coming week or no irrealis marker for reference to the preceding week.

While nominal irrealis relates to the non-existence of an entity, the markers described in the next section tell us about ceased existence, more precisely, about the fact that somebody is already deceased.

5.6   Deceased marking

This section is about different possibilities to express on a noun that a person is deceased. Three different markers can be used in this case, *-ini*, *-kue* and *-bane*, which occur with different types of nouns. Only the last of them is also used with other parts of speech as a remote past marker.

Table 5.6 provides a summary of the three forms used for deceased marking.

It is not uncommon among Arawakan languages to mark on a human noun that the referent is deceased (cf. Ramirez 2001:130, 276, 313; Olza Zubiri et al. 2004:153, 157; Danielsen 2007:115; Brandão 2014:289; Jordá 2014:35; Rose 2014a:80, 81; Mihas 2015:356), and this is also found in non-related languages in Amazonia (e.g. in Mosetén, see Sakel 2004:75, and Hup, see Epps 2008:353).

As for Arawakan languages, Payne (1991:382) states that "Wise (1988a) reconstructs one other classifier: **mini* meaning 'dead, past, abandoned', which in most northern languages retains a suffix similar to *-mi*, and in most southern languages a suffix similar to *-ni*. A fuller form was found in Maipure *-mine* and Baré *-amini*."

The form of Paunaka's deceased marker is *-ini*, thus it has the same form as the frustrative suffix (see 6.8.3.1). It is unclear to me at this stage of research whether *-ini* should be described as one polysemous marker or as two homophonous markers. For the time being, I opt for an analysis of two homophonous markers with different glosses (DEC for 'deceased', FRUST for 'frustrative'). According to the analysis of Overall (2017:490-491), frustrative is often extended to the expression of discontinuous past, i.e. a past situation that was interrupted counter to the expectation of the speaker. Deceased people, obviously, belong to a discontinuous past. Although the fact that people die may not be unexpected – at least if they are old –, the death of a beloved person causes pain and sorrow for the bereaved people, and frustrative is also connected to negative emotions (see 6.8.3.1). However, even in the examples given by Overall

Table 5.6: Markers for 'deceased'

Marker	Gloss	Usage
-bane	REM	general remote (past) marker, used for deceased marking on kinship terminology, then mainly on referential terms
-ini	DEC	on kinship terminology, mainly on endearment/vocative terms
-kue	DEC.PN	only found on proper names, possibly of Tupi-Guarani origin

(2017:490-492), it is in most cases not the frustrative alone that establishes a discontinuous past reading, but the frustrative together with another specialised marker.[39]

Comparing the form of the Paunaka deceased marker with other Arawakan languages reveals that a lot of languages have a cognate form to express the meaning of 'deceased', and besides Paunaka, only the Mojeño languages and Terena have a related form for frustrative marking.[40]

The deceased marker attaches to kinship terms, sometimes to the referential forms, but mostly to the endearment/vocative forms (see Table 5.4 in 5.3.1). Examples (410) and (411) show the use of the deceased marker on endearment forms.

(410) comes from Juana who was talking about what she did with her grandmother in the old days.

(410)   *micha echÿu yeyeini*

    micha echÿu yeye-ini
    good   DEMb granny-DEC

    'my late granny was a good person'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-1.059]</div>

(411) is also from Juana. It comes from her account about their grandparents' journey to Moxos to buy cows.

(411)   *beintechÿ baka chiyÿseie chÿchÿini*

    beintechÿ baka chi-yÿseie chÿchÿ-ini
    twenty   cow   3-purchase grandpa-DEC

    'it were twenty cows that my late grandpa bought'

<div align="right">[jxx-p151016l-2.081-083]</div>

In the previous examples, it is only the deceased marker on the noun that specifies that the people referred to have passed away. The deceased marker is also found on a noun *kuineini* 'deceased', and often this noun precedes the noun referring to the deceased person. The deceased marker (or one of the other markers described below) can be added to the noun as in (412) or be left out as in (413). In that case, *kuineini* is the only expression of ceased existence of the person in question.[41]

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39. It would go too far to explain this in detail here, but I have reasons to believe that deceased or remote past markers of two of the Arawakan examples cited by Overall (2017) in his section on discontinuous past remained unrecognised by the author.

40. In Trinitario *-ini* is a general (discontinuous?) past marker, which occurs on proper names and human nouns to mark a person as deceased, but also on predicates, where it often conveys a counterfactual meaning together with irrealis (cf. Rose 2014a:80,81). Ignaciano, apparently, has two markers *-hini* (or *-'ini*) for counterfactual (or frustrative) and *-(i)ni* which marks (nominal?) past (Olza Zubiri et al. cf. 2004:153, 157; Jordá 2014:35). Baure's marker *-in* 'dead (family member)' only marks people as deceased (cf. Danielsen 2007:115), although in Old Baure, the variety documented by the Jesuits in the 18th century, it was also used as a nominal past marker with non-human nouns (Danielsen 2020, p.c.). Terena has two markers *-ni* and *-nini* which express a number of meanings related to frustrative (Butler & Ekdahl cf. 2014:55, 84; Butler 2007:7), but the deceased marker is *-ikene* (de Carvalho 2017, p.c.). More distantly related Paresi has a particle *ene* for nominal past, which is also used as a deceased marker (Brandão 2014:289), but another particle for frustrative, and the Northern Kampan languages have *-ni* whose "basic function is to specify the ceased existence of a human entity", although in some languages it has extended functions and can even be used on verbs as a remote past marker (Mihas 2017:793). The frustrative markers have a totally different form.

41. In local Spanish, there is a convention to prepose the noun *finado/-a* 'deceased one' before the noun referring to the deceased referent, which can be a kinship term or personal name.

Example (412) is from an account of Miguel about the history of Santa Rita. The founder of Santa Rita is the grandfather of the Supepí siblings and their father was among the twelve families that came to live in the village in the 1950s.

(412) *kapunutu kuineini taitaini pero kapununube dose familia*

kapunu-tu   kuineini   taita-ini   pero   kapunu-nube   dose   familia
come-IAM   deceased   dad-DEC   but   come-PL   twelve   family

'my late father had come (here), but twelve families came (altogether)'

[mxx-p110825l.056]

Example (413) is from a listing by María C. of people she knew who were killed by sorcery.

(413) *nechÿu kapunu kuineini kupare Tieko*

nechÿu   kapunu   kuineini   kupare   Tieko
DEMc   come   deceased   godfather   Diego

'next came late godfather Diego'

[ump-p110815sf.640]

Alternatively to *-ini*, the remote marker *-bane* (see Section 6.8.2.1) can also be used on human nouns to signal that the referent is deceased. It is mainly attached to referential kinship terms. These nouns occur with *-bane* much more often than with *-ini*. The noun *-enu* 'mother' is even exclusively combined with *-bane* in my corpus and never with *-ini*. One example of *-bane* on kinship terms is given in (414), in which Juana tells me about the move of her late parents to Altavista.

(414) *te tiyununubetu tanÿma eka nÿabane nÿenubane te tijechikunubetu chukuyae patrun nauku Turuxhiyae*

te   ti-ÿunu-nube-tu   tanÿma   eka   nÿ-a-bane   nÿ-enu-bane   te
SEQ   3i-go-PL-IAM   now   DEMa   1SG-father-REM   1SG-mother-REM   SEQ

ti-jechiku-nube-tu   chi-chuku-yae   patrun   nauku   Turuxhi-yae
3i-move-PL-IAM   3-side-LOC   patrón   there   Altavista-LOC

'now my late father and my late mother went (away), they moved close to their *patrón* there in Altavista'

[jxx-e150925l-1.248]

In (415) María C. uses all three strategies described so far, *-bane* on a referential kinship term, *-ini* on an endearment form and an additional *kuineini* preposed to it. She describes her exact kinship relation to the Supepí siblings.

(415) *ja chÿenujinube ekanube chipijibane kuineini mimini*

ja   chÿ-enu-ji-nube   eka-nube   chi-piji-bane   kuineini   mimi-ini
AFM   3-mother-COL-PL   DEMa-PL   3-sibling-REM   deceased   mum-DEC

'yes, their mother was the late sister of my late mother'

[cux-c120410ls.124-125]

As stated above, *-bane* is also used as a general remote past marker (see 6.8.2.1). It is then mainly associated with predicates (or with the whole proposition). In some

cases, use of *-bane* with nouns can possibly be analysed as a nominal past marker with the meaning 'former, ex-, old'. In most cases, however, it is not possible to distinguish a predicative and a referential use of the marker. This is reminiscent of the overlap of predicative and referential use of the non-verbal irrealis marker (see 5.5), but in the case of the remote marker, ambiguity is enhanced by the fact that it can float in the clause in predicative use: it mostly occurs on the predicate, but not always.

Consider (416) and the two translations given. One suggests a predicative use of the marker, the other one a referential use. The example comes from a story by María S. about how the tortoise got its carapace: the tortoise does not want to leave her house in the story in order to pay homage to newborn Jesus. As a consequence, she is punished by having her house fixed on her back.

(416) *nechikue tepajÿku tanÿma chitapu chubiubane*

      nechikue ti-epajÿku tanÿma chi-tapu chÿ-ubiu-bane
      therefore 3i-stay   now   3-scales 3-house-REM

      'therefore her carapace stays now, which was her house before'
      or: therefore her the carapace stays now, (which is) her former house'
                                        [rxx-n121128s.24]

Another example, in which *-bane* could be analysed as a nominal past marker is (417). Altavista does not exist anymore, at least not as a big estate dedicated to agriculture based on forced labour. Juana told me that her father had found two of the cows her grandparents had been deprived of by *karay* somewhere in the pampa and took them to Altavista, where he lived at that time.

(417) *kapunu nÿabane te chumu nauku Turuxhiyaebane*

      kapunu nÿ-a-bane   te   chÿ-umu nauku Turuxhi-yae-bane
      come   1SG-father-REM SEQ 3-take   there   Altavista-LOC-REM

      'my late father came and took them to old Altavista'
                                        [jxx-e150925l-1.238]

There is yet a a third marker that can be used to signal the ceased existence of people. This marker, *-kue*, is almost exclusively attached to proper names in my data, i.e. it does not occur with kinship terms or other human nouns, and proper names do not occur with any of the other two markers previously described (both statements with one exception each). It is thus glossed 'DEC.PN', a deceased marker for proper names. The marker is probably of Tupi-Guarani origin since it is very similar phonetically to the nominal past marker found in some of these languages: Guarayu has a past marker *-kwer* (Bischoffberger 2017, p.c.), Guarasu uses *-kwe/-we* as a "disconnected" marker, which marks nominal past among other things (Ramirez et al. 2017:237-238), in Bolivian Guaraní, the deceased marker is *-gwe/-kwe* (Gustafson 2014:339), and Paraguayan Guaraní has a nominal (or referential) past marker *-kue* (Nordhoff 2004:34).

An example is given in (418). It comes from María C. Note that she omits the third person marker here, something she does frequently.

(418)   *tupunubu kuineini Pernatokue*

       tupunubu kuineini   Pernato-kue
       arrive   deceased Fernando-DEC.PN

       'late Fernando arrived'

<div align="right">[ump-p110815sf.412]</div>

I want to conclude this section with (419), which comes from Juana. She was thinking about which tale she could tell us (when we had asked her to tell one). She considers telling one story her brother told her, who was a very good storyteller.[42]

(419)   *chÿkueteabane taita Tubusiukue*

       chÿ-kuetea-bane taita Tubusiu-kue
       3-tell-REM   dad   Tiburcio-DEC.PRN

       'late Tiburcio told it in the old days'

<div align="right">[jmx-n120429ls-x5.038]</div>

The following section is about diminutives, both marked on the noun and on other parts of speech.

5.7 Diminutive

Paunaka has one diminutive marker, *-mÿnÿ*. It can occur on nouns, adjectives, verbs, and demonstratives. The form of the diminutive marker, *-mÿnÿ*, reminds of the diminutive found in Guarayu. Guarayu has *mini* among other diminutives, which can be added to verbs and adjectives, in addition to nouns (Hoeller 1932:13). It is also similar to the Trinitario diminutive *-samini* and Rose (2018b:174-175) supposes that both forms are cognates. Note however, that Paunaka's /ɨ/ is a reflex of **u* of a common ancestor language, and the process of fronting did not take place in the Mojeño languages (cf. de Carvalho 2018:418). If the forms are cognates, we have to assume an unconditioned shift from **i* to /ɨ/ in Paunaka. The same holds for the hypothesis that the Paunaka diminutive is related to the Guarayu form. In Guarasu, another Tupi-Guarani language closely related to Guarayu, there is a diminutive marker *-mɨ́nɨ* (Ramirez et al. 2017:437), which is identical to the Paunaka one, but we do not know whether the languages were in contact.

Besides the basic meaning of smallness, the diminutive marker can also express emotional values like affection and compassion and express attenuation, often for reasons of politeness or modesty. This extension from the core meaning has been reported to occur very frequently cross-linguistically (Jurafsky 1996:535, 558). Even if the diminutive is not attached to a noun, but to an adjective or verb, it is associated with a noun (or its referent) in most cases. Sometimes it can also attenuate the verb's meaning. It is, however, often not possible to distinguish diminutive notions belonging to the referent from purely predicative attenuation, because a small, modest or pitied referent usually causes little action. In many cases, I just do not know what the speaker exactly wanted to express with the diminutive. This is why I decided not to split up the discussion into different chapters – unlike with other transcategorial morphology like

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42. Remember that *taita* literally means 'dad', but is used as a respectful form for all male people, see 5.3.1.

the person and number markers, the non-verbal irrealis and the remote past marker, where the different functions are more easily distinguished, at least in some cases.[43] To compensate for this, the subsections on diminutive marking are ordered by word class. First, examples of diminutives on nouns are given in 5.7.1, while 5.7.2 discusses use of the marker on verbs. In 5.7.3, occurrences of *-mÿnÿ* with other parts of speech are presented.

The use of diminutives is not only very common in Paunaka, but also in Bolivian Spanish, where it has largely the same functions (cf. Mendoza 2015:38), but not the same distribution, i.e. it cannot be used on verbs.

5.7.1   Diminutives on nouns

Sometimes, the diminutive marker *-mÿnÿ* clearly expresses its core meaning of smallness. This is often the best interpretation, when it is added to inanimate nouns. An example is (420) from Miguel. The woman, a character of a narrative, brings some food to her husband, who is supposed to be working in the woods. She uses a small pot for transportation, not one of those huge ones that are sometimes used for cooking.

(420)   *tumuji nÿkÿikimÿnÿji yÿtÿuku*

    ti-umu-ji   *nÿkÿiki-mÿnÿ-ji yÿtÿuku*
    3i-take-RPRT pot-DIM-RPRT   food

    'she took the small pot of food, it is said'

<div align="right">[mox-n110920l.058-059]</div>

Another example, in which smallness is the factor expressed by the diminutive is (421) from Juana, where she describes one of the last pictures of the frog story including many little frogs.[44]

(421)   *aa peÿjanemÿnÿ cheikukukÿujanetuji chÿenuji*

    aa   *peÿ-jane-mÿnÿ* *chÿ-eiku-kukÿu-jane-tu-ji*   *chÿ-enu-ji*
    INTJ frog-DISTR-DIM 3-follow-AM.CONC.TR-DISTR-IAM-RPRT 3-mother-COL

    'ah, the little frogs are following their mother, it is said'

<div align="right">[jxx-a120516l-a.440]</div>

Whenever a diminutive is added to a noun denoting a child or a small animal, it is hard to say whether the speaker uses it only because the referent is small, or also to convey certain affection for the referent. Consider (422), which is from the same story as (420) above. After the woman has discovered the deception of her husband, who had pretended he was making a field, the man decides to sacrifice himself by cutting off his limbs. He takes his little son with him, so that the latter can carry his limbless father and throw him into a well from where the lazy man rises as a comet.

(422)   *chumuji chichechapÿimÿnÿ*

    chÿ-umu-ji   *chi-chechapÿi-mÿnÿ*
    3-take-RPRT 3-son-DIM

    'he took his little son, it is said'

<div align="right">[mox-n110920l.089]</div>

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43. I have explained possible cases of overlap in the preceding sections.
44. The last *-ji* of *chÿenuji* which is glossed here as collective could also be the reportive marker.

The diminutive can also be used for a small amount of something. Consider example (423), in which María C. describes that she only has little corn left to prepare chicha, her preferred beverage, though it cannot be excluded that the speaker also uses the diminutive to express self-pity about that fact.

(423) *kakumÿnÿ amukemÿnÿ te tibukapu echÿu te kuinabu nea aumue*

kaku-mÿnÿ amuke-mÿnÿ te ti-buka-pu echÿu te kuina-bu
exist-DIM   corn-DIM   SEQ 3i-finish.IRR-MID DEMb   SEQ NEG-DSC

   nÿ-ea aumue
   1SG-drink.IRR chicha

'there is little corn and when it will be finished, then I cannot drink chicha anymore'

[ump-p110815sf.693]

Finally, there are also cases, in which no smallness is involved and the only possible reading is one of emotional evaluation. This is the case in (424), where María C. feels pity for herself.

(424) *nÿti juberÿpunÿmÿnÿ*

nÿti juberÿpu-nÿ-mÿnÿ
1SG.PRN old.woman-1SG-DIM

'poor me, I am an old woman'

[uxx-p110825l.038]

Affection is not necessarily for the referent of the noun that bears the diminutive marker, but can also be for the possessor of that noun. Preceding the cited clause in (425), Juana explained that the two old ladies she was talking about have passed away a long time ago. They had been old already when she first met them. Juana's speech is full of diminutives in reference to the old ladies, and in (425), she adds one to a possessed item, the walking cane of one of the ladies.

(425) *kaku chibastunemÿnÿtu, mhm, chiyuikiumÿnÿ*

kaku chi-bastun-ne-mÿnÿ-tu mhm chi-yuik-i-u-mÿnÿ
exist 3-cane-POSSD-DIM-IAM INTJ 3-walk-SUBORD-REAL-DIM

'she already had a cane, mhm, for walking'

[jxx-p120515l-1.220-221]

5.7.2 Diminutives on verbs

The diminutive on verbs fulfils largely the same functions as on nouns and can also attenuate the meaning of the verb. As had been mentioned above, it is often hard to decide what exactly the speaker had in mind, when she used a diminutive.

(426) and (427) are two sentences elicited from María S. and referring to a small chick of hers, which was given water by her grandchild. The diminutive either expresses that the chick is small, that it is cute or that she is empathic with it, or all of this together. In (426) the diminutive refers to the object of the clause and in (427) to the subject.

(426) *tekichamÿnÿ ÿne*

     ti-ekicha-mÿnÿ   ÿne
     3i-invite.IRR-DIM water

     'she gives it water'

                                                          [rmx-e150922l.051]

(427) *tibiyukumÿnÿ takÿra*

     ti-biyuku-mÿnÿ   takÿra
     3i-be.thirsty-DIM chicken

     'the chick is thirsty'

                                                          [rmx-e150922l.054]

The attenuation of a verb's meaning is prevalent in (428), where Juana tells me that on her grandparents' journey back home from Moxos the sun started to shine a bit again after heavy rainfalls.

(428) *tukiu nechÿu chikebiuji, las sinkotuji tijayekamÿnÿji sache*

     tukiu   nechÿu   chi-keb-i-u-ji   las sinko-tu-ji
     from   DEMc   3-rain-SUBORD-REAL-RPRT at five o'clock-IAM-RPRT

      ti-jayeka-mÿnÿ-ji   sache
      3i-shine.IRR-DIM-RPRT sun

     'from then on it was raining, it is said, until at five the sun started to shine a bit'

                                                    [jxx-p151016l-2.122]

Sometimes, a diminutive occurs on a verb to make an imperative more polite as is the case in (429), where María C. tells Clara what we had said to her when she visited us in the hotel we stayed at.[45]

(429) *pibenamÿnÿ naka yumaji*

     pi-bena-mÿnÿ   naka yumaji
     2SG-lie.down.IRR-DIM here hammock

     'lie down here in the hammock'

                                                      [cux-c120510l-1.141]

Attenuation can also be due to modesty, as in (430), where Juana does not want to boast about her knowledge of Paunaka. It is her imagined or remembered answer in a remembered dialogue with the two old ladies also mentioned in (425) after they found out that she was a speaker of Paunaka.

(430) *nichujikumÿnÿ, yeyeini kuina tichujikane kasteyano*

     ni-chujiku-mÿnÿ yeye-ini   kuina ti-chujika-ne kasteyano
     1SG-speak-DIM granny-DEC NEG 3i-speak-1SG Spanish

     'I speak it a little, my late grandmother didn't speak Spanish with me'

                                                    [jxx-p120515l-1.166]

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45. Note that this recording has not been archived because it contains sensitive data.

5.7.3 Diminutives on other parts of speech

Diminutives can also occasionally be added to other parts of speech. They can attach to the few adjectives that exist in Paunaka, and infrequently also to pronouns and demonstratives (usually the nominal demonstratives, but one time in the corpus also to the demonstrative adverb *naka* 'here').

Because of the emotional value of the diminutive, *-mÿnÿ* can also be added to the adjective *(mu)temena* 'big'. This is the case in (431). It is not clear, though, whether Juana uses the diminutive to express her pity for some, already grown, ducks that died in her absence, because none of her family members fed them, or to attenuate the meaning of the predicate as 'big, but small' = 'biggish'.[46]

(431) *pero temenanajimÿnÿtu*

    pero temena-na-ji-mÿnÿ-tu
    but   big-REP-COL-DIM-IAM

    'but they were already big, the poor ones'
    or: 'but they were already biggish'

                                                             [jrx-c151001lsf-11.071]

(432) is a statement by María C. about herself, in which the diminutive is added to the first person singular pronoun, because she pities herself.

(432) *nÿtimÿnÿ baichane, kuina nÿana kuina nenuina*

    nÿti-mÿnÿ   baicha-ne   kuina nÿ-a-ina   kuina nÿ-enu-ina
    1SG.PRN-DIM orphan-1SG NEG   1SG-father-IRR.NV NEG   1SG-mother-IRR.NV

    'poor me, I am an orphan, I don't have a father, I don't have a mother'
                                                             [uxx-p110825l.071]

In (433), a numeral carries the diminutive for attenuation. The sentence comes from María S.

(433) *chÿnamÿnÿchÿ nipeu ÿba*

    chÿna-mÿnÿ-chÿ ni-peu   ÿba
    one-DIM-3   1SG-animal pig

    'I have a single pig'

                                                             [rxx-e181024l.059]

While the diminutive can thus attach to various parts of speech, the locative marker, which is described in the following section, exclusively occurs with nouns.

5.8 Locative marking

There is one general locative marker, *-yae,* which possibly originated as a relational noun in the first place (cf. Rose 2019b and see also 5.3.3).[47]

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46. Thanks to Swintha Danielsen for pointing this second possibility out to me.
47. According to the analysis by Rose (2019b), this relational noun developed into a universal preposition in Trinitario. A related form *-ye* also occurs in Baure (cf. Danielsen 2007:150). Paunaka shares with Baure that the root is used as a locative marker on nouns, and it shares with Trinitario that it is used as a relational noun in possessive constructions.

The suffix attaches exclusively to nouns. It is pronounced *-yae* in slow and careful speech, but can be reduced to *-ye* or *-ya* in rapid speech. Its main function is to express static locations and goals, although it may also be dropped under certain conditions: if the location or goal is a toponym, the locative marker is often absent, this is also true for the noun *uneku* 'town' which is toponym-like since it usually refers to Concepción. If the verb in a goal expression is *-yunu* 'go', it is also not uncommon that the locative suffix is missing on the noun denoting the goal. In source expressions, the preposition *tukiu* is needed, and *-yae* can be considered optional in this case.

Example (434) is an expression of a place, (435) presents the locative marker on a goal, and (436) on a source expression.

In (434), Juana speaks about her daughter who had badly fallen down, was treated in hospital and still had to stay in bed afterwards.

(434) place:
pero tibenunukubu chikamaneyae

pero ti-benunuku-bu chi-kama-ne-yae
but   3i-lie-MID   3-bed-POSSD-LOC

'but she kept lying in her bed'

[jxx-p110923l-1.485]

(435) was a conjecture of María S. about what her brother was going to do.

(435) goal:
tiyunakena chisaneyae

ti-yuna-kena   chi-sane-yae
3i-go.IRR-UNCERT 3-field-LOC

'maybe he wants to go to his field'

[rxx-e120511l.348]

(436) was produced by Juana in telling me about the death of some of her siblings. She went to the funeral of her brother by public transportation, which is carried out by vans or small buses in Bolivia, called *micros* in Spanish.

(436) source:
nikupu tukiu mikroyae

ni-kupu   tukiu mikro-yae
1SG-go.down from microbus-LOC

'I got off the microbus'

[jxx-p120430l-2.465]

The locative suffix can attach to human nouns as is the case in (437), which comes from Miguel who was talking about Swintha.

(437) *paseaubÿti nauku baurenyonubeyae*

paseau-bÿti nauku baurenyo-nube-yae
stroll-PRSP there Baure.person-PL-LOC

'she is going to travel to the Baure people'

[mxx-d110813s-2.066]

It is also used as an instrumental marker in cases, in which the preposition *en* 'in' would be used in Spanish, e.g. for motion by a vehicle. This is the case in (438), where Swintha and I were discussing our little excursion to Altavista with María C. and Clara. Altavista is far away from Santa Rita if one has to walk, but nicely reachable by bike as Clara recognises here.

(438) *pero un ratoyÿchi eyuna bisikletayae*

      pero un rato-yÿchi e-yuna bisikleta-yae
      but a while-LIM2 2PL-go.IRR bicyle-LOC

      'but it only takes you a little while if you go by bike'

                                       [cux-c120414ls-1.155]

Other cases of semantic extension of locative relations that resemble the ones in Spanish are exemplified by (439) and (440). There is no extension of locative marking to temporal expressions though.

In (439), María C. construes the inside of her head as the place containing knowledge.

(439) *kakutu pario nÿchÿtiyaemÿnÿ pario*

      kaku-tu   pario nÿ-chÿti-yae-mÿnÿ pario
      exist-IAM some 1SG-head-LOC-DIM some

      'I have a lot (knowledge) in my head, a lot'

                                         [uxx-p110825l.095]

(440) comes from Juana and is about words in different languages.

(440) *jaja, kastelyanoyae ciervo, pero naka neteayae kaku chijaini*

      jaja kastelyano-yae ciervo pero naka nÿ-etea-yae   kaku chi-ija-ini
      AFM Spanish-LOC   ciervo but here 1SG-language-LOC exist 3-name-FRUST

      'yes, it is *ciervo* (=deer) in Spanish, but it has a name in my language (that I don't remember)'

                                    [jxx-a120516l-a.231-233]

Nonetheless, the locative marker is mainly applied to spatial relations of different kinds. In (441), there is contact from above ('on'), in (442) the spatial relation is one of closeness and can be translated with 'at', and in (443), the figure (i.e. the subject of the clause) is inside a location ('in').

(441) was elicited from María S.

(441) *tibebeikubu siyayae*

      ti-bebeiku-bu siya-yae
      3i-lie-MID   chair-LOC

      'it (the cat) is lying on the chair'

                                           [rxx-e181024l]

(442) comes from the same session. It referred to a pig which I had asked for since it was suddenly not in the yard anymore.

(442) *tiyunu tisemaiku yÿtie atajauyae*

   ti-yunu ti-semaiku yÿtie atajau-yae
   3i-go   3i-search   food   water.reservoir-LOC

   'it (the pig) went to look for food at the reservoir'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181024l]</div>

(443) was elicited from Miguel.

(443) *kaku kÿjÿpi ubiaeye*

   kaku kÿjÿpi   ubiae-yae
   exist manioc house-LOC

   'there is manioc in the house'

<div align="right">[mxx-e160811sd.073]</div>

The locative marker alone thus expresses the most expected locative relations and its interpretation as 'on', 'at' or 'in' largely depends on the spatial dimensions of the noun denoting the ground (i.e. the location) and the habits or properties of the figure (cf. Admiraal 2016:69). In order to be more specific or for the expression of unusual relations, speakers can make use of two different strategies: either a more precise locative noun is derived from the noun denoting the ground or a complex NP is used which contains a possessed relational noun and a possessor denoting the ground.

For the expression of complete containment, a "container" noun is derived by adding the "bounded" classifier *-kÿ* or attaching the locative root *-j(ÿ)ekÿ* 'inside'. There are differences between the resulting nouns.

Not every noun can take the classifier *-kÿ*, the majority are containers anyway. The difference is that without the classifier, they are perceived as manipulable objects, with *-kÿ* they denote locations. The locative marker is usually added to the derived noun.

An example is given in (444), which contains *tachukÿyae* 'inside the small pot'. It comes from Miguel describing the pictures of the frog story.

(444) *i naka chipurutukutu eka kabe chichÿti naka eka tachukÿyae*

   i   naka chi-purutuku-tu eka   kabe chi-chÿti naka eka
   and here 3-put.in-IAM   DEMa dog 3-head   here DEMa

   tachu-kÿ-yae
   small.pot-CLF:bounded-LOC

   'and here the dog has stuck its head into the small pot here'

<div align="right">[mox-a110920l-2.052]</div>

Another example, which also comes from Miguel re-telling the frog story (but in another occasion), is given in (445), and this time the classifier *-kÿ* adds the important information that the action is performed in relation to the inside of the boot.

(445) *chimumukuji chijachÿukena kakukena nauku botakÿyae*

   ch-imumuku-ji chija-chÿu-kena   kaku-kena   nauku bota-kÿ-yae
   3-look-RPRT   what-DEMb-UNCERT exist-UNCERT there boot-CLF:bounded-LOC

   'he is looking what may be there in his boot, it is said'

<div align="right">[mtx-a110906l.043-046]</div>

The noun *kimenu* 'woods' is also frequently found with the classifier, when it conveys the idea of a place that somebody goes to or acts in. Unlike the other nouns with -*kÿ*, it is often used without the locative marker. In Example (446), however, -*yae* is attached to the noun. The example comes from Miguel who told me and José the story about the lazy man.

(446) *titupunubuji kimenukÿyae tisemaikuji echÿu kujubipi*

      ti-tupunubu-ji   *kimenu-kÿ-yae*   *ti-semaiku-ji* *echÿu* *kujubipi*
      3i-arrive-RPRT woods-CLF:bounded-LOC 3i-find-RPRT DEMb liana.sp

      'when he arrived in the woods, he found a liana, it is said'

                                                [mox-n110920l.025]

More emphasis is attained through attachment of the locative stem -*j(ÿ)ekÿ* 'inside', which is related to the free noun *nujekÿ* 'inside'.[48] Its relation to -*kÿ* is similar to the relation of 'in(to)' to 'inside (of)'. Nominal compounds with -*j(ÿ)ekÿ* can be followed by the locative marker, as in (447), but this is not always the case, see (448). Both examples were elicited, (447) from Miguel and (448) from María S.

(447) *nipurtuka jurnujÿekÿyae*

      ni-purtuka   *jurnu-jÿekÿ-yae*
      1SG-put.in.IRR oven-inside-LOC

      'I will put it inside the oven'

                                                  [mxx-e120415ls.105]

(448) *tibÿkupu kabe kosinajÿekÿ*

      ti-bÿkupu *kabe* *kosina-jÿekÿ*
      3i-enter   dog   kitchen-inside

      'the dog goes into the kitchen'

                                                  [rxx-e181021les.105]

The noun *ÿne* 'water' does not combine with -*j(ÿ)ekÿ*, maybe because it is not perceived as a container. There is a special expression for 'inside of the water', which is *ÿneumu(kÿ)* (see 5.2.3), while 'above/on the water' is *ÿnemiuke*. These are unique non-productive expressions.[49]

For any other relation than "inside", the other strategy mentioned above is used: an inalienably possessed locative noun stem expressing the specific relation is juxtaposed to the noun denoting the ground which acts as a possessor. The locative marker is attached to the relational noun in this case, however the nouns -*upekÿ* 'place under' and -*akene/-ekene* 'non-visible side' can also be used without the locative marker, for the latter one, this is even more common. The locative relational nouns are listed in Table 5.7.

(449) was elicited from Miguel and refers to a pen I put under a bag.

_____

48. *Nujekÿ* 'inside' and its antonym *nekupai* 'outside, yard' are never set in relation to another noun.
49. I could elicit *mutejimiuke* 'on/above the mud', but no other word I tried to construe accordingly was accepted by the speakers. There is another singular locative expression, *mainekÿke* 'on/above the stone', which contains the relational noun -*(i)ne* 'top' and seemingly also -*kÿ*. Both words contain a suffix -*ke*, which may be the one we find on nouns denoting places (see 3.3).

Table 5.7: Locative relational noun stems

Relational noun	Translation
-akene/-ekene	non-visible side (behind, beside)
-chuku	side (next to, close to)
-(i)ne	top, place on top or above
-upekÿ	place under

(449) *kaku chiupekÿye echÿu pusane*

   kaku chi-upekÿ-yae   echÿu pusane
   exist 3-place.under-LOC DEMb bag

   'it is under the bag'

[mxx-e120505l-1]

The following example comes from an elicitation session with several playmobil toys. It was produced by Juana.

(450) *kaku chichukuyae echÿu jente*

   kaku chi-chuku-yae echÿu jente
   exist 3-side-LOC   DEMb man

   'she is (standing) next to the man'

[jrx-c151024lsf]

The noun stem *-(i)ne* 'top' is the only one of the relational nouns that can also be incorporated into active verb stems, see 6.2.8. (451) is one example of its use in a locative NP. It comes from Miguel who was describing the production of rice bread.

(451) *chetuku echÿu kesu tiyÿbapakubu chÿineyae echÿu masa*

   chÿ-etuku echÿu kesu   ti-yÿbapaku-bu chÿ-ine-yae echÿu masa
   3-put   DEMb cheese 3i-grind-MID   3-top-LOC   DEMb dough

   'she puts the grated cheese on top of the dough'

[mxx-e120415ls.087]

As has already been mentioned above, the noun *-akene* or *-ekene* 'non-visible side' is normally used without the locative suffix. It can combine with a person prefix or with the root *(u)pu-* 'other', and is used if the referent in question is out of sight because something blocks the view. Two examples, both from Juana, are given here.

(452) comes from the creation story she told, a mixture of the tales of the bible and other elements. It is Jesus who hides away behind the door here. (453) was elicited. It shows the use of the locative noun together with *(u)pu-* 'other'.

(452) *nauku chekene nuinekÿ chububuikubutu*

   nauku chÿ-ekene   nuinekÿ chÿ-ubu-buiku-bu-tu
   there 3-non.vis.side door   3-be.at-CONT-MID-IAM

   'there behind the door he was (hidden)'

[jxx-n101013s-1.435]

(453) *kaku upuakene*

  kaku upu-akene
  exist other-non.vis.side

  'it is behind (the house)'

Unlike in Baure (cf. Admiraal 2016:81-82), body-part terminology is very restricted in the expression of spatial relations in Paunaka. Body-part nouns can only be used if the ground is animate and a real possessor of the body part, as is the case in (454), elicited from Juana, in which I was pretending to look for my cell phone, which was lying in front of me. There is no semantic extension of body part terminology to inanimate referents.

(454) *¡kaku naka pibÿkeyae!*

  kaku naka pi-bÿke-yae
  exist here 2SG-face-LOC

  'it is here in front of you!' (lit.: in your sight)

Last, there are also some locative nouns that are not possessed, *anÿke* 'up, above', *apuke* 'down, (on the) ground', and *pÿkÿjÿe* 'middle', as well as the aforementioned *nujekÿ* 'inside' and *nekupai* 'outside, yard'. They could actually also be adverbs, word class is not totally clear in this case (see discussion in 4.3.1). Most of the times, they do not occur in juxtaposition with another noun denoting the ground, i.e. they denote the ground themselves, and they usually do not take the locative marker with a few exceptions.

To conclude this chapter, the next section provides some information about content of and word order inside the NP.

5.9   The NP

The typical NP minimally consists of a noun or a pronoun. Nouns can optionally be modified, pronouns are never modified. NPs can also do without a noun or pronoun. In this case, only the "modifier" is present (cf. Dryer 2004). In this section, only those NPs consisting of a noun and a modifier are considered which form a single syntactic unit and act as an argument in the clause (cf. Krasnoukhova 2012:13). There are no discontinuous NPs in Paunaka.

Modifiers are nominal demonstratives, adjectives, numerals, relative clauses and other nouns. The status of quantifers as modifiers of nouns is not totally clear. Relative clauses are discussed in detail in 8.5 and will thus not be considered here. Figure 5.3 shows the word order in the NP.

The following examples show those types of modifiers which precede the noun.

(455) has a nominal demonstrative and a noun. It comes from Miguel's narration of the story about the fox and the jaguar.

$$\left[\begin{array}{ccccccccccc} \text{(Q)} & \text{DEM} & \text{'other'} & \text{NUM} & \text{ADJ}^1 & \text{N} & \text{DEM} & \text{N}_\text{poss} & \text{N}_\text{type} & \begin{array}{c}\text{RC}\\ (\text{ADJ}^2)\end{array} \end{array} \right]$$

<div align="center">head</div>
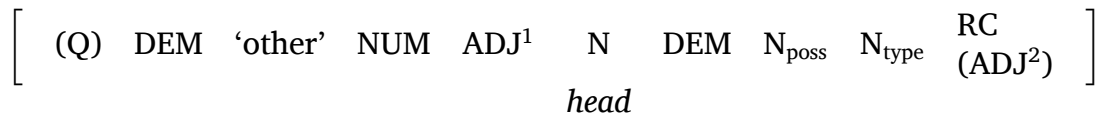
<div align="center">Figure 5.3: Word order in the NP</div>

(455) demonstrative + noun:
tiyunutu echÿu kupisaÿrÿ

ti-yunu-tu echÿu kupisaÿrÿ
3i-go-IAM DEMb fox

'the fox had already gone'

<div align="right">[jmx-n120429ls-x5.170]</div>

In (456), the word for 'other' acts as a nominal modifier. Juana speaks about the plans of her landlord.

(456) 'other' + noun:
tana punachÿ kuartojane naka

ti-ana   punachÿ kuarto-jane naka
3i-make.IRR other   room-DISTR here

'he wants to make other rooms here'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-1.393]</div>

(457) exemplifies the use of a numeral as a modifier. María S. tells her husband here that I have three children (which is not true, I have only two, thus I corrected her, but this is not of importance for the use of the modifier).

(457) numeral + noun:
kakutu treschÿ chichechajinube chijinepÿinube

kakutu   treschÿ chi-checha-ji-nube chi-jinepÿi-nube
exist-IAM three   3-son-COL-PL   3-daughter-PL

'she has three sons and daughters by now'

<div align="right">[rmx-e150922l.076]</div>

In (458), there is an adjective and a noun. The adjective in this example is *kana* 'this size', a deictic adjective which is always accompanied by a gesture showing the size. It is the one that most often occupies the modifying position before the noun, other adjectives are rare in this position (and in modification in general). The example comes from Juana's account about her grandparents' journey from Moxos back home.

(458) adjective + noun:
tumunube kana boteyamÿnÿ aguardiente

ti-umu-nube kana   boteya-mÿnÿ aguardiente
3i-take-PL   this.size bottle-DIM   liquor

'they took a little bottle of this size of liquor'

<div align="right">[jxx-p151016l-2.235]</div>

Nominal demonstratives are the most frequent modifiers. Both Miguel and Juana use them a lot, María S. less so (see 4.1.3). A demonstrative and a noun that are juxtaposed can also form a predication, but it is mostly the topic pronoun *chibu* which is used in these cases (see 4.1.2). In predication, there is usually a short pause between the demonstrative and the noun and the demonstrative is stressed, in an NP they form an intonational unit and there is another predicate in the clause.

Apart from demonstratives, most of the pre-nominal modifiers do actually not frequently occur as modifiers. They are rather used as predicates or adverbs or they head an NP themselves. This is because the modified referent is usually accessible and thus does not need to be repeated explicitly. This is in accord to what Danielsen (2007:168) found out for Baure: "[m]odification within an NP is not very common Baure in general." This also holds for Paunaka, to an even greater degree.

Consider (459). Juana first uses *punachÿ* 'other' as a predicate here, but noting that she was not explicit enough adds a possessive clause in which *punachÿ* functions as a modifier of a noun. She talks about one of her relatives here.

(459) *punachÿtu, kakutu punachÿ seunube eka chima*

      punachÿ-tu kaku-tu   punachÿ seunube eka   chi-ima
      other-IAM   exist-IAM other   woman DEMa 3-husband

      'it is another one now, her husband has another woman now'
                                                             [jxx-p120430l-1.402]

There are also a few clauses in which a quantifier seems to be used attributively, like in (460), where Miguel thinks about which story he could tell us.[50]

(460) *bueno kaku chama echÿu kuento*

      bueno kaku chama echÿu kuento
      well   exist much DEMb story

      'well, there are a lot of stories'
                                                        [jmx-n120429ls-x5.048]

A prime example for attributive use of a quantifier is (461), but it is quite unique. It comes from María C. and is about her son.

(461) *tichupumÿnÿ pario paunaka*

      ti-chupu-mÿnÿ pario paunaka
      3i-know-DIM   some Paunaka

      'he knows some Paunaka'
                                                        [cux-c120414ls-2.269]

In general, NPs with ordinary pre-nominal modifiers (except for the demonstratives) are likely to occur in a non-verbal clause including the copula *kaku*.

Modifiers that follow the noun can be nouns, adjectives or relative clauses. Adjectives are probably best analysed as a subtype of relative clause, since they are generally rather used predicatively than attributively (see 4.2.1.2). Note that headed RCs including a verb are normally completely unmarked, just like adjectives following the noun.

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50. This example could also be analysed as containing a partitive NP, see below.

A nominal modifier of another noun often denotes a possessor. As has been shown in 5.3, the possessor is indexed on the possessed, but if the possessor is a third person, a possessor noun can co-occur, like in (462), which comes from María S., who was repeating a statement of her brother for Swintha. My daughter learned to walk on her own, when we were in Bolivia together in 2011, an issue which is still remembered with pleasure.

(462) *tiyuikutu chijinepÿimÿnÿ Elena*

ti-yuiku-tu	*chi-jinepÿi-mÿnÿ*	*Elena*
3i-walk-IAM	3-daughter-DIM	Lena

'Lena's daughter is walking now'

[rxx-e121128s-1.071]

A kind of possessor (the figure) also follows the possessed ground in expressions of specific locative relations. In (463), Juana cites her brother who was about to depart to a visit at his other brother's.[51]

(463) *"niyuna chukuyae Kujtin"*

ni-yuna	*chi-chuku-yae*	*Kujtin*
1SG-go.IRR	3-side-LOC	Agustín

'"I go to Agustín"'

[jxx-p120430l-2.392]

Occasionally, the possessor is itself modified by a demonstrative. (464) is an example of this. It comes from Miguel telling the story about the two men and the devil. It is the devil who eats up the heads and also all the rest of the meat the men had just hunted.

(464) *chijikupupuikutuji echÿu chichÿti echÿu ÿbajane*

chi-jikupu-puiku-tu-ji	*echÿu*	*chi-chÿti*	*echÿu*	*ÿba-jane*
3-swallow-CONT-IAM-RPRT	DEMb	3-head	DEMb	pig-DISTR

'he was swallowing the heads of the pigs'

[mxx-n101017s-1.052-053]

In the other kind of noun – noun combination, the modifier specifies the type. This can include combinations of a noun denoting a kind of measure term and the other one the thing which is measured, like in (465), or an object and its material, like in (466), both from Juana.

In (465), the head noun *babetamÿnÿ* 'little trough' is the measure term, which is modified by *ÿne* 'water', the item which comes in this measure. The example stems from Juana's account about some gold in the woods, which is watched over by a spirit.

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51. Note that combination of the third person prefix *chÿ-* with the relational noun *-chuku* 'side' is one of the very few cases where we often find haplology, so that the possessed form is *chuku* besides *chichuku*.

(465) *kaku ÿne kaku nena babetamÿnÿ ÿne*

      kaku ÿne   kaku nena babeta-mÿnÿ ÿne
      exist water exist like trough-DIM water

      'there is water, there is what looks like a little trough of water'

                                            [jxx-p151020l-2]

The head noun in (466) is *yÿpi* 'jar' and it is modified by *muteji* 'loam, mud' denoting the material of the jar. Juana is talking about the old days in Santa Rita here, before the reservoir and later the pump were construed. They had to walk far with their clay jars to fetch water.

(466) *kuinakuÿ, puro eka yÿpi muteji*

      kuina-kuÿ   puro eka   yÿpi muteji
      NEG-INCMP mere DEMa jar loam

      'there were no (plastic canisters) yet, it was only with jars of clay'

                                              [jxx-p120515l-2.058]

Possession of non-possessable nouns is yet another kind of modification by a type noun: a possessed relational noun occurs together with a non-possessable noun, which encodes the type of thing that is possessed. Animals cannot be possessed directly, the relational noun *-peu* 'domestic animal' is needed if a possessive relationship to an animal shall be expressed (see 5.3.3). One example is (467): the relational noun *-peu* 'domestic animal' comes first, the animal denoting the type of possessed animal follows. The sentence comes from María C. who speaks about the lack of meat in her nutrition.

(467) *kakuina bipeujanemÿnÿ ÿba bikupaka*

      kaku-ina   bi-peu-jane-mÿnÿ   ÿba bi-kupaka
      exist-IRR.NV 1PL-dom.animal-DISTR-DIM pig 1PL-kill.IRR

      'if we had pigs, we would butcher them'

                                              [uxx-p110825l.200]

Together with this type of relational noun, either the N$_{type}$ can co-occur, like in (467) above, or the possessor, the N$_{poss}$.[52] Example (468) has a relational noun modified by the noun denoting the possessor. In this case, the NP can actually be analysed as a predicate itself, as a relative clause specifying the preceding noun *bakajane* 'the cows'. I have found no example in which an NP of the type [N$_{rel}$ N$_{poss}$] would be an argument of a verbal clause. The example comes from Miguel who told me the story of the cowherd and the spirit of the hill.

(468) *chikuirauchuji echÿu bakajane chipeujane chipatrune*

      chi-kuirauchu-ji echÿu baka-jane chi-peu-jane   chi-patrun-ne
      3-care.for-RPRT DEMb cow-DISTR 3-animal-DISTR 3-patrón-POSSD

      'he looked for the cows, it is said, (which were) the animals of his *patrón*'

                                            [mxx-n151017l-1.02]

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52. It is also possible that the relational noun is used on its own without being modified.

There is only one example in the corpus in which a relational noun is accompanied by both N$_{poss}$ and N$_{type}$, in this order. It comes from Juana who was talking about her ducklings, which were not fed properly when she was away to Santa Cruz once. Apparently, only her son (or grandchild?) took a little care, saying:

(469) *"tikunipajanemÿnÿ chipeujane mimi upuji"*

  ti-kunipa-jane-mÿnÿ   *chi-peu-jane*   *mimi* *upuji*
  3i-be.hungry-DISTR-DIM 3-animal-DISTR mum duck

  '"the ducks of my mum are hungry"'

<div align="right">[jrx-c151001lsf-11.067]</div>

Inside an NP, number, diminutive and locative marking generally occur only once,[53] and typically on the head noun, see (456), (457), (458), (463), (465), (467), (469), but also sometimes on the modifier as in (464). (470) is interesting in this regard, because the plural suffix is attached to the modifier and the diminutive to the head noun. The sentence was produced by María S. who spoke about her life in the old times and referred to her sister Juana here.

(470) *kakutu ruschÿnube chichechajimÿnÿbane*

  kaku-tu   *ruschÿ-nube* *chi-checha-ji-mÿnÿ-bane*
  exist-IAM two-PL   3-son-COL-DIM-REM

  'she already had two little children by that time long ago'

<div align="right">[rxx-p181101l-2.107]</div>

There are a few exceptions concerning plural marking, which may occur on both the modifier and the noun, but this is very rare. One example by Miguel of double plural marking – on *punachÿ* 'other' and on *krinko* 'gringo' – is given in (471), where he tells Juan C. that some gringos told him not to let a *patrón* take advantage of him.

(471) *tikechunenube echÿu punachÿnube krinkonube*

  ti-kechu-ne-nube *echÿu* *punachÿ-nube* *krinko-nube*
  3i-say-1SG-PL   DEMb other-PL   gringo-PL

  'these other gringos told me'

<div align="right">[mqx-p110826l.381]</div>

There are usually not more than two modifiers in an NP, a demonstrative and a second one, but a few other and partly more complex combinations have been found in the corpus.

(472) has a numeral and an adjective. It was produced by Juana when looking at a picture book in order to teach some Paunaka phrases to her grandchild.

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53. This does not come as a surprise. In the sample of Krasnoukhova (2012), only 16 out of 55 South American languages mark agreement in number with demonstratives as noun modifiers (Krasnoukhova 2012:52). Agreement in number is even rarer with modifying numerals and adjectives (Krasnoukhova 2012:126, 163-164).

(472)   *sietechÿ sepitÿmÿnÿ kusu*

     sietechÿ sepitÿ-mÿnÿ kusu
     seven   small-DIM   mouse

     'seven little mice'

<div align="right">[jxx-e081025s.050]</div>

(473) has a numeral that is used like an indefinite article by Miguel in this case, and an adjective which follows the noun. The sentence comes from the story about the lazy man who cuts off his limbs in the end to be thrown into the water by his son and rise as a comet.

(473)   *"pumane nauku kaku nauku chinachÿ posa mutemena"*

     pi-uma-ne   *nauku kaku nauku chinachÿ posa mutemena*
     2SG-take.IRR-1SG there exist there one   well big

     '"take me there where there is a big well"'

<div align="right">[mox-n110920l.121]</div>

In (474), the head noun *rasimo* 'raceme' is modified by the preceding demonstrative, by *punachÿ* 'other' and by the following noun which specifies the type of raceme. The sentence comes from the same story as (473) above. The lazybones, sitting in the top of a *cusi* palm tree, cuts off his limbs at this point of the story and drops them to the ground, telling his son to collect the supposed racemes of *cusi*.

(474)   *"pijakupaji echÿu punachÿ rasimo kÿsi"*

     pi-jakupa-ji   *echÿu punachÿ rasimo kÿsi*
     2SG-receive.IRR-IMP DEMb other   raceme cusi

     '"take this other raceme of *cusi* palm fruit"'

<div align="right">[mox-n110920l.105]</div>

Last, it should also be mentioned that speakers sometimes use a numeral, quantifier or the word for 'other' *before* a demonstrative to construe a partitive NP. This kind of NP has also been analysed for Baure (cf. Danielsen 2007:125), but it is not very frequent in Paunaka.

(475) is an example by Miguel who was narrating the story of the two men who meet the devil in the woods. The devil is the one who shouts.

(475)   *i chinachÿ echÿu chikompanyerone chijakupu echÿu tiyÿbui*

     i   *chinachÿ echÿu chi-kompanyero-ne*   *chi-jakupu echÿu ti-yÿbui*
     and   one   DEMb 3-companion-POSSD 3-receive DEMb 3i-shout

     'and one of the companions answered the one who shouted'

<div align="right">[mxx-n101017s-1.021]</div>

(476) is a short switch to Paunaka in Juana's otherwise Spanish discourse. She was telling Swintha the creation story and switched back and forth between Paunaka and Spanish.

(476)   *tumuyubu tumuyubu eka mukiankajanemÿnÿ*

        tumuyubu *tumuyubu* *eka*   *mukianka-jane-mÿnÿ*
        all   all   DEMa animal-DISTR-DIM

        'all, all of the animals'

<div align="right">[jxx-n101013s-1.696]</div>

The following chapter discusses the verb and morphology associated with the verb (or other predicates) in more detail.

6 The verb and morphology on predicates

Verbs can be fairly complex in Paunaka, however, the only categories that are obligatorily marked on verbs are person/number and reality status (RS). Complexity can increase through derivational processes inside the stem and through addition of inflectional formatives. There are also processes at the edge of the verb stem, which can be considered borderline cases between derivation and inflection.

Two main classes of verbs, stative and active, can be distinguished by a different strategy of RS marking. The position of the subject marker is identical in stative and active verbs, i.e. the person marker encoding the subject always precedes the verb stem.

Figure 6.1.1 shows the template of a stative verb. Contrary to active verbs, the position of the markers following the stem could not be established because there are few examples in which two or even more of them are combined. Thus all markers that have been found on stative verb stems in the corpus are simply given in alphabetical order.

sub:	IRR	ATTR	root	RDPL	CLF	ADD, AM.CONC, COL,
1SG					incorporated N	CONT, DED, DIM, DISTR,
2SG					*-umi*	DSC, EMPH2, EMPH1, IAM,
3i						INCMP, INTS, LIM2, PL,
1PL						PRSP, REG, REM, RPRT,
2PL				or other derivational processes		UNCERT
			stative verb stem			

Figure 6.1: Template of a stative verb

Stative verbs are intransitive and encode typical stative relations like colour, knowledge, emotion, and temperature. There are simple and derived stative verbs. Interestingly, the incorporation of body part terms into active verb stems often results in stative verb stems. The stems of stative verbs do not carry a thematic suffix. Realis RS is not marked on stative verbs, irrealis is marked by a prefix *a-*, which directly precedes the stem. There is also a number of active verbs that encode stative relations, all of them are deponent middle verbs, i.e. they only occur in the middle form (see 6.7).

Figure 6.2, a slightly adapted repetition of Figure 3.2 in 3.2.1 shows the template of an active verb, including morphology inside and outside of the stem. As has been mentioned before (see 3.2.1.1), the position of the optative markers could not be established because there are simply not enough examples in the corpus. Superscript numbers show different possible positions for some markers.

Active verbs can be intransitive, transitive or ditransitive. Many, but not all of them, have a thematic suffix that marks the stem boundary. Realis RS is signaled by absence of an irrealis marked suffix in the chain of suffixes that can inflect for RS. The default/realis realisation of these suffixes is with a vowel *u*. In irrealis RS one of the *u* of one of these suffixes changes to *a*. In some cases, there is also a proper suffix *-a*

subj:	root + derivation	egde of stem:	markers that fuse with RS	ADD²	MID	INCMP	DISTR²	LIM1?	DIM	obj:	DSC¹	PL	INTS	DSC²	UNCERT	IAM	RPRT	FRUST
1SG		Ø+RS	RCPC²							1SG			EMPH2?	REM		AVERT	DED	
2SG		TH1	CONT							2SG				PRSP				
3i		TH2	DLOC							1PL				EMPH1				
3		TH1+BEN	AM.PRIOR²							2PL				LIM2?				
1PL		RCPC¹	AM.SUBS							(3)								
2PL		AM.PRIOR¹	REG															
		AM.CONC.TR¹	AM.CONC.TR²															
		AM.CONC.CIS¹	AM.CONC.CIS²															
		DISTR¹-RS	ADD¹															
		active verb stem																

active verb stem						
CAUS1	root	RDPL	CLF	RDPL	EXT	egde-of-stem
CAUS2			incorp. N		INTSV	suffixes
		or other derivational processes				

Figure 6.2: Template of an active verb

that signals irrealis RS that alternates with a suffix -*u* for realis RS. A more elaborate explanation follows in Section 6.5.

Paunaka has no passive, but there is middle voice. TAME marking is optional and not restricted to verbs. The markers expressing these categories are also found on non-verbal predicates and sometimes on other constituents in the clause. Another category is associated motion (AM), the expression of motion events that happen before, simultaneously and possibly also after the event expressed by the verb. Related to this category is the expression of associated path and repetitive.

The remainder of this chapter is organised roughly by verb structure, from inner to outer processes: Sections 6.1 to 6.3 deal with verb stems including derivations inside and at the edge of stems. This is followed by sections on the most important inflectional categories, person/number in 6.4 and reality status in 6.5. AM markers are discussed in 6.6. This is followed by a section on the middle in 6.7. TAME marking is the topic of 6.8. Finally, some degree markers are presented in 6.9. Similarly to TAME markers, they do not only attach to verbs (although one of them, the additive marker, is deeply integrated into the verb structure as will become apparent).

6.1 Stative verb stems

Stative verb stems express emotion, cognition, temperature, colour, consistency, taste and some other properties, qualities and non-permanent states.

They are composed a bit differently from active ones, they never include a thematic suffix and do not take aktionsart suffixes. Unlike in other Arawakan languages, however, stative verbs index subjects just like active verbs (cf. Danielsen & Granadillo 2008). The main difference lies in a different location for irrealis marking: stative verbs take an irrealis prefix, realis is completely unmarked.

A small number of stems are stative by their inflection for irrealis preceding the verb stem, see 6.5.1, but transitive by their ability to either be combined with an object NP or even index an object by a person suffix. They are further described in Section 6.3.2.

6.1.1   Simplex stative verbs

Most stative verbs are or appear to be underived or "simplex". However, it is possible that they are the result of non-productive or singular derivational processes. We can sometimes recognise semantic similarities between phonologically similar stems, e.g. *-kutiu* 'be ill' must be derived from *-kuti* 'hurt' (which is also stative), *-michainu* 'be pleased' from the adjective *micha* 'good', and *-(i)chuna* 'know, be capable' is certainly related to the active verb *-chupu* 'know (a fact)', but there are no regular patterns underlying these derivations.

A number of stative verb stems start with the syllable *ku*. There is indeed a derivational process to derive stative verbs from nouns that includes a prefix *ku-* (see 6.1.3), but not in every case is the derivation transparent insofar that the part of the verb stem following *ku* would be recognisable as an independent stem – at least in the current stage of the language.

The verb *-pisÿ* 'be black' seems to be borrowed from Bésɨro, it inflects like an ordinary stative verb.

Table 6.1 shows some additional stative verbs. Many of them describe properties, both of prototypically human and prototypically inanimate referents, others describe states.

Table 6.1: Stative verb stems

Stem	Gloss
-ima	be cooked
-kipÿpa	be white
-kubÿu	be drunk
-kujemu	be angry
-kujÿma	have fever
-mÿra	be dry
-pÿkubai	be lazy
-sabana	be fat
-sakue	be salty
-sÿei	be cold
-tibe	be sweet
-tÿkÿmiu	be quiet
-yu	be ripe
-yÿsi	be hot, be warm

6.1.2   Verbs that end in *-umi*

A few stative verbs end in the sequence *umi*. However, to my knowledge, only two of them have a counterpart without this final sequence, and it is not possible to derive new words with this root. All verbs that end in *-umi* denote emotions and feelings that are typically associated with humans.[1] The root probably derives from an obsolete noun with the meaning 'heart', this noun had the form *-omiri* in Old Mojeño (Rose 2021, p.c.). Note that some Baure verbs denoting emotions and physical feelings include a

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1. Another number of other bodily sensations and emotions are expressed by deponent middle verbs (see 6.7).

root -'in(o) that is also found in the noun *etko'in* 'heart' (Danielsen 2007:231), and it is well possible that Paunaka once had the same pattern of word formation. Table 6.2 lists the verb stems that end in -*umi*.

Table 6.2: Verbs that end in *umi*

Stative stem	Gloss	Related active stem
-*chÿnumi*	be sad	
-*eju(ju)mi*	remember, miss s.o.	
-*jekupumi*	forget	-*jekupu* 'lose'
-*yayaumi*	be happy	
-*yÿsÿumi*	feel hot	-*yÿsi* 'be hot'

6.1.3 Attributive verbs

Verbs can be derived from nouns with the prefix *ku*-, which goes back to Proto-Arawakan **ka*- (Payne 1991:377) and has cognates in many Arawakan languages (cf. Aikhenvald 1999:95).[2] The prefix is probably related to the homophonous causative prefix. Both have in common that they increase valency by one participant (+VAL1, cf. Danielsen 2014b:289). For causative derivations see 6.3.3.

Only possessable nouns can be combined with *ku*- (see 5.3). In the case of alienable nouns, the derived form including the possessed marker -*ne* is chosen, see (481) and (482) below.

The meaning of attributive verbs is classically described as 'have X, be with X', but in Paunaka, some attributive verbs have more active meanings ('make X, do with X'), a small number of attributive verbs can even be used transitively, though they remain stative by position of irrealis marking.

Let us first consider some examples which show the classical, possessive function of the attributive prefix: (477) to (479).

In (477), Miguel is talking about Federico, whom he had jokingly called a relative of theirs (the men in Santa Rita usually do not have beards).

(477)   *tikujiyumama biparientene*

    ti-ku-jiyumama bi-pariente-ne
    3i-ATTR-beard 1PL-relative-POSSD

    'our relative has a beard'

<div align="right">[ump-p110815sf.669]</div>

(478) comes from María S., who could not cultivate her field in 2018 because of problems with her knee.

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2. Aikhenvald (1999:95) calls this prefix 'relative-attributive', in other papers, she also uses the single terms 'attributive' and 'relative'. Outside Arawakan linguistics, the term "attributive verb" is also used for a noun-modifying verb, but this is not what is meant here. The negative counterpart of the attributive prefix, the privative prefix (cf. Michael 2014b:285), is almost absent from Paunaka, there are only a few fixed forms.

(478) *kuina nakuesanebu*

kuina nÿ-a-ku-esane-bu
NEG   1SG-IRR-ATTR-field-DSC

'I don't have a field anymore'

[rxx-e181017l]

(479) comes from Miguel explaining me a word in Paunaka, *pÿsi*, 'spirit of the hill'.

(479) *pÿsi chija bitÿpi echÿu tikubiunube naka chiyikikeyae*

pÿsi chi-ija bi-tÿpi echÿu ti-ku-ubiu-nube naka chiyikike-yae
pÿsi 3-name 1PL-OBL DEMb 3i-ATTR-house-PL here hill-LOC

'*pÿsi* we call the ones who have their houses in the hills (i.e. the owners of the hills)'

[mxx-n151017l-1.28]

In (480), the derived verb does not have a stative meaning, but rather indicates a change of state. This example comes from the recordings by Riester with Juan Ch., who has just stated that it is not good to harvest corn during new moon, and now provides the reason. Note that the connective *che(je)puine* 'because' sounds more like *mapuine* or *bapuine* in all of his speech.

(480) *mapuine takukane uchu i chibuka chikane kuinabu binikeneina*

chejepuine ti-a-ku-kane   uchu   i   chi-buka   chi-kane
because   3i-IRR-ATTR-maggot UNCERT.FUT and 3-finish.IRR 3-maggot

kuina-bu bi-ni-kene-ina
NEG-DSC 1PL-eat-NMLZ-IRR.NV

'because then it may get maggots and if the maggots finish it, we do not have any food anymore'

[nxx-a630101g-1.59-61]

In (481) and (482), the meaning of the derived verb is active, 'do X'.[3]
In (481), María C. speaks about the old days in Altavista, when she had to work at night.

(481) *yuti nikuyuine pan de arroz*

yuti   ni-ku-yui-ne   pan de arroz
night 1SG-ATTR-bread-POSSD rice bread

'at night I baked rice bread'

[cux-c120510l-1.031]

(482) is an utterance by the drunken fox in the story of the fox and the jaguarundi as told by Miguel.

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3. Particularly interesting in this regard is the verb *-kuyenu* (*-ku-yenu* ATTR-wife), which can mean 'have a wife', 'marry' or 'have sex'.

(482) *"nÿsachutu eka nakusunine"*

   nÿ-sachu-tu   eka   nÿ-a-ku-suni-ne
   1SG-want-IAM   DEMa   1SG-IRR-chant-POSSD

   '"I want to sing now"'

<div align="right">[jmx-n120429ls-x5.380]</div>

The attributive verb *-kuyae* 'have, possess, own' always attaches a third person suffix. It is possibly the case that it is always used referentially (the restriction "possibly" is due to the fact that in some cases referential and predicative use is hardly distinguishable, e.g. in questions).

(483) comes from Juana, who speaks about gold that is sometimes found in the woods. The owner is a spirit in this case.

(483) *kaku tikuyaechÿ*

   kaku ti-ku-yae-chÿ
   exist 3i-ATTR-GRN-3

   'there is an owner'

<div align="right">[jxx-p151020l-2]</div>

In an elicitation session on possessive questions, María S. also used the third person suffix on the attributive verb in many of questions she construed, like the following:

(484) *¿chija tikupeuchÿ?*

   chija ti-ku-peu-chÿ
   what   3i-ATTR-animal-3

   'who is the owner of the animal?'

<div align="right">[rxx-e201231f.02]</div>

In the same elicitation session, she also construed some possessive verbs without the attributive prefix. This happened more than once, this is why I find it worth being mentioned here, though I cannot say whether other speakers would accept such a verb form.[4]

(485) *¿chija tipeuchÿ?*

   chija ti-peu-chÿ
   what   3i-animal-3

   'who is the owner of the animal?'

<div align="right">[rxx-e201231f.06]</div>

On the other hand, I have also heard the attributive verb with 'house', taking the thematic suffix, which is a suffix of active verbs (see 6.2.2). This may be a special case though because the noun for house, *-ubiu*, derives from a verb (see 8.1.4). Note that the final /u/ of the noun gets lost in the attributive verb.

(486) shows the use of the attributive verb including the thematic suffix. Juana had just told me that a relative of hers lives in a huge house, the rooms downstairs are rented:

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4. There is not a single question about possession produced in spontaneous speech in the corpus.

(486)   *i nauku anÿke nebu chubiu tikubiku*

    i   nauku anÿke nebu   chÿ-ubiu ti-ku-ubiku
    and there up   3OBL.TOP.PRN 3-house 3i-ATTR-reside?

    'and up there, there is the flat of the owner of the house'

                                             [jxx-p120430l-1.416]

In general, though not always having stative semantics, attributive verbs are intransitive. Usually, they cannot take person suffixes to mark an object. In the few cases, in which an object is logically possible, it can be expressed periphrastically, as in the case of the verb *-kuetea* 'tell' from *-etea* 'language, word', where the addressee is expressed by an oblique form.[5]

In (487), Clara uses such a construction. She was addressing Swintha, helping her formulate, what she wanted to say; that Federico already told us about the death of María C.'s husband.

(487)   *tikuetea etÿpi*

    ti-ku-etea   e-tÿpi
    3i-ATTR-language 2PL-OBL

    'he told you'

                                             [cux-120410ls.100]

6.1.4   The verbal root *-ÿ* 'be long'

A peculiarity of the verbal root *-ÿ* 'be long' is that it cannot occur on its own, but needs some additional material that specifies the kind of length that is expressed by the stem. All stems presented in Table 6.3 are lexicalised and only occur with the third person marker *ti-* '3i'.

<div align="center">Table 6.3: Verbs with the root -ÿ 'be long'</div>

Stem	Gloss	Related to
-ÿbane	be far	*-bane* 'REM'
-ÿbutu	long time	*-bu* 'MID' or 'DSC' + *-tu* 'IAM'
-ÿpenu	be deep	*epenue* 'hole'

In addition, there is the verb stem *-ÿnai* 'be tall', which most probably consists of the root *-ÿ*, the general classifier *-na* and an *i* of unknown origin. This verb can also be inflected for first and second person as in (488).

(488)   *nÿti nÿjÿku micha, nÿnai*

    nÿti   nÿ-jÿku   micha nÿ-ÿnai
    1SG.PRN 1SG-grow good 1SG-be.tall

    'I grew well, I am tall'

                                            [jxx-p150920l.057]

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5. Actually in the case of *-kuetea,* there are a few examples in the corpus in which the verb takes the third person prefix *chÿ-*, which is only used with transitive verbs. They can be considered exceptional.

The *-nai* part of this verb can be replaced by body-part nouns to specify that this body part is long, see Example (489) or the body part is placed before *na* and *i* is dropped as in Example (490). It is not clear at this point whether both forms are grammatical, (489) was elicited together with similar examples with other body parts, (490) was uttered spontaneously by the same speaker, Juana. She speaks about different kinds of frogs in that case.

(489)   *tÿjabuji*

      ti-ÿ-jabu-ji
      3i-be.long-leg-COL

      'it has long legs'

<div align="right">[jxx-e150925l-1.047]</div>

(490)   *echÿu punachÿ tÿjabubunajane*

      echÿu   punachÿ   ti-ÿ-jabu-bu-na-jane
      DEMb   other   3i-be.long-leg-RDPL-CLF:general?-DISTR

      'the other one has long legs'

<div align="right">[jxx-a120516l-a.463]</div>

6.1.5   Reduplication

Some stative verb stems always have a reduplicated syllable, among them *-sururu* 'be clear, be light-coloured, be white' and *-yayaumi* 'be happy'. Only a handful of stative verb stems can occur with and without a reduplicated syllable. Since there are very few examples, I cannot say for sure what the effect of reduplication is on these verb stems, it probably intensifies the meaning. This is the case in (491), where the verb expresses that the fox got quiet forever because he was killed by some dogs after having sung loudly for quite some time and thus attracting the dogs' attention. The sentence comes from Juana, an intervention into Miguel's telling of the story about the fox and the jaguar.

(491)   *titÿkÿkÿmiu kupisaÿrÿ*

      ti-tÿkÿ-kÿ-miu   *kupisaÿrÿ*
      3i-be.quiet-RDPL-be.quiet fox

      'the fox got quiet'

<div align="right">[jmx-n120429ls-x5.448]</div>

In the case of the verb *-eju(ju)mi* 'remember', the form without reduplication is preferred in negative statements, the one including reduplication in positive statements, in which the verb is used transitively in most cases,[6] though this cannot be generalised at all.

(492) is an example for the form not including reduplication. It comes from elicitation with María S.

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6. It seems to be the case that, when used transitively, this verb does not inflect for irrealis at all, even in negative contexts, which is highly unusual.

(492) *kuina naejumibu*

    kuina nÿ-a-ejumi-bu
    NEG   1SG-IRR-remember-DSC

    'I don't remember'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181022le]</div>

In (493), the form including the reduplicated syllable is used transitively. The example also comes from María S. who speaks with her brother Miguel about me. Swintha, who recorded this, had travelled to Bolivia for a second time in 2012, while I stayed in Germany.

(493) *tichÿnumiji tejujumibi*

    ti-chÿnumi-ji   *ti-eju-ju-mi-bi*
    3i-be.sad-RPRT 3i-remember-RDPL-remember-1PL

    'she says, she is sad, because she misses (lit.: remembers) us'

<div align="right">[rmx-c121126s.19]</div>

6.1.6 Classifiers

Not all stative verbs can take classifiers, only the ones that express non-human qualities or states are able to do so. The classifier refers to the subject of the stative verb. Some examples follow.

In (494), the classifier *-umu* for liquid things is added to the verb stem *-sÿei* 'be cold', thus providing the information that the cold thing in question is a liquid. Juana speaks about the good properties of clay ware here.

(494) *tisÿeimu ÿne yÿpikÿ*

    ti-sÿei-umu   *ÿne*   *yÿpi-kÿ*
    3i-be.cold-CLF:liquid water jar-CLF:bounded

    'the water stays cold inside the jar'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-2.601]</div>

In (495) the classifier *-pa* for dusty things specifies that what is dry is something that consists of small particles, in this case the earth. It comes from Juana who speaks about the search for water in the old days, before the reservoir was construed.

(495) *timÿrapa epuke*

    ti-mÿra-pa   *epuke*
    3i-be.dry-CLF:particle ground

    'the earth in the ground was dry'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120515l-2.020]</div>

In Example (496), the classifier *-pai* is used with the stative verb stem *-yÿsi* 'be hot'. Note that the first active verb also takes *-pai* here with locative semantics (see discussion below in 6.2.7). The sentence was produced by María C. as a warning directed to me. People believe that one can get seriously ill when sitting on a hot surface.

(496) *titibubupaikumÿnÿ tiyÿsipai echÿu pijinepÿimÿnÿ*

    ti-tibubu-pai-ku-mÿnÿ   *ti-yÿsi-pai*   *echÿu* *pi-jinepÿi-mÿnÿ*
    3i-sit-CLF:ground-TH1-DIM 3i-be.hot-CLF:ground DEMb 2SG-daughter-DIM

    'your little daughter is sitting on the hot ground'

<div align="right">[uxx-p110825l.166]</div>

The general classifier can also be attached to stative verb stems. This is the case in (497), where Juana translated to Paunaka on request what she had said before in Spanish. She speaks about different types of chicken here.

(497) *kuina tinijanea eka tikipÿpanaji, eka tisina tipisÿna tinijaneu entero amuke*

    kuina *ti-ni-jane-a*   *eka*   *ti-kipÿpa-na-ji*   *eka*
    NEG   3i-eat-DISTR-IRR DEMa 3i-be.white-CLF:general-COL DEMa

    ti-si-na   *ti-pisÿ-na*   *ti-ni-jane-u*   *entero*
    3i-be.red-CLF:general 3i-be.black-CLF:general 3i-eat-DISTR-REAL whole

    amuke
    corn

    'the white ones don't eat it, the red and black ones eat the whole corn kernels (i.e. without crushing them)'

<div align="right">[jxx-e150925l-1.143-144]</div>

6.1.7 Incorporation

Stative verbs denoting qualities can be combined with body- or plant-part terms to confine the expressed quality to the specific part of the referent. Some examples follow.

(498) comes from the recordings by Riester with Juan Ch., who speaks about an imagined theft of a young woman here.

(498) *titÿrÿrÿpetemÿnÿ micha*

    ti-tÿrÿrÿ-pete-mÿnÿ   *micha*
    3i-be.hard-vagina-DIM good

    'she has a hard vagina (i.e. she is a virgin)'

<div align="right">[nxx-a630101g-3.023]</div>

(499) was produced by Juana. It comes from her narration of the story about the fox and the jaguar together with Miguel and refers to the state of the jaguar's body after he had drowned some month before because of being deceived by the fox.

(499) *chijikiuji isini tisikererekebetu metu tibÿrutu*

    chijikiu-ji   *isini*   *ti-sikere-re-kebe-tu*   *metu*   *ti-bÿru-tu*
    however-RPRT jaguar 3i-be.naked-RDPL-tooth-IAM already 3i-be.rotten-IAM

    'however, the jaguar was stripped to his teeth, he was already rotten, it is said'
<div align="right">[jmx-n120429ls-x5.288]</div>

The following two examples were elicited, (500) comes from Miguel, (501) has the same verb but with a plant-part term and comes from Juana.

<div align="center">232</div>

(500)   *tisururubÿke*

    ti-sururu-bÿke
    3i-be.clear-face

    'she is pale-faced'

<div align="right">[mdx-c120416ls.137]</div>

(501)   *tisururupune*

    ti-sururu-pune
    3i-be.clear-leaf

    'white leaf'

<div align="right">[jxx-e150925l-1.180]</div>

Interestingly, the combination of verbal roots with body-part nouns often results in stative verb stems. This is illustrated in (502), where the root *-ja* 'be open' (which also forms part of the active verb stem *-jajaku* 'be wide') is combined with *-naba* 'inside of the mouth'. The irrealis prefix shows that the verb is stative.

(502) comes from the same story as (499) above, but at this point, the jaguar is still alive. When he obeys and opens his mouth, the vulture whom he had caught flies away and defecates into his open mouth.

(502)   *"¡pajanaba!"*

    pi-a-ja-naba
    2SG-IRR-open-mouth.inside

    '"open your mouth!"'

<div align="right">[jmx-n120429ls-x5.197]</div>

A number of semantically extended stative verbs stems contain the incorporated body part *-bÿke* 'face'. Many of them have to do with sight (Danielsen & Terhart subm). One example is given in (503), where the active stem *-imu* 'see' combines with *-bÿke*, and the resulting form *-imubÿke* is a stative verb with the meaning 'see well, be capable of seeing'. It comes from María C.

(503)   *kuinabu naimubÿkebu*

    kuina-bu   nÿ-a-imu-bÿke-bu
    NEG-DSC   1SG-IRR-see-face-DSC

    'I can't see (well) anymore'

<div align="right">[uxx-p110825l.013]</div>

All derivational processes of the stative verb stem that are productive and/or traceable have all been described now. The following section is dedicated to the active verb stem.

6.2   Active verbs

Active verb stems minimally consist of a verb root. Some of these roots do not require any further material to be ready for inflection, others take a thematic suffix. Redupli-

cation, aktionsart suffixes, classifiers, and incorporated nouns can occur between root and thematic suffix.

6.2.1 Simplex active verb stems

Some active verbs stems are identical to the verbal root, i.e. they do not take a thematic suffix. These simplex verbs can be mono- or disyllabic. It is also possible that some of them have an additional initial syllable *i*. Since stem-initial high front vowels merge with the vowel of the person marker, it is impossible to say whether a stem starts with *i* or not, unless there exists a stative derivation of the stem. The irrealis form of the stative derivation can reveal an initial *i*, this is the case with the verb stem *-imu* 'see' with the stative derivation being *-imubÿke* 'see well' as in Example (503) in 6.1.7 above.

Tables 6.4 and 6.5 list some verb stems that are identical to verb roots, i.e. they do not have thematic suffixes. Peculiar about the forms in Table 6.4 is that they do not mark irrealis by change of the last *u* to *a*, but by addition of *-a*. Comparison with Trinitario reveals that at least some of these stems must have had an additional final syllable in a prior state of the language, three cognate stems could be identified: *-imo'o* 'see', *-iso'o* 'weed' and *-iyo'o* 'cry' (Rose 2021, p.c.).[7]

Table 6.4: Verb stems without a thematic suffix with addition of irrealis marker *-a*

Realis form	Irrealis form	Gloss
-imu	*-imua*	see
-isu	*-isua*	weed
-iyu	*-iyua*	cry; sing, shout (animals)
-ju	*-jua*	urinate
-maku	*-makua*	bury
-pu	*-pua*	give
-tibu	*-tibua*	sit down

Table 6.5: Verb stems without a thematic suffix with change of the last vowel to *a* for irrealis RS

Realis form	Irrealis form	Gloss
-beu	*-bea*	take away, take out
-benu	*-bena*	lie down, fall
-bÿsÿu	*-bÿsÿa*	come
-chemu	*-chema*	stand up, rise
-eu	*-ea*	1. drink 2. hit
-umu	*-uma*	take
-samu	*-sama*	hear
-yunu	*-yuna*	go

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7. The comparison equally shows that these stems begin with *i*, this is also in concordance with the stress patterns of these verbs (see Section 2.6).

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6.2.2 Verb stems with a thematic suffix

There are two thematic suffixes in Paunaka, *-ku* and *-chu*, which both have cognate forms in the other Southern Arawakan languages.

Thematic suffixes are only found on active verbs, which is why Rose (2014c:380) calls the Trinitario cognates, which she suggests are allomorphs, an "active suffix". Danielsen (2007:240-244) argues that the Baure cognate of *-ku* is an absolute suffix, which interacts with transitivity, and the cognate of *-chu* is an applicative. Paunaka's *-chu* could also be interpreted as an applicative marker, but contrary to Baure, we do not find many verb roots that can take both suffixes.[8] The only exception of an active verb I know of is the root *-su* 'write', which can be combined with the extension applicative suffix *-i* and *-ku* into the stem *-suiku* 'write', as well as with the suffix *-chu* into *-suchu* 'write something'.[9] This pair of verb stems suggests an interpretation of *-chu* being an applicative. Additional support comes from the derivation of active from stative verbs, e.g. *-jÿchu* 'light (fire)' from *-ijÿe* 'burn' and *-eimachu* 'cook until done' from *-ima* 'be cooked, done', but this kind of active verb stem derivation also seems to be used very infrequently. I thus decided to call both suffixes 'thematic suffixes', *-ku* is glossed as 'TH1' and *-chu* as 'TH2'.

Table 6.6 lists verb stems that are usually realised with the thematic suffix *-ku* and Table 6.7 list verb stems with *-chu*. The thematic suffix *-ku* occurs much more frequently than *-chu*.

Table 6.6: Verb stems with the thematic suffix *-ku*

Realis form	Irrealis form	Gloss
-buku	*-buka*	finish
-muku	*-muka*	sleep
-jÿku	*-jÿka*	grow
-maku	*-maka*	bury
-marÿku	*-marÿka*	cut
-niku	*-nika*	eat
-paku	*-paka*	die
-punaku	*-punaka*	give
-ramuku	*-ramuka*	thunder
-seku	*-seka*	dig hole

If Spanish loans are verbalised, it is usually the suffix *-chu* that is attached to the stem.[10] Loan verb integration by this suffix is also found in Trinitario and Baure (Terhart 2017:4).

(504) shows a verb borrowed from Spanish. The verbal root *-ayurau*, derived from the Spanish participle *ayudado* 'helped', takes the thematic suffix *-chu* to yield the stem *-ayurauchu* 'help'.

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8. In Baure, both suffixes may even occur together on a single verb in some specific cases (Danielsen 2020, p.c.).

9. The last form has also been found with additional *-i*, as *-suichu*. In one context, this verb was used in the sense of 'write down' (a name in that case), in the other it meant 'enroll' and was realised with a first person singular object.

10. More frequently, however, verbs borrowed from Spanish are integrated as non-verbal predicates, see 7.2.9.

Table 6.7: Verb stems with the thematic suffix *-chu*

Realis form	Irrealis form	Gloss
-akachu	*-akacha*	lift
-ekichu	*-ekicha*	invite
-kechu	*-kecha*	say
-kipuchu	*-kipucha*	wash
-kusachu	*-kusacha*	fish with hook, angle
-sachu	*-sacha*	want
-sumachu	*-sumacha*	want, like
-yÿseuchu	*-yÿseucha*	greet

(504) *tayurauchunÿ*

 ti-ayurau-chu-nÿ
 3i-help-TH2-1SG

 'she helps me'

The suffix *-chu* is also found in some irregular derivations, e.g. the pluractional *-paikechu* 'all die' from *-paku* 'die' and equally *-kupaikechu* 'kill all' from *-kupaku* 'kill'.

6.2.3 The extension applicative

The extension applicative suffix *-i* ('EXT') directly precedes the thematic suffixes, usually *-ku*, sometimes also *-chu*. This suffix is completely lexicalised with the verb stems and thus hard to grasp. The term "extension applicative" comes from Danielsen (2014b) who describes a cognate form of this suffix for Baure.[11] According to her analysis, the suffix has at least two functions: first, it can decrease the valency of a transitive verb by deriving a durative form, and second, it can change the semantic role of the object (Danielsen 2014b:297, 299).[12]

In Paunaka, many of the verbs with this applicative suffix are atelic, but not all of them. There is a huge number of verbs which take the marker, so many that I first thought I dealt with a (morpho-)phonological rule (prepalatalisation) rather than with a morpheme. There is, however, a number of verbs that is never realised with *-i*.

Some verb stems with the extension suffix and the thematic suffix *-ku* are listed in Table 6.8.

Only a few related verbs differ in presence or absence of *-i*, which makes the analysis very difficult. The pairs I have found in the corpus are given in Table 6.9.[13] Among them, we find some that suggest a durative derivation, like *-samu* 'hear' and *-samuiku*

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11. The same Baure suffix was called "durative" before (cf. Danielsen 2007:232-234).
12. A third possible function identified by Danielsen (2014b:300), change of direction of an event (exemplified by the pair 'buy' and 'sell' for Baure), is absent from Paunaka, as far as I can tell.
13. Note that the pair *-kuyeneu* and *-kuyeneiku* 'visit' strictly speaking belongs to the stative verbs by composition of the stem and irrealis marking, but *-kuyeneu* is transitive nonetheless, and *-kuyeneiku* takes the thematic suffix, which usually occurs on active verbs only, see Section 6.1 above. There is possibly another pair: *-yÿseiku* 'buy' and *-yÿseuchu* 'greet'. The first of them is probably borrowed from Guarayu *yusei* 'want or wish s.th. edible'. It is not clear whether there is any derivational relation between the two stems. The similarity of these verb stems could also be co-incidental.

Table 6.8: Verb stems with the extension applicative and thematic suffix *-ku*

Verb stem (realis)	Gloss
-beiku	lie
-bÿcheiku	send s.o., make s.o. do
-majaiku	bark
-musuiku	wash clothes
-nÿnÿiku	live, be alive
-epuiku	fish with net
-semaiku	search, look for
-sipuiku	pay
-suiku	write
-yÿbuiku	shout
-yÿseiku	buy

'listen', thus this speaks for an analysis as an aktionsart suffix. Others rather differ in involvement of a human being in the event, although this human being is not always involved in the same type of stem, i.e. either the one without or the one with the applicative, and it does not necessarily have to be realised as an object, as e.g. in the pair *-umu* 'take' (whose object can be human or non-human) and *-umeiku* 'steal', whose object is usually non-human, but a human is necessarily involved as the victim of the theft. It is thus not precisely an applicative which changes the semantic role of the object.

Table 6.9: Related verb stems without and with the extension applicative suffix

Simple stem	Gloss	Stem with applicative	Gloss
-chupu	know (a fact)	*-chupuiku*	know s.o./s.th.
-etuku	put	*-etuichu*	put into s.th.
-jajaku	be wide	*-jajaiku*	extend
-kupaku	kill	*-kupaiku*	slaughter
-kuyeneu	visit s.o.	*-kuyeneiku*	visit a place, stroll around
-samu	hear	*-samuiku*	listen
-umu	take	*-umeiku*	steal
-yunu	go	*-yuiku*	walk

6.2.4 Intensive aktionsart

The suffix *-ji* shows up on many verb stems whose semantics includes an intensive degree, thus it can be analysed as an aktionsart suffix. It is only found on active verbs with the thematic suffix *-ku* and directly precedes it. Just like is the case with durative *-i*, there are not many verb stems that can be realised with and without the suffix, so that it is hard to determine the exact meaning of it. It is also possible that the sequence *ji* is just part of the verb root, especially with the shorter, trisyllabic stems. This may be the better analysis at least for the verb *-majiku* 'crawl', considering that it is the syllable *ji* which gets reduplicated when a the classifier *-pai* 'CLF:ground' is added (see (515) in

6.2.9). There is also a homophonous classifier-*ji* for soft masses (see 3.3), which has to be distinguished from the aktionsart suffix. Both occur in different slots, theoretically, but in the existing verb stems, they both directly precede the thematic suffix, so that knowledge about slots of the stem does not help in this case. Table 6.10 lists some verbs which do or may contain the intensive suffix -*ji*.

Table 6.10: Verb stems with the aktionsart suffix -*ji*

Verb stem (realis)	Gloss
-*chujiku*	harvest corn
-*kerajiku*	break (in two pieces)
-*kupujiku*	1. meet 2. come or go down, descend
-*kurumejiku*	pierce
-*kuyajijiku*	laugh, laugh about
-*nejiku*	leave s.o. or s.th.
-*rabajiku*	break (into several pieces)
-*tÿyajiku*	grind in mortar
-*ujiku*	suckle
-*yejiku*	tear out/off, pluck, harvest
-*yÿtipajiku*	make chicha

Verb stems that can be realised with and without the aktionsart suffix are listed in Table 6.11.[14] They all include more changes than absence vs. presence of the aktionsart suffix. The same statement made for the extension applicative also holds for the intensive aktionsart suffix: in general, it either always forms part the stem or never, with only few exceptions.

Table 6.11: Related verb stems without and with the intensive aktionsart suffix

Simple stem	Gloss	Intensive form	Gloss
-*bikÿku*	throw	-*bikÿjiku*	throw away
-*chupu*	know	-*chujiku*	speak, talk
-*kutikubu*	run	-*kutijiku*	escape, flee
-*teku*	call, invite	-*tetejiku*	call shouting, call iteratively
-*yÿbaiku*	grind, mill	-*yÿbajiku*	grind (manioc, clay etc.)

6.2.5 Verbs with -*nÿ*

If something or someone is completely surrounded, the suffix -*nÿ* 'around' is likely to form part of the verb stem. For a few stems, there is no corresponding form without the suffix. Table 6.12 gives some verb stems that contain the suffix, in comparison to stems without it where possible.

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14. The two homographical verb stems -*chujiku* in Tables 6.10 and 6.11 are distinguished by different stress: /ˈtʃuhiku/ 'speak, talk', /tʃuˈhiku/ 'harvest corn'.

Table 6.12: Related verb stems without and with the suffix *-nÿ*

Simple form	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
-bejaiku	take away	*-bejanÿku*	unlock (take away complete surrounding)
-juku	pour solid things	*-jukunÿku*	bury (i.e. put earth around someone)
		-kupunÿku	be full (with food)
		-pitanÿku	embrace
-rataku	press	*-ratanÿku*	lock (i.e. completely surround)
-rÿtÿku	tie to s.th.	*-rÿtÿnÿku*	tie up

6.2.6   Reduplication and continuous marking

In some of the verb stems of Paunaka, we find a syllable of the verbal root reduplicated. These verbs often encode iterative or durative, and sometimes intensive events, so that reduplication seems to encode the same semantic notion as the applicative and aktionsart suffixes *-i* and *-ji* (see 6.2.3 and 6.2.4). As far as I know, there is only one verb root with more than one reduplicated syllable, which is *-musimusiku* 'blink, wink' (with a related noun *-musipa* 'eyelash'). The great majority of verb stems are instantiations of partial reduplication of a single syllable. Verbs with a reduplicated root syllable almost exclusively take the thematic suffix *-ku*. Some of these verb stems are listed in Table 6.13, including two that repeat the syllable twice.

Table 6.13: Verb stems with a reduplicated root syllable

Verb stem (realis)	Gloss
-bibiku	swing in hammock
-buririku	fall out (hair)
-bururuku	boil
-bÿbÿku	fly
-nÿnÿiku	live, be alive
-pÿsisikubu	be alone
-pÿsisisiku	smoke (intr.)
-terere(i)kubu	be afraid
-yapipipiku	wag tail

Only a handful of verbs are also found without the reduplicated syllable. They are listed in Table 6.14.

In addition to the forms in Tables 6.13 and 6.14, where the reduplicated syllable belongs to the verbal root, reduplication is also found on the last syllable of the verb stem in continuous marking. The reduplicated syllable is followed by the extension suffix *-i* and the thematic suffix *-ku*, and the whole sequence *-CViku* stands for continuous aspect. Note that it is not always clear whether we are dealing with reduplication of a root or a stem syllable since they are identical for all those verb stems that do not end in a thematic suffix. For those verbs, it is not clear whether the form derived by reduplication + *-i* + *-ku* should be analysed as continuous forms or as verbs with a

Table 6.14: Related verb stems without and with reduplication of a root syllable

Simple form	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
-benu	lie down	-benunuku(bu)	lie
-chubiku	stroll, hunt	-chubibiku	stroll, hunt
-chujiku	speak, talk	-chujijiku	talk, converse
-imu	see	-imumuku	look
-keraku	break	-keraraku	break (s.th. thick, heavy)
-rÿtÿku	tie	-rÿtÿtÿku	tie wrapping around several times
-samu	hear, understand	-samumuku	listen

reduplicated stem syllable and the extension applicative suffix with the latter triggering the addition of the thematic suffix *-ku*. All "continuous" verbs derived from verbs without a thematic suffix show a high degree of lexicalisation, while in most cases where there is a thematic suffix on the underived verb stem (and thus the continuous marker is *-kuiku*), the continuous form seems to be used for inflectional rather than derivational purposes, e.g. progressive marking, mirroring the use of Spanish gerunds.

Continuous marking often but not always goes along with middle voice (see 6.7). It is sometimes also found on non-verbal predicates. Table 6.15 shows the most frequent lexicalised continuous forms. An example of the inflectional use of the continuous is given in (505).

Table 6.15: Related verb stems without and with continuous marking

Simple form	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
-chabu	do	-chabubuiku	do
-chemu	stand up	-chemumuiku(bu)	stand
-eiku	follow, be behind	-eikukuiku	chase
-tibu	sit down	-tibubuiku(bu)	sit
-ubu	be, live	-ububuiku	be, live (for a longer time?)
-iyu	cry	-iyuyuiku(bu)	cry; shout, sing (of animals)

The example comes from Juana and refers to her little parrot, which we were watching.

(505) *tinikukuikumÿnÿ tikunipa*

 ti-niku-kuiku-mÿnÿ ti-kunipa
 3i-eat-CONT-DIM   3i-be.hungry

 'it is eating, it is hungry'

 [jxx-e110923l-2.007]

Another process that optionally but frequently includes reduplication on the edge of a verb stem is concurrent motion marking (see 6.6.1). This can probably be considered

a case of automatic reduplication, where the presence of a marker triggers reduplication on another morpheme without reduplication itself adding any meaning (cf. Rubino 2005:18). However, as Gómez & van der Voort (2014:3, Footnote 1) rightly remark, "it may be hard to determine that the involved reduplication does not contribute in any way to the meaning of the resulting construction."

Last but not least, the regressive and repetitive marker has an allomorph with a repeated syllable, but this syllable does not belong to the verb stem (see 6.6.6).

6.2.7 Classifiers

Most of the classifiers more commonly attached to stative than to active verb stems. However, some examples of transitive verbs including classifiers are found in my corpus. The classifier then refers to the object or to an oblique.

In Example (506), the classifier *-pe* indicates that the object is a flat thing, a fish in this case. The classifier is also found on the noun *kÿnupe* 'fish sp.'. The sentence comes from Juana who was thinking about catching delicious fish.[15]

(506) *nibÿrupekaini kÿnupe*

    ni-bÿru-pe-ka-ini   *kÿnupe*
    1SG-suck-CLF:flat-TH1.IRR-FRUST fish.sp

    'I would suck the (juice out of the) *cupacá* fish'

                                     [jrx-c151001fls-9.62]

An example of a classifier referring to the goal of an action is given in (507), where the stem *-etukiku* 'put on head' is derived from *-etuku* 'put'. It was elicited from María S.

(507) *netukikapu nupukene*

    nÿ-etu-ki-ka-pu   *nÿ-upukene*
    1SG-put-CLF:spherical-TH1.IRR-MID 1SG-load

    'I put my load on my head'

                                         [rxx-e181020le]

Peculiar about the classifiers *-pai* 'CLF:ground' and *-e* 'CLF:water' in this regard is first that they are found in transitive and intransitive verbs alike, and second that they only refer to obliques.[16] Regarding their reference to obliques, this is reminiscent of the behaviour of the cognate classifiers in Baure and Mojeño Ignaciano (cf. Terhart 2016:156; Olza Zubiri et al. 2004:271), but contrary to Mojeño Trinitario (Rose 2019a, 2020:cf.). In the latter language, however, the possibility of the cognate forms to refer

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15. A larger excerpt of the conversation from which this example is taken is given in the appendix.
16. There is one counterexample in the corpus in which *-pai* most probably refers to an object. It comes from Miguel telling the story about the lazy man, who tells his wife:

(i) *"bueno niyunabÿti nebitakupai"*

    bueno *ni-yuna-bÿti*   *nÿ-ebitaku-pai*
    well   1SG-go.IRR-PRSP 1SG-clear-CLF:ground

    '"well, I am going to go to clear the ground (for a field)"'

                                         [mox-n110920l.020]

to objects has possibly changed relatively recently considering that Gill (1957:176, 205) still describes *-e* as a directional and *-pue* (corresponding to Paunaka *-pai*) as a classifier that refers to obliques only. I had priorly opted for an analysis of *-pai* and *-e* as directionals rather than classifiers as well. However, *-pai* can refer to S arguments of intransitive verbs (see Example (496) in 6.1.6 above) and – albeit rarely – it is used to derive nouns, thus it is better analysed as a classifier with the peculiarity of relating primarily to obliques when attached to verbs. As for *-e*, it occurs in the same slot as classifiers and the fact the cognate morpheme of Trinitario can nowadays also refer to S arguments of intransitive and O arguments of transitive verbs can be taken as an indication that it is considered as part of the system of classifiers by the speakers rather than as a different category.[17] I thus tentatively include *-e* in the list of classifiers (see Section 3.3), although it deviates from the other ones. Furthermore, the term "directional" would also be misleading, because it is not only directions (goal, source), but also locations that *-e* refers to – the same is true for the classifier *-pai*.

Table 6.16 lists the verb forms that have been encountered with the classifier *-pai*, where possible these forms are contrasted to the ones not taking the classifier.

Table 6.16: Related verb stems without and with the classifier *-pai*

Simple form	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
-akachu	lift, hold, grab	*-akapaiku*	lift from the floor
-bebeiku	lie	*-be(be)paiku*	lie on the floor
		-bekupaiku	hang down
		-bÿtupaiku	fall, fall down
-chemu	stand up	*-chemupaiku*	stand up from the floor
-etuku	put	*-etupaiku*	put on the floor
-jatÿku	pull	*-jatÿpaiku*	pull down
-kubu	descend, go down	*-kubupaiku*	descend, go down
-seku	dig hole	*-sekupaiku*	sow with an awl (i.e. dig holes in the ground)
		-tabipaiku	appear
-tibubuiku(bu)	sit	*-tibupaiku*	sit on the floor
-ubu	be, live	*-ubupaiku apuke*	be born

An example for *-pai* is given in (508), where Juana explains me how the tool they use for for sowing works:

(508) *tisekupaikukukÿapu bebukatu arusu*

ti-seku-pai-ku-kukÿa-pu   *bi-ebuka-tu*   *arusu*
3i-dig.hole-CLF:ground-TH1-AM.CONC.TR.IRR-MID   1PL-sow.IRR-IAM   rice

'it moves digging holes in the ground, we sow the rice

[jxx-p120515l-2.042]

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17. The classifier is actually analysed as an allomorph of *-omo* in Trinitario (Rose 2019a:464), the cognate form of Paunaka's classifier *-umu* 'CLF:liquid'.

Table 6.17 lists verb stems including *-e*.[18]

Table 6.17: Related verb stems without and with the classifier *-e*

Simple form	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
-bikÿku	throw	*-bikÿechu*	throw into water
-bÿtupaikubu	fall down	*-bÿtuekubu*	fall into water
-purtuku	put into	*-purutueku*	submerge
-tibubuikubu	sit	*-tibuekubu*	sit in water

Example (509) shows the use of such a verb. It comes from Miguel telling the story about the boy and the frog.

(509)   *titibuekapu ÿne eka peÿ*

    ti-tibu-e-ka-pu   *ÿne*   *eka*   *peÿ*
    3i-sit-CLF:water-TH1.IRR-MID   water   DEMa   frog

    'the frog sits in water'

<div align="right">[mox-a110920l-2.014]</div>

Rose (2019a) shows that (some) classifiers have the ability to promote obliques to object status in Trinitario. Examples like (509) above, where *ÿne* 'water' is used without a locative marker, may suggest that the same could be true for Paunaka. On the other hand, the verb *titibuekapu* in this example bears the middle marker (just like the form without the classifier). Middle verbs are notionally intransitive (see 6.7), thus *ÿne* cannot be its object. Equally in Example (507), the object of the derived verb seems to be the very same object of the non-derived verb. I would thus tentatively reject this analysis for the Paunaka case for the time being. Note that when there is a verb with a classifier referring to an oblique, NPs co-nominating this oblique occur rarely, so that more data would be necessary to come to a definite conclusion about this point.

6.2.8 Incorporation

Not only classifiers, but also noun stems can form part of active verb stems. This process is commonly known as incorporation. In Paunaka, it is almost exclusively body-part terms are incorporated with a few exceptions. Two examples of verb stems with incorporated body parts are given below. In total, incorporation plays a minor role in current day Paunaka.

In (510), the verb *-bemusuku* 'skin, take off skin' is derived from *-beu* 'take away (or take out/off)'. The example comes from Miguel telling the story about the two men and the devil. The men were successful in hunting, they decide to stay the night in the woods and prepare some of the hunted meat.

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18. In addition, there is also one stative verb with the classifier: *-ubueji* 'swim' derived from the defective verb *-ubu* 'be, live'. All other verbs that take *-e* are active

(510) *chibemusukunube*

chi-be-musu-ku-nube
3-take.away-skin-TH1-PL

'they skinned them (the pigs)'

[mxx-n101017s-1.016]

Incorporation of body parts triggers possessor raising. This becomes evident in (511), where the possessor of the incorporated body part is expressed as the direct object of the verb by a first person plural suffix. The example comes from Juana's accout about her encounter with two old ladies at a party in Candelaria long ago. She cites one of the ladies here:

(511) *"titikubÿkeubitu isipau"*

ti-tiku-bÿke-u-bi-tu   *isipau*
3i-drip-face-REAL-1PL-IAM strong.chicha

'"he dropped strong chicha on our face"'

[jxx-p120515l-1.073]

Incorporation of the body part noun *-bÿke* 'face' is peculiar because – unlike in the example above – many verb stems lexicalised with this noun show semantic extension and often change of verb class, with the resulting verbs being stative (see 6.1.7).

One exception to body part incorporation is found in the verb stem *-yÿbamukeiku* 'husk' with the incorporated noun *-muke* 'seed'. The verb is used to express the husking of rice in a mortar or machine. There is also a verb stem *-yÿbapaku* 'grind' with the classifier *-pa* for small particles and floury, dusty things, besides two verb stems *-yÿbaiku* 'grind' and *-yÿbajiku* 'grind (with some strength)' with the applicative and aktionsart suffixes *-i* and *-ji* (see 6.2.3 and 6.2.4).

The other exception is the relational noun *-(i)ne* 'top' (see also 5.8), which is always realised as *-ne* when incorporated into verbs. As far as I know, this is the only one of the relational nouns that can incorporate into verb stems. Table 6.18 lists the verb stems including the relational noun that I have found in the corpus in comparison with the bare form.

Table 6.18: Related verb stems without and with the relational nouns *-ne*

Simple form	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
-chuku	pour liquid	*-uchuneku*	pour liquid on top (e.g. give water to plants)
-etuku	put	*-etuneku*	put on back
-kupachu	step	*-kupanejiku*	step on
-ubu	be, live	*-ubune(i)ku*	ride, sit on (horse)back

The relational noun often refers to the back, probably because the back of an animal is considered as its top and this is then also transferred to the human body.[19] One example is (512), which was elicited from María S.

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19. Note that Rose (2019a:464) analyses *-ne* as a classifier in Trinitario with the core member of concepts that the form is used with being 'back'.

(512) *netunekapubÿti nupukene*

    nÿ-etu-ne-ka-pu-bÿti   *nÿ-upukene*
    1SG-put-top-TH1.IRR-MID-PRSP 1SG-load

    'I am just going to put my load on my back'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181020le]</div>

6.2.9   Combination of derivational processes inside the verb stem

Some of the processes described in the preceding sections can be combined, others cannot. Classifiers and incorporated nouns seem to exclude each other. Interestingly, there is one example, in which there are two incorporated nouns: the relational *-ne* 'top' and a body part term. This is shown in (513).

    This example comes from the story about the fox and the jaguar as told by María S. With the stone tied to his hands, the jaguar is pushed into the water and drowns.

(513) *chirÿtÿnebuÿchuji mai echÿu kupisairÿ echÿu isini*

    chi-rÿtÿ-ne-buÿ-chu-ji   *mai*   *echÿu* *kupisairÿ* *echÿu* *isini*
    3-tie-top-hand-TH2-RPRT stone DEMb fox   DEMb jaguar

    'the fox tied a stone on top of the jaguar's hands, it is said'

<div align="right">[rxx-n120511l-1.037]</div>

Reduplication is probably compatible with all other processes. In (514), reduplication is combined with incorporation, the reduplicated syllable belongs to the noun stem in this case.

    The sentence comes from Juana who speaks about an in-law of hers.

(514) *chibemususukutuji baka*

    chi-be-musu-su-ku-tu-ji   *baka*
    3-take.away-skin-RDPL-TH1-IAM-RPRT cow

    'he had skinned the cow, it is said'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-2.081]</div>

The following example shows the combination of reduplication with a classifier. In this case, a syllable of the root is reduplicated. María C. speaks about herself. She went crawling because she was severely ill, a sorcerer had put a spell on her.

(515) *nimajijipaikukukÿuni*

    ni-maji-ji-pai-ku-kukÿu-ni
    1SG-crawl-RDPL-CLF:ground-TH1-AM.CONC.TR-DEIC

    'I went crawling'

<div align="right">[ump-p110815sf.306]</div>

Finally, the last example in this section presents a verb with a reduplicated root syllable, a classifier, and the applicative suffix *-i*. It comes from Juana and is about her grandparents who had arrived at an arroyo on their journey back home from Moxos. Since heavy rainfalls and the appearance of a water spirit make it impossible to cross, they have to climb up the slope again, grabbing twigs and roots of plants for support.

(516) *tijatÿtÿkeikukukÿubunubeji yÿkÿke*

   ti-jatÿ-tÿ-ke-i-ku-kukÿu-bu-nube-ji   *yÿkÿke*
   3i-pull-RDPL-CLF:cylindrical-EXT-TH1-AM.CONC.TR-MID-PL-RPRT stick

   'they went pulling themselves up with the help of sticks (i.e. twigs and roots),
   it is said'

   [jxx-p151016l-2]

In the following section, some processes occurring at the edge of the verb stem are described. All of them change the verb's valency.

6.3   Adjusting valency

Many active verbs are ambitransitive, i.e. they can be used intransitively and transitively without any overt change of the verb stem. Only the choice of the third person marker (see Section 6.4.2) possibly sheds light on the valency. There are also some verbs that are stative by their stem, but can be used transitively nonetheless. Furthermore, two affixes increase the valency of an active verb: causative and benefactive. Both of them do not occur very frequently in my corpus.

Valency of active verbs can be decreased by reciprocal marking, which expresses that the participants act on each other. Paunaka has no reflexive marker proper, but reflexive is one of the functions of the middle marker *-bu*, see 6.7.

All processes described in this section are found on the edge of verb stems, i.e. following or replacing the thematic suffix (if the verb in question has one, see 6.2.1 and 6.2.2). They arguably derive new stems that are the locus of RS marking. This sets them apart from middle voice, which is clearly marked outside the verb stem, following the RS marking. Therefore, I decided to describe causative, benefactive, and reciprocal here as derivational processes and provide an extra section for middle marking.

While the causative markers precede the verb stem, benefactive and reciprocal follow.

6.3.1   Ambitransitivity

Paunaka's transitive verbs are ambitransitive insofar that a non-human third person object does not have to be expressed in the clause, neither by an index, nor by an NP. This may be the case if the object of the verb is accessible so that it does not need to be mentioned overtly. In other cases, a specific object is not needed because a general statement is being made.

This is the case in (517), in which the María S. states that she has not sowed (at all) yet. The reason was that it had not yet rained enough.

(517) *kuinakuÿ nebuka*

   kuina-kuÿ   nÿ-ebuka
   NEG-INCMP 1SG-sow.IRR

   'I haven't sowed yet'

   [rmx-e150922l.023]

Example (518) presents the same verb *ebuku* 'sow, plant, grow', this time with an object expressed by an NP. It comes from Miguel telling Swintha what he had done the day before.

(518) *nebuku kÿjÿpi*

    n-ebuku kÿjÿpi
    1SG-sow manioc

    'I planted manioc'

<div align="right">[mxx-n101017s-2.017]</div>

When used intransitively, ambitransitive verbs with third person subjects always take the person prefix *ti-*. When used transitively, some of them can use either *ti-* or *chÿ-*, sometimes even in the same sentence.[20] This is illustrated by (519), which builds on the same verb stem *-ebuku* 'sow, plant, grow' as the examples above. It was produced in elicitation by María S.

(519) *jaja ja amuke tebuku, pero kÿjÿpi kuina chebuka*

    jaja ja   amuke ti-ebuku pero kÿjÿpi   kuina chÿ-ebuka
    AFM AFM corn   3i-sow   but   manioc NEG   3-sow

    'yes, yes, he sowed corn, but he did not plant manioc'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181024l]</div>

There are other ambitransitive verbs that always take *chÿ-* when used transitively (with a third person subject). The verb *-piku* means 'be afraid' when used intransitively and 'fear' when used transitively. The transitive forms always occur with *chÿ-* in my corpus, even if the object is inanimate as in (520), which was elicited from Juana.

(520) *chipiku ÿne*

    chi-piku   ÿne
    3-be.afraid water

    'it (the dog) is afraid of the water'

<div align="right">[jxx-a120516l-a.376]</div>

A verb stem with very high frequency is *-niku* 'eat'. Interestingly, the causative form of this verb, 'feed, give food', has exactly the same form *-niku*.[21] Both the non-causative and the causative verb can take *ti-* and *chÿ-* in the third person. Thus, in some contexts they are hardly distinguishable – at least for me, the speakers do not seem to share my confusion. Note that speakers can resort to the use of other verbs to solve this problem, e.g. I have heard *-ekichu* 'invite (food)' being used to describe feeding of a baby.

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20. With human objects, *chÿ-* is obligatory, with non-human objects, both *ti-* and *chÿ-* are possible. Third person objects are not indexed on verbs with first and second person subjects with a few exceptions, see Section 6.4.2.

21. It might be possible that the causative stem was once derived with a causative prefix *i-*, which is also found in Baure on the corresponding cognate verb stem (cf. Danielsen 2014b:291, Footnote 11). At some point in time, all person markers of the Paunaka language developed allomorphs with high front vowels, which in the current stage of the language occur (among other contexts) if the first vowel of the stem is a high front vowel. An exception is the seldom used second person plural subject which is always indexed with *e-*, unless the marker merges with the following vowel of a vowel-initial verb stem. Nonetheless, the hypothesised difference between the form of the non-causative and the causative derivation was not perceivable any longer in all other persons (e.g. in the first person singular between *ni-niku* and *ni-i-niku*). It remains to be checked whether there is still a difference between the forms in the second person plural, I have only found the verb being used with the meaning of 'eat' in this context. It should also be noted here that there is no difference in stress placement between the non-causative and causative form, thus nothing speaks for an invisible prefix in the present stage of the language.

6.3.2 Transitive stative verbs

Stative verbs are usually intransitive, but a few of them can nonetheless take an object. First of all, this can be achieved by adding an NP or a verbal complement to the clause while person marking on the verb does not index any object. This is what we find with *-(i)chuna* 'be capable, know'. Example (521) shows the usage of *-(i)chuna* together with an NP that constitutes an object, examples of this verb taking verbal complements can be found in Section 8.4.1.2.

The example comes from Juana, who was telling me about her encounter with two old ladies at a party in Candelaria. At first, they did not know that Juana understood their talk in Paunaka, but they finally noticed it when Juana laughed about their comments. The next day, one lady says to Juana:

(521)   *"bien pichunayenu paunaka"*

    bien pi-ichuna-yenu   paunaka
    well 2SG-be.capable-DED Paunaka

    '"you must know Paunaka well"'

                                                            [jxx-p120515l-1.187]

The verbs *-kuyeneu* 'visit' and *-eju(ju)mi* 'remember' can both take person markers to index an object. This is shown in Examples (522) and (523), another example for *-eju(ju)mi* with object index is (493) in 6.1.5 above.

(522) was elicited from Juana. Actually I had asked for an expression to tell her that I would visit her if she came to Spain. Juana, however, answered with a request directed to me instead.

(522)   *¡nabi pakuyeneunÿ nauku!*

    nabi pi-a-kuyeneu-nÿ   nauku
    go!   2SG-IRR-visit-1SG there

    'go visit me there!'

                                                            [jxx-p110923l-1.268]

In (523), María C. tells me to greet Juana when I go and visit her in Santa Cruz.

(523)   *pikecha kapo chejumiyu echÿu Maria Cuasase Choma pikecha*

    pi-kecha   kapo chÿ-ejumi-yu   echÿu Maria Cuasase Choma pi-kecha
    2SG-say.IRR ?   3-remember-INTS DEMb María Cuasase Choma 2SG-say.IRR

    'tell her that María Cuasase Choma misses her, tell her'

                                                          [uxx-e120427l.072]

The most important transitive stative verb in terms of frequency is *-kuye* 'be like this'. This is a manner demonstrative verb (cf. Guérin 2015) and it has cognates in the Mojeño languages (Rose 2021, p.c.). In my corpus, the verb only shows up with the prefix *chi-*, i.e. with an index encoding both a third person subject and object (see Section 6.4.2), however, I have never tried to elicit forms with a first or second person index, thus I would not exclude that this is possible for the time being.

The demonstrative verb is used anaphorically most of the times, i.e. it refers back to a proposition of the preceding discourse, and it is often used to close a discourse topic

(cf. Guérin 2015:173). *Chikuye* forms a whole clause on its own most of the times, as in (524). If there is an additional verb, this is usually marked as subordinate, see (525). In (526), the irrealis form is shown.

(524) was produced by Miguel to approve something Juan C. had said.

(524) *jaa, chikuye*

> *jaa   chi-kuye*
> AFM 3-be.like.this

> 'yes, this is how it is'

> [mqx-p110826l.277]

In (525), the adverb is used to provide a summary of what María S. had told me about her childhood before.

(525) *chikuye bijÿkiu*

> *chi-kuye   bi-jÿk-i-u*
> 3-be.like.this 1PL-grow-SUBORD-REAL

> 'this is how we grew up'

> [rxx-p181101l-2.215]

Finally, (526) is about the bad behaviour of *karay* towards Juana's grandparents.

(526) *pero kuina chakuye eka chejumikene eka kayaraunube*

> *pero kuina chi-a-kuye   eka   chÿ-ejumikene eka   kayaraunu-nube*
> but NEG 3-IRR-be.like.this.IRR DEMa 3-thought   DEMa karay-PL

> 'but the reasoning of *karay* is not like that'

> [jxx-e150925l-1.256]

There is also a question word *chikuyena* or *kuyena* derived from the verb, which means 'how?' or 'why?' (see 7.4.2.3). Sometimes, however, these forms are simply used as a variant of *chikuye*. There are also a few cases in the corpus in which the stem *kuye* has shown up without person marker.

6.3.3 Causative

In causative derivations, one participant, the causer, is added to the semantic structure of the verb. The causer is expressed as the subject argument of the predicate. The agent of the non-causative verb becomes the causee of the causative verb and is expressed as the object. I have only found causative derivations of intransitive verbs in the corpus.

Causative derivation is not very productive. Nonetheless, two different causative prefixes could be identified, *ku-* and *mi-*. Both of them have cognates in several other Arawakan languages (cf. Aikhenvald 2002:293).[22] Danielsen (2014b:295) claimed for Baure, that the cognate causative prefix *ko-* derives causative states, while verbs derived with the cognate prefix *imo-* express caused actions. I cannot confirm this same distinction for Paunaka, however, my impression is that the prefix *ku-* is predominantly

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22. The causative and the attributive suffix may be related, also in Proto-Arawakan, where both are reconstructed as *ka-*, see also 6.1.3.

used with telic verb stems. Causative verbs derived with *mi-* have only been found in Juana's speech in the corpus. Both derivations are rare so that I do not want to make any absolute claims about them here.

The prefix *ku-* is found on the highly lexicalised verb *-kupaku* 'kill' from *-paku* 'die', as in (527), which was elicited from José.

(527) *tikupakubi ue*

    ti-ku-paku-bi   *ue*
    3i-CAUS1-die-1PL water.spirit

    'the spirit of the water kills us'

<div align="right">[oxx-m110814sf-2]</div>

Another example with the causative prefix *ku-* is given in (528), which comes from Juana's description of one picture of the frog story (Mayer 2003), where some bees (or wasps) chase the dog and the frightened boy falls from the tree.[23] The causative verb *-kubenupu* usually means 'fell (trees)', while *-benupu* means 'fall down', but is more often used with the more specific meaning 'be born'.

(528) *i naka tikijane jane, aa, chikubenuputu*

    i   *naka* *ti-kijane*   *jane* *aa* *chi-ku-benupu-tu*
    and here 3i-be.many wasp INTJ 3-CAUS1-fall.down-IAM

    'and here are a lot of wasps, ah, they have made him fall'

<div align="right">[jxx-a120516l-a.130]</div>

(529) is an example with the transitive verb *-kurabajiku* 'break', a causative derivation of *-rabajiku* 'break (intr.)'. It was elicited from María S. and referred to an imagined broken pot.

(529) *eka ÿba tikurabajikuchÿ*

    eka   *ÿba* *ti-ku-rabajiku-chÿ*
    DEMa pig 3i-CAUS1-break-3

    'the pig broke it'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181024l.029]</div>

Other causative verb stems derived with *ku-* that I found in the corpus include *-kuchepaku* 'wake up (tr.)' from *-chepaku* 'wake up (intr.), *-kujapÿku* 'fill (tr.)' from *-japÿku* 'fill (intr.)' and *-kurÿrÿku* 'make burn, light fire' from *-rÿrÿku* 'burn'.

The use of the other causative prefix, *mi-*, is illustrated by the following examples. As has been said before, all of them come from Juana.

The verb in (530) builds on the verb stem *-benu* 'lie down' (which is related to *-benupu* 'fall' in (528) above). Juana tells about her sister, who was severely injured and put into the hammock by her son.

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23. The boy is frightened by an owl that comes out of a hole in the tree, but the speaker interpreted the picture in the way that it were the wasps that made the boy fall.

(530) *chimibenu yumaji*

chi-mi-benu   yumaji
3-CAUS2-lie.down hammock

'he lay her down in the hammock'

[jxx-p120430l-2.194]

Other verbs that take *mi-* are *-mijÿku* 'raise, bring up' from *-jÿku* 'grow' and *-mikuchu* 'bathe s.o.' from *-kubu* 'bathe, take a bath'. The latter has a lexicalised middle marker, which gets detached and replaced by a thematic suffix in causative derivation.[24]

(531) has the active verb *-chuku* 'pour liquid, empty a container of liquid' with the classifier *-ki* for spherical things (thus resulting in *-chukiku*), which is further causativised with *mi-*. This example was elicited.

(531) *timichukikanÿ*

ti-mi-chu-ki-ka-nÿ
3i-CAUS2-pour.liquid-CLF:spherical-TH1.IRR-1SG

'she baptised me (lit.: she poured liquid on my head)'

[jxx-e081025s-1.052]

The elicited verb in (532) is a case of double derivation: first, an attributive verb *-kumÿu* 'wear clothes, put on clothes' is derived from the noun *-mÿu* 'clothes' with the prefix *ku-* (see 6.1.3), and this verb stem is causativised with the prefix *mi-*. The resulting verb is active and carries the thematic suffix *-chu* (see 6.2.2).

(532) *nimikumÿuchabÿti*

ni-mi-ku-mÿu-cha-bÿti
1SG-CAUS2-ATTR-clothes-TH2.IRR-PRSP

'I am going to dress him'

[jxx-e150925l-1.101]

Speakers often prefer a periphrastic expression for causative relationships. If volition and movement is involved in the action, i.e. cause and effect take place in different locations (cf. Payne 1997:182), they use a complement construction including the verb *-bÿche(i)ku* 'send, order', one example is given here. It was elicited from Miguel. More examples can be found in 8.4.1.3.

(533) *nibÿchekabi pisupa*

ni-bÿcheka-bi   pi-isu-pa
1SG-order.IRR-2SG 2SG-weed-DLOC.IRR

'I will send you to weed'

[mxx-e160811sd.298]

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24. This is a bit surprising since the middle marker is the locus of irrealis marking in the non-causative form of the verb, with the irrealis form being *-kuba*. This sets this verb apart from other deponent middle verbs which mark irrealis on the verb stem, and suggests that it has become completely fixed. It may only be due to minimal stem requirements though, because causative derivation suggests that the middle marker is still transparent. The other possibility is that the causative form is also completely lexicalised.

The other possibility is preferred if no volition is involved. It builds on the instrumental and cause preposition *-keuchi* (see 4.4.3). Consider (534), which is about making something fall, just like (528) above. It also comes from a description of the frog story, but this sentence was produced by Miguel and referred to another picture, the one on which the dog has made the beehive (or: wasp nest) fall.

(534) *tibÿtupaikubutu chikeuchi echÿu kabe eka chubiu eka jane*

      ti-bÿtupaikubu-tu chi-keuchi echÿu kabe eka chÿ-ubiu eka jane
      3i-fall.down-IAM 3-INS DEMb dog DEMa 3-house DEMa wasp

      'the wasp nest fell down because of the dog'

                                                [mox-a110920l-2.091]

A similar example comes from María S. who had just stated that smoking is bad and now provides the reason:

(535) *chepuine bikutiu chikeuchi bijibÿkia*

      chepuine bi-kutiu chi-keuchi bi-jibÿk-i-a
      because 1PL-be.ill 3-INS 1PL-smoke-SUBORD-IRR

      'because we get ill by smoking'

                                                [rxx-e120511l.384]

6.3.4 Benefactive

The benefactive marker occurs on the edge of the verb stem, following the thematic suffix – as far as the verb stem in question includes one – but preceding or fusing with RS marking. The benefactive marker thus has the realis form *-inu* and the irrealis form *-ina*. It has cognates in the other Southern Arawakan languages. In benefactive derivation, added SAP participants are indexed by a person suffix, i.e. as the object of the active verb.[25]

In my data, the added participant is always a recipient, verbs of the type 'do instead of somebody else doing it' or 'do because it is good for somebody' are absent, so that the suffix could be called a recipient applicative more precisely. It is due to the relation with other Arawakan languages that I prefer the term benefactive nonetheless. In addition, only very few verb stems take the benefactive suffix in spontaneous speech, though a few more could be elicited from Miguel and Clara. Juana, however, prefers periphrastic forms in these cases. The marker *-inu* is not found to encode any malefactive relations, i.e. actions that are done to the detriment of the recipient.

Benefactive verbs with a third person subject always take the third person marker *chÿ-*, no matter whether the theme is animate or inanimate and whether a first or second person recipient is expressed by a suffix. This prefix is reserved for 3 > 3 relationships on transitive and ditransitive (non-subordinate) verbs (see Section 6.4.2). Note that non-derived ditransitive verbs take the prefix *chÿ-* if they also take a third person object suffix *-chÿ* (see 6.4.2.2), but not if they have an SAP object. Benefactive verbs do not take the suffix *-chÿ* though. We can therefore state that there is a kind of double object marking on benefactive verbs, but they do not behave like other ditransitive verbs regarding person marking.

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25. Remember that third person objects are usually not marked by person suffixes, see 6.4.

In (536) we find a benefactive derivation of the verb *-upunu* 'bring'. The recipient is marked by a person suffix as the object of the verb and the third person marker *chÿ-* is used obligatorily, also with inanimate themes, a photo in this case, which we had brought to María C. Apparently, she had already been waiting for this photo.

(536) *metu nÿmayu chupuninunÿnube*

      metu   nÿmayu chÿ-upun-inu-nÿ-nube
      already just   3-bring-BEN-1SG-PL

      'they just finally brought it to me'

<div align="right">[cux-c120410ls.134]</div>

Another example with double object marking is (537), which was elicited from Clara.

(537) *chiyÿseikinubi*

      chi-yÿseik-inu-bi
      3-buy-BEN-2SG

      'he bought it for you'

<div align="right">[cxx-e120410ls-2.006]</div>

(538) has a second person plural subject and a first person singular object. The sentence comes from Juana who cited her deceased sister here, who was in prison and demanded for her daughter.

(538) *"¡epuninane nijinepÿimÿnÿ!"*

      e-epun-ina-ne   ni-jinepÿi-mÿnÿ
      2PL-take-BEN.IRR-1SG 1SG-daughter-DIM

      '"take my daughter to me!"'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-2.101]</div>

Finally, (539) illustrates a benefactive derivation with a first person subject and a third person recipient object. The latter is not marked on the verb. The theme object is expressed by an NP, the benefactive recipient is not expressed overtly at all, it is the benefactive verb itself that provides the information that there is a recipient. The example is an excerpt of Juana's citation of what Miguel's daughter had told her.

(539) *"i netukinu pan"*

      i   nÿ-etuk-inu   pan
      and 1SG-put-BEN bread

      '"and I served him some bread"'

<div align="right">[jxx-e150925l-1.129]</div>

As has been mentioned above, I could elicit some additional verbs with the benefactive derivation from Miguel:

(540)   *tisipuikinane, tiyÿtikinane*

    ti-sipuik-ina-ne   *ti-yÿtik-ina-ne*
    3i-pay-BEN.IRR-1SG 3i-set.on.fire-BEN.IRR-1SG

    'he/she will pay for me, he/she will cook for me'

<div align="right">[mxx-e181024l]</div>

Juana would not produce benefactive verbs in elicitation, but rather found other ways of expressing a benefactive relation, like in (541) and (542):

(541)   *eka nipiji tiyÿseiku, tiyÿseiku nauku, kapunu tipunÿ*

    eka   *ni-piji*   *ti-yÿseiku* *ti-yÿseiku* *nauku* *kapunu* *ti-pu-nÿ*
    DEMa 1SG-sibling 3i-buy   3i-buy   there come   3i-give-1SG

    'my sister bought it, she bought it there, she came and gave it to me'

<div align="right">[jxx-191021e-2]</div>

(542)   *metu pisutu nitÿpi*

    metu   *pi-isu-tu*   *ni-tÿpi*
    already 2SG-weed-IAM 1SG-OBL

    'you already weeded for me'

<div align="right">[jxx-e191021e-2]</div>

Especially the oblique preposition *(-)tÿpi* of this last example is used a lot to encode benefactive relations, much more than any derived benefactive verb (see 4.4.2 for more information on the preposition).

6.3.5 Reciprocal

Paunaka's reciprocal marker is rarely found in natural discourse, but the speakers have no difficulty in producing reciprocal forms in elicitation. The form of the marker is *-kuku*, irrealis *-kuka*. It goes back to Proto-Arawakan **-kaka* (cf. Aikhenvald 2002:293), and cognates are also found in all other Southern Arawakan languages (cf. de Carvalho 2018:428). The reciprocal marker is either added after the thematic suffix *-ku* or replaces it, depending on the speaker.[26] Since the additive marker *-uku/-uka* (see 6.9.2) can also directly follow the stem closing suffix, many verbs have a sequence *kuku* or *kuka* which is not related to the reciprocal marker.

The reciprocal marker can only be attached to transitive verb stems. Third person subjects then always take the person prefix *ti-* regardless of animacy, *chÿ-* is not possible (compare 6.4.2). This is a clear sign that valency of the verb decreases if the reciprocal marker is added.

Consider the following pair of examples: In (543), the speaker uses the prefix *chÿ-* to indicate that a third person acts on another third person. In (544), *chÿ-* is not possible. Both examples were elicited from Juana.

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26. Interestingly, in Baure the reciprocal marker is analysed as reduplication of the thematic (or absolute) suffix *-ko* (cf. Danielsen 2014b:296), thus in some rare cases, verb stems with the applicative suffix *-cho* take add a single *-ko* in reciprocal derivations and (Danielsen 2020, p.c.). In Paunaka, addition of the full form *-kuku* after the thematic suffix instead of replacing it points to the opposite direction: the reciprocal marker is perceived as a fixed unit.

(543) *eka kabe chinijabaku takÿra*

    eka   kabe chi-nijabaku takÿra
    DEMa dog 3-bite   chicken

    'the dog bit the hen'

<div align="right">[jxx-e110923l-1.117]</div>

(544) *tinijabakukuku kabe*

    ti-nijabaku-kuku kabe
    3i-bite-RCPC   dog

    'the dogs are biting each other'

<div align="right">[jxx-e081025s-1.571]</div>

The reciprocal marker can also be used on verbs with a first person plural marker as in (545), which was also elicited from Juana.

(545) *bipitanÿkukuka*

    bi-pitanÿku-kuka
    1PL-embrace-RCPC.IRR

    'we embrace each other'

<div align="right">[jxx-e150925l-1.114]</div>

The following Example (546) with a reciprocal marker was produced spontaneously by María S., who was making fun about an embracing couple by stating that they should rather go fishing.

(546) *bupuna echÿu tipitanÿikukunube tepuikanube*

    bi-upuna   echÿu ti-pitanÿi-kuku-nube   ti-epuika-nube
    1PL-bring.IRR DEMb 3i-embrace-RCPC-PL   3i-fish.IRR-PL

    'let's bring the ones that embrace each other so that they fish'
<div align="right">[jrx-c151001fls-9.58]</div>

If the verb *-eu* 'hit, fight' is combined with the reciprocal marker, the collective suffix *-ji* is added. This seems to be peculiar to this one verb, it is not found in other reciprocal derivations. One example is given in (547), it was elicited from María S.

(547) *teukukujinube chajechubu chÿa*

    ti-eu-kuku-ji-nube   chÿ-ajechubu chÿ-a
    3i-fight-RCPC-COL-PL 3-COM   3-father

    'with his father, they were fighting with each other'

<div align="right">[rxx-e141230s.195]</div>

If we compare examples (545) and (546) above, we see that the reciprocal marker can occur in two different possible slots, the one of thematic suffix, which usually closes the stem, thus replacing this suffix, and the one following the thematic suffix. There are a few more markers that can occur either in the place of the thematic suffix or

in a position following it, precisely the associated motion suffixes and the distributive marker, but their discussion is postponed. They do not affect the valency of a verb, thus if we adapt the view that derivation and inflection can be seen as a continuum (cf. Croft 2000:261), then causative, benefactive and reciprocal markers are clearly on the derivational side, but AM markers and especially the distributive marker can be placed a little further to the inflection side.

The following two sections thus deal with the most important inflectional categories of the verb first, person (6.4)[27] and reality status (6.5).

6.4 Person and number

Verbs take the very same person markers as nouns do: on nouns they index possessors of arguments and subjects in non-verbal predication (see Sections 5.3 and 7.2), on verbs they index subjects and objects. The occurrence of the same set of person markers on nouns and verbs is common among Arawakan languages (cf. Aikhenvald 1999:89; Aikhenvald 2012:176). There is, however, one person marker that only occurs with verbs in Paunaka, the third person prefix *ti-*, which is also found in the Mojeño languages. Its function is described in detail in 6.4.2.

Subjects are marked by prefixes on verbs of both main classes, active and stative. Indexing the subject is in general obligatory on all verbs, but in rapid speech, person markers are sometimes dropped. This partly depends on the speaker – both Marías drop person markers more often than other speakers do –, and partly on the marker – the one most likely to be dropped is the third person marker *ti-*.[28] An NP referring to the subject can co-occur, but this is not necessary, thus the NP can be defined as an optional conominal and the person markers as cross-indexes according to the terminology used by Haspelmath (2013:213, 219).

First and second person objects are indexed by a person suffix. In this regard, Paunaka is a typical Arawakan language (cf. Danielsen 2014a). Third person suffixes occur rarely and only under specific circumstances that will be discussed in Section 6.4.2.2. The prefix *chÿ-*, however, expresses 3 > 3 relationships on verbs. That means that in general, third person singular objects are only indexed on the verb if there is also a third person subject, i.e. jointly with the subject by the prefix *chÿ-*. This prefix is used obligatorily if the object is human, it is optional with non-human objects.

Both third person prefixes *ti-* and *chÿ-* are unspecified for number. The plural, distributive or collective marker can be used to encode that a third person subject or object is non-singular.

Table 6.19 summarises the subject and object indexes found on verbs.[29]

The following sections describe subject and object marking in more detail, starting in 6.4.1 with the description of how first and second person arguments are indexed. Subsequently, I attend to the third person in 6.4.2, with Section 6.4.2.1 being devoted to third person plural indexing. 6.4.2.2 provides an overview of the contexts in which a third person suffix can occur.

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27. This one actually includes a discussion on the distributive marker as part of number marking.

28. Note that the person marker *ti-* is generally optional in Ignaciano if the verb stem starts with a consonant (Olza Zubiri et al. 2004:482).

29. Remember that the variation of the vowel in the first person singular and third person prefix are largely determined by the following vowel, although the correspondence is not perfect, see 5.3. The variation in the first person singular suffix is free. In the second person singular suffix, RS marking determines the allomorph, see 6.4.1 below.

Table 6.19: Person marking on verbs

	Subject	Object
1SG	*nÿ-/ni-*	*-ne/-nÿ*
2SG	*pi-*	*-bi/-pi*
3	*ti-*	*(-chÿ)*
1PL	*bi-*	*-bi*
2PL	*e-*	*-e*
3PL (human)	*ti-…-nube*	*-nube*
3 > 3	*chÿ-/chi-*	
3(PL) > 3(PL)	*chÿ-…-nube*	

6.4.1 First and second person

Every verb obligatorily takes a subject prefix. For first and second person subjects, there are four prefixes, and they encode first singular, second singular, first plural, and second plural respectively. Table 6.20 shows these indexes.

Table 6.20: 1st and 2nd person subject indexes

	SG	PL
1	*nÿ-/ni-*	*bi-*
2	*pi-*	*e-*

The first and second person prefixes are found on transitive and intransitive verbs alike. Concerning the intransitive verbs, both active and stative verbs take prefixes.[30] Example (548) shows a first person marker on a stative intransitive verb, in (549) the marker indexes the subject of an active intransitive verb and in (550) it is used with a transitive verb.

(548)   *nÿnai*

    nÿ-ÿnai
    1SG-be.long

    'I am tall'

                          [rmx-e150922l.149]

(549)   *niyunu*

    ni-yunu
    1SG-go

    'I went'

                          [jxx-p120430l-2.246]

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30. In a number of more distantly related Arawakan languages, stative verbs take suffixes to mark subjects (cf. Aikhenvald 2012:212), this is why I emphasise this fact here.

(550) *nisimubi*

   ni-simu-bi
   1SG-find-2SG

   'I found you'

Table 6.21 lists two paradigms of first and second person singular and plural subjects for an intransitive and a transitive verb for comparison.

Table 6.21: 1st and 2nd person subject marking on an intransitive and a transitive verb

	-yuiku	'walk'	*-satÿku*	'cut'
1SG	*niyuiku*	'I walk'	*nÿsatÿku*	'I cut it'
2SG	*piyuiku*	'you (SG) walk'	*pisatÿku*	'you (SG) cut it'
1PL	*biyuiku*	'we walk'	*bisatÿku*	'we cut it'
2PL	*eyuiku*	'you (PL) walk'	*esatÿku*	'you (PL) cut it'

First and second person objects are marked by suffixes that resemble the subject prefixes in form. Table 6.22 shows the suffixes that are used to index first and second person objects on verbs. The two forms of the object index for the first person singular occur in free variation. The second person singular suffix is realised as *-bi* (pronounced /vi/) after the default/realis form of a suffix, and as *-pi* after the irrealis form.[31] The suffix for first person plural and second person singular are thus identical in many cases.

Table 6.22: 1st and 2nd person object indexes

	SG	PL
1	*-ne/-nÿ*	*-bi*
2	*-bi/-pi*	*-e*

First and second person objects are obligatorily marked on the verb, i.e. the object suffixes cannot be replaced by pronouns. It is more: pronouns cannot even co-occur (see 4.1.1). The following examples show the first and second person object markers on different verbs.

In (551), the object is a first person singular.

(551) *kuina pisimuane*

   kuina pi-simua-ne
   NEG   2-find.IRR-1SG

   'you didn't meet me'

In (552), the object is a second person singular. Since the index follows the default/realis variant of the stem, the allomorph *-bi* is used.

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31. This is reminiscent of the pattern found with the middle marker, see 6.7.

(552) *nekichubi ÿne*

    nÿ-ekichu-bi   ÿne
    1SG-invite-2SG water

    'I invite you for some water (i.e. I share my water with you)'

                                      [jmx-e090727s.163]

Example (553) has a second person singular object, this time realised with the voiceless allomorph after irrealis marking.

(553) *biyÿseuchapi*

    bi-yÿseucha-pi
    1PL-greet.IRR-2SG

    'we want to greet you'

                                        [rxx-e121128s-2.007]

The object of (554) is first person plural.

(554) *pimesumeikubi*

    pi-mesumeiku-bi
    2SG-teach-1PL

    'you taught us'

                                      [oxx-e120414ls-1a.157]

In (555), the object is second person plural.

(555) *nichupuikue*

    ni-chupuiku-e
    1SG-know-2PL

    'I met (lit.: know) you'

                                      [cux-c120410ls.011]

6.4.2 Third person

There are two different third person prefixes on verbs, *ti-* and *chÿ-* (also realised as *chi-*). Only the latter also occurs on nouns, where it indexes a possessor (see 5.3); *ti-* is attached to verbs exclusively. The marker *ti-* only indexes the subject, *chÿ-* is used to encode two third person arguments, a subject and an object. The gloss chosen for *ti-* is '3i' and for *chÿ-*, it is '3'.[32] Both prefixes do not distinguish gender and are unspecified for number, however, there are other means to express plurality of an argument (see 6.4.2.1). Third person suffixes appear only marginally, see 6.4.2.2.

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32. The 'i' in '3i' is a vestige of the first assumption in analysis of the two markers that *ti-* would be a marker for intransitive verbs (cf. Danielsen 2011b:506). This analysis proved as incorrect and it would certainly be more precise in the context of verbs to gloss *ti-* as '3' and *chÿ-* as '3>3', but the disadvantage is that *chÿ-* – and only *chÿ-* – is also used on nouns to mark a third person possessor. In addition, it occasionally occurs as a third person suffix. In these cases, the gloss '3>3' makes no sense. I prefer having one gloss for one marker over preciseness of glosses in the specific context of person marking on verbs. For that reason, I stick to '3i' for the marker *ti-* and '3' for the marker *chÿ-*.

Let us first have a look at *ti-*. This marker is obligatory with intransitive verbs and with transitive verbs with SAP objects, and it can also be used with many transitive verbs that have non-human third person objects, see Examples (556) – (561).

(556) has a stative intransitive verb. It comes from Juana speaking about her son-in-law. That the subject is a male person is thus deduced from the context, this information is not given by the prefix.

(556) *tikutiu*

     ti-kutiu
     3i-be.ill

     'he is ill'

                                   [jxx-p110923l-1.043]

In (557) from the same speaker, there is a middle verb, which is also intransitive, and *ti-* clearly relates to the conominated female person.

(557) *i titupunubu nijinepÿi*

     i   *ti-tupunubu* *ni-jinepÿi*
     and 3i-arrive   1SG-daughter

     'and my daughter arrived'

                                     [jxx-p120430l-1.267]

Example (558) has a transitive verb with a first person singular object and was elicited from María S. The imagined third person subject was a dog in this case, but it was not conominated.

(558) *tinijabakunÿ*

     ti-nijabaku-nÿ
     3i-bite-1SG

     'it bites me'

                                        [rxx-e181018le]

In (559), there is a first person plural object. It comes from María S. who speaks about smoking.

(559) *tikupakabi*

     ti-kupaka-bi
     3i-kill.IRR-1PL

     'it can kill us'

                                     [rxx-e120511l.385]

If there is a non-human third person object as in (560), *ti-* may also be used. This sentence was elicited from Juana and it is again the context which determines that a male person is meant.

(560)   *tikeburiku amuke*

    ti-keburiku   *amuke*
    3i-remove.grain corn

    'he removed grains of the corn cobs'

<div align="right">[jxx-e110923l-1.050]</div>

In (561) from Juana, there is an animate but non-human object, thus *ti-* can be used.

(561)   *tikupaiku baka*

    ti-kupaiku   *baka*
    3i-slaughter cow

    'she slaughtered a cow'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120515l-2.097]</div>

The other third person prefix, *chÿ-*, overtly expresses that a third person subject acts on another third person object. It is thus neither found on intransitive verbs nor on transitive ones with SAP objects.[33] Just like *ti-*, the marker does not specify gender or number.[34]

Use of *chÿ-* is obligatory if the object is human. This can be seen in the following three examples, which all have human objects. In (562), a conominal subject NP follows the verb, (563) has an object NP, and in (564) there is neither a subject nor an object NP.

(562) comes from Juana who talks about her daughter who lives in Spain.

(562)   *chumu chima*

    chÿ-umu *chi-ima*
    3-take   3-husband

    'her husband took her (with him)'

<div align="right">[jxx-p110923l-1.240]</div>

(563) is from the story about the lazy man as told by Miguel. The main character has cut off his limbs at this point of the story and is put into a basket by his son to be carried away.

(563)   *chipurtuku echÿu chÿa*

    chi-purtuku *echÿu* *chÿ-a*
    3-put.in   DEM 3-father

    'he put his father into it (i.e. the basket)'

<div align="right">[mox-n110920l.120]</div>

(564) comes from Juana telling the creation story. It is God who puts María Eva outside, into the world.

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33. An exception to this is ditransitive verbs derived with the benefactive suffix, see 6.3.4. Benefactive verbs are rare and will thus not be considered further in this discussion.

34. In this regard, the Paunaka system of person marking is different from the one found in the Mojeño languages, which have one unspecified third person prefix that is cognate to *ti-* and occurs in largely the same contexts, but contrast this unspecified prefix to a whole set of 3 > 3 person markers that distinguish gender and number (cf. Rose 2011b).

(564) *chetuku nauku nekupai*

    chÿ-etuku nauku nekupai
    3-put   there outside

    'he put her there outside'

<div align="right">[jxx-n101013s-1.359]</div>

Example (565) shows one of the rare cases, in which an inanimate subject acts on an animate object. Since the object is a human third person, *chÿ-* is used. The sentence comes from Juana who was telling me how her grandparents tried to cross an arroyo on their journey back home from Moxos, but had to climb up the slope again and hold to a tree there:

(565) *nebuji eka tujubeiku kuinabu chijatÿkupunanubetu nauku*

    nebu-ji   *eka*   *tujubeiku kuina-bu chi-jatÿkupuna-nube-tu nauku*
    3OBL.TOP.PRN-RPRT DEMa wind   NEG-DSC 3-pull.back-PL-IAM   there

    'so that the wind could not pull them back there anymore, it is said'

<div align="right">[jxx-p151016l-2.120-121]</div>

If the object is non-human, both markers *ti-* '3i' and *chÿ-* '3' can be used. (560) and (561) already showed the use of *ti-* with non-human objects. In (566), there is a non-human object and *chÿ-* is used. Juana speaks about a bird of prey here that once stole her dog.

(566) *chikuye chumu chiniku kabe*

    chi-kuye   *chÿ-umu* *chi-niku kabe*
    3-be.like.this 3-take   3-eat   dog

    'it was like this, it took and ate the dog'

<div align="right">[jxx-a120516l-a.199]</div>

Rose (2011b:480) found out that in Trinitario, the choice between an unspecified and a 3 > 3-marking third person prefix depends on definiteness, i.e. the unspecified marker is only used with indefinite objects. Considering Examples (560), (561) and (566), Paunaka may have a tendency towards a similar use. Since Paunaka does not have articles, I could not find out in each and every case whether an NP was definite or indefinite in the perception of the speaker. What is for sure is that *ti-* can also be used if a demonstrative is used together with a noun. This is the case in (567) and (568).

In (567), definiteness of the object is signaled by the use of the demonstrative *eka* in the NP and by the fact that the noun is possessed. Nonetheless, *ti-* is used on the verb. The sentence comes from Miguel telling a story about ants that are happy about the travel supplies of a young man.

(567) *tumu eka chitapikine*

    ti-umu eka   *chi-tapiki-ne*
    3i-take DEMa 3-travel.supplies-POSSD

    'he takes his travel supplies'

<div align="right">[mxx-n120423lsf-X.22]</div>

(568) is another example of a definite object in combination with the *ti-* marker, but in this case, the other demonstrative, *echÿu*, is used. I have stated in Section 4.1.3 (Footnote 7) that the use of the demonstrative *echÿu* is possibly extended to indefinite NPs, too, however, in (568), the NP is definitely definite. There is only one reservoir in Santa Rita, and Juana knows that I know that. In addition, she had already mentioned the reservoir shortly before.

(568) *tanautu echÿu tajau*

    ti-anau-tu   echÿu atajau
    3i-make-IAM DEMb reservoir

    'now she made the reservoir'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120515l-2.083]</div>

It is harder to find examples in which *chÿ-* is combined with an indefinite object. (569) might be one case; the stone Juana is talking about has not been mentioned before, thus it is probably indefinite (though specific). Nonetheless, since the stone plays an important role in the story, she knows the story well and her brother Miguel, who was co-telling the story, also knows it well, it is also possible that the NP is indeed definite, referring to 'the stone (that we all know)'. The stone in question is tied to the jaguar's paws here, and he is subsequently thrown into water, where he drowns.

(569) *i chetuku mai*

    i   chÿ-etuku mai
    and 3-put   stone

    'and he put a stone (in the bonds)'

<div align="right">[jmx-n120429ls-x5.259]</div>

Definiteness as the (only) deciding factor can thus be excluded.

In the case of the verb *-piku* 'be afraid, fear', the marker *chÿ-* is used to signal a transitive and *ti-* an intransitive reading regardless of animacy and definiteness of possible objects.[35] Compare Example (570) with the intransitive verb with (571) and (572) with transitive verbs.

(570) comes from María S. who told me the story about the two hunters who meet the devil in the woods. One of them interacts with the devil and is taken away to be eaten in the end, the other hides away in a tree and stays there until the devil leaves the scene. He does not try to save his friend:

(570) *janeka tiyuna, tipiku*

    janeka ti-yuna ti-piku
    never 3i-go   3i-be.afraid

    'he never went, he was afraid'

<div align="right">[rxx-n120511l-2.61]</div>

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35. Ambitransitivity is widespread in Paunaka, but normally, a transitive reading does not necessarily entail use of *chÿ-*. I cannot think of any other verb in which the distinction intransitive – transitive is signaled solely and consequently by different third person indexes. The verb *-piku* in its transitive sense 'fear' is of course special since the subject has little control about the event expressed by the verb. It is thus rather atypical in transitivity (cf. Hopper & Thompson 1980:252) so that we could expect a less transitive expression here, i.e. the index *ti-*, which does not imply the presence of an object. However, it might also be the other way round: since the verb is atypical in transitivity, there may be a need to enforce the transitive reading by use of *chÿ-*.

(571) and (572) both come from Juana describing pictures of the frog story. In the first example, it is the boy who feels fear, in the second one the dog. In both cases, there is a concrete thing that they fear.

(571)   *chipiku jane*

        chi-piku   *jane*
        3-be.afraid wasp

        'he fears the wasps'

                                              [jxx-a120516l-a.125]

(572)   *chipiku ÿne*

        chi-piku   *ÿne*
        3-be.afraid water

        'it is afraid of the water'

                                              [jxx-a120516l-a.376]

Some transitive verbs are preferably used with *chÿ-*, among them *-umu* 'take', *-imu* 'see', and *-tupu* 'find, meet'. Others are rather indexed with *ti-* like *-anau* 'make' and *-yÿseiku* 'buy'. This is certainly connected to frequency effects: 'make' and 'buy' hardly ever take human objects, while 'take', 'see', and 'find, meet' can well have human objects and are thus often realised with *chÿ-* for that reason. By extension, *chÿ-* is then also used with non-human objects more frequently. This is not absolute, though, speakers may still decide for the the other marker as in Example (567) above where *-umu* is combined with *ti-* or Example *chi-house-irr* below in which *-anau* is combined with *chÿ-* .

There are not only differences among verbs, but also differences between the speakers: Juana generally produces more forms with *chÿ-* than Miguel. But even if she often uses *chÿ-*, she may also decide for *ti-*. When she once told me a story about her grandparents' journey to Moxos to buy some cows, she used *ti-* on most of the verbs that describe an action of her grandparents upon the cows, as in Example (573). However, prompted by questions about some words that I did not understand, she re-told the story some days later, adding the description of how her grandparents met an evil spirit on their way back home, and this time she used the marker *chÿ-* more often for describing actions of her grandparents upon their cows, like in (574). The cows can be considered definite in both examples.

(573)   *i enteraukena kuje ke te kapupununubetu te tupunanubetu baka*

        i   *enterau-kena*   *kuje* *ke* *te* *kapupunu-nube-tu* *te*
        and whole-UNCERT moon that SEQ come.back-PL-IAM SEQ

         ti-upuna-nube-tu   *baka*
         3i-bring.IRR-PL-IAM cow

        'and it took them a whole month to come back and bring the cows'

                                            [jxx-e150925l-1.206]

(574) *kapupunutu niuma chupunu chipeu baka*

      kapupunu-tu   *ni-uma*   *chÿ-upunu chi-peu*   *baka*
      come.back-IAM 1SG-grandfather 3-bring   3-animal cow

      'my grandfather came back and brought his cows along'

                                    [jxx-p151016l-2.259]

An important difference between both examples is that the verb in *ti-vaca* is realis, while in (574), it is irrealis.[36] Irrealis is among the factors that signal low transitivity (Hopper & Thompson 1980:252). However, it is not the case that every irrealis verb with a non-human object would take *ti-*. Consider *chi-house-irr,* which comes from the same speaker and has an irrealis verb that takes the prefix *chÿ-* (and is also one of the relatively few examples of the verb *-anau* 'make' taking this prefix). Juana speaks about her daughter in Spain here, who still owns a plot in Bolivia that she could use for building a house.

(575) *kapunuina chana chubiuna*

      kapunu-ina   *chÿ-ana*   *chÿ-ubiu-ina*
      come-IRR.NV 3-make.IRR 3-house-IRR.NV

      'if she comes, she can make her future house'

                                  [jxx-p120430l-1.298-299]

There are a few more examples that combine an irrealis verb with *chÿ-*, thus irrealis as the only decisive factor for choosing one or the other prefix can be ruled out. I would rather suggest that several factors are involved, and it would need more profound knowledge about discourse structure to explain each and every choice.

How different factors trigger the choice of one or the other of the two third person indexes is summarised in Figure 6.3.

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36. Thanks to Françoise Rose (2021, p.c.) for pointing this out to me.
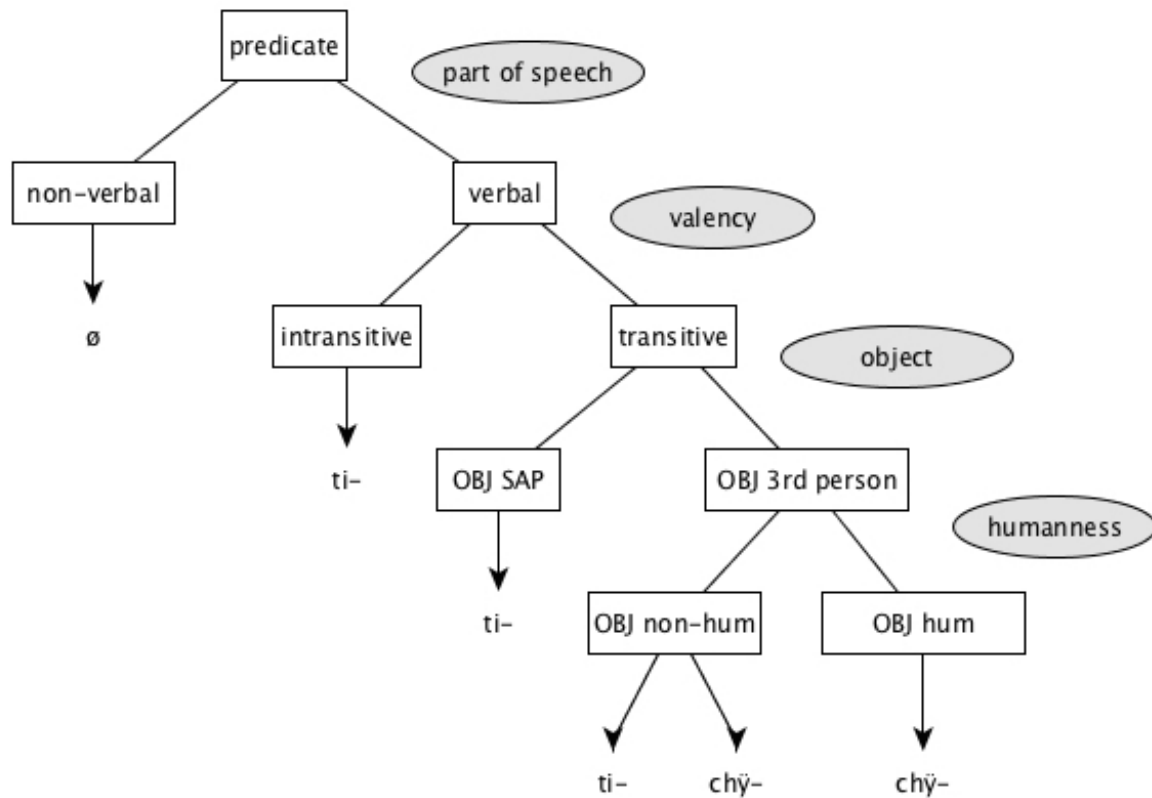
Figure 6.3: Third person marking

6.4.2.1 Third person plural

Both third person markers are unspecified for number, i.e. both singular and plural subjects take *ti-* and *chÿ-*. However, the plural marker, the distributive marker, and the collective marker can be attached to the verb to indicate that one of the participants is non-singular. All of them also occur on nouns (see 5.4). It is not uncommon among Arawakan languages to have a third person marker that is not specified for number and a separate marker expressing plural. In the sample of Danielsen (2014a), 15 out of 38 languages have "separate gender/person and plural marking", while 17 do not show this distinction, and for six languages, the question remains unclear.

Third person plural subject marking with *-nube*

If the third person plural subject is human, the marker *-nube* is added to the verb obligatorily. The following examples show third person plural subjects on different kinds of verbs with different valency and different types of objects. In (576), there is an intransitive verb and thus *ti-* is used. It comes from an utterance by Miguel.[37]

(576)   *tikujemunubetu*

    ti-kujemu-nube-tu
    3i-be.angry-PL-IAM

    'they were already angry'

<div align="right">[jmx-c120429ls-x5.225]</div>

---

37. Note that this recording has not been archived because it contains sensitive data.

The verb in (577) has a third person plural subject acting on an SAP object. The suffix indexing the SAP object always precedes the plural marker. The example comes from the recordings by Riester with Juan Ch. The *patrones* are the ones who might have killed their workers in case they tried to escape.

(577)   *tikupakabinube*

      ti-kupaka-bi-nube
      3i-kill.IRR-1PL-PL

      'they would kill us'

<div align="right">[nxx-p630101g-1.182]</div>

In Example (578), there is a third person plural subject. It is not a human subject in this case, but an anthropomorphic one: fox and jaguarundi are acting, the two main characters of a story. They see a pot with strong chicha, the third person singular inanimate object of this clause (and they decide to get drunk). In this example, Miguel chose the prefix *chÿ-* to encode the 3 > 3 relationship. An example with a human third person plural subject acting on a non-human third person object being encoded by the *ti*-marker has already be given in (573) above.

(578)   *pero chimukunubeji echÿu barerekiji tijapÿkubu isipau*

      pero chi-imu-uku-nube-ji echÿu barereki-ji ti-japÿku-bu isipau
      but   3-see-ADD-PL-RPRT   DEMb   pot-RPRT   3i-fill-MID   strong.chicha

      'but they also saw a pot filled with strong chicha'

<div align="right">[jmx-n120429ls-x5.328]</div>

Third person plural object marking with *-nube*

Not only human third person plural subjects, but also human third person plural objects can be encoded by *-nube*. It is thus not always clear which of the arguments is the plural participant. In this respect, Paunaka differs from the Mojeño languages, where the plural suffix can only relate to the subject (Rose 2011b:474-475).[38]

If the subject is an SAP, the only participant to which *-nube* can refer is obviously the object, like in Example (579), which is taken from an utterance by Juana.

(579)   *nichupuikunube*

      ni-chupuiku-nube
      1SG-know-PL

      'I met them'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120515l-1.218]</div>

However, if both subject and object have third person referents, ambiguity arises.[39] Only context and general knowledge can clarify which one is the plural argument.

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38. Note, however, that Facundes (2000:382-384, Footnote 1) reports about the same kind of potential ambiguity, which he found in some varieties of Apurinã, an Arawakan language more distantly related to Paunaka.

39. Remember that there is no case-marking on nouns, so that even if a singular or plural NP conominates the person indexes, it could theoretically refer to the subject or the object alike.

In the following example, Juana describes a photo of my husband carrying both my daughters in his arms to my colleague Swintha. It is therefore clear that a singular subject acts on a plural object.

(580)   *chakachunube chima*

   chÿ-akachu-nube chi-ima
   3-lift-PL   3-husband

   'her husband lifts them'

<div align="right">[jxx-p141024s-1.31]</div>

The next example from Miguel is sufficiently clear because of world knowledge: it is the *patrón*, the liege lord, who was supposed to pay his many workers, any other interpretation would be odd.

(581)   *kuina chisiupuchanube eka patron*

   kuina chi-siupucha-nube eka   patron
   NEG   3-pay.IRR-PL   DEMa patrón

   'the *patrón* didn't pay them'

<div align="right">[mxx-p110825l.042]</div>

On the other hand, in (582), the subject is plural. Juana had just narrated that her brother felt dizzy and fell. It was thus only a single person who was lifted and taken away and the plural marker must thus refer to the subject.

(582)   *chakachunube chumunubeji nauku*

   chÿ-akachu-nube chÿ-umu-nube-ji nauku
   3-lift-PL   3-take-PL-RPRT there

   'they lifted him and took him there, it is said'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-2.444]</div>

It is also possible that both subject and object are plural as is the case in Example (583), which has two conominal NPs that encode subject and object. The first NP only consists of a modifier, but this is nothing special in Paunaka.[40] Both NPs are marked for plural. It is not important in this case to which of the arguments the plural marker belongs, it could be any of the two. There is no such thing as double plural marking on verbs.[41]

The sentence comes from Juana who told me what her daughter in Spain had said to her, when she wanted to convince her to visit her there.

(583)   *"pujanenube chumunube chÿenujinube"*

   pu-jane-nube   chÿ-umu-nube chÿ-enu-ji-nube
   other-DISTR-PL 3-take-PL   3-mother-COL-PL

   '"others take their mothers (to Spain for a visit)"'

<div align="right">[jxx-e120516l-1.030]</div>

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40. There are no discontinuous NPs and there is usually no agreement in number inside an NP, thus it is clear that we are indeed dealing with two separate NPs here, see 5.9. The sentence exhibits SVO order, which is common if two arguments are conominated (see 7.1.4).
41. But see below for possible co-occurrence of plural and distributive marker.

Third person plural subject marking with *-jane*

If the third person plural subject is non-human, the marker *-jane* can be used option-
ally to establish plural reference. Example (584) shows this with three verbs. It was
produced by Juana and is about some ducklings that we were watching.

(584) *tiyunujane kosinayae tinikupajane teajane ÿne*

     ti-yunu-jane kosina-yae ti-niku-pa-jane   ti-ea-jane   ÿne
     3i-go-DISTR kitchen-LOC 3i-eat-DLOC.IRR-DISTR 3i-drink.IRR-DISTR water

     'they go into the kitchen to eat and drink water'

                                                       [jxx-e150925l-1.116]

    The suffix *-jane* can enter into two different morphological slots of the verb. First, it
can attach to the complete verb stem including the thematic suffix (see 6.2.2), the other
possibility is to replace the thematic suffix by *-jane*. Obviously, this possibility only
exists for verbs that have a thematic suffix.[42] When the distributive marker deletes the
thematic suffix, the reality status suffix follows the distributive marker (see Examples
(586) and (587) and also Section 6.5.1).

    In order to compare both forms directly, consider the following two examples with
the verb *-niku* 'eat'. In (585), the full verb stem *-niku* including the thematic suffix *-ku*
is used and *-jane* follows. It is from the same context as (584) above, the ducklings
were approaching us, coming back from eating grass somewhere. (586) shows the use
of the distributive marker in the same slot as the thematic suffix. Thus only the root
-ni shows up here. The example comes from elicitation with María S. which aimed at
finding out whether there is a difference between the verbs for 'eat' and 'feed'.[43]

(585) *tinikujane mÿiji*

     ti-niku-jane   mÿiji
     3i-eat-DISTR grass

     'they ate grass'

                                                       [jxx-e150925l-1.115]

(586) *tinijaneutu*

     ti-ni-jane-u-tu
     3i-eat-DISTR-REAL-IAM

     'they already ate'

                                                     [rxx-e141230s.038]

    It is tempting to analyse the latter form as the older, more conservative one and the
one in which the distributive follows the thematic suffix as an innovation which regu-
lates the pattern by making distributive marking more reminiscent of plural marking,
but since we do not have any old texts to compare with, this remains speculative.

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42. The verb *-yunu* 'go' may be exceptional in this regard because the last syllable of the stem (*nu*) can
be deleted instead. However, there is only one example of this in the corpus, which comes from the
recordings made by Riester in the 1960s.
43. There is no difference, the verb *-niku* has both meanings in present-day Paunaka.

In any case, María S. prefers the form without thematic suffix, the other speakers rather use the other one.[44] When asked, all speakers accept both forms. There is no difference in meaning according to them, and I could not find any difference either.

Another example with the distributive marker produced by María S. is given in (587): the verb stem is *-yuiku* 'walk', but the thematic suffix *-ku* is deleted, and *-jane* is inserted in the slot. It comes from elicitation and is about some recently hatched chicks.

(587) *tiyuijaneatu*

    ti-yui-jane-a-tu
    3i-walk-DISTR-IRR-IAM

    'they are about to walk'

<div align="right">[rxx-e121128s-1.035]</div>

If the object is an SAP, the object marker follows the distributive marker. Only the form of the verb in which *-jane* deletes the thematic suffix has been found in the corpus. Note that there is not necessarily agreement in number between the conominal subject and the verb, *-jane* is usually only attached to either the verb or the noun, but more frequently found on the verb only (see also 5.4.2).

In (588), the distributive marker is only found on the verb. It is combined with a person suffix indexing the object in this case. This sentence was elicited from María S.

(588) *tinisapijaneunÿ anibÿ*

    ti-nisapi-jane-u-nÿ   *anibÿ*
    3i-sting-DISTR-REAL-1SG mosquito

    'the mosquitos stung me'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181101l-1]</div>

A similar example from the same elicitation session is (588), but this time, the distributive marker additionally occurs in the NP.

(589) *tichaneijaneunÿ nipeujane kabe*

    ti-chanei-jane-u-nÿ   *ni-peu-jane*   *kabe*
    3i-care.for-DISTR-REAL-1SG 1SG-animal-DISTR dog

    'my dogs protect me'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181101l-1]</div>

As has been mentioned above, there are no examples in the corpus with SAP object marking and *-jane* being attached after the thematic suffix. The distributive marker is rather not realised on the verb at all in these cases, like in (590), which was a spontaneous utterance from Juana.

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44. María S. in general uses more forms with deleted thematic suffixes. This is also true for the associated motion markers, see 6.6.

(590) *tichaneikune eka kabejane*

   ti-chaneiku-ne   eka   kabe-jane
   3i-care.for-1SG   DEMa dog-DISTR

   'the dogs protects me'

<div align="right">[jxx-e150925l-1.093]</div>

(591) is an example of a transitive verb with a non-human animate plural subject. Since the object is an anthropomorphic character (from the same narrative that Example (578) above is taken from), the marker *chÿ-* is used. The drunken fox is bitten here, bitten to death by the dogs of the owner of the house where he stole the strong chicha. The dogs are not anthropomorphic, they behave like dogs behave.

(591) *chinijababakujanetu kabe*

   chi-nijababaku-jane-tu kabe
   3-bite-DISTR-IAM   dog

   'the dogs bit him'

<div align="right">[jmx-n120429ls-x5.435]</div>

Third person plural object marking with *-jane*

The distributive marker can optionally also index non-human third person plural objects. This is only found with animate referents. It expresses a higher degree of individuation in this case. Individuation is context-dependent, i.e. animals may sometimes be perceived as individual beings and in other occasions individuation is not necessary.

(592) shows a case in which a second person subject acts on a non-human animate plural object which is marked by *-jane*. It comes from elicitation with María S. Actually, it is the question to the answer that has been given in (586) above.

(592) *¿pinijaneutu?*

   pi-ni-jane-u-tu
   2SG-feed-DISTR-REAL-IAM

   'have you fed them?'

<div align="right">[rxx-e141230s.037]</div>

(593) is also from Juana, the subject is a third person and Juana chose the marker *ti-* as a subject marker, which is combined with *-jane* as an object index. The sentence is from her description of the frog story.

(593) *i echÿu kabe timumuku, timumukujane peÿ*

   i   echÿu kabe ti-imumuku ti-imumuku-jane peÿ
   and DEMb dog   3i-look   3i-look-DISTR   frog

   'and the dog is looking, it is looking at the frogs'

<div align="right">[jxx-a120516l-a.429]</div>

In (594), the subject is also a third person. In this case, *chÿ-* is chosen as a prefix. The sentence was produced by Juana in elicitation.

<div align="center">271</div>

(594)   *chikupakujane upuji*

    chi-kupaku-jane upuji
    3-kill-DISTR   duck

    'it (the dog) kills ducks'

<div align="right">[jxx-e081025s-1.552]</div>

If we compare these last examples with (585) and (591) above, we see that it is ambiguous which of the participants is non-singular just as in the case of plural marking. Thus in (591) *-jane* refers to the subject, in (594) it refers to the object. It is again the context or general knowledge that is needed to understand which argument is plural.

Both markers *-nube* and *-jane* can also co-occur, and in this case, both of them can refer to the subject and to the object. The distributive marker always precedes the plural marker, regardless of who is the subject and who is the object. Example (595) shows this case. It was elicited from María S.

(595)   *cheikukuijaneunube*

    ch-eikukui-jane-u-nube
    3-chase-DISTR-REAL-PL

    'they chase them (i.e. either the children chase the dogs or the dogs chase the children)'

<div align="right">[rxx-e141230s.211]</div>

In real contexts, however, this kind of ambiguity hardly exists. First, verbs which do not favour a semantic interpretation of either the human or the non-human participant being the subject are rare, second, utterances such as (595) are usually embedded in some context, which helps identifying the subject and the object. And most importantly, I have not encountered a single example of a verb taking both *-jane* and *-nube* outside of elicitation.

The principles underlying the choice of person prefix and plural/distributive marker if there is a non-singular third person referent are summarised in Figure 6.4.

- If the subject is a human third person plural, we can find:

  - *ti-...-nube* on intransitive verbs and transitive verbs with SAP and non-human objects
  - *chÿ-...nube* on transitive verbs with third person objects

- If the subject is non-human third person plural, we can find:

  - *ti-* or *ti-...-jane* on intransitive verbs and on transitive verbs with SAP or non-human objects
  - *chÿ-* or *chÿ-...-jane* with third person objects

- If the object is a human third person plural, we find:

  - *-nube* on the verb

- If the object is a non-human third person plural, we can find:

  - no distributive marking on verb
  - *-jane* on the verb

- Third person plural subject and object markings combine, thus we also find *chÿ-...-nube* for verbs with a non-human third person plural subject and a human plural object, as well as *chÿ-...-jane...-nube*.

Figure 6.4: Indexes of third person non-singular participants

Collective marking on verbs

In addition to *-nube* 'PL' and *-jane* 'DISTR', there is a third marker to encode non-singularity on verbs, the collective marker *-ji*. It occurs on some stative verbs that encode properties if the subject appears in a mass or swarm. Since all property verbs are intransitive, the collective marker always refers to the subject. There are not many examples in the corpus and they all refer to fish. Agreement in collective marking between verb and noun is not obligatory. However, there can be agreement as is the case in Example (389) that has been presented in 5.4.3. (596) is an example where there is no agreement in collective marking between verb and conominal subject.

(596) *tisururupeji kÿpu*

    ti-sururu-pe-ji   *kÿpu*
    3i-be.light.coloured-CLF:flat-COL sardine

    'the sardines are light-coloured'

<div align="right">[jxx-e150925l-1.162]</div>

Collective markers on verbs never refer to objects as far as I can tell. However, it is not easy to distinguish the collective marker from the reportive marker (see 6.8.3.3), since both have the same form and although they fill different slots in the verb template, both often just occur on the right edge of the verb. It might thus be possible that I mistakenly took as a reportive marker what was indeed a collective marker in some cases.

There is one active verb on which the collective marker is found apparently. This is the verb *-eu* 'hit, fight' together with the reciprocal marker *-kuku*, see Example (597), which was already presented in Section 6.3.5. There are only very few examples of this construction in the corpus.

(597) *teukukujinube chajechubu chÿa*

    ti-eu-kuku-ji-nube   *chÿ-ajechubu* *chÿ-a*
    3i-fight-RCPC-COL-PL 3-COM   3-father

    'with his father, they were fighting with each other'

                                                     [rxx-e141230s.195]

6.4.2.2   Third person suffixes

Third person suffixes only rarely occur on verbs, but there are some exceptions. First of all, the ditransitive verb *-punaku* 'give' may possibly take *-chÿ* as a suffix to index a recipient or theme. There are two examples in the corpus that point to this. However, those two examples are not totally clear for several reasons (grammatical structure, pronunciation, lexicon) and there are not enough contrastive examples to compare with. I give one of them here nonetheless, but acknowledge that the issue needs additional research.[45] Consider (`[ex:ditr-3]`). The example is not clear in structure regarding use of irrealis and realis and the function of *chija* as an indefinite pronoun or hesitation marker. In addition, I could also not determine the exact meaning of the verb *-yubunu*. My colleague Lena S. elicited the sentence 'I will give a present to my mother' from Juana. The latter needed several attempts to formulate an adequate Paunaka translation, one of them contained the verb *-punaku* 'give' with the third person suffix:

(598) *niyunabÿti nipunakumÿnÿchÿ chija eka niyubuniachÿ*

    ni-yuna-bÿti   *ni-punaku-mÿnÿ-chÿ* *chija* *eka*   *ni-yubun-i-a-chÿ*
    1SG-go.IRR-PRSP 1SG-give-DIM-3   what DEMa 1SG-be.worth?-SUBORD-IRR-3

    'I am about to go to give her her present'

                                                     (jxx-e191021e-2)

Third person suffixes most frequently occur on speech verbs, or more precisely on one specific speech verb, *-kechu* 'say'. This verb is used in connection with direct speech. The verb with the third person suffix may precede or follow the quoted speech and both third person prefixes, *ti-* and *chÿ-* occur on these verbs, as well as SAP prefixes. One example with a speech verb following the direct speech is given below. Juana cites the husband of her sister in this case, who was a criminal and treated his family badly.

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45. There are three different (related) verbs with the meaning 'give', *-pu, -punaku* and *-puiku*. The first two of them can index a first or second person recipient as an object (i.e. by a suffix), the third one does not seem to include a recipient argument in its semantic structure. However, this still remains to be verified.

(599)   *"¡patÿkemiu!", chikechuchiji chichechapÿi*

       pi-a-tÿkemiu   *chi-kechu-chi-ji chi-chechapÿi*
       2SG-IRR-be.quiet 3-say-3-RPRT   3-son

       '"shut up!" he said to his son, it is said'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-2.181]</div>

Speech verbs have been identified as a special type of trivalent verbs in Trinitario (Rose 2011a). This is probably also the best analysis for the Paunaka verb *-kechu*, and it relates to the probable possibility of *-punaku* 'give' taking third person suffixes (see above). Let us have a closer look at *-kechu* 'say'.

First of all, this verb can be used without any object index. The subject can be first, second or third person, and in the latter case, the prefix *ti-* is used consequently as in (600), in which Clara cites what her brother José had said to her the day before.

(600)   *"niyuna nisemaika kringanube", tikechu*

       ni-yuna   *ni-semaika* *kringa-nube ti-kechu*
       1SG-go.IRR 1SG-search gringa-PL   3i-say

       '"I am going to search for the gringas", he said'

<div align="right">[cux-c120510l-1.127]</div>

A first or second person addressee can be indexed on the verb as an object. If the agent is a third person, *ti-* is used to index the subject. This can be seen in (601), where Miguel tells me what his fellow said to him when he decided to teach him to calculate.

(601)   *tikechunÿ: "Miyel, nimesumeikapi echÿu"*

       ti-kechu-nÿ Miyel   *ni-mesumeika-pi*   *echÿu*
       3i-say-1SG Miguel 1SG-teach.IRR-2SG DEMb

       'he said to me: "Miguel, I am going to teach it to you"'

<div align="right">[mxx-p181027l-1.119]</div>

When there is a third person addressee, a third person suffix is normally used. (602) provides one example, here in combination with a first person singular prefix that indexes the agent. It comes from Miguel's account about the past of Santa Rita. He narrates how he talked with brother Bendelín, who helped in constructing the school of the village.

(602)   *entonses nÿjakupu nikechuchÿ "bueno..."*

       entonses *nÿ-jakupu*   *ni-kechu-chÿ bueno*
       thus   1SG-receive 1SG-say-3   well

       'so I accepted, I told him: "well..."'

<div align="right">[mxx-p110825l.113]</div>

Strikingly, if the agent is a third person, too, we usually find both the prefix *chÿ-* and the suffix *-chÿ* on the verb, as in the introductory Example (599) above. Given the fact that the prefix already encodes two third person participants, it seems that three arguments are encoded in this case: the agent, the addressee and possibly the utterance. Since the suffix indexes the addressee in case that there is an SAP agent, I

would suggest that the suffix also encodes the addressee in this relation and the prefix encodes agent and utterance.

(603) offers a second example of the constellation with apparently three third person arguments being encoded. It comes from a different speaker than (599), has an agent that is conominated instead of the addressee and also shows the speech verb preceding the quoted speech. Miguel starts to tell me here what the *patrón* said to Marco Choma, one of the founders of Santa Rita, when he finally let the indigenous people free in the 1950s.

(603) *entonses chikechuchÿ echÿu chipatrone: "bueno…"*

    entonses chi-kechu-chÿ echÿu chi-patron-ne   bueno
    thus   3-say-3   DEMb 3-patrón-POSSD well

    'so the *patrón* said to him: "well…"'

<div align="right">[mxx-p110825l.026]</div>

To complete the picture: There are also a few occurrences of the verb *-kechu* taking the prefix *chÿ-* without any suffix and a few more where we find the prefix *ti-* being combined with *-chÿ*. This is mainly found in Miguel's speech, but also sometimes with Juana. An example is given in (604). It comes from Miguel's story about the lazy man. This is the moment that the wife of the lazybones finds out that he was betraying her when he said he was going to work in the woods to supply them with food:

(604) *i titupunubuji echÿu chiyenu i tikechuchÿji: "aja chikuyeje echÿu pitrabakune", tikechuchi*

    i   ti-tupunubu-ji echÿu chi-yenu i   ti-kechu-chÿ-ji aja chi-kuye-ja?
    and 3i-arrive-RPRT DEMb 3-wife   and 3i-say-3-RPRT INTJ 3-be.like.this-EMPH1?
      echÿu pi-trabaku-ne   ti-kechu-chi
      DEMb 2SG-work-POSSD 3i-say-3

    'and his wife arrived there, it is said, and said to him, it is said: "aha, this is your work", she said to him'

<div align="right">[mox-n110920l.071-072]</div>

The verb form in (604) seems to be an equivalent to the ones in (599) and (603) above. However, it is this construction, combination of a prefix *ti-* and a suffix *-chÿ* that we sometimes also find with other verbs.

As concerns these verbs, the suffix *-chÿ* sometimes also occurs in focus constructions of the argument focus type, i.e. where the proposition encoded by the sentence is already known to the person with whom the speaker interacts, but the identity of one of the arguments is unknown to her (cf. Lambrecht 1994:228). It may also be the case that the identity is known, but needs to be singled out, emphasised. The latter is the case in the following example which comes from the recordings made by Riester. Juan Ch. is contrasting the hard work of the indigenous people with the carelessness of the *patrón*.

(605) *pesau bitÿpi bitrabakune chepuine biti bebukutuchÿ*

    pesau bi-tÿpi   bi-trabaku-ne   chepuine biti   bi-ebuku-tu-chÿ
    hard   1PL-OBL 1PL-work-POSSD because 1PL.PRN 1PL-sow-IAM-3

    'our work is hard for us, because WE are the ones who sow'

<div align="right">[nxx-p630101g-1.088]</div>

In (606), Juana speaks about her deceased brother Cristóbal.

(606) *eka chiserebrone chibu tikupakuchÿ*

> *eka   chi-serebro-ne   chibu   ti-kupaku-chÿ*
> DEMa 3-brain-POSSD 3TOP.PRN 3i-kill-3

'his brain, THIS is what killed him'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-2.383]</div>

Most cases of these focus constructions including *-chÿ* are construed with a pronoun and the focused argument is the subject of the verb. However, it is also possible that a noun is used instead of a pronoun and that the focused argument is an object. (607) and (608) provide examples for this. (607) was elicited from María S. and contains a subject expressed by a noun.

(607) *eka pimiyapÿi tikurabajikuchÿ nÿnikÿiki*

> *eka   pimiyapÿi ti-kurabajiku-chÿ nÿ-nikÿiki*
> DEMa girl   3i-break-3   1SG-pot

'this GIRL broke my pot'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181024l]</div>

(608) is from the same recording as (606) above and also deals with the death of a family member, Juana's sister, who died in a hospital and had to be picked up there.[46]

(608) *chibuyenu tirekojechuchÿ tukiu naukutu*

> *chibu-yenu   ti-rekojechu-chÿ tukiu nauku-tu*
> 3TOP.PRN-DED 3i-pick.up-3   from   there-IAM

'she must be the one whom they picked up there'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-2.295]</div>

There are not many examples of argument focus constructions of this type, it is more common to use a cleft construction, which can convey the same pragmatic function, see 8.5.4.

Finally, another context in which third person suffixes occasionally occur is subordinate verbs marked by *-i*. Subordination with the suffix *-i* is described in detail in Section 8.1.4. One example of a subordinate verb taking a third person suffix is given in (609), which has a question word *juchubu* 'where' that often takes subordinate predicates. For more examples see 7.4.2.2. This sentence comes from Miguel's telling of the story about the two men and the devil. One man has given meat to the devil, but the latter does not fill up, so when the meat is finished, he asks for the skins (and subsequently for the heads and finally, he eats the man).

(609) *"¿juchubu ebikÿjikiuchÿ chimusuji echÿu ÿbajane?"*

> *juchubu e-bikÿjik-i-u-chÿ   chi-musuji echÿu ÿba-jane*
> where   2PL-throw.away-SUBORD-REAL-3   3-skin   DEMb   pig-DISTR

'"where did you throw the pigs' skins?"'

<div align="right">[mxx-n101017s-1.055-056]</div>

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46. Directly preceding this sentence, Juana uses the word *-sienu* to refer to her. I do not know what this word means, but a bit later in the recording, it becomes clear that Juana is talking about her sister.

The third person suffix is possibly also found as a (relatively) fixed part of numerals (see Section 4.2.2). At this point, we leave person marking behind and turn to the second major inflectional category of the verb: reality status.

6.5 Reality status

While tense and aspect play a minor role in Paunaka (see 6.8.1), reality status (RS) is obligatorily expressed on every predicate, and in addition, there is nominal irrealis marking on nouns.[47] In all cases of non-verbal reality status marking, *-ina* expresses irrealis and realis is unmarked. On verbs, irrealis is associated with *a* and realis is marked by the absence of irrealis marking, but associated with *u* on active verbs. A more detailed explanation is given below in 6.5.1.

RS has been defined by Elliott (2000:56) as "a grammatical category [...] with the binary distinction of realis and irrealis", where the notion of realis marks a "perceived certainty of the factual reality of an event's taking place, while irrealis is used to identify that an event is perceived to exist only in an imagined or non-real world" (Elliott 2000:67). The validity of RS as a unifiable category has been doubted severely (see e.g. Bybee 1998, de Haan 2012), however Michael (2014a,c) has demonstrated that RS *is* a significant category in Nanti, an Arawakan language of the Kampan branch. Danielsen & Terhart (2015b) have shown that this is equally true for some of the Southern Arawakan languages.

On predicates, realis RS encodes non-hypothetical non-future events, while irrealis expresses an array of functions. It is found on predicates with future reference, in negative clauses, in hypothetical constructions, to mark imperative and polite directives, obligation, possibility and ability, optatives and is also found on complements of certain complement-taking verbs (see 8.4.1). In addition, it can express habitual events in procedural texts and is sometimes, but not always, also used to express habitual events in the past. The system is thus consistent with the findings by Michael (2014a,c) illustrated in Table 6.23, with two differences. First, in expressions of uncertainty both RS can occur in Paunaka. There is a special uncertainty marker *-kena* (see 6.8.3.2), so that there is no need to express uncertainty with an irrealis predicate. RS then rather provides information about the temporal reference or polarity of the event that is marked as uncertain.[48]

Second, habitual is at least partly encoded by irrealis in Paunaka, while Michael (2014a:284) argues that encoding of habitual vs. non-habitual belongs to another category, i.e. temporal definiteness. In Nanti, the argument goes, the "habitual construction crucially takes realis marking, in accord with our notional definition of realis and

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47. This section is partly based on Danielsen & Terhart (2015b), but focuses the discussion on the Paunaka language only.

48. I believe that this is a mechanism that is found with any additional marker that covers some of the possible semantic functions of irrealis RS. For example, Trinitario and Terena both have a special future marker, and in both languages verbs marked for future can take both RSs for reasons other than temporal reference: In Trinitario, future verbs take irrealis marking if there is negation of the event, in Terena the choice of RS for the future verb reflects the certainty over the fulfilment of the event (cf. Ekdahl & Grimes 1964:262; Rose 2014b:228-229 and 2015 p.c.; Danielsen & Terhart 2015b). Another example is negation. To my knowledge, no language marks negative polarity with irrealis only. The existence of one or more negative markers opens an opportunity to make finer distinctions, e.g. between negated realis (non-future, actual etc.) and negated irrealis (future, hypothetical, imperative etc.). Some languages – like Nanti – make use of this possibility, others – like Paunaka – only partly make use of it, yet others may not use the possibility at all. A cross-linguistic comparison of how RS systems interact with other markers of (un)realness is a topic that awaits further research.

Table 6.23: Semantic parameters to be considered in RS marking, adapted and adjusted from Michael (2014a:252, 266 and 2014c:189)

Semantic parameter	Realis marking	Irrealis marking
temporal reference	non-future	future
polarity	positive	negative
hypotheticality	actual	hypothetical, (conditional), (counterfactual)
factuality/epistemic modality	certainty	uncertainty
speaker-oriented modality	-	imperative, polite directive/ exhortative
agent-oriented modality	-	obligation, need
prospectiveness	-	purposive, prospective complement

irrealis, since habitual constructions denote repeated realisation of some situation" (Michael 2014a:271). Nanti has a specialised marker to encode habitual, and as I have argued, markers specialised for a certain kind of unrealness interact with RS and may thus have an influence on the encoding of it (see Footnote 48). The question whether or not temporal definiteness should be considered a semantic parameter that triggers differential RS marking should therefore be addressed again in a cross-linguistic study of RS marking. Habitual is among the "additional semantic contexts where, in at least some languages, irrealis marking has saliency" as suggested by Elliott (2000:70).

Last but not least, in addition to the semantic contexts cited in the literature on RS, some speakers of Paunaka also produce irrealis verb forms, when they are asked to translate Spanish verbs or clauses in elicitation sessions. Of course, the predicates in these translation tasks often refer to events that are not actual, not realised so that translation with an irrealis verb form is a logical consequence in some situations, at least for some of the speakers.

The remainder of this section is dedicated to discussion of the formal expression of RS on verbs in 6.5.1 and the semantics of the RS system in 6.5.2. For marking RS on non-verbal predicates, see 7.2 and for nominal irrealis see 5.5. Paunaka's RS marking on verbs is typical for a Southern Arawakan language, both regarding the shape and behaviour of markers as well as the semantic parameters that trigger irrealis marking (cf. Danielsen & Terhart 2015b).

6.5.1   Form of the reality status markers

On verbs, irrealis is associated with the vowel *a*. Stative verbs take a prefix *a-* that is inserted directly before the verb stem, see the following example), where the verb in (610a) is unmarked and the verb in (610b) takes the irrealis prefix.

(610)   a.   *tikutiu*

        ti-kutiu
        3i-be.ill

        'he was ill'

b. *kuina takutiu*

kuina ti-a-kutiu
NEG   3i-IRR-be.ill

'he was not ill'

Active verbs take a suffix -*a* which replaces the last vowel *u* of the verb stem in most cases as in the following example, where (611a) shows an active verb with realis RS and (611a) has the same verb with irrealis RS. I decided not to separate the irrealis marker from the stem or suffix by a dash in my analysis and not to overtly gloss realis RS at all for reasons that will become apparent in the discussion below.

(611) a. *niyunu*

ni-yunu
1SG-go

'I go, I went'

b. *niyuna*

ni-yuna
1SG-go.IRR

'I will/can/may/must go'

One peculiarity of RS marking is that a number of grammatical markers attract the irrealis suffix, i.e the reciprocal, continuous, additive, and associated motion (AM) and related markers (see Figure 6.2 in 6 above). This is also why the status of realis marking on active verbs is less clear. There is an association between realis and the final vowel *u* of the verb stem and the markers mentioned above. Some of these markers can be inserted between the last vowel of the verb stem minus the thematic suffix and the reality status marking, i.e. they replace the thematic suffix. The final vowel of these markers is then either realis *u* or irrealis *a*, see (612), where this is exemplified with the prior motion marker.

(612) a. *pinipunu*

pi-ni-punu
2SG-eat-AM.PRIOR

'you went to eat'

b. *pinipuna*

pi-ni-puna
2SG-eat-AM.PRIOR.IRR

'you will go to eat'

However, instead of replacing the thematic suffix, all of the markers mentioned above can also follow the thematic suffix. Irrealis is only marked once in this case, i.e. on the marker that follows the thematic suffix. I will continue to exemplify this with the prior motion marker here. Thus in (613), we have a verb with a stem ending in *u* and an AM suffix ending in *a*, resulting in a clash between RS markings on stem and suffix if *u* was understood as a proper marker of realis:

(613) *pinikupuna*

> *? pi-nik-u-pun-a*
> ? 2SG-eat-REAL-AM.PRIOR-IRR

'you will go to eat'

It were cases like the one in (613) and the fact that stative verbs do not have an *u* that led Rose (2014b:227) conclude for Trinitario that the final *o* (corresponding to Paunaka's final *u*) is phonological material of the stem that is deleted if an irrealis suffix is attached. The example above would thus be analysed like (614).

(614) *pinikupuna*

> *? pi-niku-punu-a*
> ? 2SG-eat-AM.PRIOR-IRR

'you will go to eat'

However, in some cases, *-u* seems to work as a proper marker of realis in Paunaka. There are three arguments in favour for such an analysis. First of all, the distributive marker can be inserted in the slot of the thematic suffix instead of following it (see Section 6.4.2.1). In this case, an RS suffix follows directly. Since we know that the form of the distributive marker is *-jane,* there is no reason to assume that any default vowel is involved in this case, thus *-u* must be a suffix. (615), which comes from an elicitation session with María S., includes two verbs with distributive marker and deleted thematic suffix. The first verb has irrealis RS, thus *-a* is suffixed to *-jane,* the second verb has realis RS signaled by the presence of a suffix *-u* following *-jane.*

(615) *kuina chinijanea takÿra, bÿrÿsÿi si chinijaneu*

> *kuina chi-ni-jane-a   takÿra   bÿrÿsÿi si   chi-ni-jane-u*
> NEG   3-eat-DISTR-IRR chicken guava   yes 3-eat-DISTR-REAL

'the chickens don't eat it, (but) guava, yes, they eat.'

> [rxx-e121128s-3.24]

The other construction where *-u* occurs as a separate suffix is the deranked verb form with *-i,* see 8.1.4. (616) offers one example. It comes from María C. speaking about a sorcerer.

(616) *pariki chinikiu*

> *pariki chi-nik-i-u*
> many 3-eat-SUBORD-REAL

'it were many that he ate'

> [ump-p110815sf.597]

Finally, the verb *-anau* 'make' has an irrealis form that deletes the final vowel *u,* see (617) with two sentences from Juana that both deal with the production of a clay pot (with (617b) being uttered a few days earlier than (617a)).

(617) a. *pero ukuine nanau*

　　　 pero ukuine　nÿ-anau
　　　 but　yesterday　1SG-make

　　　 'but yesterday I (finally) made one'

<div align="right">[jxx-d110923l-1.15]</div>

　　 b. *nana barereki*

　　　 nÿ-ana　　　barereki
　　　 1SG-make.IRR　clay.pot

　　　 'I will make a clay pot'

<div align="right">[jmx-d110918ls-1.022]</div>

There is no neat way to capture the complexities of realis marking in active verbs in the glosses, *u* seems to be a hybrid of default vowel and realis marker proper.[49] My practical solution is as follows: I consider each and every verb stem to have two realisations, a default one and an irrealis one. The same is true for the reciprocal, continuous, additive, and AM and related markers. A verb has realis RS by absence of any irrealis marking. The irrealis vowel *a* is not considered a separate suffix because suffixes or – more generally speaking – markers starting with a vowel usually form a diphthong with a preceding vowel rather than deleting it (except when they attach to a diphthong, but then it is the first vowel of the marker that vanishes). I would thus consider irrealis marking to be a case of incipient fusion in an otherwise strictly agglutinative language. The analysis adopted here differs in this point from the one proposed by Rose (2014b:227) for Trinitario, which has a lot of vowel elision in general. A verb including a thematic suffix + AM marker would thus be analysed as follows:

(618) *pinikupuna*

　　 pi-niku-puna
　　 2SG-eat-AM.PRIOR.IRR

　　 'you will go to eat'

However, in cases where *a* can not be analysed as replacing a default vowel and in addition *u* acts like a proper marker of realis, these vowels are glossed as separate suffixes as in Examples (615) and (616) above.

After having discussed the form of the RS markers, the following section presents different semantic parameters that trigger either realis or irrealis marking.

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49. A diachronic remark on irrealis marking (cf. also Danielsen & Terhart 2015b:102-103): It is well possible that irrealis marking in all Southern Arawakan languages was once expressed by changing every vowel /o/ of a verb or of an active verb to /a/. This kind of vowel harmony is still found in Terena today (Butler & Ekdahl 2012:35) and it was reported for Old Baure, the variety of Baure documented by the Jesuits in the 18th century (and published by Adam & Leclerc (1880)). Modern Trinitario has one verb that displays vowel harmony triggered by irrealis RS (Rose 2015, p.c.), however, there is no report about vowel harmony in irrealis verbs in the grammar by Marbán (1894) (i.e. for Old Mojeño). Since the time Old Baure and Old Mojeño were described by the Jesuits, Baure has completely lost RS as a grammatical category. In Ignaciano, RS has become largely invisible because the vowels /o/ and /a/ collapsed. In Trinitario /o/ may best be described as a default vowel. This is also a good analysis for the Paunaka vowel /u/ in some cases, while in other cases /u/ is reanalysed as a realis marker as the discussion above has shown. Only Terena then seems to have maintained the old system.

6.5.2 Semantic parameters of reality status

As discussed in Section 6.5 above, there are several semantic parameters that trigger different RS marking. In this section, I will provide examples for each of them. 6.5.2.1 is about encoding of temporal reference by RS, the influence of polarity in the choice of a realis or irrealis predicate is explained in 6.5.2.2. Hypotheticality is another factor involved, this is described in 6.5.2.3, while 6.5.2.4 to 6.5.2.6 describe interaction of RS with three different kinds of modality. Finally, 6.5.2.7 is dedicated to the choice of irrealis in relative future.

6.5.2.1 Temporal reference

Realis is used with non-future events, like in (619) or (620). The first of them has present reference and the other one has past reference, which is in this case also signaled by the adverb *ukuine* 'yesterday'.

In (619), Isidro describes a picture of a puzzle game, the action he sees is thus ongoing.

(619) *tikubijaku eka aitubuche*

      ti-kubijaku eka   aitubuche
      3i-play   DEMa boy

      'the boy is playing'

                                       [mdx-c120416ls.183]

(620) comes from Juana, actually back-channeling my statement that I had met Federico the day before.

(620) *jaa, pitupu ukuine*

      jaa   pi-tupu   ukuine
      AFM 2SG-meet yesterday

      'ah, you met him yesterday'

                                       [jxx-e120516l-1.058]

Irrealis is used for future events, like in (621), where the exact temporal reference is again overtly expressed by *tajaitu* 'tomorrow'. The example comes from Miguel who was addressing María C.

(621) *tajaitu nibÿsÿupunuka naka*

      tajaitu   ni-bÿsÿu-punuka   naka
      tomorrow 1SG-come-REG.IRR here

      'I will come back here tomorrow'

                                       [mux-c110810l.140]

However, most often, there are no lexical clues that signal future or past reference. RS together with linguistic and extralinguistic context suffices to conclude on the correct temporal setting. Consider (622) which has future reference signaled by irrealis RS, while (623) has past reference expressed with realis RS. Both examples come from Juana.

In (622) she tells me what she said to her daughter upon leaving the house.

(622)   *niyuna nauku parkeyae*

   ni-yuna   nauku parke-yae
   1SG-go.IRR there park-LOC

   'I will go to the park there'

(623) is part of her narration of the (biblical, but yet syncretic) creation story.

(623)   *kechue chibeu echÿu mansana*

   kechue chi-beu   echÿu mansana
   snake   3-take.away DEMb apple

   'the snake took the apple off (the tree)'

   In addition, irrealis is used to express habitual actions in descriptions how to process certain things. (624) is from a description by Miguel of the preparation of rice bread, and (625) from a description by Juana of the production and use of a clay pot. In this function habitual overlaps with obligation (see 6.5.2.6), since it is not clear at all whether the description is simply one of usually done actions or includes an obligation insofar that one has to do it the way as described, because it is the right way of doing it.

(624)   *primeru biyÿbapaka eka arusu*

   primeru bi-yÿbapaka   eka   arusu
   first   1PL-grind.IRR DEMa rice

   'first, we (have to) grind the rice'

(625)   *tibururuka, petuka chÿeche*

   ti-bururuka pi-etuka   chÿeche
   3i-boil.IRR 2SG-put.IRR meat

   'when it boils, you put the meat in'

   Realis, on the other hand, is used to describe general customs and habits, like the custom of eating something in (626). It comes from María C., who was listing names of crops for me to learn some vocabulary.

(626)   *aa chermuya biniku, chÿi*

   aa   chermuya bi-niku chÿi
   INTJ cherimoya 1PL-eat fruit

   'ah, we eat cherimoya, it is a fruit'

   The difference between (624) and (625) as opposed to (626) is that the former two examples describe actions that are done habitually, when certain things are prepared.

(626) on the other hand is not about the habitual eating of cherimoya fruits in their season, but it is used in this case to describe one property of the fruit, its edibility.

There may be certain difference here between speakers, or use of either realis or irrealis may depend on how concrete speakers imagine certain actions at the moment of speaking. While the description of how something is made or how it works is relatively abstract from a real situation, personal habits are more concrete like in the following example from María S.

(627) *nijibÿku niyunu asaneti*

    ni-jibÿku   ni-yunu asaneti
    1SG-smoke 1SG-go field

    'I smoke, when I go to the field'

<div align="right">[rxx-e1205111.390]</div>

Irrealis can also be used to describe habitual events in the past. However, habitual past events are also often described with realis predicates and one speaker can even switch back and forth between realis and realis in accounts about the past. This may again be dependent on how much the speaker generalises the event or is remembering a concrete situation, even if the event happened habitually. This is hard to prove though, because we do not have direct access to their cognition. One example in which irrealis is used for an event in the past that occurred repeatedly is (628), which comes from an account about what Juana used to do with her late grandmother, when she was much younger.

(628) *puna tijai biyuna bepueikupa*

    puna tijai bi-yuna   bi-epueiku-pa
    other day 1PL-go.IRR 1PL-fish-DLOC.IRR

    'another day we would go to fish'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-1.060]</div>

6.5.2.2 Polarity

In Paunaka, all positive declarative non-future clauses take realis predicates. An example is (629), where Juana describes a picture of the frog story; for another example see (620) above.

(629) *tiniku, teumÿnÿ ÿne*

    ti-niku ti-eu-mÿnÿ   ÿne
    3i-eat 3i-drink-DIM water

    'it (the dog) is eating, it is drinking water'

<div align="right">[jxx-a120516l-a.018]</div>

Negation, on the other hand, triggers irrealis marking like in (630), which has a stative verb and therefore takes an irrealis prefix. Juana speaks about her son-in-law here, who is ill.

(630) *kuina tajimama*

    kuina ti-a-jimama
    NEG   3i-IRR-be.strong

    'he is not strong'

<div align="right">[jxx-p110923l-1.053]</div>

Example (631) has a negated active verb. It is a statement by Clara who had asked María C. for a word in Paunaka that she did not remember. María C. did not remember either.

(631) *kuina pichupabu*

    kuina pi-chupa-bu
    NEG   2SG-know.IRR-DSC

    'you don't know it anymore'

<div align="right">[cux-c120414ls-2.243]</div>

There is no general "doubly irrealis construction"[50] in declarative clauses, though a doubly irrealis construction is possibly found in prohibitive clauses, see 6.5.2.5 below. Thus, a verb with future reference *and* negative polarity marks irrealis in a way identical to a verb that has future reference or negative polarity only. Paunaka is thus ambiguous to the respect that there is no way to mark on the predicate that there is negation and another semantic parameter triggering irrealis. (632) is an example of a predicate that takes irrealis for two reasons, negative polarity and future reference. It was elicited from María S.

(632) *tajaitu kuina nÿnika*

    tajaitu   kuina nÿ-nika
    tomorrow NEG   1SG-eat.IRR

    'I won't eat tomorrow'

<div align="right">[rxx-e-151017l]</div>

There is also one kind of lexically expressed doubly irrealis construction, which regards negative abilitive sentences. While in positive statements, irrealis alone is sufficient to encode this modality, in negative statements, speakers often add *puero* 'can', borrowed from the Spanish modal verb *poder,* possibly via Besɨro (see 7.2.9). This, however, is not mandatory. An example without *puero* is given below. It was produced by Miguel making jokes with Swintha, who had asked him to give away his house:

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50. A doubly irrealis construction is defined by Michael (2014a:271) as a construction in which negation and another semantic parameter both trigger irrealis marking. Doubly irrealis constructions can be found in Nanti and other Kampan Arawakan languages, but also in the Southern Arawakan languages Terena and Trinitario, as well as in Ignaciano, which has lost simple irrealis marking (cf. Ekdahl & Grimes 1964:268; Olza Zubiri et al. 2004:132; Michael 2014a:279; Rose 2014b:235; Danielsen & Terhart 2015b:108, 115). There are several ways to express doubly irrealis; either with a special negative particle (Kampan Arawakan, Terena) or with an affix on the verb (Mojeño languages), but all doubly irrealis verbs have in common that they do not take the irrealis affix found in those constructions in which only one parameter triggers irrealis RS.

(633) *kuina nÿpunaka eka nubiu, kuina tamichana*

    kuina nÿ-punaka   eka   nÿ-ubiu   kuina ti-a-michana
    NEG   1SG-give.IRR DEMa 1SG-house NEG   3i-IRR-be.nice

    'I can't give away my house, it is not in a good condition'

                                                       [mxx-e110820ls.108]

In (634), *puero* is used in addition to the irrealis verb. This example comes from Juana talking about her ill son-in-law.

(634) *kuina puero tiyuika*

    kuina puero ti-yuika
    NEG   can   3i-walk.IRR

    'he cannot walk'

                                                       [jxx-p110923l-1.048]

6.5.2.3 Hypotheticality

Most hypothetical predicates are found in conditional clauses in my corpus (see also 8.3.1.2). The antecedent clause often contains a connective *kue* 'if, when', but it can also be unmarked. The predicate of the antecedent clause is irrealis in most cases. The predicate of the consequent clause is also irrealis in deontic, hypothetical, future or counterfactual constructions. Some of these cases are exemplified in (635) and (636). (635) comes from Miguel and refers to the fact that María C.'s husband, being severely ill, cannot stay alone at home if she leaves for a day or so.

(635) *kue piyuna tiyunauku echÿu*

    kue pi-yuna   ti-yuna-uku   echÿu
    if   2SG-go.IRR 3i-go.IRR-ADD DEMb

    'if you go, he has to go, too'

                                                    [mux-c110810l.042]

In (636), Juana cites what her daughter in Spain promised her.

(636) *kue pibÿsÿa, mimi nipabentecha nubiu, te biyunupunatu nauku*

    kue pi-bÿsÿa   mimi ni-pabentecha nÿ-ubiu   te   bi-yunupuna-tu
    if   2SG-come.IRR mum 1SG-sell.IRR   1SG-house SEQ   1PL-go.back.IRR-IAM

    nauku
    there

    'if you come, mum, I will sell my house, and then we go back there'
                                                       [jxx-p110923l-1.432]

However, if the consequence clause is realis, we are rather dealing with a temporal clause like in (637), a statement by Juana about the arroyo close to Santa Rita.

(637) *kue tijinupatu tÿpi enero, juu tijapÿkutu*

     kue ti-jinupa-tu   tÿpi enero   juu ti-japÿku-tu
     if   3i-flow.IRR-IAM OBL January INTJ 3i-fill-IAM

     'if water flows in January, huu, it fills'

<div align="right">[jxx-a120516l-a.572-573]</div>

Counterfactual conditional predicates with past reference additionally take a frustrative marker, (see also Section 6.8.3.1). There is one personal account, in which Juan tells how her daughter once travelled to Spain to help her sister care for her children. The whole journey turned out to be in vain because she was rejected at the airport since she did not have a valid visa. Several predicates in this account are marked with irrealis and frustrative because they refer to hypothetical and counterfactual ideas about what one daughter would have done in Spain, and what the other daughter should have done to prevent her sister from being deported. (638) is a remark about other people who were expelled, too.

(638) *i pujanenube tiyunanubeini trabakunubeina nauku*

     i   pu-jane-nube   ti-yuna-nube-ini   trabaku-nube-ina nauku
     and other-DISTR-PL 3i-go.IRR-PL-FRUST work-PL-IRR.NV there

     'and others would have gone to work there'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-1.206]</div>

6.5.2.4 Factuality/epistemic modality

Epistemic modality can be expressed by using an irrealis predicate as in (639), where María S. offers the reason why smoking is bad.

(639) *tikupakabi*

     ti-kupaka-bi
     3i-kill.IRR-1PL

     'it (smoking) can kill us'

<div align="right">[rxx-e120511l.385]</div>

In addition, there are two epistemic markers *-kena* 'UNCERT' and *-yenu* 'DED' (see 6.8.3), which occur on both realis and irrealis verbs. RS reflects one of the other semantic parameters in those cases, e.g. hypotheticality, which is the case in Example (640). For an epistemic marker on a realis verb see (641), where realis is due to past reference.

(640) comes from Miguel who had just discussed with Juana that they cannot write Paunaka.

(640) *pero bichupakena timesumeikabitu*

     pero bi-chupa-kena   ti-mesumeika-bi-tu
     but   1PL-know.IRR-UNCERT 3i-teach.IRR-1PL-IAM

     'but we may know it in the future, they will teach us now'

<div align="right">[jmx-e090727s.031]</div>

(641) was produced by Juana and referred to Miguel, who was in Santa Cruz to demand financial support for his blind daughter.

(641) *chisiupuchunubekena*

      chi-siupuchu-nube-kena
      3-pay-PL-UNCERT

      'they may have paid him (by now)'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-1.084]</div>

6.5.2.5 Speaker-oriented modality

The term speaker-oriented modality refers to "those cases in which the speaker gives someone an order or gives someone permission" (de Haan 2005:31). It comprises various directives as well as expressions of permission (Bybee et al. 1994:179). The only directives explicitly mentioned by Michael (2014a:252) to take irrealis marking are imperatives and polite directives or exhortatives, and speaker-oriented modality is never expressed by realis verbs according to his study. I start with the constructions mentioned by Michael (2014a:252) and then move on to other constructions that have been subsumed under the term of speaker-oriented modality: prohibitives, hortatives, admonitives, and permissives (cf. Bybee et al. 1994:179).

Imperatives can simply be construed as second person irrealis predicates, as in (642). An imperative marker can be added, but the predicate remains irrealis (see 7.3.2). Whether the imperative is to be understood as a command or polite directive mainly depends on intonation.

(642) was produced by Juana who had given me some chicha.

(642) *¡pea!*

      p-ea
      2SG-drink.IRR

      'drink!'

<div align="right">[jxx-e120516l-1.044]</div>

There is a special particle *jaje* 'HORT' for hortatives. This particle needs not to be accompanied by a predicate if it is clear from the context what the request is, but if there is an extra predicate, it has irrealis RS, like in (643). The example comes from Miguel's story about the cowherd and the spirit of the hill. The latter had taken away the cows, but invites the cowherd to come with him to look for the cows here.

(643) *"¡jaje biyuna bimupajane echÿu bakajane!"*

      jaje   *bi-yuna*   *bi-imu-pa-jane*   *echÿu* *baka-jane*
      HORT 1PL-go.IRR 1PL-see-DLOC.IRR-DISTR DEMb cow-DISTR

      "'let's go and see the cows!'"

<div align="right">[mxx-n151017l-1.38]</div>

Note that in both imperative and hortative constructions the event expressed by the predicate remains to be fulfilled, so that they may be understood as a subclass of temporally unrealised event.

Optative is expressed by *-yuini* or *-jÿti*. I have only found these markers being combined with irrealis predicates, but they are not very frequent in general (see 6.8.3.1).

There is no special permissive construction as far as I know that would be different from an imperative.

There is no general agreement on how to construe prohibitives among the speakers. While some of them simply use standard negation constructions, others employ constructions with a different negative marker.[51] Two speakers, Juana and María C., use a special negative particle *naka* 'PROH'[52] accompanied by a realis predicate, but one of them also used irrealis predicates in an elicitation session, when I asked for more examples with the prohibitive particle. Given the fact that the prohibitive construction with the realis predicate was not elicited and that there are doubly irrealis constructions including negation and another semantic parameter in Nanti and Terena that include a realis predicate (see 6.5.2.2 above), I believe that the construction with the realis predicate may be the conservative one and the use of irrealis an extension of its use in standard negation.

(644) is a prohibitive sentence elicited from María C.

(644) *¡naka piyuyuikubu!, ticheneikabi piuse*

      naka   *pi-iyuyuiku-bu* *ti-cheneika-bi*   *pi-use*
      PROH 2SG-cry-MID   3i-care.for.IRR-2SG 2SG-grandmother

      'don't cry! your grandmother will take care of you.'

                                             [uxx-c151002lf]

The prohibitive negator *naka* was verified by a third speaker, María S., who herself uses the negator *masaini* in prohibitives, which is probably composed of the apprehensive connective *masa* 'lest' and the frustrative *-ini*. *Masaini* is also used in warnings, i.e. it has an admonitive flavour. In both cases, the predicate of *masaini*-constructions is sometimes realis and sometimes irrealis in my corpus, similar to prohibitive constructions with *naka*. As far as I can tell, this is free variation that may have to do with an extension of the use of irrealis in standard negation. I could not find any other semantic parameter that could have an influence on the choice of either realis or irrealis in these constructions, but note that there are only a few of them after all. Two examples of *masaini* being combined with realis predicates are given below.

(645) was elicited from María S. and shows the prohibitive use of *masaini* peculiar to this speaker.

(645) *¡masaini pekubu!*

      masaini *pi-ekubu*
      ADM   2SG-laugh

      'don't laugh!'

                                          [rxx-e150220s-1.06]

Example (646) is rather a warning. It was elicited from Miguel. Just a moment ago, he had used an irrealis predicate in almost the same sentence.

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51. Many Arawakan languages have prohibitive construction, in which either the expression of negation differs from standard negation, e.g. by using a special prohibitive marker, or the remainder of the construction differs from the imperative construction, or both (Michael 2014b:270-271).
52. This marker resembles the Baure general negative particle *noka* (cf. Danielsen 2007:338).

(646) *¡masaini tinijabakubi kabe!*

   masaini ti-nijabaku-bi kabe
   ADM   3i-bite-2SG   dog

   'be careful, the dog may bite you!'

                                                                [mrx-e150219s.149]

See 7.3.4 for more examples of negative imperatives and related constructions.

6.5.2.6 Agent-oriented modality

Agent-oriented modality refers to the expression of "those cases in which the agent of a clause is influenced in some way in performing the action described in the clause" (de Haan 2005:30) by "internal and external conditions" (Bybee et al. 1994:177). According to Michael (2014a:252), obligation and need (called necessity by Bybee et al. 1994:177) are expressed by irrealis predicates. In Paunaka, obligation and need may be expressed simply by an irrealis predicate, see (647) to (649), all of them come from Juana.

In (647) she expresses her faith in God and duty as a catholic.

(647) *baejumi micha bia bakukene*

   bi-a-ejumi   *micha bia bi-a-kukene*
   1PL-IRR-remember   good   God 1PL-IRR-pray

   'we have to believe in God and pray'

                                                                [jxx-e150930lay-1]

The following example was elicited from Juana, because I wanted to express my pity with some groups of children from different schools who had a sports competition in the blazing sun.

(648) *takubijainube*

   ti-a-kubijai-nube
   3i-IRR-play-PL

   'they have to play'

                                                                [jrx-e151019l-2]

(649) comes from the creation story. The silk floss tree has swallowed the complete supply of corn, thus Jesus decides that it has to be felled to get the corn back.

(649) *"bikutataka eka mupuÿ"*

   bi-kutataka eka   mupuÿ
   1PL-fell.IRR DEMa silk.floss.tree

   '"we have to fell this silk floss tree"'

                                                                [jxx-n101013s-1.793-794]

Additionally a Spanish loan phrase *tiene ke* from *tiene que* 'must', also used in Bésïro, is occasionally used by some of the speakers. This makes the notion of obligation more explicit. Although it is a third person singular expression in Spanish ('he/she/it has

to'), it is not restricted to third person in Paunaka. *Tiene ke* is always followed by an irrealis predicate like in the statement in (650), which comes from Clara who speaks about washing a wound here.

(650) *tiene ke chikipucha xhabuji*

tiene ke chi-kipucha xhabu-ji
must   3-wash.IRR soap-RPRT

'she should wash it with soap, it is said'

[cux-120410ls.244]

The other semantic notions that are subsumed under agent-oriented modality are ability, desire/willingness, and root possibility, the latter "is related to ability, but also takes external factors into account" (de Haan 2005:31). Desire is usually expressed by want-verb constructions in Paunaka, this is dealt with in Section 6.5.2.7. Ability and root possibility can indeed be expressed by irrealis marking, as is the case in (651) taken from the narrative of the fox and the jaguar told by Miguel and Juana. The fox had just boosted about the many different jumps he knows, while the jaguarundi only knows one jump, but a very effective one, with which he can escape on trees, for instance, as Miguel states.

(651) *tikutijikatu chÿnajiku chijipuikiu, ¡bruj!*

ti-kutijika-tu   chÿna-jiku chi-jipuik-i-u   bruj
3i-flee.IRR-IAM one-LIM   3-jump-SUBORD-REAL INTJ

'he can escape with only one jump, bruh!'

[jmx-n120429ls-x5.365]

In addition, there are also constructions containing the non-verbal predicate *puero* 'can', a loan from Spanish, but most of the times *puero* is used when an ability or a possibility is negated (see 6.5.2.2 above). Ability in the sense of capability can also be expressed by the stative verb *-ichuna* 'be capable, know', which is followed by realis complements if no other factor (e.g. negation, hypotheticality) triggers irrealis marking. This is logical since the notion of capability is expressed by an extra predicate (see discussion in Footnote 48), so that the realis complement can express the "perceived certainty of the factual reality" (Elliott 2000:67). One example is (652) from Juana, who speaks about her children here.

(652) *tichunanube tubuejinube*

ti-ichuna-nube   ti-ubueji-nube
3i-be.capable-PL 3i-swim-PL

'they can swim'

[jxx-a120516l-a.570]

6.5.2.7 Relative future

Relative future is used to refer to those cases in which two events are set into a relation, in which the first has past time reference in relation to the moment of speaking, but the event encoded by the second predicate is not realised by the reference time defined

by the first predicate. Michael (2014a) used the term "prospective construction", but I prefer "relative future" because "prospective" was used to denote a specific type of aspect by Comrie (2001:64).

Irrealis is typically found on the purpose verb in purposive constructions. There are various ways to construe them (see 8.3.1.4, 8.3.1.5, 8.3.2.1, and 8.3.2.2).

One example is given below. It comes from Juana who told me about the work the people of Santa Rita did in exchange for their reservoir. The women brought the men chicha.

(653) *tumunube aumue tÿpi teanube nauku*

    ti-umu-nube aumue tÿpi ti-ea-nube   nauku
    3i-take-PL   chicha OBL 3i-drink.IRR-PL there

    'they brought them chicha to drink'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120515l-2.183-184]</div>

There are two construction types to express purpose of motion. Both of them have in common that the purpose verb can be irrealis, but also realis if the motion verb also has realis RS. This is discussed in detail in 8.3.3, but two examples of a motion-cum-purpose construction are given below. In (654), the purpose verb is irrealis, in (655) it is realis. It is not clear what triggers the choice of realis or irrealis complements in those cases. It might be the case that a different perspective is taken: while irrealis complements focus on the fact that the event is not completed by the reference time of the main verb, realis complements emphasise the fact that the whole event composed of the main and the complement verb is over by the moment of speaking.

The context of (654) is a description of the journey of Juana's grandparents, the whole setting is in the past, but within this past there is a relative future, i.e. the acquisition of the cows.

(654) *tiyununube Monkoxi tiyÿseikupanube chipeunube baka*

    ti-yunu-nube Monkoxi ti-yÿseiku-pa-nube   chi-peu-nube baka
    3i-go-PL   Moxos   3i-buy-DLOC.IRR-PL 3-animal-PL cow

    'they went to Moxos in order to buy cows'

<div align="right">[jxx-p151016l-2]</div>

On the other hand, in the recording from which (655) is taken, a recording by Riester with Juan Ch., the general topic is a supply with food in the present to which the event of hunting in the past made a contribution. The RS of the complement would probably have been different for a detailed description of the different sub-events that resulted from the hunting expedition.

(655) *uchuine tijaikenekÿutu niyunu ninÿupu*

    uchuine   tijaikenekÿu-tu ni-yunu ni-nÿu-pu
    just.now dawn-IAM   1SG-go 1SG-couch-DLOC

    'today in the early morning I went to couch (for animals)'

<div align="right">[nxx-a630101g-1.66]</div>

In complementation, some complement verbs obligatorily take irrealis RS, regardless of the RS of the main predicate. This is described in more detail in 8.4.1. One

example is (656) with a desiderative verb with realis RS and the complement in irrealis. This is logical given that the event of the complement is hypothetical by the reference time of the main verb. The sentence was elicited from José.

(656)   *tisachu tinijabakabi echÿu kabe*

     ti-sachu   ti-nijabaka-bi   echÿu   kabe
     3i-want   3i-bite.IRR-2SG   DEMb   dog

     'the dog wants to bite you'

<div align="right">[oxx-e120414ls-1a.134]</div>

In the following section, I will turn to a category that is still relatively unknown, although publications on this topic have been increasing during the last two decades. This is associated motion, the morphological expression of motion events together with a non-motion predicate.

6.6   Associated motion, associated path, and regressive/ repetitive

In addition to expressing motion lexically, Paunaka has some morphological means to encode motion. This has been treated under the term of "associated motion" (AM) in the literature and is the topic of this section. Furthermore, the regressive/repetitive marker is described here because it derives from an AM marker. The category of AM is not expressed very frequently in general.

The AM suffixes occur very close to the verb stem, directly following the thematic suffix. The prior motion marker can even replace the thematic suffix, see Figure 6.2 in 6 above. This and the fact that AM markers are the locus of irrealis inflection (see 6.5) makes them reminiscent of derivational affixes, but AM is commonly described as an inflectional category in South American languages (cf. Guillaume 2016). AM suffixes form a small paradigm in Paunaka and this suggests that they are indeed inflectional. The suffixes are given in Table 6.24, which additionally lists the other suffixes dealt with in this section.

<div align="center">Table 6.24: Associated motion and related suffixes</div>

Suffix (realis)	Gloss	Function
-(CV)kÿu	AM.CONC.TR	concurrent translocative motion
-(CV)kÿupunu	AM.CONC.CIS	concurrent cislocative motion
-punu	AM.PRIOR	prior motion (translocative and cislocative), directional (cislocative)
-nÿmu	AM.SUBS?	possibly subsequent motion
-pu	DLOC	dislocative, marks purpose verb of motion-cum-purpose constructions, adds path component to semantics of verb
-punuku	REG	regressive (motion back to a point) on motion verbs, repetitive on other verbs

The prior motion marker, the subsequent motion marker, and the dislocative marker have cognates in other Arawakan languages of the Southern, Kampan and Purus branch (cf. Guillaume 2016:131-138 for an overview), and a suffix *-ape* 'directional, arriving, approaching, motion' has been reconstructed for Proto-Arawakan (cf. Payne 1991:380). This could be the source of the prior motion marker and/or the dislocative marker, however, Rose (2021, p.c.) also reports of an obsolete verbal root *-po* 'go' in Mojeño. The concurrent motion markers of Paunaka do not have cognate forms in any other Southern or more distantly related Arawakan language as far as I know.[53]

The term "associated motion" was first used in the description of Australian languages (cf. Koch 1984; Wilkins 1991), and the grammatical category has recently also been described for several languages in South America (e.g. Guillaume 2000, 2013, 2016; Fabre 2013; Vuillermet 2013; Rose 2015a) and other parts of the world (e.g. O'Connor 2007; Jacques 2013).

Guillaume (2013, 2016) offers two definitions of the category that can be defined as a broad and a narrow definition. According to the broad definition, "[a]n AM marker is a grammatical morpheme that is associated with the verb and that has among its possible functions the coding of translational motion" (Guillaume 2016:92). The narrow definition defines AM markers as "grammatical markers that attach to non-motion verbs and specify that the verb action occurs against the background of a motion event with a specific orientation in space" (Guillaume 2013:131).

The distinction into broad and narrow definition works well for Paunaka: the two markers of concurrent motion can be defined as AM markers according to the narrow definition, see 6.6.1, but the prior motion marker can only be defined as an AM marker according to the broad definition, see 6.6.2. There is one marker that possibly encodes subsequent motion, which is described in 6.6.3. In addition, the dislocative marker very much resembles the prior motion marker because it appears in the same grammatical contexts. Nonetheless, it cannot be defined an AM marker with certainty because it does not itself encode motion, but rather emphasises the path and goal component of a motion event or adds such a component. However, one of the speakers also uses the marker to encode translocative prior motion, when the intention to do something in another place is foregrounded and motion plays a minor role. This is discussed in more detail in 6.6.4.

Unlike other Amazonian languages (cf. Guillaume 2016), Paunaka has no markers to encode motion of the object. The markers described in this section exclusively encode motion of the subject. The only exception are two verbs, in which two of the markers, *-punu* and *-pu*, are lexicalised. Those two verbs encode motion of the object and are described in 6.6.5.

Guillaume (2016:83) proposed two hierarchies for AM marking, which are given in Figure 6.5.

1. motion of the subject > motion of the object

2. prior motion > concurrent motion > subsequent motion

Figure 6.5: AM hierarchies after Guillaume (2016:83)

The first scale thus definitely holds for Paunaka: All markers encode motion of the subject, motion of the object is restricted to two specific verbs. The second scale

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53. Trinitario has several concurrent motion markers, but none of them is related to a sequence *-kÿu* (cf. Rose 2015a:135).

does also hold for Paunaka, however, Paunaka has more fine-grained expressions for concurrent motion than for prior motion. It shares this characteristic with Trinitario.[54]

This chapter concludes with Section 6.6.6, which deals with the different possibilities to mark regression and repetition on predicates, with the regressive marker definitely being derived from the prior motion marker.

6.6.1 Concurrent motion

The suffixes *-(CV)kÿu* and *-(CV)kÿupunu* can be clearly defined as AM markers. They both encode concurrent motion, i.e. motion that happens simultaneously with the action expressed by the predicate. They are not used for any other purpose than AM marking. The suffixes differ in deixis.

The marker *-(CV)kÿu* consists of a sequence *kÿu* that is attached to the reduplicated last syllable of the verb stem in the majority of cases. Since most active verb stems end in the thematic suffix *-ku*, the most frequent form of the concurrent motion marker is *-kukÿu*, but there are also cases in which another last syllable is reduplicated as is the case in Example (658) below. The reduplicated syllable may also be dropped so that the bare form *-kÿu* shows up, but there are only very few occurrences of this in the corpus.

The marker *-(CV)kÿu* is used to express concurrent translocative motion, i.e. motion away from the deictic centre.[55] It attaches to non-motion verbs, active and stative ones alike.

Example (657) shows the marker attached to an active non-motion verb. There is no (other) motion verb in this clause, the only marker of motion being the AM suffix, which encodes that the actions of talking and moving (walking in this case) happen simultaneously. The sentence comes from Juana's description of their grandparents' journey to Moxos and back home. They had bought cows in Moxos.

(657) *chichujikukukÿunube chipeunube baka*

      chi-chujiku-kukÿu-nube   *chi-peu-nube* *baka*
      3-speak-AM.CONC.TR-PL 3-animal-PL cow

      'they went talking to their cows'

                                                   [jxx-p151016l-2]

In addition, the marker can also attach to manner of motion verbs, where it adds a certain translational reading, like in the following example from the same story as the prior example. There were heavy rainfalls and the grandparents came to an arroyo, which they had to cross swimming.

(658) *tubuejijikÿubu pasaunube*

      ti-ubueji-jikÿu-bu   *pasau-nube*
      3i-swim-AM.CONC.TR-MID pass-PL

      'swimming they went and passed (the arroyo)'

                                                   [jxx-p151016l-2]

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54. Trinitario, according to the analysis by Rose (2015a:140), does not have markers to express prior motion at all except for *-pono*, which encodes prior and subsequent motion together. Guillaume (2016:108, 117-118) nonetheless counts Trinitario's *-pono* as a prior motion marker and argues that it may rather be motion to a temporary location than return motion that is encoded.
55. Other terms to express motion away from the deictic centre are itive and andative.

The verb *-ubueji* 'swim' in the example above is a stative verb[56] and could therefore arguably be defined as a verb that expresses a stative location 'be in water' rather than motion 'swim'. However, the AM marker also attaches to clearly active manner of motion verbs like *-bÿbÿku* 'fly' in example (659) and *-yuiku* 'walk' in (661).

(659) comes from the story by Miguel about a lazy man. In the end of the story, he sacrifices himself, cutting off arms and legs, and lets his son throw him into a pond. From there, he rises to the sky as a comet, which comes back every year.[57]

(659) *kada anyo kue pimua echÿu pasauna chikuyeni tibÿbÿkukukÿu anÿke...*

    kada   anyo   kue   pi-mua   echÿu   pasau-ina   chi-kuye-ni
    each   year   if   2SG-see.IRR   DEMb   pass-IRR.NV   3-be.like.this-DEICT

    ti-bÿbÿku-kukÿu   anÿke
    3i-fly-AM.CONC.TR   up

    'every year, when you see something passing by there like moving and flying above...'

                                           [mox-n110920l.128]

The AM marker in the previous example expresses that the flight follows a certain route, which is also encoded by the Spanish loan *pasau*, which has several translations to English, of which 'pass by' is the most accurate here. Compare this example to (660), where Juana does not emphasise a route but rather the ability of the bird to fly, and thus does not use the concurrent AM marker on the predicate.

(660) *i echÿu yÿnÿ tibÿbÿku anÿke*

    i   echÿu   yÿnÿ   ti-bÿbÿku   anÿke
    and   DEMb   jabiru   3-fly   up

    'and the jabiru flies up in the sky'

                                           [jxx-a120516l-a.253]

The focus on route is prevalent in the following example, where Miguel describes the motion of a wooden toy cow that I move along my notebook, not randomly, but following a route from one point on the notebook to another.

(661) *mm, tiyuikukukÿu*

    mm   ti-yuiku-kukÿu
    INTJ   3i-walk-AM.CONC.TR

    'hm, it goes walking'

                                         [mox-e110914l-1.150]

Irrealis is expressed on the AM marker rather than on the verb stem. The irrealis form of the marker is *-(CV)kÿa* as can be seen in (662) (second verb in the example), where irrealis is due to future reference of the predicate. The sentence comes from the recordings by Riester with Juan Ch.

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56. It is composed of the defective verb *-ubu* 'be, live', the classifier *-e* CLF:water, and the sequence *-ji* of unclear origin.

57. As for the marker *-ni* at the end of the adjective, it is a deictic element that simultaneously adds some emphasis to the word to which it attaches. It occurs very infrequently and is predominantly used by María C., but also sometimes by others. Its exact meaning or function could not be determined.

(662)   *nipubÿchupunu ruschÿmÿnÿ charutu chijibÿkukukÿa*

    ni-pu-bÿu-chu-punu   *ruschÿ-mÿnÿ* *charutu* *chi-jibÿku-kukÿa*
    1SG-give-hand-TH2-AM.PRIOR two-DIM   cigar   3-smoke-AM.CONC.TR.IRR

    'I came and put in his hand two cigars so that he would go smoking them'
                                        [nxx-p630101g-1.035-036]

The marker *-(CV)kÿupunu* similarly attaches to non-motion and manner of motion verbs, the difference to *-(CV)kÿu* is the deixis expressed; while *-(CV)kÿu* is translocative, *-(CV)kÿupunu* is cislocative (or venitive). *-(CV)kÿupunu* can be decomposed into an optional reduplicated syllable, the sequence *kÿu* and the suffix *-punu*, which is itself an AM marker used to express prior motion among other things, see Section 6.6.2.[58]

The following example shows the cislocative concurrent motion marker on a non-motion verb realised as a headless relative clause (8.5.2). The "shouters" are moving toward the deictic centre. In this case this is a village, or some people within this village, who are visited by some of their former neighbours that had been enchanted by the spirit of the hill. The villagers help them drive the cows (shouting), but cannot see them, because they are invisible, having turned into ghosts. The sentence comes from a story by Miguel.

(663)   *tosetuji chisamunubetuji echÿu tiyÿbuikÿupununubetuji*

    tose-tu-ji   *chi-samu-nube-tu-ji*   *echÿu*
    noon-IAM-RPRT 3-hear-PL-IAM-RPRT DEMb

     ti-yÿbui-kÿupunu-nube-tu-ji
     3i-shout-AM.CONC.CIS-PL-IAM-RPRT

    'when it turned twelve, they heard the ones who came shouting, it is said'
                                        [mxx-n151017l-1.86]

In the following Example (664), the cislocative concurrent motion marker is attached to a stative verb. Miguel is commenting about his brother José, whom Swintha and Miguel wanted visit at his home, which is outside Santa Rita's village centre. The fact that people do not pass by randomly gives José certain freedom to dress or undress according to his mood – and the weather, of course.

(664)   *kapunu, tisukerepÿikÿupunu*

    kapunu *ti-sukere-pÿi-kÿupunu*
    come   3i-be.naked-body-AM.CONC.CIS

    'he comes, naked he comes'

                                        [mox-c110926s-1.107]

There are no cases of irrealis marking on the cislocative concurrent motion marker in the corpus, but I suppose this is a co-incidence.

Both concurrent motion markers express associated motion in the narrower sense as "grammatical markers that attach to non-motion verbs and specify that the verb action occurs against the background of a motion event with a specific orientation in space" (Guillaume 2013:131). The only point in which they deviate from the definition is that

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58. Alternatively, *-(CV)kÿupunu* could also be analysed as a conventionalised sequence of two markers, the concurrent motion marker *-(CV)kÿu* and the prior motion marker *-punu* in its directional sense.

they also attach to manner of motion verbs. However, manner of motion verbs are also among the targets of AM markers in Trinitario (Rose 2015a:131). An investigation of the ability of (some?) AM markers to attach to manner of motion verbs would thus be an interesting topic for future research.

6.6.2   Prior motion

The marker *-punu* (irrealis *-puna*) has among its functions the expression of prior motion in relation to the predicate. Furthermore, the marker is lexicalised on a number of motion verbs, and one non-verbal motion predicate. It can also be used as a directional and as a purpose marker together with another motion predicate.

If *-punu* attaches to a verb stem, the thematic suffix *-ku* is often dropped as in (665). The verb is commonly realised as *-niku* 'eat', but appears here without the thematic suffix. The action of eating follows the action of coming, thus it is an example of *-punu* with the function of expressing prior motion.

The example comes from Clara, who suggests that María C. could speak a little Paunaka with her son, using for instance this sentence:

(665)   *pinipuna nichechapÿibi*

    pi-ni-puna   *ni-chechapÿi-bi*
    2SG-eat-AM.PRIOR 1SG-son-2SG

    'come and eat, my dear son'

<div align="right">[cux-c120414ls-2.302]</div>

In (666), however, the AM marker follows the thematic suffix of the verb *-semaiku* 'search, look for'. This example comes from Miguel telling Swintha what he was doing the afternoon. Some cows had escaped from the enclosure.

(666)   *nisemaikupunu echÿu bakajane*

    ni-semaiku-punu   *echÿu* *baka-jane*
    1SG-search-AM.PRIOR DEMb cow-DISTR

    'I went to look for the cows'

<div align="right">[mxx-n101017s-2.072]</div>

(665) and (666) also show that the direction of motion is not specified. That is, motion can be cislocative, as is the case in (665), as well as translocative, as we have seen in (666).

I give two more examples that show the AM function of the suffix with different directions, cislocative in (667) and translocative in (668).

Example (667) comes from a correction session with Juana. She re-enacts what she heard Juan Ch. say in one of the recordings by Riester.

(667)   *micha, kumare, etibupuna*

    micha *kumare* *e-tibu-puna*
    good   fellow 2PL-sit.down-AM.PRIOR.IRR

    'I am fine, fellow, come and sit down'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-2.039]</div>

In Example (668), a cislocative reading is not possible; the sentence refers to Clara's going to the building plot of her son to remove the weed there. It was uttered by María C. At the time of the utterance, we were all sitting in Clara's yard. María C. had not accompanied Clara to the building plot, nor is there any connection of hers to the building plot that would make a cislocative reading plausible.

(668) *chiyaemÿnÿ lote chisupunu, chubiuna chichechapÿi*

    chi-yae-mÿnÿ lote   chi-isu-punu   chÿ-ubiu-ina   chi-chechapÿi
    3-GRN-DIM   plot 3-weed-AM.PRIOR 3-house-IRR.NV 3-son

    'she went to weed his building plot, for the future house of her son'
                        [cux-c120414ls-1.98-101]

As an AM marker, *-punu* is usually suffixed to non-motion verbs, but I have also found it on the demonstrative adverb *naka*. Note that the suffix is realised with an additional initial *u* in this case, as in (669). This is a reply of Miguel to Juan C.'s statement that he had come back after having lived in another place for fifteen years.

(669) *nakaupunu Naranjitoyae*

    naka-upunu   Naranjito-yae
    here-AM.PRIOR Naranjito-LOC

    '(you) came here, to Naranjito'

                        [mqx-p110826l.451]

The suffix has lexicalised with a number of motion verbs. Many of these motion verbs are never found without it, but some can replace *-punu* by the dislocative marker *-pu* (see Section 6.6.4). Table 6.25 presents the verbs that obligatorily take *-punu*.

Table 6.25: Verbs lexicalised with the prior motion marker

Verb	Translation	Comment
(-bÿku-punu)	enter	*-bÿku-pu* is more frequent
-bÿsÿu-punu	come	*-bÿsÿu* 'come'
-e-punu	take	occasionally *-e-pu*
-etu-punu	leave s.th. with s.b., take/bring s.th. to a place	*-etuku* 'put'
ka-punu	come	non-verbal predicate, see 7.2.8
-kuje-punu	get hold of	
-ne-punu	see s.b. going	motion of object, see 6.6.5
-tu-punu	reach (tr.)	
-tu-punu-bu	arrive (intr.)	
-u-punu	bring	*-u* is an existential root, but does not occur on its own
-yunu-punu	go back	*-yunu* 'go'; *-yunupu* 'go to'; *-yunupunuku* 'go back'
-yu-punu	go/come out, exit	occasionally *-yu-pu*; related to *-yunu* 'go' and *-yuiku* 'walk'

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Since most verb forms listed in the table do not exist without the dislocative, it is impossible to tell which semantic feature it adds to the stem. It is clear, however, that some verbs describe motion away from the deictic centre (i.e. translocative), like -*epunu* 'take', and some towards the deictic centre (i.e. cislocative), like -*upunu* 'bring'.

The verbs that stick out here are the two translational motion verbs -*bÿsÿupunu* and -*yunupunu*. Both have counterparts without the AM marker, -*bÿsÿu* 'come' and -*yunu* 'go', respectively. According to the speakers, there is no difference between -*bÿsÿu* without and -*bÿsÿupunu* with the marker, but the latter is the preferred form that sounds "better". This is surprising, since addition of -*punu* to motion verbs usually denotes a movement back to a place, but I have indeed encountered examples with -*bÿsÿupunu*, in which no return is implied. It occurs twice as often as -*bÿsÿu* in the corpus. One difference between the two verbs that I could make out is that the irrealis form -*bÿsÿupuna* is clearly preferred over -*bÿsÿa*, although there are a few examples with the latter, too.

(670) is an example with the verb -*bÿsÿu* and (671) shows the use of -*bÿsÿupunu*. Both examples describe some motion from "there" to "here" and there are absolutely no differences in meaning between the two verbs.

In (670), Juana speaks about a relocation in Santa Cruz.

(670) *tukiu nauku tanÿma bibÿsÿu naka*

      tukiu nauku tanÿma bi-bÿsÿu   naka
      from   there   now   1PL-come   here

      'from there we came here now'

                                                     [jxx-p110923l-1.182]

(671) comes from Miguel and also describes a relocation, from Altavista to Santa Rita.

(671) *bichubibikiu tukiu nauku bibÿsÿupunu naka*

      bi-chubibik-i-u   *tukiu nauku bi-bÿsÿu-punu*   *naka*
      1PL-stroll-SUBORD-REAL from   there   1PL-come-AM.PRIOR here

      'moving from there, we came here'

                                               [mxx-p110825l.181]

The meaning of -*yunupunu* is lexicalised as 'go back', opposed to -*yunu* 'go'. The point of origin towards which the motion is directed is the home of the speaker in most cases, but it can also be another point, from which the referent has departed before. In any case, this point is perceived as a fixed basis in relation to the referent.[59] This can be seen in Example (672). At this point of the story, the grandparents of Juana try to cross the arroyo with their cows, but the water spirit has risen from the water and threatens them, so that they have to return and climb up the slope again, which they achieve by pulling themselves up grabbing twigs or roots that grow in the arroyo.[60]

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59. This description may sound a bit cryptic, it will become clearer in 6.6.6, where -*yunupunu* 'go back (returning to origin)' is contrasted with -*yunupunuku* 'go back (to non-origin or departing)'.
60. The stem of the verb is also very interesting, a detailed analysis of it is found in 6.2.9, ex. (516).

(672)   *tijatÿtÿkeikukukÿubunubeji yÿkÿke tiyunupununube*

     ti-jatÿtÿkeiku-kukÿu-bu-nube-ji   *yÿkÿke ti-yunupunu-nube*
     3i-pull.sticks-AM.CONC.TR-MID-PL-RPRT stick   3i-go.back-PL

     'going pulling themselves up with the help of sticks (i.e. twigs and roots), they went back (up the slope), it is said'

                                                     [jxx-p151016l-2]

The meaning of *-yunupunu* is partly decomposable into the meanings of the prior motion marker *-punu* and the verb *-yunu* as 'come to a point and go', however, the fact that the verb only describes actions of going back and not of going further is something that is not predictable from its parts. This is rather a case of regressive marking, however, *-yunu* can also combine with the regressive marker *-punuku* with a slightly different meaning (see discussion in 6.6.6).

The meaning of return is also realised by *-punu*, when it attaches to any other verb that can be interpreted to include motion: After having managed to climb up the slope again (see (672) above), Juana's grandparents clutch a tree, so that the wind cannot blow them back into the arroyo. The verb stem *-jatÿku* translates as 'pull'. In combination with *-puna*, it could, of course, mean 'come and pull' here, but since 'pull' can be understood to include motion, it is rather the direction of this pulling back to the arroyo which is expressed here.

(673)   *nebuji eka tujubeiku kuinabu chijatÿkupunanubetu nauku*

     nebu-ji   *eka*   *tujubeiku* *kuina-bu* *chi-jatÿku-puna-nube-tu*
     3OBL.TOP.PRN-RPRT DEMa wind   NEG-DSC 3-pull-AM.PRIOR.IRR-PL-IAM

      nauku
      there

     'so that the wind could not pull them back there anymore, it is said'

                                                       [jxx-p151016l-2]

In addition, I found one example of a translational motion verb with *-punu* in the corpus, in which *-punu* functions as a directional that specifies that the action is directed toward the deictic centre, the place where the speaker, María S., currently lives and where she uttered the sentence. In this case, *-punu* cannot be interpreted as motion back to a point because the family had not lived at this point before as far as I know. The actions of coming and moving thus happen simultaneously, see Example (674).

(674)   *bichÿnumitu – nechikue bijechÿpunu naka*

     bi-chÿnumi-tu   *nechikue* *bi-jechÿ-punu*   *naka*
     1PL-be.sad-IAM therefore 1PL-move-AM.PRIOR here

     'we were sad (when our father died) – therefore we moved here'

                                                    [rxx-e120511l.170-171]

Last but not least, *-punu* can also attach to a non-motion verb which is combined with another motion predicate in the clause. In these constructions, *-punu* very much resembles the dislocative marker *-pu*, which is frequently found in translocative motion-cum-purpose constructions, see Section 6.6.4.

(675) to (677) exemplify this with different cislocative predicates. It is possible that this double-marking of motion can be attributed to Spanish influence, because

there is no way of encoding motion morphologically in Spanish. The speakers may thus feel the need to be more explicit. In any case, constructions like these could be the beginning of re-interpretation of the AM marker as a purpose marker. This is what possibly happened to the dislocative marker before.

(675) was a statement by María C. directed to me.

(675)   *pibÿsÿu naka pisamupunu paunaka*

 pi-bÿsÿu *naka* *pi-samu-punu*   *paunaka*
 2SG-come here 2SG-hear-AM.PRIOR Paunaka

 'you came here to learn (lit.: hear) Paunaka'

<div align="right">[uxx-p110825l.036]</div>

(675) comes from Juana, who speaks about a criminal in-law of hers. He was fugitive and only came home at night.

(676)   *las dies yuti titupunubu timukupunaji nechÿu*

 las dies   *yuti* *ti-tupunubu* *ti-muku-puna-ji*   *nechÿu*
 at ten o'clock night 3i-arrive 3i-sleep-AM.PRIOR.IRR-RPRT DEMc

 'at ten o'clock at night, he arrived in order to sleep there, it is said'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-2.115]</div>

In (677), Juana speaks about the men of Santa Rita, who were clearing land for a German lady in exchange for the construction of the reservoir.

(677)   *tuse kapupununubeinatu tinikupunanube*

 tuse *kapupunu-nube-ina-tu* *ti-niku-puna-nube*
 noon come.back-PL-IRR.NV-IAM 3i-eat-AM.PRIOR.IRR-PL

 'at noon they would come back to eat'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120515l-2.187]</div>

As has been shown, the marker *-punu* has two to three different functions; on non-motion verbs, it functions as an AM marker that encodes prior motion without a specified direction, as a directional on motion verbs, it encodes regressive deixis and possibly also non-regressive motion towards the deictic centre. In combination with another motion predicate in the clause, it seems to marks purpose. It could therefore be defined an AM marker according to the broad definition by Guillaume (2016:92), because *one of its functions is the expression of translational motion.*

In addition to the suffix *-punu*, there is an imperative particle *pana* 'come!' that possibly goes back to an old irrealis form of the marker that preserved vowel harmony (see Footnote 49 in Section 6.5.1).[61] (678) shows the imperative venitive particle, for more examples see 7.3.3. The sentences come from Juana and reproduce a warning directed to María S. by her husband, when they were bathing in the reservoir of Santa Rita.

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61. In addition, *pana* is also the second person singular irrealis form of *-anau* 'make' (*pi-ana* 2SG-make.IRR), but this seems to be a co-incidence.

(678) *"¡pana naka! ¡kechue echÿu!"*

    pana   naka kechue echÿu
    come! here snake   DEMb

    '"come here! that's a snake!"'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120515l-2.164]</div>

6.6.3 Subsequent motion

In addition to the concurrent and prior AM markers, there is possibly also a subsequent motion marker *-nÿmu/-nÿma*. This marker appeared once in the account by Juana about her grandparents' journey and was translated by her as 'sleep in a hut, on the way'. This translation could imply subsequent motion because sleeping on the way, on a long journey that takes several days, implies that one moves on the next day.

(679) *timukunÿmunube juchubu kaku ÿne*

    ti-muku-nÿmu-nube   *juchubu kaku ÿne*
    3i-sleep-AM.SUBS?-PL where   exist water

    'they spent the night where water was (and went)'

<div align="right">[jxx-e150925l-1.197]</div>

Trinitario has a cognate marker *-numo*, which is analysed as a subsequent motion marker by Rose (2015a).[62] Among the translations for the suffix she found in the grammar by Marbán (1894), there is 'do on the way' besides subsequent motion 'do and go'. In current Trinitario, speakers translate the morpheme as 'do s.th. first', which is also the translation found for the Ignaciano cognate *-numa* (Rose 2015a:141-142).

Example (680) is from an elicitation session, in which I asked María S. whether some verbs with added *-nÿmu* were possible and what they meant. I asked for the form *nikubunÿmu* 'I bath (and go)', and María S. produced the following sentence to provide me with an example how the form could be used. It contained an explicit motion verb that encoded motion back home after the action of the verb marked with *-nÿmu* is completed.

(680) *niyunupunatu ubiayae nikubunÿmutu*

    ni-yunupuna-tu   *ubiae-yae* *ni-kubu-nÿmu-tu*
    1SG-go.back.IRR-IAM house-LOC 1SG-bathe-AM.SUBS?-IAM

    'I will go back to the house now, I have bathed now (and go)'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181018le-a]</div>

With other verbs, the speaker rather provided a translation that included 'over there' (which does not exclude the possibility that it is a subsequent motion marker) and she would not accept all examples that I tried to produce with this marker. It is in any case a rare suffix and does not seem to be included in the (very) active repertoire of grammatical morphemes of the speakers.

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62. In addition, Baure has a subsequent motion marker *-wana* (cf. Danielsen 2007:257), but the relation to this form is not as straightforward as to the Trinitario one.

6.6.4 Associated path

Of the suffixes described in this section, the dislocative marker *-pu/-pa* has the most diverse functions. It occurs predominantly in expressions of motion with purpose that are construed with two verbs, the motion verb and the purpose verb. The dislocative attaches to the purpose verb in this case. In addition, it is lexicalised with a number of motion verbs and possibly also with some non-motion verbs. The general motion verb *-yunu* 'go' has a variant *-yunupu* 'go to' derived with this suffix. I found it very hard to come to grips with this suffix until I finally understood that a) my assumption that the marker occurred on certain stative verbs was simply false and resulted from some misheard forms and b) my main consultants on this topic, Juana and María S., use the marker quite differently. I will explain this in more detail below.

In a preliminary stage of analysis, I decided to name the marker "dislocative", following the terminology of O'Connor (2007), who uses the term to describe a morpheme in Lowland Chontal of Oaxaca (Tequistlatecan).[63] According to O'Connor (2007:112), "the dislocative is oriented to the Goal or ending point of motion away." It is "concerned with situating the event at a not-here location". Since this definition holds for a part of the constructions found with the marker, I will stick to the term, although in other contexts "intentional" or "purposive" would be a better gloss.[64]

Although the dislocative marker occurs in different kinds of motion expressions, it does not by itself encode motion (although motion may be implied in its use by María S.). It rather highlights the path or goal of a motion event or adds such a component. It could therefore be defined as belonging to a category of "associated path", although this term was originally used to cover the functions of some suffixes that encode AM plus some more path-related meanings (cf. Simpson 2002:297-298). Despite highlighting path or goal, it is not a directional either, since it does not encode any specific direction, but rather the existence of a direction.

In the remainder of this section, I give an overview of the different kinds of occurrences and functions of the dislocative. I start the description with a list of verbs that obligatorily take the dislocative marker in Table 6.26.

Table 6.26: Motion verbs lexicalised with the dislocative suffix

Verb	Translation	Comment
-benu-pu	lie down, be born	one occurrence of each *-benu* and *-benu-punu* in corpus
-bÿku-pu	enter	*-bÿku-punu* is also possible
-jinu-pu	flow, flood	
-ku-pu	go down, descend	
-neku-pu	see s.b. coming	motion of object, see 6.6.5
-yunu-pu	go to	*-yunu* 'go', *-yunu-punu* 'go back'
(*-yu-pu*)	go/come out, exit	more frequent form is *-yu-punu*

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63. The language is also known as Huamelultec, and should not be confused with the Mayan language also called Chontal.

64. In addition, the "dislocative" is also used in the description of Onondonga, a Northern Iroquian language spoken in North America, and defined as follows: "The dislocative indicates agentive movement or intention on the part of the subject to undertake the event denoted by the verb" (Barrie 2015:66).

Besides motion verbs, some verbs that encode motion in a more abstract way are lexicalised with the dislocative marker, like *-jakupu* 'receive, answer' whose meaning is about exchange, although this exchange may include more (receive) or less concrete (answer) motion. Some other verbs do not seem to encode motion at all. It is unclear at the moment whether they take the same dislocative marker or a homophonous suffix with a yet undetermined meaning. These verbs are listed in Table 6.27.

Table 6.27: Non-motion verbs with *-pu*

Verb	Translation	Comment
-chu-pu	know	*-chupu* is used for 'know a fact' and mostly negated
-jaku-pu	receive, answer	
-jeku-pu	lose	
-jeku-pu-mi	forget	
-jiku-pu	swallow	
-kÿchu-pu	wait	
-seku-pu	suit	*-seku* 'dig hole'
-tu-pu	find, meet	*-tu-punu* 'reach'

As for addition of the dislocative marker to the basic motion verb *-yunu* 'go', the resulting form *-yunupu* 'go to' obligatorily takes a goal as its object, thus the dislocative marker functions as a kind of applicative here.

A clause with *-yunu* can already contain an explicit goal, which usually carries the locative marker *-yae* to mark it as an oblique in this case. This can be seen in Example (681), where the endpoint of the translational motion encoded by the predicate is the field of the addressed person. Miguel was talking with José in this case.

(681) *¿pero piyunu pisaneyae?*

   pero pi-yunu pi-sane-yae
   but   2SG-go   2SG-field-LOC

   'but did you go to your field?'

   [mox-c110926s-1.185]

However, if the focus is not on the goal, but on the action of going (somewhere previously established), there is no need to express a goal in the clause. Note that in those cases, the goal is either retrievable through the context or unimportant, as is the case with (682) from Miguel's story about the fox and the jaguar. The jaguar wants to punish the fox, but the latter has already gone away. The goal is not of importance here, but rather the fact that the fox has left the scene.

(682) *kuina kakuina kupisaÿrÿ, tiyunutu*

   kuina kaku-ina   kupisaÿrÿ ti-yunu-tu
   NEG   exist-IRR.NV fox   3i-go-IAM

   'the fox wasn't there, he had already gone'

   [jmx-n120429ls-x5.167-168]

In contrast, if the dislocative suffix is added to *-yunu*, mention of an explicit goal is obligatory and the goal is not marked with the locative suffix, see (683), where the goal is a common noun, and (684) where the goal is a toponym.[65]

(683) comes from Miguel making a statement about his brother.

(683)   *kuina Jose, tiyunupu uneku*

   kuina   Jose   ti-yunu-pu   uneku
   NEG   José   3i-go-DLOC   town

   'José isn't here, he went to town'

<div align="right">[mxx-d110813s-2.013]</div>

(684) is also from Miguel who describes a passage of his life.

(684)   *tukiuku naka biyunupu Naranjito*

   tukiu-uku   naka   bi-yunu-pu   Naranjito
   from-ADD   here   1PL-go-DLOC   Naranjito

   'from here again we went to Naranjito'

<div align="right">[mxx-p110825l.181]</div>

Note that the dislocative suffix is added to *-yunu* most often, when the goal is *uneku* 'town', which is always equivalent to Concepción in the corpus.[66]

Other motion verbs lexicalised with the dislocative marker do not assign object status to goal arguments. The verb *-bÿkupu* 'enter' takes a goal argument marked with the locative marker, see Example (685), and in the only occurrence of *-jinupu* 'flow' with a goal, this is introduced by *tÿpi* 'OBL', which can be translated as 'towards' in this case, see Example (686). Therefore, the dislocative marker cannot be described as a general applicative to promote object status to goal arguments, this is rather a peculiarity of the combination of the verb stem *-yunu* 'go' with the marker.

(685) comes from Juana's account about her grandparents' journey with their cows. When they rested, they let their cows in enclosures.

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65. Note that, although there is usually a locative marker on the goal NPs of the verb *-yunu* 'go', *-yae* is sometimes dropped. This is especially true if the goal is a toponym, but also in some other cases, like (i).

(i)   *kuina niyuna asaneti, pasayu sache*

   kuina   ni-yuna   asaneti   pasa-yu   sache
   NEG   1SG-go.IRR   field   a.lot-INTS   sun

   'I didn't go to the field, there was much sun'

<div align="right">[rmx-e150922l.004]</div>

66. In an elicitation session, Juana rejected *Santa Kuru*, 'the city of Santa Cruz', as a possible goal for *-yunupu*, however *asaneti* 'field' was an appropriate goal according to her. María S. would only accept *uneku* 'town' (equivalent to Concepción) as a possible goal for *-yunupu*. It is possible that *-yunupu* is only applicable to places in the closer, more familiar surrounding of the speakers or places where they go regularly or that are in walking distance.

(685) *tibÿkupujaneji bakayayae baka*

        ti-bÿkupu-jane-ji   *bakaya-yae*   *baka*
        3i-enter-DISTR-RPRT enclosure-LOC cow

        'the cows went into the enclosure, it is said'

<div align="right">[jxx-p151016l-2]</div>

(686) is also from Juana, she speaks about the water that comes from Naranjito.

(686) *echÿuni, jaa, nauku tijinupu tÿpi echÿu chÿkÿ*

        echÿu-ni   *jaa* *nauku* *ti-jinupu* *tÿpi* *echÿu* *chÿkÿ*
        DEMb-DEICT AFM there 3i-flow OBL DEMb arroyo

        'from there, yes, there it flows towards the arroyo'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120515l-2.129-131]</div>

There are a few rare cases in the corpus, where the dislocative marker attaches to verbs that do not express locomotion, like *kebu* 'rain'. Compare Example (687), which has no dislocative marker and simply gives information about the weather, with Example (688). The latter example expresses that the rain not only fell randomly, but was directed towards the school, i.e. entered the school, which is the important information in this clause.

(687) comes from the same context as (685) above.

(687) *tikebu ÿku*

        ti-kebu *ÿku*
        3i-rain rain

        'it rained'

<div align="right">[jxx-p151016l-2]</div>

(688) was produced by Miguel when he told me about the history of Santa Rita. They had built a school, but apparently, the roof had a leak.

(688) *kuina tamichana echÿu, tikebupu echÿu*

        kuina *ti-a-michana* *echÿu* *ti-kebu-pu*   *echÿu*
        NEG 3i-IRR-nice DEMb 3i-rain-DLOC DEMb

        'it wasn't good, it dripped in'

<div align="right">[mxx-p110825l.089]</div>

The example in (688) was produced by Miguel and verified by Juana (although she understood it that way, that the rain flooded the school rather than dripping in). María S., however, claimed this form was ungrammatical, which probably has to do with her usage of the suffix as a marker of motion to town, see below.

Most frequently, the dislocative marker is used in expressions of motion with purpose, in which there is a separate motion predicate and the dislocative attaches to the verb expressing the purpose. I call this type of construction the motion-cum-purpose construction (or MCPC).

Examples (689) and (690) illustrate this use.

(689) comes from Miguel's account about the past. He cites the old *patrón* of Altavista, when he had to let the workers go after the agrarian reform of 1952.

(689) *"¡eyuna esamaikupa juchubu ubiuye!"*

e-yuna   e-semaiku-pa   juchubu ubiu-yae
2PL-go.IRR 2PL-search-DLOC.IRR where   house-LOC

'"go to look for where to live!"'

[mxx-p110825l.052]

(690) comes from María S.

(690) *niyunu nisane nisupu*

ni-yunu ni-sane   ni-isu-pu
1SG-go   1SG-field 1SG-weed-DLOC

'I went to my field to weed'

[rxx-e120511l.033]

Besides the MCPC, a serial verb construction can be used to express purpose of motion. 8.3.3 elaborates on this topic. Other kinds of purposes, which do not include motion, are construed differently.

If the motion verb is realis, the second verb can take either the realis or irrealis form of the dislocative marker to yield a perfective or imperfective reading of the action encoded by the second verb, see also 6.5.2.7 and 8.3.3.[67]

In addition to *-yunu*, other motion verbs can also be combined with a second verb that optionally takes the dislocative marker. Among them is the caused motion verb *-bÿche(i)ku* 'send, order'. In this case, both verbs have a different subject. One example is (691), which was elicited from Miguel.

(691) *ebÿcheku tiyÿseikupa*

e-bÿcheku   ti-yÿseiku-pa
2PL-order   3i-buy-DLOC.IRR

'you sent him to buy it'

[mxx-n120423lsf-X.41]

Example (692) is an MCPC with the suppletive imperative *nabi* 'go!'. It comes from Juana telling me what her mother used to say.

(692) *"¡nabi epuikupa!, temetapujiyu kÿpu"*

nabi e-epuiku-pa   teme-tapu-ji-yu   kÿpu
go!   2PL-fish-DLOC.IRR big-CLF:scales-COL-INTS sardine

'"go fishing! the sardines are very big"'

[jxx-e150925l-1.160]

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67. This is a very interesting fact in comparison with the other Bolivian Arawakan languages. Trinitario has a number of AM markers. The marker *-opo* attaches to pronouns to yield a non-verbal predication of 'come' (Rose 2015a:139), but *-po* is a perfective marker on verbs (Rose 2014b:82). Baure has lost RS, but maintains two markers *-po* and *-pa*. While *-po* is a perfective marker (Danielsen 2007:262), *-pa*'s main function is intentional marking, although it can also encode direction or AM (Admiraal 2016:221-223). Danielsen (2012) proposes the idea that both markers have developed from only one. If we consider the constructions in modern Paunaka, we can speculate that both the perfective and the intentional reading of the Baure marker may have developed out of motion-cum-purpose constructions similar to the ones present in Paunaka.

There is also one example of this construction type with the hortative particle *jaje*, in (693). The interpretation of this construction as encoding motion could result from actual motion implied in this particular example, generalised motion in hortative expressions (compare e.g. English and Spanish) or from an analogy with the Spanish hortative expression *vamos a* 'let's go to' from the verb *ir* 'go'. The example was elicited from Juana.

(693) *¡jaje binebÿkupa keyu binika!*

      jaje   *bi-nebÿku-pa*   *keyu* *bi-nika*
      HORT 1PL-collect-DLOC.IRR snail 1PL-eat.IRR

      'let's go to collect freshwater snails to eat'

                                               [jxx-e081025s-1.171]

The specific use of the dislocative marker by María S. is either derived from such an MPCP or represents a former stage, in which an additional motion predicate was not necessary in general: She also allows purpose constructions without a motion verb. The purpose verb takes the dislocative suffix and this alone conveys prior motion to a nearby place, possibly only to Concepción. One example is given in (694). María S. was tired from weeding:

(694) *nechikue niyÿbamukeikupu uneku*

      nechikue   *ni-yÿbamukeiku-pu* *uneku*
      therefore 1SG-husk-DLOC   town

      'therefore I went to husk (rice in machine) in town'

                                              [rxx-e120511l.035]

In contrast, Juana once told me that precisely this usage of the dislocative marker without a motion predicate was incorrect (she did not make reference to her sister's usage of the marker, her comment was just meant to correct me). We can thus state that there are important differences in the individual use of the dislocative marker.

6.6.5 Motion of the object

Paunaka does not have special markers that encode motion of the object, unlike other South American languages (cf. Guillaume 2016). There is however one verbal root *-ne* that is combined with *-punu* or *-pu*, resulting in stems that encode motion of the object. The root *-ne* is not used on its own, nor is there any verb stem **-neku* or **-nechu*. The verb *-nekupu* 'see somebody coming' is composed of the root *-ne,* the thematic suffix *-ku* and the dislocative marker *-pu* and expresses cislocative concurrent motion of the object. One example is given in (695), which is about the appearance of the spirit of water before Juana's grandparents on their journey home from Moxos.

(695) *nenayuji eka chinekupunubeji echÿu pariki chikebÿkeji*

      nena-yu-ji   *eka*   *chi-nekupu-nube-ji*   *echÿu* *pariki* *chi-kebÿke-ji*
      like-INTS-RPRT DEMa 3-see.coming-PL-RPRT DEMb many 3-eye-RPRT

      'it seems that they saw a pair of eyes approaching them, it is said'

                                               [jxx-p151016l-2]

If the object is an SAP, it is marked by a suffix on the verb as in Example (696), which was elicited from María S.

(696)   *nÿnekupubi*

     nÿ-nekupu-bi
     1SG-see.coming-2SG

     'I see you coming'

<div align="right">[mrx-e150219s.088]</div>

If the root *-ne* combines with *-punu* 'AM.PRIOR', there is no thematic suffix on the verb stem.[68] The verb *-nepunu* 'see somebody going' expresses translocative concurrent motion of the object. However, the verb is also translated as 'see somebody over there' by the speakers. Distance could be the more important information in this verb in comparison to motion, although the latter is probably also part of its semantics. When María S. was asked in an elicitation session what the object of the verb could be doing "over there", the first thing that came to her mind was motion away from the scene (going to the toilet or going to wash clothes).

Example (697) is from an account about the imagined theft of a young woman in the recordings from the 1960s by Riester. Juan Ch. fears that the grandfather of the woman could catch them, therefore he proposes:

(697)   *bumupaika tanÿma, kuina chinepunabu*

     bi-umu-paika   *tanÿma kuina chi-nepuna-bu*
     1PL-take-PUNCT.IRR now   NEG   3-see.going.IRR-DSC

     'we'll take her quickly now, so that he doesn't see her going anymore'

<div align="right">[nxx-a630101g-3.066]</div>

There are no other monoverbal constructions, to my knowledge, that express associated motion of the object. Strikingly, while *-punu* is normally more closely connected with cislocative motion and *-pu* with translocative motion (see previous Sections 6.6.1, 6.6.2, and 6.6.4), in combination with the root *-ne* and encoding motion of the object, the directions are reverse: *-nekupu* encodes cislocative motion and *-nepunu* translocative motion.

6.6.6 Regressive and repetitive

Regressive is a term used in the description of some Kampan Arawakan languages to describe a morpheme that "indicates motion from some point back to a salient point of origin" on motion verbs (Michael 2008:256 and see also Payne et al. 1982:42). The regressive suffix of Nanti, similar to the Paunaka suffix, in addition exhibits a meaning of "repetition of the action (or return to the state)" on non-motion verbs (Michael 2008:256). However, the abilitive reading of the regressive (cf. Michael 2008:257) is absent from Paunaka.

The regressive suffix does not encode motion by itself, therefore it does not count as an AM marker.

Paunaka's regressive marker has several allomorphs that are added to the stem: *-(u)pupunu, -upunuku* or *-(u)pupunuku*. They possibly consist of the dislocative marker

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68. Note that the suffix *-punu* is often attached to the verb stem without the thematic suffix, see Section 6.6.2.

-*pu* followed by the prior motion marker -*punu* or of the prior motion marker with a reduplicated first syllable. The source for the sequence /ku/ could either be the additive suffix -*uku* or the thematic suffix -*ku*. The whole sequence is lexicalised as encoding return or repetition. I could not find any general rules that would determine the choice of any of the allomorphs. However, stems that end in a diphthong tend to prefer -*pupunuku*. In elicitation on the regressive marker, both María S. and Juana only accepted the form -*pupunuku*. Irrealis is marked on the regressive suffix, the irrealis variants are -*(u)pupuna, -upunuka,* and -*(u)pupunuka,* respectively. Sometimes, the marker *(p)upunuku* is produced as a separate phonological word following the verb after a short pause. However, the fact that irrealis is marked on it suggests that it is a suffix nonetheless in these cases. Very infrequently, it also occurs in other positions of the clause, then it resembles an adverb or repetitive particle.

In spontaneous speech, the marker has not been combined with a person marker encoding the object in my corpus, however, elicitation showed that the object marker follows the regressive marker, like in the following example from María S.

(698)   *tinijabakupunukunÿtu kabe*

    ti-nijabaku-punuku-nÿ-tu kabe
    3i-bite-REG-1SG-IAM   dog

    'the dog bit me again'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181018le-a]</div>

Motion predicates lexicalised with the prior motion marker (see Table 6.25 in Section 6.6.2) replace -*punu* by one of the allomorphs for regressive marking. The most frequent allomorph on the motion verb -*bÿsÿu* 'come' is -*pupunuku*, closely followed by -*pupunu*. There are only a few instances of -*punuku* attached to -*bÿsÿu*. In any of the cases, the regressive implies, first, that the subject has been at the place in question before, and second, that the subject has been away from the place in question for some time before the action of coming happens. The return point is often the current location of the speaker, however, this location can be relatively small, like the speaker's home, or as big as the whole country of Bolivia depending on the perspective that is taken. In stories or personal narratives about the past, the return point is usually a salient place that has been mentioned before or is otherwise important and retrievable from the context.

Example (699) is a reported utterance of Miguel by his sister Juana, who was waiting for him at her house the previous day because apparently, Miguel had promised to visit her again. This was at the time when Juana was still living in Santa Cruz. Miguel had joined me and my colleague Swintha on a trip to Santa Cruz and we had visited his sister at her house together.

(699)   *"nibÿsÿupupunuka", tikechu*

    ni-bÿsÿu-pupunuka   ti-kechu
    1SG-come-REG.IRR 3i-say

    '"I'll come back", he said'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-1.124]</div>

In the following example, the return is to the vicinity of Concepción and Santa Rita rather than to the village of San Miguelito de la Cruz, where the sentence was produced. The village itself was only founded after people had left Naranjito. Since

Miguel, who produced this sentence, has a high historical consciousness, especially about the history of the Paunaka people in the 20th century, I suppose that this fact is well-known to him.

(700) *teneikunube Naranjito tibÿsÿupupunube naka*

ti-eneiku-nube	*Naranjito*	*ti-bÿsÿu-pupunu-nube*	*naka*
3i-live-PL	Naranjito	3i-come-REG-PL	here

‘they lived in Naranjito, then they came back here’

[mqx-p110826l.084]

In Example (701), the general return to Bolivia is meant rather than a return to the city of Santa Cruz, where I was sitting and conversing with Juana. The house she is speaking of is not in Santa Cruz, but in Concepción, and in order to see it, I would have to come to Concepción, of course.

(701) *de repente nauku tamichatu nubiu te cuando kue ebÿsÿupupunuka*

de repente	*nauku*	*ti-a-micha-tu*	*nÿ-ubiu*	*te*	*cuando*	*kue*
maybe	there	3i-IRR-good-IAM	1SG-house	SEQ	when	if

e-bÿsÿu-pupunuka
2PL-come-REG.IRR

‘maybe my house there is already ready (lit.: good), when you come back’

[jxx-p120430l-1.427]

The regressive form of the non-verbal predicate *kapunu* ‘come’ is *kapupunu* ‘come back’. Very few examples of *kapupunuku* are also found.

An example for the use of *kapupunu* is (702), where the point of return is identical to the speaker’s position. In a conversation with Swintha, María S. speculates about when I would come back to Bolivia. At that time I was pregnant and had not planned to go to the field in the near future.

(702) *kakuinatukena mediu anyutu tÿpi chichecha kapupunuina*

kaku-ina-tu-kena	*mediu*	*anyu-tu*	*tÿpi*	*chi-checha*	*kapupunu-ina*
exist-IRR-NV-IAM-UNCERT	half	year-IAM	OBL	3-son	come.back-IRR.NV

‘maybe when her child is half a year old, she will come back’

[rxx-e121128s-1.054]

The regressive marker can also be suffixed to *-yunu* ‘go’, and the resulting form *-yunupunuku* semantically resembles *-yunupunu* (see 6.6.2 above), because both describe motion back to a point of origin.[69] However, there are differences between the two. The verb *-yunupunu* implies return to a basis, mostly the home, but also other more permanent locations associated with the referent. In contrast, the verb *-yunupunuku* is used if the place of return is associated with a less permanent stay, it is thus usually not the home or another basis. Closely connected to this is that *-yunupunu* focusses on return and *-yunupunuku* on departure. In some cases departure indeed seems to be more important than non-permanent stay. Figure 6.6 illustrates this difference.

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69. Note that, besides *-yunu* ‘go’, *-yunupu* ‘go to’, *-yunupunu* ‘go back’ and *-yunu-punuku* ‘go back’, there is also *-yunuku* ‘go on’, which is possibly composed of the verb *-yunu* and the thematic suffix *-ku*. This verb is used to encode motion that is continued after interruption, e.g. when someone is traveling and the journey takes various days.
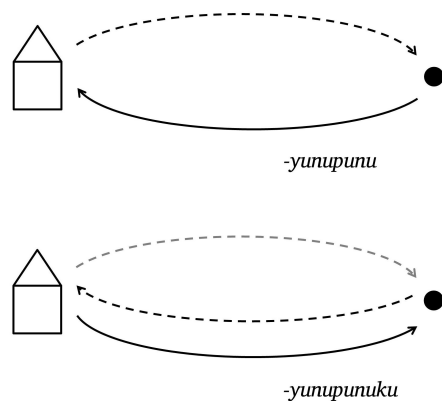
Figure 6.6: Different semantics of *-yunupunu* and *-yunupunuku*

In the following example, which was elicited from María S., both verbs are used, and the difference is obvious: the return to the home is expressed by *-yunupuna*, while the return to the field is expressed by *-yunupunuka*.

(703)   *niyunupunatu nubiuyae depue kupeina niyunupunuka asaneti*

    ni-yunupuna-tu   *nÿ-ubiu-yae*   *depue*   *kupei-ina*
    1SG-go.back.IRR-IAM   1SG-house-LOC   afterwards   afternoon-IRR.NV
      ni-yunu-punuka   *asaneti*
      1SG-go-REG.IRR field

    'I will go back to my house now, after that, in the afternoon, I will go back to the field'

                                                      [rxx-e181020le]

Another example is (704) from Juana, who described the life of her criminal in-law hiding away from the police. He only came home to sleep:

(704)   *chÿnachÿ kuje trajinau de yutitu kapupunu i tijaikenekÿu tiyunupunukuji kimenukÿ*

    chÿnachÿ *kuje*   *trajinau*   *de yuti-tu*   *kapupunu* *i*   *tijaikenekÿu*
    one   moon   commute   at night-IAM   come.back and   dawn
      ti-yunu-punuku-ji *kimenu-kÿ*
      3i-go-REG-RPRT woods-CLF:bounded

    'he commuted for a month, at night he came back home and at dawn he went back to the woods, it is said'

                                                [jxx-p120430l-2.119-123]

In (705), Juana describes that people from Santa Rita plan to come to Concepción (for the inauguration of the multi-purpose hall by Evo Morales) with two light lorries that will bring them there, return to Santa Rita only for a short stop and bring more people.

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(705) *ruschÿ kamion kapununubeina i tiyunupunuka kapunuina punachÿ tropa naka*

ruschÿ kamion kapunu-nube-ina i   ti-yunu-punuka kapunu-ina   punachÿ
two   lorry   come-PL-IRR.NV   and 3i-go-REG.IRR   come-IRR.NV   other

   tropa naka
   pack   here

'in two lorries, they come, and they (the lorries) go back, and another pack (of people) comes here'

[jxx-p150920l.080]

The importance of the point of departure is well illustrated by the next example. Juana tells about her children who came to visit her at the end of a year. When the feast days were over, they went back home. Emotionally important for the speaker in this moment is the fact that her children leave her, that they go away from her home, and not so much that they return to their own home (given that they arrive there healthy).

(706) *i despues pasau la nabidad, anyo nuebo te tiyunupunukunube*

i   despues pasau la nabidad anyo nuebo te   ti-yunu-punuku-nube
and after   pass   Christmas   New Year   SEQ 3i-go-REG-PL

'and then, when Christmas and New Year had passed, they went again'

[jxx-p120430l-1.315]

A similar example comes from Miguel who was speaking about Swintha going to Baures (in the department of Beni):

(707) *punachina semana tiyunupunukatu, tiyuna Beni*

punachÿ-ina   semana ti-yunu-punuka-tu   ti-yuna   Beni
other-IRR.NV   week   3i-go-REG.IRR-IAM   3i-go.IRR Beni

'next week, she will leave again, she will go to Beni'

[mxx-d110813s-2.043-044]

On stative non-motion predicates, the regressive marker signals the resumption and restoration of a state. In the following example, Clara comments on the state of the former estate Altavista, which is now nicely restored again (as a center for studies of the dry forest) after having suffered decay when the time of indigenous debt labour was over.

(708) *tanÿma michanapupunuku*

tanÿma michana-pupunuku
now   beautiful-REG

'it is nice and neat again'

[cux-c120414ls-1.152]

The regressive marker also appears on comments about health recovery like the one in (709), where Juana speaks about her son-in-law.

(709) *echÿu tetukapu te tamichaupupunu*

     echÿu ti-etuka-pu   te   ti-a-micha-upupunu
     DEMb 3i-put.IRR-MID SEQ 3i-IRR-good-REG

     'if he gives himself this (injection), he will be healthy (lit.: good) again'

<div align="right">[jxx-p110923l-1.068]</div>

Active non-motion verbs can also take the regressive. When the regressive marker is added to a motion predicate, the return to a place undoes the previous motion away from this point or the state of being-away from this point. Similarly, in Example (710) the regressive expresses that the action of stitching the wound is undone or the return to a stitch-less state. It comes from Miguel who speaks about an operation.

(710) *chibeupupunanube echÿu kusepimÿnÿ*

     chi-beu-pupuna-nube   echÿu kusepi-mÿnÿ
     3-take.away-REG.IRR-PL DEMb thread-DIM

     'they'll take his stitches (lit: thread) out again'

<div align="right">[mqx-p110826l.330]</div>

Furthermore, the regressive marker can also be used to signal repetition of an action. The repetition is once and in a different situation, i.e. it is different from iterative repetition as defined by Mueller (2013:97).[70]

In the following example, the main character of a story by Miguel, the lazybones who dodges making a field, returns to a place in the woods after having lunch with his wife. There he swings on a liana and plays the flute like he had already done in the morning.

(711) *tebibikupunukubuji echÿu kujubipiyae*

     ti-ebibiku-punuku-bu-ji   echÿu kujubipi-yae
     3i-swing-REG-MID-RPRT DEMb liana.sp-LOC

     'he swung himself again on the liana, it is said'

<div align="right">[mox-n110920l.042]</div>

Another example is (712) from another story by Miguel (and Juana), in which the already tipsy jaguarundi invites the fox to drink more chicha with him after the fox had ashamed him by stating that he knows 25 jumps, while the jaguarundi had to admit to know only one.

(712) *"bueno, ¡beupupunuka!"*

     bueno b-eu-pupunuka
     well   1PL-drink-REG

     '"well, let's drink again!"'

<div align="right">[jmx-n120429ls-x5.371]</div>

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70. The definition by Mueller (2013:97) centres around five obligatory characteristics, among them repetition of the verbal action and event-internal immediate repetition. Those two characteristics do not fit the semantics of the Paunaka marker, e.g. in (710), the action of taking out the stitches is not repeated, the important information is the return to a state, in all examples including motion verbs, motion is repeated, but not immediately, and this is also true for the non-motion action of (711).

The close connection between motion of return and repetition is not only present in Nanti and Paunaka, but also in Baure, where a preverbal particle *avik* marking repetition and a homophonous adverb with the meaning 'again' are derived from the verb *-avik* 'return' (Danielsen 2007:283).[71] It would be interesting to find out whether such a connection is more widespread in general, but this is a topic for future research. For the time being, this work continues with a description of the middle voice.

6.7   Middle voice

According to Kemmer (1993:243), "[m]iddle marking is in general a morphosyntactic strategy for expressing an alternative conceptualization of an event in which aspects of the internal structure of the event that are less important from the point of view of the speaker are not made reference to in the utterance".

In Paunaka, the middle marker is used to express reflexive and anticausative readings of an event. There is also a number of deponent middle verbs.

The marker has two allomorphs whose usage depends on the preceding RS marker. The allomorph *-bu* occurs after default/realis /u/ and *-pu* after irrealis /a/, see Examples (713) and (714) respectively.

(713) comes from Juana who speaks about her daughter arriving at the airport too late – her sister, who had come to Spain to work as a nanny, had already been deported, because her visa was not valid.

(713)   *nÿmayu titupunubu nijinepÿi*

    nÿmayu ti-tupunu-bu   ni-jinepÿi
    just   3i-reach-MID 1SG-daughter

    'only then my daughter arrived'

<div align="right">[jxx-p110923l-1.334]</div>

In (714), Juana states that her daughter never arrived at hers on Christmas, although she had promised to come.

(714)   *kuina titupunapu nijinepÿi*

    kuina ti-tupuna-pu   ni-jinepÿi
    NEG   3i-reach.IRR-MID 1SG-daughter

    'my daughter did not arrive'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-1.305]</div>

The "realis" allomorph of the middle is homophonous with the discontinuous marker *-bu* (see 6.8.1.2), however, they cannot be confounded, because the discontinuous marker only shows up after irrealis marked stems, and the middle marker would realise the "irrealis" allomorph in that case. Both morphemes can also be used in combination, consider Example (715). Here, María C. tells us that she cannot cook anymore, because she does not see well anymore, and in addition, she lives with her daughter-in-law since her husband has passed away and is no longer responsible for cooking.

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71. The distinction between the preverbal particle and the adverb is that the position of the adverb is relatively free, while the particle only appears directly preceding the verb and thus resembles verb serialisation (Danielsen 2007:283).

(715) *kuinachu pueronÿina niyÿtikapubu*

   kuina-chu puero-nÿ-ina   ni-yÿtika-pu-bu
   NEG-?   can-1SG-IRR.NV 1SG-set.on.fire.IRR-MID-DSC

   'I cannot cook anymore'

The "irrealis" allomorph *-pu* is homophonous with the realis allomorph of the dis-locative marker, but cannot be confounded for the different RS contexts in which the two markers show up. Those two markers do not occur together as far as I can tell.

As is typical for the middle voice, Paunaka has some deponent verbs (cf. Kemmer 1993:22) or media tantum (cf. Klaiman 1991:98), i.e. verbs that only occur in middle form. These are listed in Table 6.28.[72] All deponent verbs are intransitive, which is common for deponent verbs (Klaiman 1991:44).

Table 6.28: Deponent middle verbs

Verb	Gloss
-bÿtupaiku-bu	fall
-eku-bu	laugh
-kubiaku-bu	be tired
-kupunÿku-bu	be full
-kutiku-bu	run

Other verbs have a non-middle form, but the middle is at least as frequent as the non-middle or even more frequent, they are listed in Table 6.29. The verb *-kubu* 'bathe', a typical middle verb of grooming (cf. Kemmer 1993:54), seems to be totally lexicalized with the middle marker that is now considered part of the verb stem, so that its irrealis form is *-kuba*, the same may be true for *-kebu* 'rain' with the irrealis *-keba* and for the defective verbs *-ubu* 'be, live' and *-chabu* 'do' that do not have irrealis forms.

Table 6.29: High-frequency middle verbs

Middle verb	Gloss	Non-middle verb	Gloss
-bebeiku-bu	lie	*-beu*?	take away
-benunuku-bu	lie	*-benu*	lie down
-chemumuiku-bu	stand	*-chemu*	stand up
-chujijiku-bu	talk, converse	*-chujiku*	speak, talk
-pÿsisiku-bu	be alone	*-pÿsisi(si)ku*?	smoke, fume
-tibubuiku-bu	sit	*-tibu*	sit down
-tupunu-bu	arrive	*-tupunu*	reach
-iyuyuiku-bu	cry	*-iyu*	cry
-yÿtiku-bu	cook	*-yÿtiku*	set (pot) on fire

Most of the middle verbs in Table 6.29 have reduplicated root syllables, and these verbs can also be used without the middle marker. However, forms without the mid-

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72. Of course, there remains a possibility that these verbs have non-middle forms that I have not been able to elicit despite serious attempts to do so.

dle marker occur less frequently and if asked, speakers state that the middle form sounds better. Except for the pairs *-pÿsisiku-bu* 'be alone' – *-pÿsisi(si)ku* 'smoke, fume' and *-bebeiku-bu* 'lie' – *-beu* 'take away' that do not have a transparent semantic relation, the middle forms have in common that they tend to express events of longer duration than their non-middle relatives. Although this longer duration is among the meanings expressed by reduplication, the middle marker may be used with the same function here. This impression arises from comparison with Baure that has a marker *-wo*, which is used to mark imperfective aspect among other things (Danielsen 2007:258). Strikingly, it is used on verbs expressing change in body posture with the same effect as in Paunaka: the change in body posture is expressed by a simple verb, the resulting body posture state by addition of the marker, but contrary to Paunaka, Baure does not reduplicate any syllable of the verb stem (cf. Danielsen 2007:260). The way the semantic pairs of change in body posture and static body posture are expressed in Paunaka also run counter the expected distribution of the middle marker as supposed by Kemmer (1993:55-56), i.e. the verbs expressing the change should be the ones that receive middle marking according to her analysis. However, Klaiman (1991:45) states that it is actually "physical states" that are expressed by the deponent middle verbs, and this is also reflected in the examples she gives, e.g. Fula (West Atlantic Niger-Congo) behaves like Paunaka in that the body posture verbs are middle-only verbs and the change in posture verbs are mostly active (cf. Klaiman 1991:58). She further argues that "the middle, when in contrast with the active, cross-linguistically displays an association with various kinds of noneventuality*, e.g. with atelic, nonpunctual, and/or irrealis temporomodal categories of the verb" (Klaiman 1991:105). The atelic and nonpunctual association also seems to play a role for at least some of the middle verbs in Paunaka, but RS is totally independent from it.[73]

Most of the deponent or high-frequency middle verbs belong to one of the classes that Kemmer (1993) mentions to be typical of middle marking. However, the opposite is not true: very few of the potential verbs with middle semantics are middle-marked in Paunaka. Apart from the semantic class of posture verbs, which is quite consistently associated with middle marking, there is no clustering of the middle forms among a certain semantic class.

The reason to call *-bu* a middle marker becomes more comprehensible if we leave aside the deponent and high frequency middle verbs and have a look at the functions the marker exhibits on active transitive verbs.

On these verbs, the middle marker is used to express reflexive and anticausative or spontaneous meanings, both have been reported to be typical of middle voice (cf. Shibatani 2004:1149-1150).

One example of the reflexive use of the middle marker follows. In (716) from Juana, the fox has made the jaguar believe that the way to get a piece of cheese from the water hole (which is not cheese after all but a reflection of the moon), is to tie oneself with a stone and jump in.

(716)   *tititiukubu i chetuku mai*

      ti-titiuku-bu i   chÿ-etuku mai
      3i-tie-MID   and 3-put   stone

      'he tied himself and put a stone (in the bonds)'

                                    [jmx-n120429ls-x5.258-259]

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73. With the active/middle pair *-iyu/-iyuyuiku-bu* 'cry' it is even the case that realis RS is associated with the middle form and irrealis with the active form.

Beside this "direct reflexive" (Kemmer 1993:42), in which agent and patient referent are identical, Paunaka also uses the middle to express "indirect reflexives" (Kemmer 1993:74), i.e. the co-reference of agent and beneficiary or recipient, see Example (717), in which the agent is the locus/recipient of the action of putting the necklace on. The sentence comes from Juana who was thinking about an excursion to Cotoca.

(717) *betukapu eka bibite*

    bi-etuka-pu   eka   bi-bite
    1PL-put.IRR-MID DEMa 1PL-necklace

    'we will put on our necklaces'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-2.608]</div>

Paunaka also has so-called "body-part reflexives" (Kemmer 1993:77), when the body part is incorporated into the verb or expressed by a classifier. An example is (718), elicited from Miguel.

(718) *tikipubÿkeubu*

    ti-kipu-bÿke-u-bu
    3i-wash-face-REAL-MID

    'he washed his face'

<div align="right">[mdx-c120416ls.079]</div>

The more important function of the middle marker, however, is the expression of anticausative and resultative. As Kaufmann (2007:1682) states "[i]n the anticausative reading of the middle, the causer of the active form is unrealized. Here, the causer is not part of the interpretation of the middle form."[74]

One example of an anticausative is Example (719). It is from the story by Miguel, in which two men meet the devil in the woods. While one of the men hides in a tree, the other one gives the devil meat and when there is no meat left, which is expressed by the middle form of the verb *buku* 'finish' here, the man is eaten by the devil, while the other one, who had hidden, can escape.

(719) *tibukubutuji echÿu chÿeche*

    ti-buku-bu-tu-ji   echÿu chÿeche
    3i-finish-MID-IAM-RPRT DEMb meat

    'the meat was finished, it is said', i.e. there was no meat left
<div align="right">[mxx-n101017s-1.044]</div>

María S. told the same story, but she decided to use the active form of the verb to express that the devil finished the meat, see (720).

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74. According to Kaufmann (2007:1683), the middle can also have a resultative reading, which is the stative variant of the anticausative according to Haspelmath & Müller-Bardey (2004:1133). However, in Paunaka, a stative or resultative reading is rather invoked by an extra iamitive marker on the verb (see 6.8.1.1) and not part of the semantics of the middle marker per se.

(720) *chibukuji*

    chi-buku-ji
    3-finish-RPRT

    'he finished it, it is said'

<div align="right">[rxx-n120511l-2.41]</div>

Another pair of active and anticausative middle verb can be found in Examples (721) and (722). (721) has the active verb *-bakaiku* 'throw (away)' and (722) the middle form, which reads as 'spill out'.
(721) was elicited from José.

(721) *nÿbakaika emuniki*

    nÿ-bakaika   *emuniki*
    1SG-throw.away.IRR embers

    'I throw away the embers'

<div align="right">[oxx-e120414ls-1a.003]</div>

(722) comes from Juana telling the creation story. The silk floss tree had swallowed the whole supply of corn, but when Jesus felled it, the corn and everything else the tree had eaten spilled out.

(722) *tibakaikubu amuke arusu*

    ti-bakaiku-bu   *amuke*   *arusu*
    3i-throw.away-MID corn   rice

    'the corn and rice spilled out'

<div align="right">[jxx-n101013s-1.830]</div>

Another typical anticausative is expressed in the following Example (723), in which Juana periphrases my reported reaction to strange sounds of my computer with the middle form *-terereku-bu* 'get frightened'.

(723) *pitererekubu, kuina tamicha pue*

    pi-terereku-bu   *kuina* *ti-a-micha*   *pue*
    2SG-frighten-MID NEG   3i-IRR-good well

    'you got frightened, because it was not good, obviously'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-1.007]</div>

Last but not least, the middle marker is also sometimes used to express a passive-like impersonal or general reading. This is very probably due to influence of Spanish that uses a reflexive construction with an equivalent function. Paunaka usually rather uses first plural to make general statements. One example of an impersonal construction with a middle marker is given in (724), which is from a description of the preparation of chicha by Juana.

(724) *tetukubu kanela*

    ti-etuku-bu kanela
    3i-put-MID cinnamon

    'one adds cinnamon / cinnamon is added'

<div align="right">[jxx-e110923l-2.121]</div>

To sum up, in transitive-intransitive pairs, the middle marker expresses the notions of reflexivity and anticausativity, typically associated with middle marking. Among the deponent and high-frequency middle verb, however, there seems to be a rather random assignment of a middle marker to one or a few verbs each of several semantic classes associated with middle marking, the only exception being posture verbs. This suggests that the middle is not very elaborate at the present stage of the language. Comparison with the closest relatives of Paunaka could shed light on the question whether there once has been a more elaborate system that has been lost nowadays or it is a system that is just coming into existence.

In the remainder of this work, the high frequency and deponent middle verbs are usually glossed as a unit (e.g. *-tupunubu* 'arrive' instead of *-tupunu-bu* 'reach-MID'). Leaving behind middle voice now, the next section deals with TAME marking.

6.8 Aspect, tense, modality and evidentiality

As has been stated in 3.2, many markers can attach to various parts of speech. This is also true for the ones that express tense, aspect, modality, and evidentiality (TAME). These categories are expected on verbs, but in Paunaka, they are not restricted to verbs. However, it is true that they are primarily (but not exclusively) found on predicates – verbal and non-verbal ones alike. Predication is mainly associated with verbs, and this is why these markers are described in this place.

Since there is a fully-fledged discussion of non-verbal predication in 7.2, I will only give a very brief summary of non-verbal predication here.

Verbal predicates can be distinguished from non-verbal ones by two features: the place of subject indexing and a different irrealis marker. Concerning the first one, in case that a subject is indexed on a non-verbal predicate, it always follows the word stem, i.e. it occurs in the position that verbs reserve for object marking. It is important to know, however, that not in all kinds of non-verbal predication a subject is indexed. Most importantly, third person subjects cannot be marked on non-verbal predicates at all. This is in analogy to the third person suffix occurring only sparsely and under specific conditions on verbs (for third person object marking see 6.4.2).

Second, while realis RS is not marked on non-verbal predicates, there is a special irrealis suffix *-ina,* which shows up whenever a non-verbal predicate occurs in a context that triggers irrealis marking. Thus inflection for irrealis RS is just as obligatory as with verbal predicates, it is only expressed by other means.

Among non-verbal predicates are some words that encode dynamic events. Most of them have a Spanish origin, since Spanish verbs are often borrowed as participles and then integrated into Paunaka as non-verbal predicates. But the word *kapunu* 'come' is also a dynamic non-verbal predicate, it is of Paunaka origin and only used with third person referents. Since it may not always be clear that we deal with non-verbal predication, I mention it, whenever a non-verbal predicate occurs in one of the examples of this section.

TAME markers cannot only attach to verbs, but also to non-verbal predicates of different kinds. But this is not all, they can also attach to the negative particle *kuina* if they are compatible with negation, and occasionally to adverbs that modify the clause. They may also appear twice in a clause, on the predicate and on another word. Most of them occur in a position relatively far from the verb stem, but the discontinuous and especially the incompletive marker appear in slots a little closer to the stem. The discontinuous marker seems to be possible in two different slots. For a schema of an active verb which shows the positions of the TAME markers see 3.2.1, for a short discussion and a few examples of possible orders of TAME markers with respect to other morphemes see 3.2.1.1.

The TAME markers are usually phonologically attached to the predicate (or other word in the clause), i.e. they enter into its prosodic structure and can alter stress assignment. The uncertainty marker *kena* and the remote (past) marker *bane* can also occur as free forms. They precede the predicate in this case. The uncertain future marker *uchu* is always realised as a free form, but it follows the predicate.

Section 6.8.1 deals with aspect marking in Paunaka, Section 6.8.2 with tense and Section 6.8.3 with modality and evidentiality.

6.8.1   Aspect

Paunaka has a handful of aspect markers, which are summarised in Table 6.30. These include iamitive, discontinuous, incompletive, and prospective. They are described in Sections 6.8.1.1 to 6.8.1.5, respectively. All of them do not only attach to verbs, but also to non-verbal predicates and to adverbs and some can also attach to the negative particle *kuina*.

Table 6.30: Aspect markers

Aspect	Marker	Gloss	Rough translation
Iamitive (Perfect)	*-tu*	IAM	already, now
Discontinuous	*-bu*	DSC	(not) anymore
Incompletive	*-kuÿ*	INCMP	still, (not) yet
Prospective	*-bÿti*	PRSP	be about to, starting, first

A morphologically marked distinction between the two most basic aspect categories, perfective and imperfective, is absent. Paunaka's aspect markers all act on event boundaries, closely interacting with aktionsart of the predicate. That is, if there is an event boundary because the verb is telic, the aspect marker will situate the event with respect to this boundary. If there is no such boundary, the aspect marker introduces a boundary to situate the event with respect to it. The boundary introduced can be the initial or the final boundary of the event. There is also interaction with negation. This is illustrated in Figures 6.7 and 6.8. As for iamitive *-tu* combined with atelic verbs, it remains a matter of interpretation in context which of the two boundaries is activated.

6.8.1.1   Iamitive perfect

The most frequent among the tense and aspect markers of Paunaka is the omnipresent iamitive marker *-tu*. The term "iamitive" is related to the better-known perfect. According to Olsson (2013:4), iamitive markers are "aspectotemporal markers that seemingy
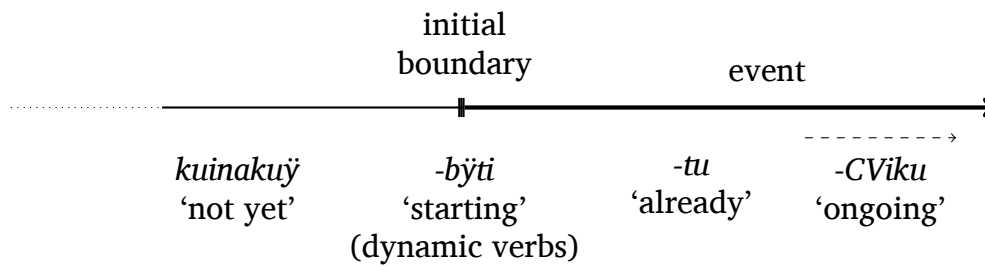
Figure 6.7: Aspect markers acting on initial event boundaries
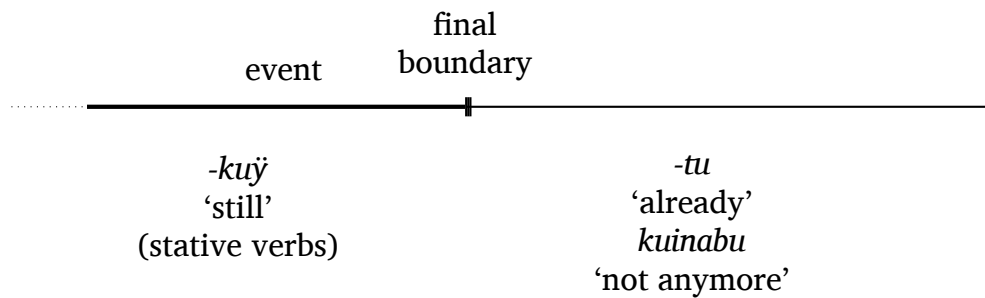
Figure 6.8: Aspect markers acting on final event boundaries

[sic!] overlap with both the perfect and 'already'." In his thesis, the author described iamitives in some Southeast Asian languages in detail. Subsequently, Dahl & Wälchli (2016) proposed that the iamitive is a distinct gram type in a larger grammatical space that also includes perfects in the traditional sense and many other gram types that overlap in their uses. A new gram type, though with the name "new situation" was also proposed by Ebert (2001), in analysing iamitive-like markers in Kiranti languages.

Others have argued against gram status of the iamitive. Among them is Krajinović (2019), who states that the differences to "traditional" perfects can still be explained within the functional realm of the perfect if we acknowledge that the perfect has distinct peculiarities in tenseless languages.[75] I am agnostic to the question whether the iamitive is a distinct gram type or should better be defined as a peculiar expression of the perfect gram or even be dismissed at all and be replaced by a more encompassing definition of perfect. I simply use the term "iamitive" here because the characteristics of the Paunaka marker relatively well fit the description of iamitive given by Olsson (2013). The iamitive is generally optional in Paunaka, in the sense that it does not enter into any obligatory binary distinction iamitive vs. non-iamitive, though its use is highly favoured in some situations. This should be kept in mind, when reading the following lines.

According to Olsson (2013:4), iamitives share with perfects that they mark "the current relevance of a previous event", but they differ from perfects in how they interact with the aktionsart of a verb. This becomes apparent when considering stative verbs, since "certain types of states are particularly likely to be marked by iamitives, notably states that are the outcome of some natural process, such as 'be ripe' or 'be grown up'" (Olsson 2013:4). Such states result from a "unidirectional development" of a "natural course of events" (Olsson 2013:30). This is exactly what we find in Paunaka. On stative predicates, the iamitive marker *-tu* expresses, first, that the state holds at

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75. Actually, she identifies as a defining feature of perfects that they place the time the assertion is about (TT) posterior to the time the event took place (TSit) (Krajinović 2019:107). However, this is not true for the Paunaka iamitive marker, which can also express that an event is currently ongoing.

reference time, and second, that it is the result of some previous change, i.e. that there existed a time prior to reference time in which the state did not hold. This is the main difference between a iamitive and a perfect since the perfect does not imply that the state encoded by a stative verb currently holds (cf. Olsson 2013:9).

The iamitive marker is *-tu* in Paunaka and it is certainly related to the adverb *metu* 'ready, already'.

(725) provides an example of a iamitive marker on a stative verb that encodes the result of a prior change of state, i.e. the colour of hair of an elderly man, which has changed from black to grey or white, with the latter being expressed by the verb *-yu* 'be ripe' in Paunaka. The example was elicited from Isidro.

(725) *tiyutu nimukiji*

    ti-yu-tu   *ni-muki-ji*
    3i-be.ripe-IAM 1SG-hair-COL

    'my hair is already white'

<div align="right">[mdx-c120416ls.150]</div>

In the same situation, Miguel proposed an answer containing the stative verb for 'white', see (726), however, this is not the way the colour of elderly people's hair is usually referred to in Paunaka. All the same, the iamitive marker equally attaches to the verb here.

(726) *pisururutu*

    pi-sururu-tu
    2SG-be.clear-IAM

    'you are already white'

<div align="right">[mdx-c120416ls.143]</div>

(727) is about a ripe fruit and also builds on the verb *-yu* 'be ripe'. As in (726) above, the iamitive marker is used on the verb. It also attaches to *kana* 'this size', which is a deictic adjective and thus we have an example of non-verbal predication here. The adjective is always accompanied by a gesture showing the actual size. The sentence comes from a correction session with María S. (it slightly differed from the one she had originally produced).

(727) *kanainatu chÿi te tayutu binikatu*

    kana-ina-tu   *chÿi* *te* *ti-a-yu-tu*   *bi-nika-tu*
    this.size-IRR.NV-IAM fruit SEQ 3i-IRR-be.ripe-IAM 1PL-eat.IRR-IAM

    'once the fruit has this size, then it is ripe and then we can eat it'
<div align="right">[rxx-e121128s-3.11]</div>

Although it is highly common to attach a iamitive marker to a stative predicate that can be analysed to encode the result of a process, this is not obligatory. In the following example, no iamitive is used on the verb *-yu* 'be ripe', possibly because the change of state is backgrounded here, the more important information being the actual state of being ripe as a precondition for the chicken eating the fruit. The sentence comes from María S., too.

(728) *kuina chinijanea, kuina, abÿrÿsÿi si kue tayu chinijanea*

kuina chi-ni-jane-a   *kuina abÿrÿsÿi si*   *kue ti-a-yu*   *chi-ni-jane-a*
NEG   3-eat-DISTR-IRR   NEG   guava   yes   if   3i-IRR-be.ripe   3-eat-DISTR-IRR

'they (the chicken) don't eat it, no, guavas, yes, they eat if they are ripe'
                                                     [rxx-e121126s-3.36]

If the stative verb does not encode the endpoint of a natural development per se, then such a reading is added by the iamitive marker. It can, for example, combine with the non-verbal existential copula *kaku*, and in this case, it expresses that something has come into existence by reference time that has not been there before. This can be seen in the following Example (729).

The context is as follows: Miguel and I had paid José a visit and when we came back to the village, we were bitten by some small ticks. Miguel made a comment that there were many ticks, and María S. reacted with a question, which can rather be read as an expression of surprise than as a request for information. Apparently, she was surprised that the season of the ticks had already started since she had not noticed any ticks up to this point.

(729) *¿kakutu samuchu?*

kaku-tu   *samuchu*
exist-IAM   tick.sp

'there are ticks already?'
                                                     [mrx-c120509l.149]

Another case in which the iamitive adds a development reading to a stative predicate, but this time a verbal one, is (730). Together with the iamitive marker, the verb *-(i)chuna* 'know, be capable, be able' encodes that knowledge has been acquired by learning. However, the focus still lies on the state after the process of learning and not on the process itself.

In this example, Juana talks about her grandson.

(730) *tijÿku i netuku xhikuera i tichunatu te i tiyunu kuarterayae...*

ti-jÿku   *i*   *nÿ-etuku xhikuera i*   *ti-ichuna-tu*   *te*   *i*   *ti-yunu*
3i-grow   and   1SG-put   school   and   3i-be.capable-IAM   SEQ   and   3i-go
     kuartera-yae
     military.base-LOC

'he grew and I put him into school and once he had acquired knowledge (i.e. learned), then he went to the military base...'
                                            [jxx-p110923l-1.173-176]

Finally, the iamitive also appears on nouns denoting high age, when they are used as a predicate, but not if they are an argument of the clause, compare (731), where *juberÿpunÿtu* 'I am an old woman' is the predicate, with (732), in which *juberÿpumÿnÿ* 'dear old woman' is the object of the clause and thus bears no iamitive marker.

(731) is a statement by María C. about herself.

(731) *juberÿpunÿtu kuina puero trabakuinabu*

    juberÿpu-nÿ-tu   *kuina puero trabaku-ina-bu*
    old.woman-1SG-IAM   NEG   can   work-IRR.NV-DSC

    'I am old, I cannot work anymore'

<div align="right">[uxx-p110825l.203]</div>

In (732), Juana talks about the chance she once had to go to Europe to work there. In the end, she did not go, this is why the frustrative is used here.

(732) *niyunaini nichenenaikupa juberÿpumÿnÿ*

    ni-yuna-ini   *ni-chenenaiku-pa*   *juberÿpu-mÿnÿ*
    1SG-go.IRR-FRUST 1SG-care.for-DLOC.IRR old.woman-DIM

    'I would have gone (to Austria) to care for an old woman'

<div align="right">[jxx-e120516l-1.015]</div>

Considering dynamic verbs, we can distinguish between telic and atelic predicates. Olsson (2013:19) predicts that "[w]ith a telic predicate, the "new situation" asserted by the iamitive corresponds to the situation following the final boundary (or, with an achievement, following the only boundary)." In combination with atelic verbs, however, the action can either be finished or ongoing. This is because "a iamitive can be interpreted as applying either to the initial boundary, thus yielding an on-going interpretation, or to the final boundary, yielding a completed, "past" interpretation" (Olsson 2013:19).

Let us first consider some telic verbs. First of all, the iamitive marker can encode a state resulting from an event as in (733).

The sentence comes from Juana telling the story about the fox and the jaguar. At this point of the story, the jaguar is dead for several months already, and the fox comes back to the pond where he died to spitefully speak with his skeleton. The fox starts in Spanish, but continues the sentence in Paunaka.

(733) *"no ve, tío, ¡pipakutu!"*

    no ve   *tío*   *pi-paku-tu*
    you see uncle 2SG-die-IAM

    '"you see, uncle, you're dead!"'

<div align="right">[jmx-n120429ls-x5.286-287]</div>

The fact that there is a state resulting from a punctual event is not enough to trigger iamitive marking, though. There is a complex interplay between aktionsart of the verb, reality status, derivational morphology and also middle voice. Middle verbs often imply a continuous state, thus *-tupunu-bu* 'arrive' already implies a resultative state as opposed to the punctual *-tupunu* 'reach', see (734), where we need a perfect in the English translation, but no iamitive in the original Paunaka sentence. The same is true for the middle verb *-yÿtiku-bu* 'cook', which relates to *-yÿtiku* 'set (a pot) on fire' and for all posture verbs.

(734) was elicited from María S.

(734) *chuinepaiku titupunubu nichechapÿi*

    uchuine-paiku   *ti-tupunubu* *ni-chechapÿi*
    just.now-PUNCT 3i-arrive   1SG-son

    'my son has just arrived'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181022le.124]</div>

If *-tupunubu* 'arrive' is combined with a iamitive, it rather evokes anteriority or earliness readings or it expresses that an expectation is fulfilled, which is just what we expect from a iamitive (cf. Olsson 2013:21). Prior to (735), María S. had told me that Federico and Swintha had already informed her that I would come to Bolivia.

(735) *jaa metu pitupunubutu naka*

    jaa   *metu*   *pi-tupunubu-tu* *naka*
    AFM   already 2SG-arrive-IAM   here

    'yes, and now you have arrived here'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181017l.005]</div>

In (735), the iamitive combines with the adverb *metu* 'already, ready' to indicate current relevance. In (736) on the other hand, *metu* and the iamitive marked verb indicate earliness of a resultative state. The example was elicited from María S. and corresponds to an invented situation, in which a mother asks her daughter who may have broken a pot, the daughter answers that she doesn't know and that the pot was already broken, when she saw it. Note that the iamitive marker also occurs on the first atelic verb *-imu* 'see' here.

(736) *nimutu metu terabajikutu*

    ni-imu-tu   *metu*   *ti-rabajiku-tu*
    1SG-see-IAM already 3i-break-IAM

    'when I saw it, it was already broken'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181021les.222]</div>

Current relevance is also at work in (737), where use of the iamitive indicates that the result of the dog's sticking its head into the glass (or pot) is of importance. The example comes from Miguel telling José the frog story. The fact that the dog's head got stuck was expressed lexically in the sentence that followed.

(737) *i naka chipurutukutu eka kabe chichÿti naka eka tachukÿyae*

    i   *naka* *chi-purutuku-tu* *eka*   *kabe* *chi-chÿti* *naka* *eka*
    and here 3-put.in-IAM   DEMa dog 3-head   here DEMa

    tachu-kÿ-yae
    small.pot-CLF:bounded-LOC

    'and here the dog has stuck his head into the small pot here'
<div align="right">[mox-a110920l-2.052]</div>

So far, we have only looked at telic verbs with realis RS. It is also possible to combine an irrealis verb with iamitive. Irrealis, among other things, can express future reference of an event. Combination with the iamitive can then indicate that the final

boundary has not yet been reached although the measures are taken to reach it. This is the case in (738), where the final boundary is the hatching of the chicken. The sentence was elicited from Juana, who had just told me that her hen was breeding.

(738)   *tipuichakatu takỹrajanemỹnỹ*

       ti-puichaka-tu   *takỹra-jane-mỹnỹ*
       3i-hatch.IRR-IAM chicken-DISTR-DIM

       'it will hatch eggs (lit.: little chicken)'

                                                      [jxx-e110923l-2.086]

Atelic verbs with a iamitive marker can either be interpreted as to encode an ongoing or completed action as is predicted by Olsson (2013:19), because the iamitive can apply to either the initial or the final boundary of the event. Thus in an invented situation, in which a mother invites her son to eat something, the answer including the iamitive, can either mean that the son has already eaten or that he is eating at that very moment (and the mother does not see him because he is sitting behind the house), see (739).

(739)   *nỹnikutu*

       nỹ-niku-tu
       1SG-eat-IAM

       'I am already eating'
       or: 'I have eaten already'

                                          (rxx-e181021les.202, 205)

Equally, if the mother asks her son to send her daughter to go and fetch water, the answer including the iamitive can either indicate that the sister has completed the task or is busy with the task right at the moment, as in (740), which was also elicited from María S.

(740)   *tiyunutu tepa ỹne*

       ti-yunu-tu *ti-epa*   *ỹne*
       3i-go-IAM   3i-take.IRR water

       'she is already going to fetch water'
       or: 'she already went to fetch water'

                                                    [rxx-e181022le]

However, if it is necessary to clarify that the action is taking place right now, speakers can also resort to continuous marking (see 6.2.6). They can then add the iamitive to the continuous verb. Additionally, an adverb can help to clarify temporal reference. Both strategies are combined in Example (741), which was elicited from Juana, providing her with the same invented context as María S. in (739) above.

(741)   *¡ninikutu mimi! ninikukuikutu tanỹma naka*

       ni-niku-tu   *mimi* *ni-niku-kuiku-tu*   *tanỹma* *naka*
       1SG-eat-IAM mum 1SG-eat-CONT-IAM now   here

       'I am already eating, mum! I am already eating here right now'

                                                      [jxx-e181104l-3]

The following two examples have been produced more spontaneously, and we can notice that the iamitive marker on one and the same verb, *-kutijiku* 'escape, flee', can express that the action, i.e. the escape, is successfully completed as in (742), or ongoing as in (743).

In (742), Juana tells me about a criminal in-law of hers who had hidden away in the woods. When he was detected, some people went to the woods in search for him, but he had managed to escape before.

(742) *kuina kakuinabu nauku kimenubu, tikutijikutu*

      kuina kaku-ina-bu   nauku kimenu-bu ti-kutijiku-tu
      NEG   exist-IRR.NV-DSC there woods-DSC 3i-flee-IAM

      'he wasn't there anymore in the woods, he had escaped'

                                                         [jxx-p120430l-2.053]

(743) refers to the picture in the frog story, on which the dog is running away from the bees. Its escape is thus ongoing. The example comes from Miguel.

(743) *chijikiu eka kabe tikutijikutu i eka janejane cheikukuiku*

      chijikiu   eka   kabe ti-kutijiku-tu i   eka   jane-jane   chÿ-eikukuiku
      however DEMa dog 3i-flee-IAM and DEMa wasp-DISTR 3-chase

      'nonetheless, the dog is fleeing and the wasps are chasing it'

                                                           [mox-a110920l-2.104]

Two more examples with telic verbs follow. In (744) by Miguel, the initial boundary of the action is triggered (or established) by the iamitive. The sentence provides the funny climax of one of the episodes of the story of fox and jaguar. The jaguar has caught a vulture and wants to eat him, the vulture seemingly surrenders and proposes that the jaguar plucks him except for his wings and throws him up into the air so that he would fall down back into his open mouth. The jaguar obeys, but instead of falling, the vulture defecates into the jaguar's mouth and then flies away. It is thus the initial boundary of flying, the take-off that is important in (744).

(744) *i te tibÿbÿkutuji echÿu sÿmÿ tiyunu*

      i   te   ti-bÿbÿku-tu-ji   echÿu sÿmÿ   ti-yunu
      and SEQ 3i-fly-IAM-RPRT DEMa vulture 3i-go

      'and then the vulture flew off, it is said, and went (i.e. escaped)'

                                                          [jmx-n120429ls-x5.211]

In (745), the atelic verb *-pajÿku* 'stay' is turned into a non-reversed or even irreversible state ('have ever stayed since, stay for good') by addition of the iamitive. The example also comes from the story of the fox and the jaguar, but this time narrated by María S. in another occasion. It is the jaguar who – tricked by the fox – jumps into the water and drowns.

(745) *tijipaikuji ÿneji te tepajÿkutu ÿneyae*

      ti-jipaiku-ji   ÿne-ji   te   ti-pajÿku-tu ÿne-yae
      3i-jump.down-RPRT water-RPRT SEQ 3i-stay-IAM water-LOC

      'he jumped into the water and then he stayed in the water for good, it is said'

                                                              [rxx-n120511l-1.039]

Examples (742) – (745) all consist of two combined clauses, but the iamitive is only marked once – an exception possibly being (742), whose first clause is marked for discontinuous, a category related to the iamitive, see 6.8.1.2 below. Olsson (2013:39) found that in clause combining, iamitives are often used to indicate temporal sequentiality. In all examples he gives in his work, the iamitive appears in clause that expresses the temporally anterior event. As for Paunaka, there are some examples that seem to verify this analysis, however others contradict it. Consider (746) and (747). In the first of them, the first event in the sequence is marked, in the second one it is the second event that receives iamitive aspect. Note that both clauses have irrealis RS for different reasons: (746) is from a general description how to use a clay pot, (747) has a habitual past reading. Both sentences are about usage of a clay pot and both come from Juana.

(746)   *tibururukatu ÿne i pijuka*

    ti-bururuka-tu   *ÿne*   *i*   *pi-juka*
    3i-boil.IRR-IAM water and 2SG-pour.solid.IRR

    'the water boils (now) and you pour it (i.e. the food) in'

                                        [jxx-d110923l-3]

(747)   *taima te binikatu*

    ti-a-ima   *te*   *bi-nika-tu*
    3i-IRR-be.cooked SEQ 1PL-eat.IRR-IAM

    'when it was done, then we would/could eat it (i.e. the food)'

                                   [jxx-d110923l-2.25]

In both examples above, the iamitive could have probably also been attached to the other clause instead or additionally. Recall that Ebert (2001) speaks of importance of a new situation, and Olsson (2013:9) notes that iamitives are often translated with "now". Just like the English word "now" could mark either of the two events in (746) and (747) (ignoring for a moment the fact that "now" is not compatible with habitual contexts at all), the iamitive is possible on both predicates. This is because being optional the iamitive does not encode any absolute properties of the event's tempo-aspectual setting, but simply signals what the speaker finds worth being marked as the new situation. In (746), the iamitive is encodes that event 1 has to be realised in order for event 2 to be possible or appropriate. In (747), however, the function of the iamitive is to close the statement (cf. Olsson 2013:8). The use of the iamitive thus signals that the discourse topic is completed and we can expect a switch to another topic or another (discourse) aspect of the topic. We often find a iamitive on the last predicate of a chain of clauses which all provide information to the same overarching discourse topic.

(748) provides another example of the use of *-tu* in a clause that closes the description of a sequence of events. It was produced by Juana, after she had found loam for her clay pot in order to give us a description what she would do now. Following the sentence in (748), she talked about bringing the loam to her house and resume the production of the pot there, so there is a change of location, a new, separate step in the development of her pot, anticipated by the use of the iamitive here.

(748)   *betuku naka bichÿtiyae i biyunatu*

    bi-etuku naka bi-chÿti-yae   i   bi-yuna-tu
    1PL-put here 1PL-head-LOC and 1PL-go.IRR-IAM

    'we put it (the bag) here on our head and we can go (now)'
<div align="right">[jmx-d110918ls-2.02-03]</div>

It should have become clear by now that the iamitive has a wide range of different functions, and since it is so multi-functional, it is no surprise that it is used very frequently. We often find the iamitive on states that result from a previous unidirectional development, we find it with completed and ongoing actions, and we find it in clause combining, often together with the sequential connective *te* 'then' and with the adverb *metu* 'already, ready' as well as borrowed forms of the Spanish adverb *después* 'after' (borrowed as e.g. *depue, repue*). However, there is one context, in which we do not find the iamitive: negation.[76]

Cross-linguistically, iamitives often combine with negation and then they usually exhibit either a discontinuative meaning or a meaning described as 'not yet/still not' (cf. Olsson 2013:35-36). Paunaka has separate aspect markers for the discontinuous and the incompletive (the latter being the term chosen here for the meaning of 'not yet' and its positive counterpart 'still'). The iamitive marker is usually not found in negative clauses with one exception: If the negative particle *kuina* is the predicate itself, *-tu* can be added after the discontinuous marker to emphasise that the negative state that is contrasted to the anterior positive state holds at reference time, see Example (749). The sentence comes from María S. telling the story about the two hunters and the devil. This is what one of the men tells the devil after the latter has eaten up everything the two men had hunted.

(749)   *"kuinabutu chija nenikapi"*

    kuina-bu-tu chija nÿ-nika-pi
    NEG-DSC   what 1SG-feed.IRR-2SG

    '"there isn't anything left that I could give you to eat"'
<div align="right">[rxx-n120511l-2.45-46]</div>

The following sections provide information about aspects related to the iamitive, discontinuous aspect is described in 6.8.1.2 and incompletive aspect in 6.8.1.3.

6.8.1.2 Discontinuous

The discontinuous marker *-bu* is exclusively used in negative clauses and can be translated with 'anymore'. It expresses that a state does not hold any longer or that an action is not performed anymore. It thus targets a final boundary, but unlike the English adverb, it seems to imply the state after the final boundary most of the times rather than focus on the final boundary itself, so *kuina x-bu* means 'after x, be in a state of not-x' rather than 'x is over (thus y)'. To demonstrate this, consider the following English sentences, which all include the adverb *anymore*.

1. He does not eat anymore (because he is ill).

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76. There is a handful of examples in the corpus, in which the iamitive is found in a negative clause, but they are so few that they should probably be treated as mistakes.

2. He won't eat anymore today (because he has eaten so much).

3. He isn't eating anymore (so you can talk to him now).

The discontinuous marker predominantly occurs in contexts similar to 1. (state 'no-x after x' has a long duration or is persistent), contexts like 2. (state 'no-x after x' has a limited duration) have also been found. However, considering 3. (state 'no-x' corresponds to end of x), there are only very few examples that could be analysed as corresponding to similar contexts.

The discontinuous marker can either attach to the predicate or to the negative particle or to both with no apparent difference in meaning. Consider (750). There are two juxtaposed clauses, in the first one the marker attaches to the verb and in the second one to the negative particle. It comes from Juana who was talking about the making of the reservoir in Santa Rita. Once it was ready, people from Santa Rita did not have to walk far anymore to get water.

(750) *kuina biyunabu Naranjito, kuinabu biyuna naka Tavistayae*

       kuina bi-yuna-bu   Naranjito kuina-bu bi-yuna   naka Tavista-yae
       NEG   1PL-go.IRR-DSC Naranjito NEG-DSC 1PL-go.IRR here Altavista-LOC

       'we don't have to go to Naranjito anymore, we don't have to go to Altavista anymore'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120515l-2.207-208]</div>

An example in which *-bu* attaches to both negative particle and predicate is (751). It is a statement of María C. about her ability to see, which has decreased over time since she is an old lady.

(751) *kuinabu naimubÿkebu*

       kuina-bu   nÿ-a-imubÿke-bu
       NEG-DSC   1SG-IRR-see.well-DSC

       'I can't see well anymore'

<div align="right">[uxx-p110825l.013]</div>

Although the discontinuous marker and the middle marker are homophonous, they cannot be confused. The middle marker has an allophone *-pu* that occurs after irrealis. The predicates to which the discontinuous marker attaches necessarily have irrealis RS since they are all negated, and the form of the discontinuous marker is always *-bu*. An example, in which both markers co-occur has already been given in 6.7 (ex. (715)).

A few more examples of the discontinuous marker shall be given here.

(752) was produced by Juana, when I was visiting here in Santa Cruz, where she was living at that time. She uttered the assumption that I would not go back to Concepción from Santa Cruz, but rather stay there in order to leave to Germany directly (which was not the case, I had indeed planned to spend a few more days in Concepción before coming back to Santa Cruz and subsequently travel back to Germany).

(752) *kuina piyunupunabu Concecionyae*

       kuina pi-yunupuna-bu   Concecion-yae
       NEG   2SG-go.back.IRR-DSC Concepción-LOC

       'you won't go back to Concepción anymore'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-1.134]</div>

(753) has a nominal predicate. Miguel speaks of a village close to Santa Rita which was abandoned.

(753) *kuinabutu jentenubeinabu nauku*

kuina-bu-tu   *jente-nube-ina-bu*   *nauku*
NEG-DSC-IAM   man-PL-IRR.NV-DSC   there

'there are no people anymore there now'

[mty-p110906l.134]

(750) – (753) above all refer to persistent states resulting from the termination of an event x. As has been stated in the introduction to this section, this is the most typical usage of the discontinuous marker. In the following two examples, however, *-bu* is used to refer to easily reversible states, or states of a limited duration.

In (754), Juana speaks about the weather after there were heavy rainfalls the day before. Following this statement, she mentioned that the forecast had announced rainfalls for the next day, so the state definitely has no long duration. Note that Juana uses the adverb *metu* to encode exactly this short duration.

(754) *pero metu kuina tikebabu*

pero metu   *kuina ti-keba-bu*
but   already   NEG   3i-rain.IRR-DSC

'but for now it is not going to rain anymore'

[jxx-e120516l-1.101]

In (755), María C. speaks about scarceness of corn. As a consequence she will soon not be able to drink chicha, a drink made from corn, but has to drink water. The state is reversible, because as soon as she gets some money, María C. can buy more corn and make chicha again (i.e. shortage is not due to crop failure in this case, due to her high age, the speaker did not have a field anymore at that time).

(755) *kakumÿnÿ amukemÿnÿ te tibukapu echÿu te kuinabu nea aumue*

kaku-mÿnÿ   *amuke-mÿnÿ*   *te*   *ti-buka-pu*   *echÿu*   *te*   *kuina-bu*
exist-DIM   corn-DIM   SEQ   3i-finish.IRR-MID   DEMb   SEQ   NEG-DSC

   nÿ-ea   *aumue*
   1SG-drink.IRR   chicha

'there is little corn and when it will be finished, then I cannot drink chicha anymore'

[ump-p110815sf.693]

Finally, the last two examples given here demonstrate a possible use of the marker that targets the end of an event rather than the state after it. One of them is (756), which was elicited from María S. providing her with the context that somebody is lying in a hammock.

(756)   *kuina timukabu*

      kuina   ti-muka-bu
      NEG   3i-sleep.IRR-DSC

      'she is not sleeping anymore'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181024l]</div>

Another example which possibly targets the end of an event is (757), however it is not excluded that it refers to a reversible state after the event. The sentence was produced by María S. when some piglets had shown up at her yard grunting, but then suddenly got quiet because they started to suckle at their mother's. Now, it is not clear whether María S. was referring to the stopping of grunting at that very moment or the fact that the piglets would stop grunting for a while since they were not hungry anymore.

(757)   *tujijaneutu, nechikue kuina tasabaibujane*

      ti-uji-jane-u-tu   *nechikue   kuina   ti-a-sabai-bu-jane*
      3i-suckle-DISTR-REAL-IAM therefore NEG   3i-IRR-shout-DSC-DISTR

      'they are suckling now, thus they are not grunting anymore
      or: '…, thus they do not grunt anymore'

<div align="right">[rmx-e150922l.155-156]</div>

6.8.1.3   Incompletive

Unlike the iamitive (see 6.8.1.1) and the discontinuous marker (see 6.8.1.2), the incompletive marker *-kuÿ* 'still, (not) yet' can occur in positive and in negative sentences. It marks an event as ongoing at reference time, while simultaneously implying the termination of the event at a later point in time.

In positive sentences, *-kuÿ* is found on predicates denoting reversible states. It has always stative overtones, even if the verb is active. It would not be used in a sentence corresponding to 'He is still eating (you cannot talk to him right now)', i.e. it is not compatible with a progressive interpretation of an action.

While the iamitive is found on states that mark the outcome of a "natural course of events" (Olsson 2013:30), the incompletive is typically used with words denoting the starting point of such a development, usually nouns denoting young age, sometimes also verbs that are used to illustrate young age, which means they are not understood actively but statively in these cases. In (758), we find the incompletive marker being attached to a noun, in (759) to an adjective, and in (760) to an adjective and to a verb.

(758) was produced by Miguel, when talking about the old days with Juan C. I do not know what exactly this sentence refers to, because I did not understand the previous sentences, but it has to do with the behaviour of *karay* towards the people in Santa Rita.

(758)   *i nÿti nikechu: "kuina pueroina, pue nÿti aitubuchepÿikuÿni"*

      i   nÿti   ni-kechu kuina puero-ina   pue nÿti   aitubuchepÿi-kuÿ-ni
      and 1SG.PRN 1SG-say NEG   can-IRR.NV well 1SG.PRN boy-INCMP-1SG

      'and I said: "I can't, I am still a young man"'

<div align="right">[mqx-p110826l.386]</div>

In (759) the incompletive marker attaches to the deictic adjective *kana* 'be of this size'. The sentence comes from María C. in telling about the hard childhood and youth she had.

(759)   *kanakuÿnemÿnÿni tepaku nÿa ja*

      kana-kuÿ-ne-mÿnÿ-ni   *ti-paku* *nÿ-a*   *ja*
      this.size-INCMP-1SG-DIM-DEICT 3i-die 1SG-father AFM

      'when I still had this size (showing with hands), my father died'

<div align="right">[ump-p110815sf.149]</div>

If the incompletive marker combines with active verbs, they normally express a state rather than an action. In (760), the marker is found on a nominal predicate first and then on an active verb, however, this does not mean that the action is going on at that very moment, but rather that the referents are in a state in which the action is still carried out appropriately. It refers to some puppies that were running around in the yard of María S. and were apparently very hungry. Somebody had brought them to Santa Rita from Concepción, although they were still much too small to survive without being fed by their mother.

(760)   *hmm, sepitÿkuÿjaneyu tujikukuÿjaneyu*

      hmm *sepitÿ-kuÿ-jane-yu*   *ti-ujiku-kuÿ-jane-yu*
      INTJ small-INCMP-DISTR-INTS 3i-suckle-INCMP-DISTR-INTS

      'hmm, they are still very small, they still suckle a lot'

<div align="right">[rxx-e120511l.364]</div>

In (761), the active verb *-nÿnÿiku* has to be understood as 'be alive'. It is contrasted with the current irreversible state of death, although this is not expressed lexically. The use of the adverb *metu* 'already, ready' is interesting here. It is often used together with the iamitive, but seems to be compatible with stative incompletive readings of morphologically active verbs. The sentence comes from María S. and refers to her late mother who taught her how to weave.

(761)   *timesumeikunÿbane nÿenu metu tenÿnÿikukuÿ*

      ti-mesumeiku-nÿ-bane *nÿ-enu*   *metu*   *ti-nÿnÿiku-kuÿ*
      3i-teach-1SG-REM   1SG-mother already 3i-live-INCMP

      'my mother taught me long ago when she was still alive'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181022le]</div>

A second example, in which *metu* is used in a similar fashion is (762), which comes from Juana. It is a somehow incomplete sentence which she produced in elicitation remembering the old times (she was actually asked for a translation of 'how long has it been that...').

(762)   *metu biyunu bepuikupukuÿ...*

      metu   *bi-yunu* *bi-epuiku-pu-kuÿ*
      already 1PL-go 1PL-fish-DLOC-INCMP

      'when we still went to fish...'

<div align="right">[jxx-e190210s-01]</div>

Only occasionally, *-kuÿ* is used with predicates expressing reversible states, which are not necessarily understood as starting points of a unidirectional development. However, there are still always stative overtones, regardless of whether the verb is morphologically stative as in (763) or active as in (764).

(763) comes from Juana who had fallen down because of her heart some time before.

(763) *i siempre tikutikuÿ echÿu nijepene*

    i   siempre ti-kuti-kuÿ   echÿu ni-jepene
    and always 3i-hurt-INCMP DEMa 1SG-chest

    'and my breast still always hurts'

                                               [jxx-p120430l-1.322]

In (764), there is two times *-bu* on the verb. The first one is a middle marker and belongs to the continuous verb *-ububuiku-bu* 'be' (continuous form of *-ubu* 'be, live'). As for the second instance of *-bu*, it is not clear whether middle voice is marked again here or rather the discontinuous marker is irregularly attached to a non-negated verb, possibly in an attempt to reinforce the incompletive meaning of *-kuÿ*. In any case, in this example, Juan C. talks about living in San Miguelito, having seen the village grow.

(764) *tanÿma bububuikubukuÿbu naka*

    tanÿma bi-ububuiku-bu-kuÿ-bu naka
    now   1PL-be-MID-INCMP-?   here

    'now we are still living here'

                                   [mqx-p110826l.093-094]

In (765), Juana uses the incompletive marker twice, first on the negative particle of the negative clause ('not yet') and then on the nominal predicate of the positive clause ('still'). She comments on the early death of her sister here.

(765) *i tepakumÿnÿ nipiji, kuinakuÿ juberÿpuina, pimiyakuÿ*

    i   ti-paku-mÿnÿ ni-piji   kuina-kuÿ juberÿpu-ina   pimiya-kuÿ
    and 3i-die-DIM   1SG-sibling NEG-INCMP old.woman-IRR.NV girl-INCMP

    'and my sister died, she wasn't old yet, she was still young'
                                    [jxx-p120430l-2.346-347]

A few more examples of the use of *-kuÿ* in negative clauses follow. The incompletive can either attach to the predicate or to the negative particle with the latter being much more frequent. Examples of both are presented below. Strikingly, if negated, the stative overtones of *-kuÿ* vanish. It can then also refer to actions that have not been carried out by reference time. Those actions are already scheduled, planned or to be carried out soon, or at least possible. Sometimes they may also be supposed to have taken place already. This means that negated *-kuÿ* can either refer to the state before an action is carried out, like in (766) – (768) or to the non-existence of a certain state before this state comes into being, like in (769) – (772) as well as (765) above.

(766) comes from María S. talking about the advance on her field. She told me that she had already burnt down the shrubs and weeds on her field. The next step, sowing, is already planned, but not carried out yet due to lack of rain.

(766)   *kuinakuÿ nebuka, kuinakuÿ, kuina tikebakuÿ ÿku*

   kuina-kuÿ   nÿ-ebuka   kuina-kuÿ   kuina ti-keba-kuÿ   ÿku
   NEG-INCMP 1SG-sow.IRR NEG-INCMP NEG   3i-rain.IRR-INCMP rain

   'I haven't sowed, yet, no, not yet, it hasn't rained, yet'

[rmx-e150922l.023]

(767) was elicited from María S. This sentence could be uttered by a mother following the question about where her child was going.

(767)   *kuina pinikakuÿ*

   kuina pi-nika-kuÿ
   NEG   2SG-eat.IRR-INCMP

   'you haven't eaten, yet'

[rxx-e181021les]

(768) is one of the examples in which an action is not scheduled, but considered possible. Juana states here that she has not gone to a place where some other people go to fish with big nets.

(768)   *kuinakuÿ niyuna, kuina nichupuika*

   kuina-kuÿ   ni-yuna   kuina ni-chupuika
   NEG-INCMP 1SG-go.IRR NEG   1SG-know.IRR

   'I haven't gone there, yet, (because) I don't know it'

[jxx-e190210s-01]

The sentence in (769) was elicited from María S. It has a stative verb referring to the endpoint of a natural development that is negated. This means that the endpoint of this development is not reached.

(769)   *¡masaini pinika! kuinakuÿ tayu*

   masaini pi-nika   kuina-kuÿ   ti-a-yu
   ADM   2SG-eat.IRR NEG-INCMP 3i-IRR-be.ripe

   'don't eat it! It is not ripe, yet!'

[rxx-e181022le]

The statement in (770) by María C. refers to my knowledge of Paunaka, when I first came to Santa Rita in 2011 – luckily the speakers' judgement about my capacity of speaking their language changed over time.

(770)   *kuina pitamÿnÿkuÿ*

   kuina pi-ita-mÿnÿ-kuÿ
   NEG   2SG-master.IRR-DIM-INCMP

   'you don't master it, yet'

[uxx-p110825l.092]

(771) is an example with the non-verbal copula *kaku*. Juana contrasts amenities of modern life with the situation when she was a child.

(771) *kuinakuÿ kakuina molino, kuina, i kuinakuÿ kakuina eka lata*

    kuina-kuÿ   *kaku-ina*   *molino*   *kuina*   *i*   *kuina-kuÿ*   *kaku-ina*   *eka*
    NEG-INCMP exist-IRR.NV mill   NEG   and   NEG-INCMP exist-IRR.NV DEMa

       lata
       can

    'there was no mill, yet, no, and there were no cans, yet'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-2.504-507]</div>

Finally, (772) was elicited from María S. and is about an imagined broken clay pot.

(772) *chuinepaiku kuinakuÿ terabajika*

    chuine-paiku   *kuina-kuÿ*   *ti-rabajika*
    just.now-PUNCT   NEG-INCMP   3i-break.IRR

    'just a little while ago it was not broken yet'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181021les]</div>

6.8.1.4 Prospective

The prospective marker *-bÿti* refers to the initial boundary of an event. I call it prospective in the sense of the definition by Comrie (2001:64), "a state [that] is related to some subsequent situation". Prospective aspect is never found in negative sentences. It is mostly combined with irrealis RS and in this case, the initial boundary is close to or even on the point of being surpassed. There is usually some intentionality involved, i.e. the prospective is not found on non-volitional verbs like *-kebu* 'rain', no matter how imminent rainfall may be. However, the marker is also used for temporal ordering and in that case it can appear on non-volitional predicates as well.

    In (773), the prospective marker is used to convey an intention. It comes from Miguel's story about the lazy man. When his wife complains that they do not have any food supplies left, he promises to make a field in the woods by telling his wife the following:

(773) *"bueno niyunabÿti nebitakupai"*

    bueno   *ni-yuna-bÿti*   *nÿ-ebitaku-pai*
    well   1SG-go.IRR-PRSP   1SG-clear-CLF:ground

    '"well, I am going to go to clear the ground (for a field)"'

<div align="right">[mox-n110920l.020]</div>

In a similar fashion, Juana's brother is cited by her in (774), explaining that he needs a bag (which has been mentioned before), because he has the intention to bring some corn back from his journey to his other brother's home.

(774) *"numabÿti nauku nupupuna amuke tÿpi aumuena", tikechu*

    nÿ-uma-bÿti   *nauku* *nÿ-upupuna*   *amuke* *tÿpi* *aumue-ina* *ti-kechu*
    1SG-take.IRR-PRSP   there   1SG-bring.back.IRR   corn   OBL chicha-IRR 3i-say

    '"I'm going to take it (the bag) there in order to bring corn for chicha", he said'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-2.396]</div>

(775) comes from María S. She said it to me, when I gave her some gingerbread I had brought from Germany.

(775) *nisumechabÿti*

    ni-sumecha-bÿti
    1SG-want.IRR-PRSP

    'I am going to try it'

<div align="right">[jrx-c151001fls-8.25]</div>

The prospective marker is often used to signal imminence. Consider Example (776). Preceding this utterance by Juana, my colleague Swintha asked Miguel whether he could tell the story he was telling in Spanish in Paunaka instead. Juana stated that he would do that immediately and, indeed, Miguel switched to Paunaka then.

(776) *aa, tanÿma tichujikabÿti*

    aa   *tanÿma* *ti-chujika-bÿti*
    INTJ now   3i-speak.IRR-PRSP

    'ah, he is going to speak (Paunaka) now'

<div align="right">[jmx-n120429ls-x5.150]</div>

Use of the prospective often, but not always, signals that an event has to occur first in order for something else to happen. When I arrived at her house or also in the middle of my visit, Juana would often just quickly perform a task, before she would sit with me (again). Use of *-bÿti* then indicated that it would not take long and she intended to come back to me soon. This is the case in (777), a sentence which I did not record but wrote down in my notebook. Juana said it to me while already walking towards the neighbour's plot and holding a plate with plantains in her hands.

(777) *nipunakabÿti merÿ*

    ni-punaka-bÿti   *merÿ*
    1SG-give.IRR-PRSP plantain

    'I'm just going to give her plantains'

<div align="right">[jxx-120430l-nr]</div>

Later that day, she wanted to tie her daughter's belly,[77] who had just given birth, in order to shrink it and she said:

(778) *nÿrÿtÿkabÿti chikÿ nijinepÿi*

    nÿ-rÿtÿka-bÿti   *chi-kÿ*   *ni-jinepÿi*
    1SG-tie.IRR-PRSP 3-CLF:bounded 1SG-daughter

    'I'm just going to tie my daughter's belly'

<div align="right">[jxx-e120430l-2.1]</div>

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77. People often use *-kÿna* to refer to the whole interior of the torso, but this word is also used to precisely mean 'heart' (cf. Danielsen & Terhart subm). Interestingly, in this case, Juana seems to construe a word containing the classifier *-kÿ* used for bounded things and the interior of things to substitute for a word for 'belly' or possibly 'uterus'. Otherwise *-emua* is the outer part of the belly, *-chechabue* means 'uterus'.

On the very same day, when food was ready, Juana interrupted our recording session and invited me to eat with them. In the first clause, she first used bare *metu* 'already, ready', an adverb which can be used to express that something is finished, and then repeated the adverb and attached *-bÿti* to signal that we could take up our work later on again. This is followed by the actual invitation.

(779) *metu metubÿti, ¿ee pisachu pinika eka mutu?*

   metu   *metu-bÿti*   *ee*   *pi-sachu*   *pi-nika*   *eka*   *mutu*
   already   already-PRSP   INTJ   2SG-want   2SG-eat.IRR   DEMa   armadillo

   'ready, ready for now, er, do you want to eat some armadillo?'
   [jxx-p120430l-2.638-640]

In (777) – (779) above, there are three situations involved, the situation at reference time (which equals utterance time in the examples), the situation which is imminent and marked by *-bÿti*, and a third situation that is not expressed overtly, but understood from the context. It is often the case that the important information in a sentence with prospective aspect is about the relation between the situation marked by *-bÿti* and the situation *after* completion of it. In this case, *-bÿti* marks the event which has to occur first before some other situation can be realised. It is then also possible to mark predicates that encode states or have a final boundary together as prospective. Both Juana and María S. often use the prospective marker in this way. In translation to English, temporally ordering expressions like 'until', 'first', 'at first' or 'once' often express best what is conveyed with *-bÿti*.

Consider (780) with a non-verbal predicate, a verb borrowed from Spanish. María S. states here that I cannot go to Santa Cruz because of a blockade of the roads, a popular means of politically discontent Bolivians to add authority to their demands. Only when the blockade would be over, I could travel again.

(780) *kuina puero piyuna pasaunabÿti*

   kuina *puero* *pi-yuna*   *pasau-ina-bÿti*
   NEG   can   2SG-go.IRR   pass-IRR.NV-PRSP

   'you can't go until it is over'
   [mrx-c120509l.109]

(781) also comes from María S. asking Swintha to wait a little, while she was going to finish the dough for the bread she was making. I am not sure what *-puti* on the demonstrative *eka* is meant to be and why the second verb has realis RS. As for *-puti*, this is possibly the very same prospective marker, given that María S. repeated the sentence as in (782) below, this time also using irrealis RS on the second verb. In this case, the prospective marker occurs twice marking both events, the temporally prior one which lasts until completion of the later one, both being imminent.

(781) *pikichupabÿti nibuku ekaputi niyÿbaiku niyuineina*

   pi-kichupa-bÿti   *ni-buku*   *eka-puti* *ni-yÿbaiku* *ni-yui-ne-ina*
   2SG-wait.IRR-PRSP   1SG-finish   DEMa-?   1SG-grind   1SG-bread-POSSD-IRR.NV

   'wait a little until I have finished what I am grinding for my bread'
   [rxx-e150220s-1.10]

(782)   *pikichupabӱti nibukabӱti*

    pi-kichupa-bӱti   ni-buka-bӱti
    2SG-wait.IRR-PRSP 1SG-finish.IRR-PRSP

    'wait a little while (first), I am about to finish'

                                      [rxx-e150220s-1.11]

Use of *-bӱti* on temporally prior events that have to be completed for another event to be realisable have also been found with Juana, like in (783), which was elicited. In this case, the ordering function of the marker is very obvious since every step in the sequence is lexically expressed.

(783)   *niyunabӱti xhikuerayae, nӱbӱsӱyupupunuka naka te niyunatu nemusuika*

    ni-yuna-bӱti   xhikuera-yae nӱ-bӱsӱyu-pupunuka naka te   ni-yuna-tu
    1SG-go.IRR-PRSP school-LOC   1SG-come-REG.IRR here SEQ 1SG-go.IRR-IAM

      nӱ-emusuika
      1SG-wash

    'I am going to school first, when I come back here, then I can go to wash'
                                            [jxx-e190210s-01]

Another example from Juana is (784), where the prospective marker attaches to the non-verbal predicate *kapunu* 'come'. Juana had just expressed her disappointment about her brother Miguel not visiting her at her house again. He had travelled to Santa Cruz at that time and had been at Juana's house with us the day before. She would have liked him to come again, because she had been trying to remember the name of a bird, thus she thought he could help her.

(784)   *nikechu nӱti ekakena kapunuinabӱti nichupa*

    ni-kechu nӱti   eka-kena   kapunu-ina-bӱti   ni-chupa
    1SG-say 1SG.PRN DEMa-UNCERT come-IRR.NV-PRSP 1SG-know.IRR

    'I said (to myself), it might be this one, once he comes, I will know it'
                                            [jxx-p120430l-1.093]

After having presented abundant examples in which *-bӱti* is attached to irrealis predicates, I would like to take a look at some of the few cases in which the prospective combines with a realis predicate. Actually, the prospective fulfils the very same functions as with irrealis RS, but with a present perspective as in (785) or a past perspective as in (786) and (787).

In (785), the event marked with *-bӱti* has already started at utterance time, which equals reference time in this case, but it is not finished. It is related to a second, temporally later event which can only be realised if the first one is completed. The sentence provides a speculation by María S. about what her brother Miguel was doing. She had asked me about him before, but I could not tell her because I had not passed by his home.

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(785) *repente kuina tinika, tiyÿtikububÿti*

repente kuina ti-nika   ti-yÿtikubu-bÿti
maybe   NEG   3i-eat.IRR   3i-cook-PRSP

'maybe he hasn't eaten, she is just cooking now (first)'

[rxx-e120511l.339]

A focus on the start of an event is prevalent in Example (786), which comes from Juana. The people of Santa Rita had an agreement with a lady: she would have some people make a reservoir in Santa Rita, and in exchange, the people of Santa Rita would clear some land for cattle breeding for her. Thus when the reservoir was ready, people started to work on clearing.

(786) *tukiu nechÿu biyunubÿti bisiupuiku nauku*

tukiu nechÿu bi-yunu-bÿti   bi-siupuiku nauku
from   DEMc   1PL-go-PRSP   1PL-pay   there

'from that point on we began to go to pay her back there'

[jxx-p120515l-2.084]

In (787), it is again temporal ordering that triggers use of *-bÿti*. The sentence comes from Juana's description of her grandparents travel back from Moxos, where they had bought cows. When they rested on their journey, the cows ate first and then they would walk further.

(787) *aja tebumichunubeji tinijaneubÿti baka, te tiyunukanube ya*

aja   ti-ebumichu-nube-ji ti-ni-jane-u-bÿti   baka te   ti-yunuka-nube
AFM 3i-rest-PL-RPRT   3i-eat-DISTR-REAL-PRSP cow   SEQ 3i-go.on.IRR-PL

 ya
 already

'yes, they rested, it is said, until their cows had eaten and then they would go on'

[jxx-p151016l-2.043-045]

Finally, I want to mention that *-bÿti* also occurs on the formula to say goodbye to somebody. It is attached to the irrealis form *tajai* of the stative verb *tijai*, which literally means 'it is light', but is rather used as an equivalent of the noun 'day'. The irrealis form then means 'a day that follows', which might be the next day or some day after that, so literally this means something like 'it is going to be another day' or 'there has to be another break of day first'.[78]

(788) *¡tajaibÿti!*

ti-a-jai-bÿti
3i-IRR-be.light-PRSP

'see you!'

---

78. I have actually not found a single occurrence of this formula among the recordings since it was always produced on departure, when the recording device had been turned off and stored away already.

6.8.1.5 Continuous

As has been explained in 6.2.6, continuous marking can be analysed as a derivational process if it applies to the root of a verb. However, if it applies to the stem of the verb, it is often used in a way that resembles aspect marking. In both cases, continuous marking signals duration of an action or state, and derivational and aspectual usage certainly overlap.[79] This section thus only presents examples with those verbs for which the continuous form cannot be considered as highly lexicalised by mere frequency. All of them have realis RS.

Continuous marking is achieved by reduplication of the last syllable of the stem and an addition of *iku*, most probably the extension applicative and the thematic suffix (see 6.2.2 and 6.2.3). Its citation form in text is thus *-CViku*, in the interlinear analyses of examples, *CV* is replaced by the actual syllable showing up on the word.

A continuous predicate encodes that the event was begun at some point and is ongoing at reference time. It is thus sometimes related to a second more punctual event, but this is not necessarily expressed overtly.

The relation between two events is very clear in (789), which comes from the recordings by Riester with Juan Ch. The punctual event is the sudden realisation of a gray brocket and the ongoing event is the animal's eating. It serves as a background for the punctual event.

(789) *uchuine mane nisimuku unya chinikukuiku chipuneji kÿjÿypi nisaneyae*

    uchuine   mane   ni-simuku unya   chi-niku-kuiku chi-pune-ji kÿjÿypi
    just.now morning 1SG-find gray.brocket 3-eat-CONT   3-leaf-COL manioc

        ni-sane-yae
        1SG-field-LOC

    'today in the morning, I found a gray brocket eating manioc leaves on my field'
                                                  [nxx-a630101g-1.51]

A similar example was produced by Juana, when telling me about how a criminal in-law of hers was finally arrested. The additive on the second predicate is used because the man who was eating had also arrived only recently.

(790) *tinikukuikuji kapunukunube suntabunube*

    ti-niku-kuiku-ji   kapunu-uku-nube suntabu-nube
    3i-eat-CONT-RPRT come-ADD-PL   soldier-PL

    'he was eating, it is said, when the soldiers came, too'
                                                  [jxx-p120430l-2.151]

More often, no second event is overtly expressed. In (791), Juana speaks of an ongoing listening on the telephone, a call she received from her daughter in Spain.

(791) *nisamuikukuiku telefonoyae*

    ni-samuiku-kuiku telefono-yae
    1SG-listen-CONT telephone-LOC

    'I was listening on the telephone'
                                                  [jxx-p110923l-1.305]

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79. Note also, that the root and the stem of a verb are not always distinguishable.

A continuous form of the verb may also show up in elicitation, when the original sentence in Spanish contains a progressive, which was the case in the following example from José.

(792) *tanÿma eka kabe tanÿmapaiku timajaikukuiku*

      tanÿma eka   kabe tanÿma-paiku ti-majaiku-kuiku
      now   DEMa dog now-PUNCT   3i-bark-CONT

      'now the dog is barking right now'

                                                           [mox-a110920l-1]

(793) comes from Juana. It is a citation of an old lady whom she once met in Candelaria, and who first did not recognise that Juana could also speak Paunaka. When Juana could not stop laughing about something she said, it began to dawn on her.

(793) *"tekukuikubuyuju eka pimiya"*

      ti-eku-kuiku-bu-yu-ju   eka   pimiya
      3i-laugh-CONT-MID-INTS-? DEMa girl

      '"this girl is laughing"'

                                                   [jxx-p120515l-1.085]

The continuous marker does not only attach to active predicates like the ones above, but also to statives. (794) builds on a stative verb, and (795) on an adjective. Considering these examples, it becomes clear why the marker is cited as *-CViku*; final syllables other than the thematic suffix *-ku* are involved here. Both examples come from María C.

In (794), she provides information about her having been ill.

(794) *entero eka mane nekujimamaikumÿnÿ*

      entero eka   mane   nÿ-kujima-maiku-mÿnÿ
      whole DEMa morning 1SG-have.fever-CONT-DIM

      'the whole morning, I had fever'

                                                   [ump-p110815sf.716]

In (795), she states that she is fairly well (in a totally different occasion). This could also be considered a case of derivation rather than inflection since this expression is highly conventionalised: the continuous marker is attached to the adjective *micha* 'good', whenever a statement about health is made.

(795) *michachaikune pario*

      micha-chaiku-ne pario
      good-CONT-1SG some

      'I am fairly well'

                                                   [cux-120410ls.020]

With continuous marking, the discussion of aspect is completed. The next section is about tense.

6.8.2 Tense

Tense is a marginal category in Paunaka, since temporal information is usually conveyed by RS marking: realis is used for past and present reference, irrealis for future reference. Nonetheless, there are two tense markers that add more information to this general distinction, the remote (past) marker *-bane* and the particle *uchu* used to specify an uncertain and mostly also remote future. They are summarised in Table 6.31. Both tense markers are not obligatory. The remote (past) marker is usually attached to a word and forms part of its prosodic contour, while the uncertain future marker does not. It is the only TAME marker that is always realised as a separate phonological word and is thus orthographically represented as an independent word, too. This is the peculiarity of the uncertain future marker. The remote (past) marker has a different one: in combination with the stative verb root *-ÿ* 'be long', it does not refer to a remote time, but to a remote distance.[80]

Table 6.31: Tense markers

Tense	Marker	Gloss	Rough translation
Remote (past and distance)	*(-)bane*	REM	long ago, away
Uncertain future	*uchu*	UNCERT.FUT	one day

6.8.2.1 Remote past and remote distance

According to the classification by Mueller (2013:47), Paunaka can be defined as a language with one remoteness degree in the past, i.e. a language that has one "morpho-syntactic marker for a PAST tense that specifically refers to remoteness". In Paunaka, this marker, *-bane*, is the only past marker, it does not contrast with a morpho-syntactic expression for recent past. Recent past or a past reading in general is induced from realis RS (see 6.5.2.1) and the general linguistic and non-linguistic context. The remote marker is not obligatory. Besides marking remote past, it also occurs in one expression of spatial distance, which is why I decided to gloss it as "remote" ('REM') and not "remote past".

For the Paunaka speakers, "remote" refers to the time of their childhood and adolescence or the time before or when they moved to the villages of Santa Rita and San Miguelito de la Cruz, at least this is what use of the marker suggests.[81] The marker is also used in narratives to establish a temporal distance between the events in the narration and now. A typical start for a story as Miguel tells them is (796). The first sentence presents the main character to the addressee. It typically contains the non-verbal existential copula *kaku*, which carries the remote marker *-bane* to create a gap between reference time, the time the story takes place, and utterance time (the "now"

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80. As for the uncertain marker *uchu*, this could possibly be the base on which the question word *juchubu* 'where, when' is built, thus also encoding location beside time in a fixed expression. In this case, however, the composition of the word is more opaque, it may also be composed differently, see also 7.4.2.2.

81. I am not sure whether the Paunaka people who live in Concepción conceptualise the time before they moved there as remote past, too. First, they do not live in Concepción as long as the other speakers live in the villages and second, the villages are perceived as places of Paunaka affiliation while the town of Concepción is not, and this may have an influence on their perception of what counts as remote past.

of that moment). In addition, the reportive marker *-ji* (see Section 6.8.3.3) encodes that what is told was not witnessed by the speaker himself.

(796) *kakubaneji chÿnachÿ jente bakeronu*

    kaku-bane-ji   *chÿnachÿ jente bakeronu*
    exist-REM-RPRT one   man cowherd

    'once upon a time, there was a man who was a cowherd, it is said'
                                    [mxx-n151017l-1.01]

In Example (797), Juan C. describes one of the different temporary locations of residence in his life before he came to San Miguelito de la Cruz and made his home there. The time he is referring to is his childhood, which is perceived as being long ago, and this is signaled by the use of the remote marker on the verb of the second clause.

(797) *nauku nijÿkiu, no ve, pero komo nikechu kuina bitibuabane*

    nauku *ni-jÿk-i-u*   *no ve*   *pero* *komo* *ni-kechu* *kuina*
    there   1SG-grow-SUBORD-REAL you see but like 1SG-say NEG

      bi-tibua-bane
      1PL-sit.down.IRR-REM

    'there I grew up, you see, but as I said, we didn't settle down there (and all that happened a long time ago)'
                                      [mqx-p110826l.438]

(798) also comes from Juan C. It is his answer to the question whether he went to school in Altavista.

(798) *aa niyunubane*

    aa   *ni-yunu-bane*
    AFM 1SG-go-REM

    'yes, I went (long ago)'
                                    [mqx-p110826l.213]

(799) was elicited from María S. Since the person who made the house in this example is unknown, it follows that its construction must have happened long ago.

(799) *kuina bichupa chija tanaubanechÿ eka ubiae*

    kuina bi-chupa   *chija ti-anau-bane-chÿ* *eka*   *ubiae*
    NEG 1PL-know.IRR what 3i-make-REM-3 DEMa house

    'we don't know who made this house (long ago)'
                                      [rxx-e201231f.38]

In (800), Juana reports what happened to their grandparents' cows, which they had bought in Moxos in order to breed cattle. It were some *karay* who took their cows away.

(800)   *chibejiupununubebane chipeunube baka*

       chi-bejiu-punu-nube-bane   *chi-peu-nube baka*
       3-take.away-AM.PRIOR-PL-REM 3-animal-PL cow

       'they came to take away their cows (long ago)'

                                                           [jxx-e150925l-1.226]

Although the remote marker is mostly used on predicates, it sometimes occurs on another word in the clause, especially adverbial demonstratives and personal pronouns, but still refers to the event as a whole, which is shown in (801), which comes from Miguel in telling me about the history of Santa Rita.

(801)   *kaku echÿu xhikueramÿnÿ nakabane*

       kaku echÿu xhikuera-mÿnÿ naka-bane
       exist DEMb school-DIM   here-REM

       'there was a small school here long time ago'

                                                            [mxx-p110825l.084]

In addition to giving information about the temporal setting of the event, *-bane* can also be used as a deceased and possibly as a nominal past marker. In this function, it mostly attaches to kinship terms. Deceased marking is described in 5.6. In Example (802), *-bane* is used on the copula to express remote past temporal reference and on a kinship term to express that the person in question is deceased. It is from a description by María S. of how the Supepí family moved to the place where Santa Rita is located nowadays from the place where the village was situated before.

(802)   *depue kakukuÿbane nÿenubane primero nubiu nauku*

       depue   *kaku-kuÿ-bane*   *nÿ-enu-bane*   *primero nÿ-ubiu*   *nauku*
       afterwards exist-INCMP-REM 1SG-mother-REM first   1SG-house there

       'afterwards my late mother was still in my first house there long ago'
                                                           [rxx-e120511l.172]

The remote marker *-bane* is certainly related to the adverb *abane* 'finally', with one example given below in (803). In this utterance, Juana expresses that her daughter finally followed her advice to ask her boss for help in order to save her sister from being deported from Spain before ever having entered the country.

(803)   *abane chichujiku te tiyununubetu*

       abane chi-chujiku te   ti-yunu-nube-tu
       finally 3-speak   SEQ 3i-go-PL-IAM

       'finally she spoke to him and they went'

                                                          [jxx-p110923l-1.351]

It also sometimes occurs in isolation, i.e. not phonologically bound to a word, but this is very rare. (804) gives one example of this. It is a statement by María C. about her consumption of alcohol in former times.

(804) *bane pimiyakuÿne neu, bariente*

    bane pimiya-kuÿ-ne   nÿ-eu   bariente
    REM girl-INCMP-1SG 1SG-drink liquor

    'long ago, when I was still a young woman, I drank, liquor'
<div align="right">[cux-c120414ls-1.031-032]</div>

All examples given up to this point illustrate the temporal function of *-bane*. Nevertheless, when it is added to the stative verbal root *-ÿ* 'be long', it expresses spatial remoteness (see also 6.1.4). The complete verb form is *tÿbane* and means 'it is far away'.

In my data, most of the clauses containing *tÿbane* do not contain anything else than the verb. However, in (805), there is a subject. In this utterance, Juana thinks about the reason why the flight to Germany is that expensive.

(805) *tÿbane Alemania*

    ti-ÿ-bane   Alemania
    3i-be.long-REM Germany

    'Germany is far away'
<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-1.172]</div>

There is also *mÿbane* 'it is near' with the non-productive privative prefix on the same verb stem. Usually, the limitative marker *-jiku* is added to *mÿbane*, but this is not obligatory. An example without limitative marker is (806), in which María S. describes where her field is.

(806) *tÿbane, nauku, mÿbane ... mÿbane Isidro*

    ti-ÿ-bane   nauku mu-ÿ-bane   mu-ÿ-bane   Isidro
    3i-be.long-REM there PRIV-be.long-REM PRIV-be.long-REM Isidro

    'it is far away, over there, close to ... close to Isidro's'
<div align="right">[rxx-e120511l.393-394]</div>

In (807), there is a limitative marker on the verb. This sentence was elicited, when talking about María C.'s new home in Concepción, not far away from Clara's house.

(807) *kuina taÿbane, mÿbanejiku*

    kuina ti-a-ÿ-bane   m-ÿ-bane-jiku
    NEG   3i-IRR-be.long-REM PRIV-be.long-REM-LIM1

    'it is not far, it is close'
<div align="right">[cux-120410ls.065]</div>

In the remainder of this work, I do not necessarily decompose the words *tÿbane* and *mÿbanejiku* in this detail in the interlinear glosses.

6.8.2.2 Uncertain future

Unlike the other markers described in this section, the uncertain future marker *uchu* is a particle which is usually realised as an independent word. It is not phonologically bound to the preceding word, i.e. it neither affects stress assignment nor does the first

vowel /u/ fuse into a diphthong with a preceding vowel. However, as for the latter feature, there are a few exceptions in the corpus, which come from Juana and apply to inflected verbs ending in /i/, as in Example (808) below. *Uchu* always follows the word to which it refers. This may be a verb, a non-verbal predicate or some other constituent of the sentence. The particle exhibits the same floating characteristics as the other tense and aspect markers. There is no restriction as to position of the particle inside the sentence except for the fact that it never appears sentence-initially. It cannot occur on its own either. These features set this marker away from adverbs and are the reason why I analyse it as a particle.

Regarding its semantics, *uchu* is used to describe that a future event is assumed to happen, but not for sure. There is a certain insecurity about the event's fulfilment, possibly because the exact date is not known to the speaker and the event even may not happen at all. The case being like this, *uchu* is always combined with irrealis RS. Usually, it is used, when an event is assumed to happen in remote future, like in (808), a statement of Juana following my explanation that I had plans to come back to Bolivia, but no idea when that would be.

(808) *nikichupapi uchu*

  ni-kichupa-pi   uchu
  1SG-wait.IRR-2SG UNCERT.FUT

  'I will wait for you (whenever you may come back)'

  [jxx-p120430l-1.471]

(809) comes from the same recording session. Juana was wondering when we, i.e. Swintha and me, could come back to Bolivia after the Paunaka Documentation Project would have finished and thus asked me. As in (808), there is reference to a very uncertain future, since it was not clear at all whether we would come back and when that would be.

(809) *¿juchubu uchu ebÿsÿupupunuka?*

  juchubu uchu   e-bÿsÿu-pupunuka
  where   UNCERT.FUT 2PL-come-REG.IRR

  'when may you come back?'

  [jxx-p120430l-1.133]

In (810), *uchu* targets a future that is not actually believed to be reached, the sentence is rather meant as a joke to express how much María S. suffered from the strong sun.

(810) *fuerte sache, tikupakane uchu*

  fuerte sache ti-kupaka-ne uchu
  strong sun   3i-kill-1SG   UNCERT.FUT

  'the sun is strong, one day it will kill me'

  [rmx-e150922l.005-006]

(811) was elicited from Juana. I aimed at eliciting the irrealis marker on nouns, however, I got the uncertain future marker in addition to it since a remote and uncertain future is expressed here.

(811) *nijinepÿi taichunatu tisuika profesuruina uchu*

ni-jinepÿi   *ti-a-ichuna-tu*   *ti-suika*   *profesuru-ina*
1SG-daughter   3i-IRR-be.capable-IAM   3i-write.IRR   teacher-IRR.NV
    uchu
    UNCERT.FUT

'when my daughter will know how to write, one day she will be a teacher'
[jxx-p150920l.068]

The particle *uchu* is not very frequent among the speakers I worked with, it is found much more in the recordings made by Riester in the 1960s. If we consider these recordings, it becomes clear that uncertainty is much more important than remoteness because *uchu* is sometimes used to refer to events that might happen very soon, and it can even be accompanied by a definite date, see (812). Salt was among the things, people weekly got in exchange for working for their *patrón*, but depending on the *patrón's* mood, it was not guaranteed that they always got what they were supposed to receive.

(812) *sabaru uchu bibeamÿnÿtu kuyepa*

sabaru   *uchu*   *bi-bea-mÿnÿ-tu*   *kuyepa*
Saturday   UNCERT.FUT   1PL-take.away.IRR-DIM-IAM   salt

'on Saturday, we can possibly take salt'
[nxx-p630101g-2.63]

I want to conclude this section with an example that I particularly like. It also comes from the recordings by Riester. Juan Ch. complains here about the amount of pastureland he and others have to reclaim for their *patrón*.

(813) *nikuchabueji portrero, chibu kuchabueji, nenayu binika mÿiji uchu*

ni-kuchabueji   *portrero*   *chibu*   *kuchabueji*   *nena-yu*   *bi-nika*   *mÿiji*
1SG-work   pasture   3TOP.PRN   work   like-INTS   1PL-eat.IRR   grass
    uchu
    UNCERT.FUT

'I am working for the pasture, this is what I work, it seems we're going to eat grass in the future'
[nxx-p630101g-2.19]

The next section is about modality and evidentiality.

6.8.3 Modality and evidentiality

"Modality [...] is consideration of alternative realities mediated by an authority" (Timberlake 2007:315). In this section, the expression of modality and evidentiality is discussed. As for modality, Narrog (2005:165) states that "[t]here is hardly any grammatical category which has been given more diverging definitions, and under the label of which a wider range of phenomena has been studied". He further states that "[m]odality traditionally has been viewed as a semantic, rather than syntactic or morphological, category" (Narrog 2005:166). While there are certainly ways to express all or most of the modalities that have been proposed in the literature, I limit my discussion here to the modalities and evidentialities that are expressed by specific morphological

means in Paunaka. All markers described throughout this section are summarised in Table 6.32.

Table 6.32: Modality and evidentiality markers

Type	Category	Marker	Gloss	Rough translation
Non-realisation	Frustrative	*-ini*	FRUST	in vain, would X
Non-realisation	Avertive	*-tÿini*	AVERT	almost
Non-realisation	Optative	*-yuini*	OPT1	hopefully, if only, may
Non-realisation	Optative	*-jÿti*	OPT2	hopefully, if only, may
Epistemic	Uncertainty	*(-)kena*	UNCERT	maybe
Epistemic	Deductive	*-yenu*	DED	must be X
Evidentiality	Reportive	*-ji*	RPRT	it is said

Two kinds of modality can be distinguished in Paunaka. One type is concerned with the expression of non-realisation or counter-to-fact notions. The other type is epistemic modality. "Epistemic modality is concerned with what is known about the actual world" (Hengeveld 2004:1193). It indicates how speakers judge the proposition in terms of how much they are committed to the truth (Palmer 2001:8).[82]

Evidentiality on the other hand is concerned with the source of information (Aikhenvald 2004:3). We can thus state that both epistemic modality and evidentiality are concerned with responsibility the speaker takes for the truth/certainty/correctness of the proposition.

Section 6.8.3.1 starts with a description of markers that relate to non-realised counterfactual events, 6.8.3.2 is concerned with epistemic modality, and finally the only morphological expression of evidentiality in Paunaka is described in Section 6.8.3.3.

6.8.3.1 Modality of counterfactual non-realisation

The markers described in this section do not merely encode non-realisation (as was proposed as an overarching term for some of the functions described here by Kuteva et al. 2019).[83] Non-realisation is expressed by irrealis RS in Paunaka, which is analysed as belonging to a separate grammatical category "reality status" following Elliott (2000), see 6.5 for more information. The important point is that besides non-realisation, there is a notion of counterfactuality or counter-expectation inherent in all of the categories described here, the most frequent of them being frustrative. As for combination with RS, frustrative and avertive have been found with realis and irrealis predicates, optative only with irrealis ones.

Frustrative markers are very widespread among the languages of South America (Campbell 2012b:291). The term has been used by several scholars working on Amazonian language, but often "rather on the basis of an intuitive understanding of the word *frustrate*, along with some comparison with other languages known to the authors" (Overall 2017:478). This multifaceted usage of the term is reflected in the definition

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82. Overall (2017:481) argues that the expression of non-realisation can be subsumed under epistemic modality: "The frustrative is epistemic, because it relates to the knowledge and expectations of the speaker." I distinguish these two types here for the time being for practical reasons, but acknowledge that there is probably no sharp boundary. Non-realisation may be a subtype of epistemic modality.
83. The authors had priorly referred to the topic by using the term "counter-to-fact" categories in a conference talk (Kuteva et al. 2015), which is more precise in the Paunaka case. Unfortunately, by 2021 the handout is not available for download anymore.

given by Mueller (2013:158): "A FRUSTRATIVE refers to an event that did not have the expected outcome or was finished unsuccessfully. The action can be left unfinished, or be finished but not as expected, or be done in vain. It involves emotive frustration on part of the speaker, but not necessarily so."

The very vague definition and broad usage of the frustrative category has been criticised by Kuteva et al. (2019:880) who state that in South American linguistics, "the umbrella term "frustrative" has been used for non-realized TAM categories almost on an "anything goes" principle." They propose five distinct categories of non-realisation instead: apprehensional, avertive, frustrated initiation, frustrated completion, and inconsequential.

As for the category of apprehensional, this is cross-linguistically most often expressed by subordinate clauses (Kuteva et al. 2019:863), and this is also the fact in Paunaka, where apprehensional clauses are introduced by a specific connective *masa* 'lest' (8.3.1.5),[84] so that I will not further consider it here. The avertive "involves past verb situations that almost took place but did not" and it has four different properties: non-realised verb situation as a whole, imminence, pastness, and perfectivity (Kuteva et al. 2019:866). There is indeed a marker in Paunaka that comes close to this definition. Morphosyntactic means to express frustrated initiation are absent, but frustrated completion is possibly realised by the same marker as avertive. Frustrated completion has the properties of non-realised completion of verb situation, pastness and imperfectivity of prefinal stage (Kuteva et al. 2019:872).

Considering the category of inconsequential now, "it is about the lack – or the lack of completeness, or stability – of the expected, or wished-for results/consequences – of a verb situation that has itself been realized in the past" (Kuteva et al. 2019:874). This definition is not so far from the one given by Overall (2017:479) for the frustrative: "Frustrative is a grammatical marker that expresses the non-realisation of some expected outcome implied by the proposition expressed in the marked clause." However, Overall's frustrative is not restricted to past events, and he identifies five possible extended functions of the frustrative: evaluative, incompletive or action narrowly averted, discontinuous past, counterfactual conditional, and narrative effect (Overall 2017:484).

Given the possibility of semantic extensions, his definition works well for the Paunaka morpheme, and I thus decided to use the term "frustrative" throughout this work. The basic function of frustrative, the non-realisation of an expected outcome, is expressed by the Paunaka marker, as well as counterfactual notions and it seems to be possible to use it for negative evaluation, too. This is explained in more detail below. The avertive marker is indeed a compound of two distinct TAME markers, the iamitive and the frustrative. Another complex marker including the frustrative is the optative, or rather one of the two optative markers, and it probably also forms part of the non-productive complex marker *-buini*. This is why these categories are treated together in this section. More detailed descriptions follow below.

Frustrative

The frustrative marker is *-ini*. There is a homophonous marker, which is added to kinship nouns to signal that the person in question is deceased. Since I am not sure

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84. Interestingly, the apprehensional connective can combine with a frustrative marker to express warnings, see 7.3.4.

whether the two markers are related, I decided to use two different glosses for the frustrative ('FRUST') and the deceased suffix ('DEC') for the time being.[85]

An example of frustrative in its most basic function of an action that does not have the desired outcomes is (814). In this example the whole action of going to the woods to hunt animals turned out to be vain since the speaker, Juan Ch., did not catch any animal. The failure of the action (or its outcome) is expressed twice by the frustrative marker on the verb and on the object. The reason for the failure is verbalised in the adversative clause that follows.[86]

(814) *ukuine niyunu kimenukÿyae nisemaikaini mukiankaini tÿpi ninikia nubiuyae masa kuina nitupa*

ukuine	*ni-yunu*	*kimenu-kÿ-yae*	*ni-semaika-ini*
yesterday	1SG-go	woods-CLF:bounded-LOC	1SG-search.IRR-FRUST

mukianka-ini	*tÿpi*	*ni-nik-i-a*	*nÿ-ubiu-yae*	*masa*	*kuina*
animal-FRUST	OBL	1SG-eat-SUBORD-IRR	1SG-house-LOC	but	NEG

ni-tupa
1SG-find.IRR

'yesterday I went to the woods and looked for animals (in vain) to eat at home, but I didn't find any'

[nxx-a630101g-1.62]

A similar example is (815), which comes from Juana. The verb *nikutikubumÿnÿini* 'poor me, I ran in vain' bears the frustrative marker to signal that the action of running did not have the desired outcome, which was seeing the corpse of her deceased brother before he was buried. This is also overtly expressed again in the (unmarked) adversative clause at the end of this example.

(815) *nikupu tukiu mikroyae, niyunu nikutikubumÿnÿini, nisachu nimua chibÿke nÿati, kuina nimuabu*

ni-kupu	*tukiu*	*mikro-yae*	*ni-yunu*	*ni-kutikubu-mÿnÿ-ini*	*ni-sachu*
1SG-go.down	from	microbus-LOC	1SG-go	1SG-run-DIM-FRUST	1SG-want

ni-imua	*chi-bÿke*	*nÿ-ati*	*kuina*	*ni-imua-bu*
1SG-see.IRR	3-face	1SG-brother	NEG	1SG-see.IRR-DSC

'I got off the microbus, I went, poor me, I ran in vain, I wanted to see my brother's face, but I didn't see him anymore'

[jxx-p120430l-2.465]

However, the failure of the expected outcome is not necessarily verbalised. In (816), it is the frustrative marker alone that signals that the outcome is not as desired by the speaker. By using the frustrative maker on the subject of the existential clause, Juana

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85. The Mojeño languages also exhibit the close connection between frustrative and deceased marking (cf. Olza Zubiri et al. cf. 2004:153, 157; Jordá 2014:35; Rose 2014a:80,81), other Arawakan languages, such as Baure, Paresi, and Alto Perené Ashéninka have cognate forms that exhibit the 'deceased' but not the frustrative meaning, Terena has a cognate frustrative marker, but the marker for deceased people is different (cf. Danielsen 2007:115; Brandão 2014:289; Butler & Ekdahl 2014:55, 84; Mihas 2015:356; de Carvalho 2017, p.c. and see discussion in 5.6).
86. Note that the apprehensional connective *masa* 'lest' is used as an adversative connective in the recordings from the 1960s. This usage is not known to the remaining speakers of Paunaka, who use the Spanish loan *pero* 'but' for adversative clause connection. *Masa* could be a loan from Portuguese *mas* 'but'. See 8.2.5 for adversative clauses and 8.3.1.5 for apprehensional clauses.

expresses that she knows that there is a word for the animal she is looking at, the deer in the frog story, but she does not remember its name. The fact that the animal has a name in Paunaka is thus completely useless – or in vain – at the moment she wants to refer to the animal.

(816)   *kaku chijaini*

    kaku chi-ija-ini
    exist 3-name-FRUST

    'it has a name (but I don't remember it)'

<div align="right">[jxx-a120516l-a.233]</div>

Although the examples above all qualify to show the basic function of the frustrative, all of them are evaluative, too. I have not encountered any examples in the corpus that would show the frustrative marker to signal an unexpected outcome that was NOT to the disappointment or annoyance of the speaker (or other subject of the clause). However, I have found one example in which negative evaluation is the only information conveyed by the frustrative marker, i.e. no unexpected outcomes are involved.[87] (817) is taken from an account by Juana about her children. She states that she has not seen one of her daughters for more than ten years. The daughter lives far away from her home, but so do other children of hers. While the latter come and visit her on Christmas or at other occasions, the daughter in question never visits her, and the disappointment about this fact is expressed by the frustrative marker on the verb.

(817)   *i kuina kapupunuina takuyeneikupunuini*

    i   kuina kapupunu-ina   ti-a-kuyeneiku-punu-ini
    and NEG   come.back-IRR 3i-IRR-visit-AM.PRIOR-FRUST

    'and she doesn't come back for a visit'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-1.313]</div>

Frustrative markers also occur in counterfactual clauses. These clauses describe that an event never took place, like in (818) and (819). The non-realisation of the event is signaled by irrealis RS on the predicates, but without the frustrative marker, the clause in (818) could be understood to have a habitual past reference and the clause in (819) to have future reference.

The first part of (818) is the first statement in a comment of Juana about her missed chance to go to Europe. Some counterfactual clauses follow that describe what she would have done there (left out in the example) and finally, she gives the explanation why she stayed in Bolivia in the end: she followed her father's will.

(818)   *niyunabaneini Austria (...) pero eka nÿa kuina tisacha*

    ni-yuna-bane-ini   Austria pero eka   nÿ-a   kuina ti-sacha
    1SG-go.IRR-REM-FRUST Austria but   DEMa 1SG-father NEG 3i-want.IRR

    'long time ago, I would have gone to Austria (...) but my father didn't want it'

<div align="right">(jxx-e120516l-1.014, 018)</div>

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87. It remains to be checked whether this kind of emotional evaluation is only found in negative sentences. This seems to be the case in Hup (cf. Epps 2008:878).

In (819), Juana fantasises about catching the fish in the pond close to where she was standing and conversing with her sister.

(819) *nibÿrupekaini kÿnupe*

    ni-bÿru-pe-ka-ini   *kÿnupe*
    1SG-suck.liquid-CLF:flat-TH1.IRR-FRUST   fish.sp

    'I would suck the juice out of the *cupacá* fish (if I had one)'

<div align="right">[jrx-c151001fls-9.62]</div>

Some more examples of counterfactual conditional clauses are given in 8.3.1.2.

Examples (816), (817) and (819) above show that, unlike the inconsequential category proposed by Kuteva et al. (2019), the frustrative is not restricted to past events in Paunaka.

The frustrative marker can be attached to the desiderative verb *-sachu* 'want'. The function of the frustrative marker in expressions of intention is explained as follows by Overall (2017:489): "intention to VERB implies VERB, and the use of frustrative indicates that despite intention, VERB did not happen".

The sentence in (820) is taken from a narrative about the fox and the jaguar, in which the smart fox always tricks the strong, but dumb jaguar. At this point of the story, the jaguar had been lured into a pond, where he drowned. A few months after the jaguar's death, the fox goes back to the pond to look for the skeleton of the jaguar and says:[88]

(820) *tisachuini tinikane, jimu, tisikererekebetu tanÿma*

    ti-sachu-ini   *ti-nika-ne*   *jimu* *ti-sikerere-kebe-tu*   *tanÿma*
    3i-want-FRUST   3i-eat.IRR-1SG   MIR   3i-be.naked-tooth-IAM   now

    'he wanted to eat me, you see, and now he is stripped to his teeth'

<div align="right">[jmx-n120429ls-x5.295]</div>

(821) was elicited from María S. Note that she irregularly drops the first person singular marker here.

(821) *sachuini nana nÿyumaji, pero kuina pueronÿina nana, kuina naichuna*

    sachu-ini   *nÿ-ana*   *nÿ-yumaji*   *pero* *kuina* *puero-nÿ-ina*
    want-FRUST   1SG-make.IRR   1SG-hammock   but   NEG   can-1SG-IRR.NV

       nÿ-ana   *kuina* *nÿ-a-ichuna*
       1SG-make.IRR   NEG   1SG-IRR-be.capable

    'I wanted to make a hammock, but I can't make it, I don't know how to'
<div align="right">[rxx-e181031l-1]</div>

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88. The mirative particle *jimu* 'you see' has not been fully analysed. It can express surprise (hence its gloss), but is also used to point something out to the hearer in order to explain or to convince her and to seek confirmation in a similar way as the Spanish tag question *¿no ve?* (cf. Mendoza 2015:45). The mirative particle seems to be composed of the verb *-imu* 'see' and a prefix *j-* or *ji-* with an unknown function.

Avertive

The avertive marker expresses that an event was imminent, but nonetheless did not take place (Kuteva et al. 2019:859). According to these authors, the avertive can only be used for past and perfective situations. I can neither confirm nor deny this for the Paunaka marker since there are extremely few examples containing it. At least one of them points to another direction.

The avertive marker is *-tÿini,* it is complex and consists of the iamitive *-tu* and the frustrative *-ini* with fronting of the vowel /u/ to /ɨ/. That this is indeed the case can be seen if one compares two examples with the related adverb *nakayenetu/nakayenetÿini* 'almost'.[89] The first one is proximative, i.e. "[i]t indicates a moment shortly before the possible occurrence of the given verbal situation" (Kuteva et al. 2019:859). It carries only the iamitive marker *-tu.* The second is avertive and ends with the marker *-tÿini.* Compare (822), which was elicited from María S. and shows the proximate version, with (823), which exemplifies the avertive use.

(822) *nakayenetu nÿbuka nipikeikiu*

nakayenetu nÿ-buka   ni-pikeik-i-u
almost   1SG-finish.IRR 1SG-knot-SUBORD-REAL

'I have almost finished my knotting (of the hammock)'

[rxx-e181022le]

In (823), Juana tells us that her sister María S. was almost bitten by a snake, when she once took a bath in the water reservoir.[90] She barely escaped with the help of her husband, and this fact is expressed here by the adverb (and subsequently also verbalised).

(823) *eka nipiji Maria nakayenetÿini chinijabaka*

eka   ni-piji   Maria nakayenetÿini chi-nijabaka
DEMa   1SG-sibling María almost   3-bite.IRR

'it almost bit my sister María'

[jxx-p120515l-2.142]

The avertive marker can also be attached to a verb like in (824), a comment of María C. about my little daughter, whom we were watching as she played with her father.

(824) *tibÿtapaikaputÿini*

ti-bÿtapaikapu-tÿini
3i-fall.IRR-AVERT

'she almost fell'

[uxx-p110825l.039]

A second example is (825), which expresses the same thing as (823) above. This time Juana does not use the avertive adverb, but the avertive marker attached to a verb.

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89. The adverb seems to be complex itself, see 4.3.3.
90. It is not entirely clear to me whether she speaks of an animal or the spirit of the reservoir. Water spirits are usually depicted as snakes (but can change shape) and the fact that the snake approached the bathing couple in bad faith reminds of the behaviour of a spirit rather than an animal.

(825) *mÿbanejikuji tÿpi Maria tisachutÿini chinijabaka kechue*

mÿbane-jiku-ji   tÿpi Maria ti-sachu-tÿini   chi-nijabaka kechue
close-LIM1-RPRT OBL María 3i-want-AVERT   3-bite.IRR   snake

'being close to María, the snake almost wanted to bite her, it is said'

[jxx-p120515l-2.161]

(826) comes from the recordings made by Riester. Juan Ch. tells us here that there were masses of sandflies and mosquitos in the woods when he went hunting, so many that they almost killed him and he almost got lost.[91] The difference to the previous example is certainly that in (824) the complete action was non-realised, while in (826) we can assume that the "killing" by bites of insects and the "getting lost" as a consequence of this already started, but were not completed, so this is an instance of frustrated completion (cf. Kuteva et al. 2019:872).

(826) *tikupakanetÿini kimenukÿyae nichubibikiubu nejeikatÿini chikechujanechÿ anibÿjane*

ti-kupaka-ne-tÿini   kimenu-kÿ-yae   ni-chubibik-i-u-bu
3i-kill.IRR-1SG-AVERT woods-CLF:bounded-LOC 1SG-stroll-SUBORD-REAL-MID

nÿ-jeika-tÿini   chi-kechu-jane-chÿ anibÿ-jane
1SG-lose.IRR-AVERT 3-say-DISTR-3   mosquito-DISTR

'they almost killed me in the woods where I was hunting (lit.: strolling around) and I almost got lost because of the mosquitos'

[nxx-a630101g-1.64-65]

A second example of frustrated completion, but without past reference is (827). It comes from Miguel re-telling the frog story and refers to the picture on which the boy lifts the dog and the dog licks his face. The dog is not lifted completely, its hind legs are hanging in the air, and this is probably the reason why Miguel decided to use the avertive marker here. Unlike (824) to (826), nothing is "averted" here, the action is rather only partly performed. It thus seems to be the case that the semantics of the Paunaka marker includes more cases than predicted for avertive, i.e. it is not a purely avertive marker. I still stick to the term here nonetheless, assuming that just like with frustrative, there may be a basic meaning which is avertive and extended uses.

(827) *chakakachutÿini*

chÿ-akakachu-tÿini
3-lift-AVERT

'he somehow/partly lifts it'

[mtx-a110906l.065]

Optative

"In using the optative, the speaker does not impose responsibility for the change on the addressee, but rather states a wish that the world will change spontaneously" (Timberlake 2007:319). There are two optative markers in Paunaka, *-yuini* and *-jÿti*. The

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91. I believe that the last verb in this sentence *chikechujanechÿ*, literally (today) 'they tell him' or 'he/she tells them', is in this case a verbal realisation of what today's speakers use solely as an instrumental/causal preposition, i.e. *chikeuchi*. See 4.4.3 for an explanation of how I believe the verb *-kechu* and the preposition *-keuchi* are related.

first one of them is most probably composed of the intensifier *-yu* and the frustrative marker *-ini*. It thus seems justified to subsume optative under the heading of modality of non-realisation.

All but one example that include the optative marker *-yuini* were elicited from Juana. One of them is given in (828), where it attaches to the negative particle.

(828)   *¡kuinayuini tikeba!*

   kuina-yuini   ti-keba
   NEG-OPT1   3i-rain.IRR

   'hopefully, it won't rain!'

[jxx-e110923l-2.055]

The marker can also occur on the predicate, in that case, the clause is (829).

(829)   *¡kuina tikebayuini!*

   kuina   ti-keba-yuini
   NEG   3i-rain.IRR-OPT1

   'hopefully, it won't rain!'

[jxx-e181101l-1]

The optative marker occurs in positive and negative wishes. The positive counterpart of (828) and (829) is thus (830).

(830)   *¡tikebayuini!*

   ti-keba-yuini
   3i-rain.IRR-OPT1

   'hopefully, it will rain!'

[jxx-p150920l.034]

The only example that does not come from Juana is (831). It was elicited from Miguel.

(831)   *kue nanayuini pario aumue ukuine tanÿmakena nekichapi*

   kue   nÿ-ana-yuini   pario   aumue   ukuine   tanÿma-kena
   if   1SG-make.IRR-OPT1   some   chicha   yesterday   now-UNCERT

   ni-ekicha-pi
   1SG-invite.IRR-2SG

   'if I had only made some chicha yesterday, I could invite you now'

[mxx-e160811sd.438]

María S. on the other hand does not accept these forms with *-yuini*. She rather uses a different optative marker *-jÿti*, like in (832), which was also elicited. Unlike *-yuini*, *-jÿti* cannot attach to the negative particle, but only to the predicate. According to Juana, *-jÿti* is an alternative to *-yuini* and expresses the same thing. There are not enough examples of any of the two markers in the corpus to check her statement.

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(832) *¡kuina tikebajÿti!*

    kuina ti-keba-jÿti
    NEG   3i-rain.IRR-OPT2

    'hopefully, it won't rain!'

<div align="right">[jxx-e181101l-1]</div>

Examples with *-jÿti* were also produced by Juan Ch. in the recordings by Riester, like in (833), where the speaker imagined what could happen to Retiro if all people left it for being treated badly by their *patrón*.

(833) *¡taperainajÿti, kapunuinajÿti samujane naka!*

    tapera-ina-jÿti   *kapunu-ina-jÿti*   *samu-jane*   *naka*
    abandoned-IRR.NV-OPT2 come-IRR.NV-OPT2 tapir-DISTR here

    'may it be abandoned, may tapirs come here!'

<div align="right">[nxx-p630101g-1.113-114]</div>

A comment on *-buini*

In the recordings of Riester we find a few examples with an attached *-buini* (pronounced [wini]), which could well contain the frustrative marker *-ini* and a sequence *-bu*, either the middle marker or the discontinuous marker. However, none of the speakers could give me an explanation of this marker, nor do they confirm that it exists at all. None of the Paunaka speakers that are still alive today has produced it in free speech (I got a few forms in elicitation of this marker, but rather reluctantly). Therefore, I suppose that it must have gotten out of use during the last 50 years, although it might still sound familiar to the speakers. One example with *-buini* follows.

(834) *¡tanÿma bumajabuini!*

    tanÿma bi-uma-ja-buini
    now   1PL-take.IRR-EMPH1-?

    'we will take her now, you will see!'

<div align="right">[nxx-a630101g-3.048]</div>

The translation of (834) by Juana contained a comment that the proposition expressed by the verb was against the expectations of the addressed person (in Spanish she said: *vas a ver*), but it is not clear to me whether this counter-expectation is produced by *-buini*, by the emphatic marker or induced by the context in which this clause was embedded with the general topic of the recording being the imagined theft of a young woman.

6.8.3.2 Epistemic modality

There are two markers of epistemic modality in Paunaka, one is used to express uncertainty and the other one to express a deduction, with the first one being much more frequent than the other. Both of them can combine with realis as well as irrealis predicates, i.e. epistemic modality is independent from reality status.

Uncertainty

The uncertainty marker *-kena* reflects the speaker's uncertainty about the proposition. It is thus a marker of speculative modality (Palmer 2001:24-25) or possibility (Bybee et al. 1994:179). Other names for markers with the same or related semantics include dubitative (Mueller 2013:141) and potential (Mueller 2013:149), but I prefer the neutral "uncertainty", which includes both a dubitative and a potential reading, and does not make any claim as to why the speaker is uncertain about the proposition. The marker *-kena* occurs very frequently. One example is (835), which comes from Miguel. The context is as follows: Juan C. had talked about the singing of frogs at night. Miguel was surprised to hear about this, because apparently he had never heard frogs at night, thus he considers why this could be. He uses *-kena* to signal that what he proposes is a speculation, i.e. that he might be fast asleep so that he completely misses the sounds at night.

(835) *nÿti nemukukena, kuina nisama*

     nÿti   nÿ-muku-kena   kuina ni-sama
     1SG.PRN 1SG-sleep-UNCERT NEG   1SG-hear.IRR

     'maybe I sleep, thus I don't hear them'

<div align="right">[mqx-p110826l.622]</div>

Example (836) is a translation of an utterance by my colleague Swintha in Spanish. She asked for a translation of 'it is going to rain', in a situation when she was going for a walk with Miguel and José and they heard thunder. However, since Miguel was not so sure about this circumstance, he added the uncertainty marker to the verb.

(836) *tikebakena*

     ti-keba-kena
     3i-rain.IRR-UNCERT

     'maybe it is going to rain'

<div align="right">[mox-c110926s-1.182]</div>

(837) is a speculation by María S. about what her brother Miguel might be doing. She had previously asked me about him, but I could not answer her question, because I had come straight to her house without passing by his home.

(837) *tiyunakena chisaneyae*

     ti-yuna-kena   chi-sane-yae
     3i-go.IRR-UNCERT 3-field-LOC

     'maybe he wants to go to his field'

<div align="right">[rxx-e120511l.348]</div>

Uncertainty markers abound in Miguel's re-narration of the frog story by Mayer (2003). Looking at picture books is not very common in this small village in Bolivia, and it even used to be less common in his childhood. He is not used to identify what is going on in the pictures and he marks his insecurity about correctly identifying the depicted events and items by adding *-kena*, as in Example (838), where the marker attaches to a noun. Miguel shows by this use that he is not sure whether he is correct in identifying a small pot.

(838) *kaku kabemÿnÿ naka kakuku eka tachumÿnÿkena eka naka*

kaku kabe-mÿnÿ naka kaku-uku eka   tachu-mÿnÿ-kena   eka   naka
exist dog-DIM   here exist-ADD DEMa small.pot-DIM-UNCERT DEMa here

'here's a little dog and here is also what I suppose is a small pot'

<div align="right">[mox-a110920l-2.007]</div>

Kena can appear as an independent word, too. This is often the case in questions about the state or volition of someone or something, where *kena* can roughly be translated as 'what about X' as can be seen in the following examples. Questions with *kena* can only be used if it is sufficiently clear from the context which information is requested, see also 7.4.2.5.

In (839), the question is about the identity of Juana's father. It stems from Juana's account about the encounter with the two old ladies in the village of Candelaria long ago. When it finally dawned on them that Juana was a speaker of Paunaka, they wanted to know about her family. Preceding this question, the quoted old lady had already asked about the name of Juana's mother, so that a follow-on question with *kena* is appropriate.

(839) *"i, ¿kena eka pia?"*

i   kena   eka   pi-a
and UNCERT DEMa 2SG-father

'"and what about your father?"'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120515l-1.124]</div>

In (839), the question is about a third person referent which is expressed by a juxtaposed NP. If there is an SAP referent, it is rather directly indexed on *kena*, like in (840). This example comes from María S. whom I had previously asked about her health. She answered the question and then inquired the same kind of information of me.

(840) *¿kenabi?*

kena-bi
UNCERT-2SG

'what about you?'

<div align="right">[rmx-e150922l.014]</div>

In (841) both possibilites are realised, first *kena* occurs as an independent word preceding the first predicate and then *-kena* is attached to the second, non-verbal, predicate. This is the answer Polonia gave, when Miguel asked for her age.

(841) *kena ochenta o setentakena*

kena   ochenta o setenta-kena
UNCERT eighty   or seventy-UNCERT

'(I am) maybe eighty or seventy (years old)'

<div align="right">[mty-p110906l.104]</div>

In (842) uncertainty is marked twice in one clause, once on the negative particle *kuina* and once on the verb. The question comes from the same narration as (839)

above. Juana cites how one of the ladies expresses her recognition of Juana being a speaker of Paunaka in addressing the other old lady.

(842) *"¿kuinakena chÿsamakena eka bichujijikiubu?"*

    kuina-kena   chÿ-sama-kena eka   bi-chujijik-i-u-bu
    NEG-UNCERT 3-hear-UNCERT DEMa 1PL-talk-SUBORD-REAL-MID

    '"isn't it possible that she understands what we are talking?"'

                                                [jxx-p120515l-1.087]

In (843), the uncertainty marker occurs as a free form and then attached to a demonstrative. This sentence was produced by Miguel, when Swintha and I had asked Juana and him to tell a story, and they were thinking about which story they could tell. Miguel then had an idea.

(843) *kena ekakena*

    kena   eka-kena
    UNCERT DEMa-UNCERT

    'maybe this one (I could tell)'

                                            [jmx-n120429ls-x5.017]

Finally, *-kena* is also often attached to the Spanish loan *repente* 'maybe' (from Span. *de repente*), resulting in a pleonasm *repentekena* 'maybe', like in (844), which comes from the speech Miguel gave at the workshop on Paunaka in 2011.

(844) *repentekena bitupupuna pario echÿu betea, paunaka*

    repente-kena   bi-itu-pupuna   pario echÿu bi-etea   paunaka
    maybe-UNCERT 1PL-master-REG.IRR some DEMb 1PL-language Paunaka

    'maybe we learn our language a bit again, that is Paunaka'

                                                  [mxx-x110916]

Deductive

The second epistemic marker is *-yenu* 'DED'. It reflects deductive modality. In contrast to *-kena* which can express mere speculation, *-yenu* thus reflects that there are some hints that let the speaker deduce that the proposition is true, although these hints do not have to be verbalised.

Consider the following Example (845), an excerpt of a conversation between María S. and Juana. They were standing close to a pond and had been wondering whether that pond was deep or not before. At some point of the conversation some pigs came by and went into the pond. This is lexicalised by María S. who notices that the water cannot be deep if the pigs can walk in it (a). María S. does not use the deductive marker in her statement, but Juana does, when she repeats it (b).

(845)   a.   r: *asi kuina taÿpenu nauku kue tipurtujaneu ÿbajane*

   asi kuina ti-a-ÿpenu   nauku kue ti-purtu-jane-u   ÿba-jane
   so   NEG   3i-IRR-be.deep   there   if   3i-put.in-DISTR-REAL   pig-DISTR

   'so it is not deep there, if the pigs enter'

   b.   j: *aja, kuina taÿpenuyenu nechÿu*

   aja   kuina ti-a-ÿpenu-yenu   nechÿu
   INTJ   NEG   3i-IRR-be.deep-DED   DEMc

   'aha, so it must be the case that it is not deep there'

   [jrx-c151001fls-9.63-64]

(846) is from the same context as (839) and (842) above: Juana's encounter with the two old ladies in Candelaria, who do not recognise in the beginning that Juana speaks Paunaka and understands them. At this point of the story, they finally realise this fact. Juana's laughing about their comments in Paunaka lets them conclude that she is a speaker, too, that she must be related to them in some way. Note that the predicate of the first clause is a noun, while the second one is a verb.

(846)   *"kumade, ¡biparienteneyenu eka pimiya, chisamuyenu paunaka!"*

   kumade bi-pariente-ne-yenu   eka   apimiya chi-samu-yenu paunaka
   fellow   1PL-relative-POSSD-DED   DEMa   girl   3-hear-DED   Paunaka

   '"fellow, this girl must be our relative, she must understand Paunaka!"'

   [jxx-p120515l-1.108]

(847) also comes from Juana. She has never been to school and her geographical knowledge is limited to the facts she needs to know in daily life (which is not to say that it is in general limited knowledge, her capacity to remember places of utility is extraordinary). Nonetheless, she knows from her daughter who once went to Spain that the journey takes a whole day, so she deduces that Spain must be far away.

(847)   *entero tijai chÿbÿbÿkiu, pucha tÿbaneyenu*

   entero tijai chÿ-bÿbÿk-i-u   pucha ti-ÿbane-yenu
   whole   day   3-fly-SUBORD-REAL   damn   3i-be.far-DED

   'her flight took a whole day, damn it must be far'

   [jxx-p120430l-1.247-248]

Finally, (848) is an example with the deductive marker on a noun. It comes from Miguel, who described the things he saw in one of the pictures of the frog story to his brother José. He had previously identified the bed with its long adorned bed posts as a church, but then realised it was only a bed (and further that the picture depicted a room or house).

(848)   *aa nakaku eka ¡kamajayenutu!*

   aa   naka-uku eka   kama-ja-yenu-tu
   INTJ   here-ADD   DEMa   bed-EMPH1-DED-IAM

   'aa here is also this what must have been a bed!'

   [mox-a110920l-2.032]

6.8.3.3 Reportive evidentiality

Paunaka has one evidential marker *-ji*, which is used as a reportive (or reportative) and hearsay marker. This means that the event was not witnessed by the person who speaks. It was reported to her by another person. It may also be the kind of information a person has picked up somewhere without necessarily knowing the source, rumors or the like. Alternative names for the function conveyed by the reportive marker include secondhand (Mueller 2013:210) and quotative, but quotative was defined by Aikhenvald (2004:64) as an evidential with "overt reference to the quoted source".

According to Aikhenvald (2012:251), a system with only one evidential that is a reportive is frequent in Arawakan languages and the most widespread, both in South America and world-wide. The Paunaka reportive is used largely in the same way as the related markers in Baure and the Mojeño languages (cf. Olza Zubiri et al. 2004:956; Danielsen 2007:377-378; Jordá 2014:48; Rose 2014a:83). In narratives, we find it in most clauses. It usually attaches to the predicate, like in (849) and (850), but may instead or in addition be attached to other constituents of the clause as well, as is the case in Example (851).

(849) is the start of a story told by Miguel. The reportive marker is attached to the non-verbal copula *kaku* 'exist', which in addition also carries a remote past marker *-bane*.

(849) *kakubaneji ruschÿnubeji jente tiyununube tichubikupunube*

kaku-bane-ji   *ruschÿ-nube-ji jente ti-yunu-nube ti-chubiku-pu-nube*
exist-REM-RPRT two-PL-RPRT man 3i-go-PL   3i-stroll-DLOC-PL

'once upon a time, there were two men who went hunting (lit.: strolling around), it is said'

[mxx-n101017s-1.014]

(850) also comes from Miguel. He was looking at the frog story book and told Alejo the story that develops throughout the book. It is remarkable that he uses a reportive marker here, because he was actually witnessing what was going on. However, the proceedings in a picture book are of course not real, and Miguel's re-narration of the story thus definitely falls into the realm of the genre of fiction, thus usage of reportive markers is adequate.

(850) *echÿu aitubuchepÿimÿnÿ chimumukuji*

echÿu *aitubuchepÿi-mÿnÿ* *chi-mumuku-ji*
DEMb boy-DIM   3-watch-RPRT

'the little boy is watching it (the dog), it is said'

[mtx-a110906l.013]

An example that comes from a story told by María S. is (851).

(851) *tisachuji tinika kesuji isini*

ti-sachu-ji   *ti-nika*   *kesu-ji*   *isini*
3i-want-RPRT 3i-eat.IRR cheese-RPRT jaguar

'the jaguar wanted to eat cheese, it is said'

[rxx-n120511l-1.025]

In fictional stories, *-ji* is found frequently on utterance verbs that mark direct speech. It has been reported to occur "extremely frequently" on verbs of utterances in narratives in Baure (Danielsen 2007:377), as well as in Mocoví (Guaycuruan), which Mueller (2013:218) takes as evidence that the reportive also has a quotative function. Although the reportive can also function as a quotative on reported direct speech, as is the case in example (855) below, it is not a tautology to have it on utterance verbs in fiction. I believe it is not used for quotative function in these cases. Quoting direct speech normally presumes that the speaker has listened to the original utterance, and in fact, the reportive marker does usually not occur on utterance verbs in Paunaka, when a speaker quotes direct speech that she has witnessed. The direct speech of fictional stories, however, is nothing that has been witnessed by the narrator. The reportive marker is used to create a certain distance to the quoted speech in this case. One example of this is (852), which comes from the story about the enchanted cowherd told by Miguel.

(852) *"echÿu bakajane tikujemujane", tikechuji*

    echÿu   baka-jane   ti-kujemu-jane   ti-kechu-ji
    DEMb   cow-DISTR   3i-be.angry-DISTR   3i-say-RPRT

    '"the cows are wild", he said, it is said'

<div align="right">[mxx-n151017l-1.83]</div>

The quotative marker is not solely used in fiction. It is also used, when people speak about what other people have done or said without having witnessed this themselves. Thus (853) comes from Juana telling me about her grandparents' encounter with a water spirit, a big snake, on their way back from Moxos where they had bought cows. She has not personally witnessed this, so she uses a reportive marker several times here. On the non-verbal comparative particle *nena* 'be like', on the verb and on the conominal object.[92] Note that while an encounter with a spirit may sound fantastic to some readers, something belonging to the genre of myths and narratives, this is not the case for many people in the Chiquitania, who deeply believe that spirits exist. They are the owners of particular places in the landscape.

(853) *nenayuji eka chinekupunubeji echÿu pariki chikebÿkeji*

    nena-yu-ji   eka   chi-nekupu-nube-ji   echÿu pariki chi-kebÿke-ji
    like-INTS-RPRT   DEMa   3-see.coming-PL-RPRT   DEMb   many   3-eye-RPRT

    'it seems that they saw a pair of eyes approaching them, it is said'

<div align="right">[jxx-p151016l-2.090]</div>

In (854), Juana speaks about a place, where some people go to fish, but she has never been to. The word *komunida* (Span. *comunidad*) denominates an indigenous village and/or its inhabitants.

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92. Note that theoretically, the *-ji* on the noun could also be the homophonic collective marker, this would also fit with the quantifier *pariki* 'many'. On the other hand, the phrase was translated by Juana with 'a pair of eyes' and in addition I have not heard about a water spirit having many eyes in other occasions, so that I believe it is indeed the reportive marker in this case.

(854)   *kaku komunidaji nauku*

    kaku   komunida-ji   nauku
    exist community-RPRT   there

    'there is a village, it is said'

<div align="right">[jxx-e190210s-01]</div>

Paunaka's reportive marker is occasionally used with the function of a quotative, where the source of the quoted reference is usually obvious from the context. Consider (855), which was a Paunaka translation of a Spanish utterance of my colleague Swintha.

(855)   *piti pikupauchaji*

    piti   pi-kupaucha-ji
    2SG.PRN 2SG-use.IRR-RPRT

    'she says: "you can use it"'

<div align="right">[jrx-c151024lsf]</div>

Rose (2014a:83) further notes that the Trinitario reportive can occasionally be used with a meaning of 'pretend' (Span. *fingir*). I have not encountered an exact equivalent of this meaning in Paunaka, but in the recordings of the 1960s by Riester, the reportive twice combines with frustrative to convey a meaning of an ironic or sarcastic 'so-called', like in (856), where the speaker complains that the *pututu* soup he gets from the *patrón* is like chicha, i.e. it is thin and not very nutritious.

(856)   *nenayu aumue bijiemÿnÿjini*

    nena-yu   aumue abijie-mÿnÿ-ji-ini
    like-INTS   chicha pututu-DIM-RPRT-FRUST

    'the so-called *pututu* soup is (thin) like chicha'

<div align="right">[nxx-p630101g-2.58]</div>

This combination certainly resembles the avertive and one of the optative markers as far as its composition is concerned, but its meaning is more transparent, so I do not analyse it a s a separate grammaticalised marker. Today, while the speakers understand this use of the reportive plus frustrative and can even explain it to me (Miguel said: "it is like making a joke about it"), they do not use it themselves anymore. I have not encountered any example in the data we recorded for the documentation project.

The description of TAME as the category most typically associated with verbs in general, but not restricted to the verb in Paunaka, is completed here. There are a few more markers with differing other meanings, they are subsumed under the term "degree markers" and described in the following section. Some of them are associated with the predicate, others are free.

6.9   Degree markers

There is a small number of miscellaneous markers which has not been described up to here, because they do not neatly fit into any category that has been mentioned so far. They are possibly best analysed as focus markers, but not in the sense that they simply

mark the focus in a clause. They all add more specific information. Rose (2021, p.c.) proposes the term "degree markers", which I will adopt in my description.

All of these markers occur with words of different classes. The intensifier is described in 6.9.1. It usually attaches to predicates and can be translated with 'very' in most of the cases. In 6.9.2, the additive marker is discussed, which comes close in function to the English adverb 'also'. It expresses that an action or a participant is added to the discourse. 6.9.3 is about the two limitative markers, which are similar in function to the adverbs 'only' and 'just'. Finally, 6.9.4 provides some examples of the emphatic markers.

6.9.1   The intensifier

The intensifier marker is *-yu*. It only occurs on predicates, predominantly on adjectives and descriptive (stative) verbs, but also sometimes on active verbs. An example with *-yu* on an adjective is given in (857), in which Juana states that she finds it very nice that she can speak a few words of Paunaka with her grandson.

(857)   *michanayu echÿu bichujikiuchÿ*

michana-yu   echÿu   bi-chujik-i-u-chÿ
nice-INTS   DEMb   1PL-speak-SUBORD-REAL-3

'what we speak is very nice'

[jxx-x110916.31]

(858) offers an example with the stative verb *-mÿra* 'be dry'. This sentence was recorded when Juana and Miguel went to a place a bit outside from Santa Rita to dig for some clay for Juana for making a pot.

(858)   *timÿrayu*

ti-mÿra-yu
3i-be.dry-INTS

'it (the clay) is very dry'

[jmx-d110918ls-1.032]

The intensifier also typically appears on statements about great distance, which is the case in (859), where María S. explains that the reason why I do not visit them in Bolivia very frequently is the great distance of my home from theirs.

(859)   *tÿbaneyu pubiu*

ti-ÿbane-yu   pi-ubiu
3i-be.far-INTS 2SG-house

'your home is very far away'

[rxx-e120511l.214]

The marker can occur on the noun *chubui* 'old man', when it is used predicatively, like in (860), which comes from Miguel who was talking with Juan C.

(860) *chikuyejachÿu eka chubuiyubitu*

      chi-kuye-ja-chÿu   *eka*   *chubui-yu-bi-tu*
      3-be.like.this-EMPH1-DEMb DEMa old.man-INTS-1PL-IAM

      'that's it, we are very old now'

<div align="right">[mqx-p110826l.343]</div>

In addition, the intensifier is occasionally added to active verbs, too, and then it is best translated as 'much' or 'a lot'. An example is given in (861). It comes from Juana.

(861) *eka nimuyene teuyu pichai*

      eka   *ni-muyene*   *t-eu-yu*   *pichai*
      DEMa 1SG-son.in.law 3i-drink-INTS medicine

      'my son-in-law takes a lot of medicine'

<div align="right">[jxx-p110923l-1.050]</div>

In general, Paunaka speakers prefer to use the quantifiers *chama* 'much' and *pariki* 'many' in these contexts (see 4.2.3). Both of them can also add the intensifier resulting in the forms *chamayu* 'very much' and *parikiyu* 'very many', but all in examples including the intensive form of these quantifiers that I found in my corpus, they are used predicatively as in (862).

The next example shows the usage of *-yu* on the quantifier *pariki*. It is a statement of Miguel about the abundance of ticks that we noticed when we came back from a visit at José's.

(862) *parikiyu samuchujane*

      pariki-yu   *samuchu-jane*
      some-INTS tick.sp-DISTR

      'there are a lot of ticks'

<div align="right">[mrx-c120509l.148]</div>

(863) also comes from Miguel. He is talking about Potosí here, because the taxi driver who was sitting with us comes from this city.

(863) *naukuji chamayuji tÿmue nauku Potosi*

      nauku-ji   *chama-yu-ji*   *tÿmue* *nauku* *Potosi*
      there-RPRT much-INTS-RPRT silver there Potosí

      'there is a lot of silver in Potosí, it is said'

<div align="right">[mty-p110906l.229]</div>

Last but not least, another use of the intensifier is to create a honorific form of a kinship term to express respect towards the addressed person. The kinship terms in this construction can best be interpreted as predicates of a clause of addressing, because they carry a person marker as in non-verbal predication. An example is given in (864). It comes from María C. who was addressing Miguel. She talking about sorcerers and wanted to assert the truth of her statements.

(864) *nichechapÿiyubi kuina nichujikayÿchi*

ni-chechapÿi-yu-bi kuina ni-chujika-yÿchi
1SG-son-INTS-2SG NEG 1SG-speak.IRR-LIM2

'my dear son, I don't speak for the sake of speaking (i.e. it is true, what I am saying)'

[ump-p110815sf.500]

The only exception from the property of the intensifier to appear on the predicate, is the lexicalised adverb *nÿmayu* 'just, only when', which derives from *tanÿma* 'now'. An example is given below. It comes from Clara.

(865) *aa nÿmayu bitupunubu*

aa nÿmayu bi-tupunubu
INTJ just 1PL-arrive

'ah, we just arrived'

[cux-c120510l-1.278]

6.9.2 The additive marker

There is one additive marker *-uku*, which can attach to predicates and some other constituents. It can be translated into English by 'also, too, as well' and as 'neither', when negated. Some examples follow.

Prior to (866), Juana was speaking about her manioc that had just sprouted, and when I asked her, what she had planted on her field, she told me that – in addition to the manioc – she had planted some plantain. The additive marker thus has scope over the object.

(866) *nebukuku merÿ*

nÿ-ebuku-uku merÿ
1SG-sow-ADD plantain

'I also planted plantain'

[jxx-e110923l-2.063]

Prior to the statement in (867), Miguel, Alejo and Polonia had just talked about some old manors that do not exist anymore. They had mentioned Palmarito, La Embocada, and Retiro, and then Miguel adds, that Altavista is not inhabited anymore either.

(867) *Turuxhiuku kuinabukutu jentenubeina*

Turuxhi-uku kuina-bu-uku-tu jente-nube-ina
Altavista-ADD NEG-DSC-ADD-IAM man-PL-IRR.NV

'in Altavista, now there are no people anymore either'

[mty-p110906l.170]

The additive marker *-uku* can be attached to irrealis verbs, as is the case in (868), where Miguel asks José whether he knows a story, too.

(868) *¿pitiuku pichupauku echÿu jente tipÿkubai?*

piti-uku	*pi-chupa-uku*	*echÿu*	*jente*	*ti-pÿkubai*
2SG.PRN-ADD	2SG-know.IRR-ADD	DEMb	man	3i-be.lazy

'do you know the one about the lazy man, too?

<div align="right">[mox-n110920l.001]</div>

However, if the verb has a thematic suffix, speakers normally make use of the irrealis variant *-uka,* which directly follows the thematic suffix. Irrealis is thus marked on the additive marker and not on the thematic suffix of the verb, similar to the AM markers (see 6.5 and 6.6). One example is given below. It comes from María C.

(869) *kuina nichupuikuka nÿa*

kuina	*ni-chupuiku-uka*	*nÿ-a*
NEG	1SG-know-ADD.IRR	1SG-father

'I didn't know my father either'

<div align="right">[ump-p110815sf.148]</div>

6.9.3 The limitative markers

There are two limitative markers, *-jiku* and *-yÿchi*, which translate as 'only, just', but just like the Spanish equivalent *nomás* (cf. Mendoza 2015:45-46), they can also be used in contexts that do not precisely or primarily mark delimitation. They are thus also often used to emphasise that something is the way as expressed against imagined possible objections of the interlocutor. Both markers attach to different parts of speech and both can have wide or narrow scope. In the latter case, the markers usually directly attach to the word over which they have scope, though a few counterexamples to this general tendency exist. According to the speakers, *-jiku* and *-yÿchi* can be used interchangeably, however, there are a few words that habitually combine with *-jiku* but not with *-yÿchi*: *mÿbanejiku* 'close, near' and *sepitÿjiku* 'small', which usually occur with *-jiku,* but are are sometimes also used without it, and *chinajiku* 'only one, alone', which derives from *chÿnachÿ* 'one'.

The following three examples show the usage of *-jiku* 'LIM1' with wide or proposition scope.

The statement in (870) is made by Miguel who explained before that he is afraid of being operated and he might just get blind.

(870) *repentekena suturubÿkejikunÿ*

repente-kena	*suturubÿke-jiku-nÿ*
maybe-UNCERT	blind-LIM1-1SG

'maybe I am just getting blind'

<div align="right">[mqx-p110826l.300]</div>

(871) is from a story about the fox and the jaguar. The jaguar has caught the vulture and wants to eat him as a punishment for letting escape the fox, but the vulture can escape due to the jaguar's stupidness and while flying up, he defecates into the jaguar's mouth and the jaguar eats his excrements instead. Thus in this specific case, *-jiku* could also have scope over the noun only, but chances are great that to express

such a meaning, the limitative marker would have been attached to the noun instead of the verb.

(871)　*chinikujikutu chisikuji*

　　chi-niku-jiku-tu　*chi-sikuji*
　　3-eat-LIM1-IAM　3-excrements

　　'now he only ate his excrements'

<div align="right">[jmx-n120429ls-x5.213]</div>

Another case of *-jiku* being used with proposition scope is (872) from Miguel, where he tells me about the old school building of Santa Rita whose thatched roof was getting bad:

(872)　*tibÿrujikutu echÿu sakiji*

　　ti-bÿru-jiku-tu　　　　*echÿu*　*sakiji*
　　3i-be.rotten-LIM1-IAM　DEMb　satintail.sp

　　'the satintail (Imperata brasiliensis) was just rotten'

<div align="right">[mxx-p110825l.090]</div>

In (873), *-jiku* has narrow scope over the predicate. The sentence comes from Juana and the machine she speaks of was brought to make the reservoir in Santa Rita.

(873)　*chupunu echÿu makina echÿu tikurumejikujiku*

　　chÿ-upunu echÿu makina　echÿu ti-kurumejiku-jiku
　　3-bring　　DEMb machine DEMb 3i-pierce-LIM1

　　'he brought the machine that only drills'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120515l-2.215]</div>

Another example of *-jiku* exhibiting narrow scope is (874), where the marker is attached directly to the noun. María C. states here that she only knew her mother when she was a child, because her grandmother had already passed away and her father died when she was still very young.

(874)　*nÿenujiku nichupuiku*

　　nÿ-enu-jiku　　*ni-chupuiku*
　　1SG-mother-LIM1　1SG-know

　　'I knew only my mother'

<div align="right">[ump-p110815sf.147]</div>

The following examples are construed with *-yÿchi* 'LIM2', the first three of them having wide scope.

(875) is a comment by Juana about her feelings when speaking to her daughter in Spain on the telephone.

<div align="center">372</div>

(875) *nichÿnumiyÿchi kue tichujika*

ni-chÿnumi-yÿchi kue ti-chujika
1SG-be.sad-LIM2 if 3i-speak.IRR

'I only get sad, when she talks'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-1.307]</div>

(876) comes from Miguel telling me about how it came that he went to school. Some other children had invited him to the classes, but he did not tell his parents about his plans to attend:

(876) *niyunuyÿchi*

ni-yunu-yÿchi
1SG-go-LIM2

'I just went'

<div align="right">[mxx-p181027l-1.016]</div>

(877) comes from María S. She produced this sentence as a contrast to what she had said before, that there is a small football field for children nowadays and that children in general play a lot. Thus, although the limitative marker is attached to the adverbial here, it has scope over the whole proposition.

(877) *maneyÿchi biyunu asaneti*

mane-yÿchi bi-yunu asaneti
morning-LIM2 1PL-go field

'we just went to the field in the mornings'

<div align="right">[rxx-p181101l-2.147]</div>

The following examples show the use of *-yÿchi* with narrow scope. In (878), María S. explains me that her field is close to her house in comparison with other people that have fields further away from the village.

(878) *nÿti nakayÿchi nisane*

nÿti naka-yÿchi ni-sane
1SG.PRN here-LIM2 1SG-field

'I have my field just here'

<div align="right">[rxx-e120511l.399]</div>

(879) comes from María C. talking about sorcerers and the people they killed. She contrasts her seeing the things that happened with just talking about them.

(879) *nechukue nimu kuina nichujikayÿchi nÿatiyubi*

nechukue ni-imu kuina ni-chujika-yÿchi nÿ-ati-yu-bi
therefore 1SG-see NEG 1SG-talk.IRR-LIM2 1SG-brother-INTS-2SG

thus I saw it, I am not only talking (i.e. gossiping), my dear brother'

<div align="right">[ump-p110815sf.498]</div>

One final example of *-yӱchi* being used for emphasis is (880) from Juana, where she affirms a statement I had made when we were speaking about the former *patrón* of Retiro after listening to the recordings Jürgen Riester made with Juan Ch. in the 1960s.

(880) *ja ¡pariki maruyӱchi!*

   ja   pariki maru-yӱchi
   AFM   many bad-LIM2

   'yes, (he was) very bad!'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-2.023-024]</div>

This leads us to the topic of the next section.

6.9.4   The emphatic markers

There are two emphatic markers. One of them has a longer and a shorter allomorph. The longer one is *-ja'a* and only occurs at the end of words. It was primarily used by Juan Ch., who attached it to demonstrative adverbs in the recordings from the 1960s . However, Juana sometimes attaches the long form to the mirative particle *jimu* 'you see' (see Footnote 88 in 6.8.3.1). The shorter allomorph *-ja* can be followed by other markers and is more frequent today.

The emphatic marker is used to emphasise, stress or particularly point out something. It is difficult to find a good translation into English. In the Spanish variety spoken in the region, the particle *pues* (pronounced *pue*) comes close. The emphatic marker can also occur as a separate phonological word (realised as *ja*, *ja'a*, *jaja* and the like), usually at the beginning of an utterance. In this case, it marks affirmation and is glossed as such ('AFM').

(881) is an example for the longer allomorph. It comes from Juan Ch., who had just previously mentioned that they should leave Retiro and let the woods take over that place.

(881) *kue kuina repente bipakamӱnӱ nakaja'a*

   kue kuina repente bi-paka-mӱnӱ   naka-ja'a
   if   NEG   maybe 1PL-die.IRR-DIM   here-EMPH1

   'if not, we will maybe just die here'

<div align="right">[nxx-p630101g-1.123]</div>

(882) comes from Juana's account about her encounter with the two old Paunaka ladies in Candelaria. She reveals here that she is a speaker, too. Note that the additive marker is irregularly given as *-kuku* here, probably because it cannot be properly integrated phonologically since there are already two vowels preceding it.

<div align="center">374</div>

(882) *nichujikuja, yeye, jimu eka nÿenu paunaka nÿakuku paunaka*

ni-chujiku-ja   yeye   jimu eka   nÿ-enu   paunaka nÿ-a-uku?
1SG-speak-EMPH1 granny MIR DEMa 1SG-mother Paunaka 1SG-father-ADD?

    paunaka
    Paunaka

'I really speak (Paunaka), granny, you see, my mother is Paunaka, my father is Paunaka, too'

          [jxx-p120515l-1.161]

(883) comes from Miguel's story about the lazybones. In the beginning of the story, his wife requests him to make a field to supply them with food.[93]

(883) *"panajachÿu pario eka pisaneina kuina binikukeneina"*

pi-ana-ja-chÿu   pario eka   pi-sane-ina   kuina
2SG-make.IRR-EMPH1-DEMb some DEMa 2SG-field-IRR.NV NEG

    bi-niku-kene-ina
    1PL-eat-NMLZ-IRR.NV

'"make something for your field, we do not have any food"'

          [mox-n110920l.015]

One example of emphatic marker as affirmative particle is (884). It is an affirmation by Juana of a statement I made before about a dog that was eating bread.

(884) *ja tiniku yui*

ja   ti-niku yui
AFM 3i-eat bread

'yes, it eats bread'

          [jxx-e110923l-2.042]

The second emphatic marker is *-kene*. It is homophonous with the nominaliser (see 5.2.5), but is sometimes also realised as *-kine*. It occurs rarely, which is why I had priorly not distinguished it from the (equally rare) nominaliser. However Rose (2021, p.c.) analyses the cognate and equally homophonous forms *-giene* of Trinitario as two different morphemes, a nominaliser and an intensifier. Since an analysis that distinguishes two morphemes also makes sense in the Paunaka case, I follow her analysis here.

Baure has no cognate form to my knowledge, but in Terena, a particle *kene/keno* is described as a connective which functions as an adversative ('but'), but is also used "to enumerate the phases of a process or the individuals of a group" (Butler & Ekdahl 2014:77)[94], where it indicates switch from one topic to the other, where the new topic is a new subject. This particle could be cognate with the Paunaka marker.

As for Paunaka, I have found *-kene* being attached a few times to the verb *-anau* 'make'. In this case, it always indicates either focus on the subject or topicalisation of it.

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93. The sequence *chÿu* on the verb could also relate to a (largely unproductive) restrictive morpheme given the fact Mojeño Trinitario has a productive "restrictive clitic" with the form *-chu* (Rose 2021, p.c.). There is another context in which a sequence *chÿu/chu/chÿ* with possibly restrictive semantics may occur in Paunaka: question words, see Section 7.4.2.
94. "para enumerar as fases de um processo ou os indivíduos de um grupo"

An example is given in (885). This sentence was produced by Juana who was talking with María S. and wanted to resume the topic of the conversation after some disruption by other people speaking about different things.

(885)   *no che nanakene nikuaji nÿpuipuna*

     no che nÿ-ana-kene   ni-kuaji nÿ-pui-puna
     INTJ   1SG-make-EMPH2- 1SG-net 1SG-fish-AM.PRIOR

     'why, no, as for me, I make my net and go fishing'

                                                       [jrx-c151001fls-9.54]

If the verb including *-kene* is combined with the topic pronoun *chibu*, there is subject focus and the sentence resembles a cleft construction (see 8.5.4). (886) is such a case. María C. states here that she recognises who bakes the bread I was talking about (in order to take the turn in the conversation with me).

(886)   *chibu chanaukine*

     chibu   chÿ-anau-kene
     3TOP.PRN 3-make-EMPH2

     'she is the one who makes it'

                                                       [uxx-e120427l.127]

Indication of subject focus is also the function of the marker in (887). Thematically, this example is also about the *patrón*, whom Juan Ch. cannot imagine working like the workers do. Apparently, the *patrón* claimed that he could do it.

(887)   *sachu chanaukene*

     sachu chÿ-anau-kene
     want   3-make-EMPH2

     'HE wants to do it'

                                                   [nxx-p630101g-1.094]

Almost all of the other instances of *-kene* I have found in the corpus also include the emphatic marker *-ja* (see above) and iamitive *-tu* (see Section 6.8.1.1), resulting in a sequence *-kenejatu*.[95] This construction does not seem to imply focus or topicalisation of the subject, which is why I decided to gloss *-kene* as an emphatic rather than a focus marker in the end. The examples can usually well be translated into Spanish with a sentence containing the particle *pues*, but their meaning is not easy to grasp in English. They usually contain a kind of affirmation of something that was priorly said or implicit in the context and have a flavour of certainty or conviction of the truth to the statement. Additionally, they can also indicate that the discourse topic is definite and not considered to be discussed further.

Consider (888), in which we find the sequence *-kene-ja-tu* twice: on the manner demonstrative verb *-kuye* 'be like this' and on the copula *kaku*. Juana evaluates as being bad here the fact that there was strike (and the resulting impossibility of Miguel taking his daughter to the doctor).

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95. Alternatively, *-kenejatu* can also be analysed as *one* marker resulting from grammaticalisation of the combination of three markers.

(888) *chikuyekenejatu jaa kakukenejatu, kuina tamicha*

> *chi-kuye-kene-ja-tu*   *jaa* *kaku-kene-ja-tu* *kuina*
> 3-be.like.this-EMPH2-EMPH1-IAM AFM exist-EMPH2-EMPH1-IAM NEG

> *ti-a-micha*
> 3i-IRR-good

'that's how it is after all, yes, there is (strike), this is not good'

<div align="right">[jxx-e120516l-1.084]</div>

Another example is (889) below, which comes from María S. telling me and Swintha about her move from Santa Rita to Concepción.

(889) *nikutiukenejatu nauku chetupunune nichechapÿi nitibuyechupuna*

> *ni-kutiu-kene-ja-tu*   *nauku* *chÿ-etupunu-ne* *ni-chechapÿi*
> 1SG-be.ill-EMPH2-EMPH1-IAM there 3-bring.to.place-1SG 1SG-son

> *ni-tibuyechu-puna*
> 1SG-settle-AM.PRIOR.IRR

'I was ill over there after all, thus my son brought me (here) to come and settle down'

<div align="right">[cux-120410ls.115]</div>

Most of the verbs including this specific sequence of markers are stative, but an example with an active verb is given in (890). I deliberately do not give any context here, because the example stems from a conversation between Miguel and Juana about sensitive issues.

(890) *aa tipikunubekenejatu*

> *aa* *ti-piku-nube-kene-ja-tu*
> INTJ 3i-be.afraid-PL-EMPH2-EMPH1-IAM

'well, they are afraid after all'

<div align="right">[jmx-c120429ls-x5.138]</div>

Finally, I have found two examples in the corpus in which *-kene* (both times realised as *-kine*) is preceded by *-ji*, possibly the reportive marker. One of them is given below as (891). It comes from Juana who resumes the end of the story about the fox and the tiger: The tiger has been convinced by the fox to tie his paws with a stone and be pushed into a pond to obtain some cheese there. In the end, it had never been cheese but only the reflection of the moon that the poor tiger had seen in the water.

(891) *tibÿtuekubu chepaji nauku echÿu kesu kuinajikine chibuina echÿu*

> *ti-bÿtu-e-ku-bu*   *chÿ-epa-ji* *nauku* *echÿu* *kesu* *kuina-ji-kine*
> 3i-fall-CLF:water-TH1-MID 3-take-RPRT there DEMb cheese NEG-RPRT-EMPH2

> *chibu-ina*   *echÿu*
> 3TOP.PRN-IRR.NV DEMb

'he fell into the water wanting to take the cheese there, it is said, but it wasn't this, it is said'

<div align="right">[jmx-n120429ls-x5.263]</div>

With this example, the discussion of the verb, morphology on predicates, and related topics is completed. The remaining two chapters focus on the construction of clauses.

7 Simple Clauses

This chapter is about different kinds of simple clauses. With "simple clauses" I refer to main clauses that only contain a single predicate. Clause combination and complex predicates are described in Chapter 8. The simple clauses described here relate to different types of speech acts, declarative, imperative and interrogative.

Declarative clauses are the topic of 7.1 and 7.2, the difference being that the first is about those with verbal predicates and the latter about the ones with non-verbal predicates. Both sections include a discussion on expression of arguments, word order and negation, though in 7.2, these topics are integrated into the different subsections which are ordered by semantic type. 7.3 is about imperatives and other directives, such as the prohibitive and hortative. 7.4 deals with different types of interrogative clauses.

7.1 Declarative clauses with verbal predicates

The verbal declarative clause minimally consists of an inflected verb. Core arguments are indexed on the verb, except for third person objects which are not always marked.[1] NPs can co-occur, i.e. they are conominal. Section 7.1.1 provides information on the expression of subjects and 7.1.2 on the expression of objects. Core cases are not marked on NPs. Oblique NPs, however, can be marked by the locative marker or prepositions, this is the topic of Section 7.1.3. Typically only one core argument is conominated, either a subject or an object, and this argument usually follows the verb. The most basic word orders are thus V, VS and VO. Obliques mostly follow the verb, and also the S or O argument, as far as it is conominated.

The preverbal slot is associated with highlighting. Both subject and object NPs can occur in this slot as well as obliques. We thus also find SV and OV orders.

In the rare cases that the subject as well as the object is conominated, the most frequent word orders are VOS and SVO. VSO is also possible, OVS, however, is highly exceptional. Information on possible word orders is provided in 7.1.4. It would certainly be worth to examine information and discourse structure of Paunaka to learn more about the conditions that trigger conomination of participants and their position in the clause. I have some preliminary thoughts on this issue that I share in this section, but did not undertake a full analysis.

7.1.1 Expression of subjects

Subjects are obligatorily indexed on verbs by person markers preceding the verb stem. First and second person markers of active intransitive, stative intransitive and transitive verbs are identical. (892) has an active intransitive verb, (893) has a stative intransitive verb and (894) has a transitive verb with a second person subject. In all of these examples, the subject is marked on the verb with the index *pi-*. For more examples see Section 6.4.1.

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1. Remember that object suffixes are mainly reserved for SAP objects. Third person objects can be indexed on the verb by using the third person prefix *chÿ-*, which encodes 3 > 3 relationships, as opposed to *ti-*, which only marks the third person subject. Third person object indexing by using *chÿ-* is obligatory with human objects and optional with non-human objects. See Section 6.4 for more information on person marking.

With (892), Clara expressed her surprise that I bathed in the reservoir of Concepción by repetition of my statement. Some people are afraid of the reservoir, because there are piranhas.

(892) *pikubu*

    pi-kubu
    2SG-bathe

    'you took a bath'

<div align="right">[cux-c120414ls-1.223]</div>

Prior to (893), María C. had asked me whether I wasn't sad, because of being in Bolivia without my family. I answered her that I was only a bit sad, and she repeated the statement as follows:

(893) *sepitÿjiku pichÿnumi*

    sepitÿ-jiku   *pi-chÿnumi*
    small-LIM1 2SG-be.sad

    'you are a little sad'

<div align="right">[uxx-e120427l.052]</div>

(894) was directed to me, when Juana invited me a freezie. Freezies come in small plastic bags, which one can open by biting a little hole in one corner.

(894) *aa nechÿu pinijabaka naka*

    aa   *nechÿu* *pi-nijabaka*   *naka*
    INTJ DEMc 2SG-bite.IRR here

    'ah, there you can bite it (open), here'

<div align="right">[jxx-e110923l-2.103]</div>

The third person subject marker *ti-* occurs on intransitive verbs and on transitive verbs with SAP objects, as well as with non-human non-emphasised objects (see 6.4.2). In order to mark 3＞3 relationships, a subject/object marker *chÿ-* is used. If reference is sufficiently clear, no subject NP needs to co-occur, like in (895), in which the subject referents, Juana's grandparents being on their way to Moxos, are well established. The sentence describes what her grandparents did, when they rested.

(895) *tiyÿtipajikanube*

    ti-yÿtipajika-nube
    3i-make.chicha.IRR-PL

    'they would make chicha'

<div align="right">[jxx-p151016l-2.057]</div>

Subject NPs can co-occur with the person indexes, but they are by no means required syntactically, i.e. they are conominals (cf. Haspelmath 2013:217). They are never case-marked.

(896) has a second person pronoun that conominates the second person index on the verb. It was produced by Juana, repeating my statement that it was me who went to visit Miguel, not him who visited me.

<div align="center">380</div>

(896) *aa piti piyunu nauku chubiuyae*

aa   piti   pi-yunu nauku chÿ-ubiu-yae
INTJ 2SG.PRN 2SG-go   there 3-house-LOC

'ah, you went there to his house'

<div align="right">[jxx-e110923l-1.028]</div>

In (897), the NP conominating the third person index includes a noun and a demonstrative. This sentence was elicited from Clara, when Swintha wanted to make a statement about the dried piranha we found at the shore of the reservoir in Concepción.

(897) *teijuku echÿu jimu*

ti-eijuku echÿu jimu
3i-stink   DEMb   fish

'the fish stinks'

<div align="right">[cux-c120414ls-2.111]</div>

7.1.2   Expression of objects

First and second person objects are obligatorily indexed on the verb. Object indexes follow the verb stem. This is true for transitive verbs as in (898) and (899) as well as ditransitive verbs as in (900) and (901). If the verb is ditransitive, the indexed object has the semantic role of a recipient.

The verb in Example (898) has a second person singular object marker (*-pi*). Juana cites her own words here, repeating what she had said to her brother the day before.

(898) *"nikichupapi tajaitu"*

ni-kichupa-pi   tajaitu
1SG-wait.IRR-2SG tomorrow

'"I will expect you tomorrow"'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-1.127]</div>

In (899), María S. states that smoking is bad. The verb *-kupaku* 'kill' carries the first person plural object marker *-bi*.

(899) *tikupakabi*

ti-kupaka-bi
3i-kill.IRR-1PL

'it (smoking) can kill us'

<div align="right">[rxx-e120511l.385]</div>

One example with a ditransitive verb is (900). It was produced by Juana in telling her brother what happened to the photo that Swintha had given her the day before. First, she had been telling this incident in Spanish, but repeated it in Paunaka on request. The verb in this example carries the first person singular object marker *-ne*.

(900)   *ukuine tipunakune chifotone*

    ukuine   ti-punaku-ne chi-foto-ne
    yesterday 3i-give-1SG   3-photo-POSSD

    'yesterday she gave me her photo'

<div align="right">[jmx-e090727s.041]</div>

(901) was elicited in order to tell Clara that Federico bought something for her (I do not remember what it was), the verb carries the second person singular marker *-bi*.[2]

(901)   *chiyÿseikinubi*

    chi-yÿseik-inu-bi
    3-buy-BEN-2SG

    'he bought it for you'

<div align="right">[cxx-e120410ls-2.006]</div>

Personal pronouns never conominate object indexes. In order to put more emphasis on an SAP object, a person-marked form of the preposition *-tÿpi* can co-occur, however this is very rare. The very same preposition is also used in the expression of some kinds of oblique objects, see 7.1.3 below (and see also Section 7.2.9 for oblique objects in non-verbal predication). One example in which *-tÿpi* is used as a conominal expression for an object is given in (902). The verb takes the person marker *-ne* for the first person singular object. This marker is obligatory and cannot be omitted. The oblique preposition conominating the object follows the verb. The sentence comes from Miguel and is about Swintha not having told him the exact date of her return to Concepción and Santa Rita (after going back to Germany).

(902)   *kuinakuÿ tikechane nitÿpi*

    kuina-kuÿ   ti-kecha-ne   ni-tÿpi
    NEG-INCMP 3i-say.IRR-1SG 1SG-OBL

    'she hasn't told me, yet'

<div align="right">[mxx-d110813s-2.052]</div>

Third person objects are usually not indexed by a suffix in declarative clauses (but see 6.4.2.2 for exceptions). The third person prefix *chÿ-/chi-* can be used instead to express 3>3 relations with human objects and with non-human objects that the speaker finds worth being explicitly marked (see detailed discussion in 6.4.2). The plural marker *-nube* and the distributive marker *-jane* can be added to verbs to express plurality of human and non-human objects, but since the same markers can also express plurality of third person subjects, the issue of which third person participant is plural is not easily sorted out (see 6.4.2.1).

(903) has a human third person object which is expressed solely by use of the prefix *chÿ-*. All participants are sufficiently established in discourse by the preceding sentences (in Spanish), and therefore no NP needs to co-occur. The example stems from Juana telling Swintha about the creation of people and some animals and plants. It is interesting how the biblical creation story mixes with elements of non-Christian origin.

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2. The second person singular object marker has two allomorphs: *-bi* is found after default/realis marking with /u/, *-pi* (as in (898) above) after irrealis-marked morphemes in /a/.

Prior to this sentence, Juana had narrated that God formed María Eva out of mud as a future wife for Jesus, who did not want to marry a pigeon.

(903) *chetuku nauku nekupai*

      chÿ-etuku   nauku nekupai
      3-put   there   outside

      'he (God) put her (María Eva) there outside'

                                                      [jxx-n101013s-1.359]

Non-human third person objects are frequently expressed by NPs. There is no case marking on the noun or any other constituent of the object NP. In many cases, there is no specific index on the verb either to cross-reference the object. This is the case in (904), which was produced by Juana, when telling me how she raised her brother, feeding him with plantain. When he grew a bit older, he could eat some food. The verb carries the third person marker *ti-*, i.e. only the subject is indexed here.

(904) *tinikumÿnÿ yÿtÿuku*

      ti-niku-mÿnÿ   yÿtÿuku
      3i-eat-DIM   food

      'he ate some food'

                                                      [jxx-p120430l-2.486]

(905) is from the story about the lazy man. Before he goes to the wood, he prepares his machete, being supposed to make a field to grow food for his family. The object is indexed on the verb in this case, by making use of the third person marker *chÿ-*. The conominal NP follows the verb.

(905) *chajÿikutuji chitÿmuepane*

      chÿ-ajÿiku-tu-ji   *chi-tÿmuepa-ne*
      3-sharpen-IAM-RPRT 3-knife-POSSD

      'he sharpened his machete, it is said'

                                                   [mox-n110920l.021]

There are very few ditransitive verbs in the corpus, (906) offers one example. In this case, both third person objects, recipient and theme, are expressed by NPs, the first containing only the demonstrative *eka*, the second a demonstrative + noun. This sentence was produced by Juana, when we were discussing that her little grandson could or should learn Paunaka since he showed interest in the language. While I insisted on it being necessary that Juana talks with him in Paunaka, she proposed the idea that he could learn it with the help of written material, referring to a sheet with some words and phrases in Paunaka that Swintha had handed over to Juana.

(906) *eka nipunaka echÿu ajumerku*

      eka   ni-punaka   echÿu ajumerku
      DEMa 1SG-give.IRR DEMb paper

      'this one, I will give him the paper'

                                                      [jxx-e110923l-1.102]

7.1.3 Expression of obliques

In this work, obliques are defined with Dryer & Gensler (2013) as nominal constituents that modify a verb or clause. According to this definition, obliques are adjuncts, however, the issue is not totally clear for Paunaka. Obliques are never required syntactically by any verb. They are neither indexed on the verb in verbal declarative clauses nor obligatorily expressed by an NP (or PP). Nonetheless, a few verbs highly favour the overt expression of an oblique, first and foremost the motion verb *-yunu* 'go', but also *-etuku* 'put' and to a lesser extent *-kuetea* 'tell'. This is because these verbs semantically require a goal or addressee role. It could thus be argued that the obliques of these verbs are (optional) arguments.

It has been argued that the distinction between arguments and adjuncts is possibly not a crosslinguistic but a language-particular one (Haspelmath 2014). Concerning Paunaka, there is no general difference in the expression of those kinds of obliques that are semantically entailed and other constituents that seem to be completely optional by the semantics of the verb, i.e. those that clearly qualify as adjuncts, and I do not know of any test that would unambiguously set apart arguments form adjuncts in Paunaka. This is why I decided not to distinguish them in the analysis for the time being.

Thus, obliques comprise locative, temporal, benefactive, instrumental, cause, and comitative relations, and depending on the specific kind of relation, they can take the general locative marker *-yae* (see 5.8), or they can be marked by a preposition (see 4.4). Source expressions are construed with the help of a preposition and can additionally take the locative marker. Obliques may also be completely unmarked, this is what we frequently find in the expression of goals in combination with the motion verb *-yunu* 'go'.[3]

I will start the description with pronominal expressions of obliques. There is an oblique topic pronoun *nebu* found with locative and temporal relations (see also 4.1.2). It is often combined with deranked verbs, which is analysed here as indicating a cleft construction, a topic described in 8.5.4. It may, however, also occur in declarative clause. *Nebu* always precedes the verb.

(907) is construed with the oblique pronoun *nebu*. It comes from Juana's account about her daughter who went to Spain but was deported for not having a valid visa. She was arrested together with other people and brought to a room, where they received some food. The room (or rather its location upstairs, on another floor) has been mentioned directly before.

(907)   *nebu chupununube yÿtÿuku*

    nebu   *chÿ-upunu-nube* *yÿtÿuku*
    3OBL.TOP.PRN 3-bring-PL   food

    'there they brought (them) food'

<div align="right">[jxx-p110923l-1.314]</div>

The context of the next example, which also contains *nebu*, is as follows: María S. had described the quarter where her daughters live in Santa Cruz. I had been in this

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3. This could actually be seen as a criterion for argument status. Whether or not a locative marker shows up seems to largely depend on the kind of noun used as goal expression: toponyms are likely to occur without locative marker, which does not come as a surprise (cf. Stolz et al. 2014:291). In addition, the place nouns *uneku* 'town' and *asaneti* 'field' often show up without locative marking in Paunaka, though the possessed form *-sane* 'field' rather takes a locative marker. It remains to be checked how these nouns behave when combined with verbs other than *-yunu* 'go'.

quarter once with Miguel to visit his daughter, who also lives there, so I told María S. that I knew it. She replied with (908), in which *nebu* refers to the quarter we had been talking about.

(908) *ja no ve nebu chubu nijinepÿinube*

      ja   *no ve*   *nebu*   *chÿ-ubu* *ni-jinepÿi-nube*
      AFM you see 3OBL.TOP.PRN 3-be   1SG-daughter-PL

      'ah, you see, there live my daughters'

                                                [rxx-e120511l.256]

Locations and goals can be expressed by adding the locative marker *-yae* to a noun, like in (909), which was produced by Miguel in telling me about the history of Santa Rita and his own personal history. After living in Naranjito for some time, he went to Santa Cruz and only came back to live in the Chiquitania again after 20 years.

(909) *niyunu Santa Kruyae*

      ni-yunu *Santa Kru-yae*
      1SG-go Santa Cruz-LOC

      'I went to Santa Cruz'

                                                [mxx-p110825l.074]

(910) comes from a description by Juana how to cook with a clay pot.

(910) *pijÿuka petukatu yÿkÿyae*

      pi-jÿuka   *pi-etuka-tu*   *yÿkÿ-yae*
      2SG-light.fire.IRR 2SG-put.IRR-IAM fire-LOC

      'you light fire, then you put it onto the fire'

                                            [jmx-d110918ls-1.009]

While both locative-marked NPs in (909) and (910) above express goals, in the following example we find *-yae* on a noun that expresses a static location. The example comes from Miguel's telling of the story of the lazybones, who only swings on a liana (like in a hammock) and plays the flute in the woods instead of working.

(911) *tebibiku echÿu jupịpiyae*

      ti-ebibiku *echÿu* *jupịpi-yae*
      3i-swing   DEMb   liana.sp-LOC

      'he swung on the liana'

                                             [mox-n110920l.067]

In (912) we have a goal expression without locative marker. It was produced by Juana, who still lived in Santa Cruz at that time. She spoke about Federico.

(912) *eka semana tiyuna Santa Rita*

      eka   *semana* *tiyuna*   *Santa Rita*
      DEMa   week   3i-go.IRR Santa Rita

      'this week he will got to Santa Rita'

                                           [jxx-p110923l-1.098]

Another example of an unmarked oblique is (913), which is a commentary by Juana, when Miguel was telling the story about the fox and the jaguarundi. The story reaches its climax, the fox is drunk, the jaguarundi has fled to the woods, the dogs of the owner of the house they had broken in chase them. Apparently, Juana expects that the jaguarundi meets the fox again in the woods, which she expresses by this sentence. Miguel, however, goes on telling the story without such an encounter. It is possible that the adverb *nauku* 'there' which is preposed to the locative NP has an influence on the omission of locative marking here, but it is not necessarily the case that *-yae* is omitted if *nauku* is preposed, compare (896) above.

(913)   *titupu nauku kimenu*

    ti-tupu   nauku kimenu
    3i-find   there   woods

    'he met him there in the woods'

<div align="right">[jmx-n120429ls-x5.412]</div>

Source expressions are introduced by *tukiu* 'from'. The noun often takes the locative marker in this case, but not necessarily so. (914) is an example which has both *tukiu* and a locative-marked noun. It comes from the story about the creation of the world told by Juana. The main character is a very strong young man in this part of the story, which explains why specific trees and animals have specifically shaped (body) parts. In case of the silk floss tree, this is because it had swallowed all the crops that were meant by God for the people and animals to eat. The animals try to get back their food but fail to pull the silk floss tree out of the water, where it grows. Finally the strong young man helps them and they succeed.

(914)   *tukiu ÿneyae chetukunube echÿu yuke*

    tukiu ÿne-yae   chÿ-etuku-nube echÿu yuke
    from   water-LOC   3-put-PL   DEMb   riverbank

    'from the water they put it (the silk floss tree) onto the riverbank'
<div align="right">[jxx-n101013s-1.784]</div>

Another example of a source expression with *tukiu* and locative marker is (915). Miguel produced this sentence when speaking with Juan C. about their past. Miguel had talked about the load of work they had to do in Altavista and Juan C. had just stated that they searched for another place to live, which is then presented as the reason for their moving away from Altavista by Miguel.

(915)   *nechikue bibÿbÿsu tukiu Turuxhiyae*

    nechikue bi-bÿbÿsu   tukiu Turuxhi-yae
    therefore 1PL-come   from   Altavista-LOC

    'therefore we came from Altavista'

<div align="right">[mqx-p110826l.018]</div>

One example in which the source does not carry the locative marker is (916). It was produced by Miguel in speaking about Swintha.

(916) *kapunu, titupunubu tukiu Alemania*

      kapunu ti-tupunubu tukiu Alemania
      come   3i-arrive   from Germany

      'she came, she arrived from Germany'

<div align="right">[mxx-d110813s-2.028]</div>

Temporal expressions can be introduced by *tÿpi*. This can be seen in (917), which was produced by Juan C., when he and Miguel were discussing the possibility of some rain in August.

(917) *tÿpi Santa Rosa repente tikeba pario*

      tÿpi Santa Rosa repente ti-keba   pario
      OBL Saint Rosa maybe 3i-rain.IRR some

      'around Saint Rosa('s day) maybe it rains a bit'

<div align="right">[mqx-p110826l.627]</div>

Tÿpi can also be used to express periods of time, like in (918), in which Juana talks about her plans to travel to Spain.

(918) *nauku niyuna tÿpi treschÿ kuje*

      nauku ni-yuna   tÿpi treschÿ kuje
      there 1SG-go.IRR OBL three   month

      'I will go there for three months'

<div align="right">[jxx-p110923l-1.260-261]</div>

In addition to that, *tÿpi* can be used to encode benefactives or recipients. When *tÿpi* is used in such a way, it can also occur without an NP and in these cases, it takes a person marker like in (919), which was elicited from Juana.

(919) *nikujemu chitÿpi*

      ni-kujemu   chi-tÿpi
      1SG-be.angry 3-OBL

      'I am angry with him'

<div align="right">[jxx-e190210s-01]</div>

(920) was produced by Miguel and directed towards María C. to tell her that we leave an invitation for a workshop on Paunaka with her, which the PDP team organised in 2011.

(920) *binejika eka ajumerku pitÿpi*

      bi-nejika   eka   ajumerku pi-tÿpi
      1PL-leave.IRR DEMa paper   2SG-OBL

      'we will leave this paper with you'

<div align="right">[mux-c110810l.011]</div>

Tÿpi can introduce purpose clauses (see 8.3.1.4), and it is also found together with NPs that express the aim, purpose or result of an action.

(921) is from the creation story told by Juana. God has called María Eva in order to tell her to make linen for clothes, after she and Jesus had eaten the forbidden apple. The object of the clause is *riensu* 'linen' and the PP that follows explains, what the linen is meant for, *tÿpi pimÿuna* 'for your future clothes', the clothes people are supposed to wear from that point on.

(921) *jaje bana riensu tÿpi pimÿuna*

    jaje   *bi-ana*   *riensu* *tÿpi* *pi-mÿu-ina*
    HORT 1PL-make.IRR linen   OBL 2SG-clothes-IRR.NV

    'let's make linen for your future clothes'

<div align="right">[jxx-n101013s-1.501]</div>

The kinds of obliques described above, i.e. the locative-marked ones and the ones with the prepositions *tukiu* and *(-)tÿpi* are quite common. More infrequently, we find also obliques with the semantic roles of instruments, causes or comitatives. Instruments and causes are construed with the preposition *-keuchi* and comitatives with *-aj(i)echubu*. The first of those preposition, *-keuchi* is usually person-marked, regardless of whether an NP follows. The comitative preposition *-aj(i)echubu* is always person-marked.

In (922) Juana tells me about how she went fishing with her grandmother. The women fish with nets, while men fish with hooks. If the net caught a fish, they would take this fish out and kill it with a stick. The stick is marked as the instrument used for killing by *-keuchi*.

(922) *kue tituika bikupaka chikeuchi yÿkÿke*

    kue *ti-tuika*   *bi-kupaka*   *chi-keuchi* *yÿkÿke*
    if   3i-hunt.IRR 1PL-kill.IRR 3-INS   stick

    'if it (the net) caught (fish), we would kill them with a stick'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-1.073]</div>

An example in which *-keuchi* marks a cause is (923), which comes from Miguel telling Alejo the frog story. He produced this sentence when looking at the picture on which the beehive lies on the ground because the dog had jumped against it and made it fall. In this case no NP follows *chikeuchi* since it is sufficiently clear from the context who is responsible.

(923) *tibÿtupaikubutu chikeuchi*

    ti-bÿtupaikubu-tu *chi-keuchi*
    3i-fall-IAM   3-INS

    'it (the beehive) fell down because of it (the dog)'

<div align="right">[mtx-a110906l.104]</div>

One example of *-aj(i)echubu* is given in (924). Clara answered María C.'s question about where my daughter was. I had taken her and my husband with me, when I first came to Bolivia to work with the Paunaka people in 2011, but in 2012, I went alone.

(924) *chinejiku chajichubu chÿa*

    chi-nejiku chÿ-ajechubu chÿ-a
    3-leave   3-COM   3-father

    'she left her (her daughter) with her father'

<div align="right">[cux-120410ls.081]</div>

In the following section, the information given up to here is brought together and different possible word orders are presented.

7.1.4 Word order

Paunaka has a wide range of possible word orders as concerns nominal expressions of arguments. If we consider the argument indexes on the verb, the order is rigid: subject indexes always precede the verb stem, i.e. the order is s-V for intransitive verbs. First and second person object indexes always follow the verb stem, yielding s-V-o. Third person objects are either indexed by a prefix that encodes 3 > 3 relationships on verbs or remain unmarked, thus we have s + o-V or s-V argument orders on verbs with third person objects.

It is common that only one core argument is conominated and the most basic word orders can thus be considered VS and VO. It is also very common that a clause contains nothing but a verb if subject and, if applicable, object participants are well-established in discourse. V and VS sentences are mainly found with intransitive verbs and are related to topic continuity, topic establishment and topic change. VO order is typical for transitive verbs. This is connected to the subject being an established topic and the object providing new information, i.e. having the role of focus (cf. Lambrecht 1994).

There is one preverbal slot, which is used to indicate special discourse status. Subject as well as object NPs can occur in this slot giving rise to SV and – more rarely – OV orders.

If both subject and object are conominated, we mostly find VOS or SVO order. There are also some examples of VSO in the corpus, but OVS order is almost completely excluded, though a few examples have been elicited, too.

As for obliques, they usually occur to the right of the verb. VX orders, with X standing for oblique as in Dryer & Gensler (2013), are most common. If the object of the sentence is also expressed by an NP, the oblique usually follows it, i.e. the order is VOX, but VXO is also found. It is uncommon that there is a conominal S argument in a sentence that contains an oblique.

For convenience, the word order types of the discussed sentences are placed above the examples in this section. Word orders of material that is not relevant for the discussion is given in parenthesis, this is usually other juxtaposed sentences that I did not want to omit, because intonation suggested that they closely belonged to the sentence I want to discuss or because I believe they are indicative for information structure.

Let us start with two examples that contain nothing more than the inflected verb. (925) represents the answer Juana gave to my (stammered) question after her relation to her grandchildren. The grandchildren are established as participants by my question, so they do not need to be conominated by an NP. They are encoded by the plural suffix on the verb. The first person subject participant is expressed by the prefix.

(925) V:

nichaneikunube

ni-chaneiku-nube
1SG-care.for-PL

'I care for them'

<div align="right">[jxx-p110923l-1.161]</div>

Prior to (926), I had made a statement about José being the only one who stayed in the place where the whole family Supepí Yabeta used to live together. Thus, it is clear that reference is made to José, when María S. states that he is alone.

(926) V:

tipÿsisikubu

ti-pÿsisikubu
3i-be.alone

'he is alone'

<div align="right">[rxx-e120511l.187]</div>

If only one NP accompanies the verb, its unmarked position is that following the verb. However, this is not true for NPs containing personal or topic pronouns. These pronouns always precede the verb, see below. First, I give some examples with NPs containing nouns that follow the verb. (927) and (928) have VS and (929) and (930) VO order.

(927) is an example with a subject following the verb. Although the subject participant of this clause, the jaguar, *isini*, has been talked about by María S. in the previous clause, she decided to express it by an NP here, maybe because this is the highlight and also a kind of summary towards the end of the story of the fox and the jaguar.

(927) VS:

tipakutu isini

ti-paku-tu   isini
3i-die-IAM jaguar

'the jaguar died'

<div align="right">[rxx-n120511l-1.040]</div>

(928) is another example with a subject NP following the verb. It is from the description of the frog story by Juana. She had already mentioned the dog in the preceding clause, she even mentioned the very same event of the dog's running. Repetition of the subject NP has two functions here. First, it creates more emphasis on the whole sentence, because Juana found it funny, and second, this sentence also provides a summary of what she had been telling before about the dog.

(928) VS:

tikutikubutu kabe

ti-kutikubu-tu kabe
3i-run-IAM   dog

'the dog is running'

<div align="right">[jxx-a120516l-a.146]</div>

Objects also frequently follow the verb. In (929), the subject of the sentence, two men who go into the woods to hunt, is a well-established topic and does not need to be conominated. The object of this sentence, the collared peccaries that the men hunt, is new information and thus expressed by an NP. This sentence is part of the story about the two men who meet the devil in the woods that was told by María S.

(929) VO:

tituikunubeji tijapÿ

ti-tuiku-nube-ji   tijapÿ
3i-hunt-PL-RPRT   collared.peccary

'they hunted collared peccary, it is said'

[rxx-n120511l-2.17]

The next example comes from the same tale, but this time told by Miguel. The men have already met the devil and one of them gives him some of the meat. But the devil, still being hungry has demanded for the heads of the pigs (since Miguel uses *ÿba* 'pig' instead of *tijapÿ* 'collared peccary' in his story). Thus the man gives him the heads in (930). The verb carries the person marker *chÿ-*. This person marker refers to the subject, the man, and to the object, the heads. Additionally, the object is expressed by the NP *echÿu chichÿtijane* 'their heads', which follows the verb. The heads have been mentioned in the previous clauses, first as an object conominated by an NP, then as the subject of an existential clause without being overtly expressed. Both of these preceding clauses are construed as direct speech in the narrative. It may be the switch from subject of the existential clause to object of the verbal clause or the switch from direct speech to report that triggered use of an NP here, or – of course – both factors may have an influence.

(930) VO:

chupunukuji echÿu chichÿtijane

chÿ-upunu-uku-ji   echÿu   chi-chÿti-jane
3-bring-ADD-RPRT   DEMb 3-head-DISTR

'he also brought their heads (of the pigs)'

[mxx-n101017s-1.050]

NPs that precede the verb can have either topic or focus status. As for topical NPs, the reason why they occur pre-verbally can be indication of a change of topic or re-activation of a non-active topic, however, not every change or re-activation of topic goes along with preverbal NP placement, and more research on information structure is certainly necessary to determine the exact conditions under which an NP can be preposed. Focus NPs may be preposed to indicate argument focus, i.e. the relation of the preposed NP to the rest of the proposition is new information or this information is highlighted (cf. Lambrecht 1994:228)

Personal and topic pronouns are only used for special emphasis and they always precede the verb, see (931) and (932) for a first person plural and a first person singular pronoun, respectively. Note that there is no personal pronoun for the third person, but the demonstrative *echÿu* or the topic pronoun *chibu* can be used instead. The demonstrative can precede or follow the verb. (933) is an example with a demonstrative that accompanies a verb marked for a third person subject by the person marker *ti-*, (934) has a third person subject conominated by the topic pronoun *chibu*.

(931) is narrated direct speech in the story about the man who loses the cows of his *patrón*, finds them with a spirit and gets enchanted by that spirit. Towards the end of the story, he brings the cows to a village for the people there to eat them. This is what he tells the people, before he leaves them to go back to the place of the spirit again.

(931) SV:
"biti biyunupunatu"

biti   *bi-yunupuna-tu*
1PL.PRN   1PL-go.back.IRR-IAM

'"we go back now"'

[mxx-n151017l-1.92]

(932) was Miguel's answer to Swintha's question what he was doing, while his wife was making rice bread. Actually, his answer that he was doing nothing but watching was a joke. He was only distracted at that very moment, answering our questions.

(932) SV:
nÿti nimumukujiku

nÿti   *ni-imumuku-jiku*
1SG.PRN   1SG-look-LIM1

'I am only watching'

[mxx-e120415ls.071]

(933) comes from Miguel telling José the frog story. This sentence is a repetition of his last utterance, which had the same verb, but the subject was expressed by the noun *peÿ* 'frog' and the place from where it left, the big glass, was also expressed by an NP. Since the frog and the glass are thus sufficiently established in discourse, it is not necessary to repeat them again. Note that it is not uncommon to repeat propositions, this is usually done, when a discourse topic or a specific section about this topic comes to an end. Repetition also plays a role in back-chanelling.

(933) VS:
mm, tibÿchÿutu echÿu

mm   *ti-bÿchÿu-tu*   *echÿu*
INTJ   3i-leave-IAM   DEMb

'mm, it left'

[mox-a110920l-2.026]

In (934), María C. expresses her faith in God. She uses the topic pronoun *chibu* to refer back to God, who had been mentioned before by using an NP.

(934) SV:
chibu tetupaikubi naka apuke

chibu   *ti-etu-pai-ku-bi*   *naka*   *apuke*
3TOP.PRN   3i-put-CLF:ground-TH1-1PL   here   ground

'he put us here on earth'

[uxx-p110825l.111]

Subject NPs containing a noun can also precede the verb for special emphasis, e.g. indicating contrast or a change of topic, but probably also for stylistic reasons. Emphasis is not per se excluded if the subject follows the verb.

The next example, (935), is a case in which the subject precedes the verb for contrastive topic. It is taken from the same recording as (928). Previously, Juana talked about the dog, now she provides information about the boy, *aitubuche*. This change triggered the use of a subject NP preceding the verb.

(935) SV:
i eka aitubuche tipÿtapaikubutu

i	*eka*	*aitubuche*	*ti-bÿtupaikubu-tu*
and	DEMa	boy	3i-fall-IAM

'and the boy fell down'

<div align="right">[jxx-a120516l-a.148]</div>

An example of a contrastive focus subject NP in preverbal position is (936), where Juana and I were discussing the consumption of frogs. It is not usual among the speakers of Paunaka to eat frogs, but Juana had heard that some species are tasty and that there are people who eat them, and she gives information about the presumed nationalities of frog eaters in the sentence.

(936) SV, SV:
eka japonesnube tinikunube los chino tinikunube

eka	*japones-nube*	*ti-niku-nube*	*los chino*	*ti-niku-nube*
DEMa	Japanese-PL	3i-eat-PL	the Chinese	3i-eat-PL

'the Japanese eat them (frogs), the Chinese eat them'

<div align="right">[jxx-a120516l-a.482]</div>

OV order is less common than SV. It is used if speakers want to put special emphasis on the object. This is the case when speakers use the topic pronoun *chibu* as an object, like in (937) from the same passage as (904) above. Juana had just described that she fed her brother with plantain, then she states:

(937) OV:
chibu bekichumÿnÿ

chibu	*bi-ekichu-mÿnÿ*
3TOP.PRN	1PL-invite-DIM

'this we gave (lit.: invited) him'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-2.482]</div>

(938) comes from an elicitation context with María S., however, it was not requested as a direct translation, but rather originated from the elicited context (which included eating, conversing and going). As in the previous example, *chibu* is the object of the clause and it precedes the verb.

(938) OV:
chibu bichujijikubu

chibu   bi-chujijiku-bu
3TOP.PRN 1PL-talk-MID

'this we talked about'

Another example in which an object is emphasised and thus placed in preverbal position is given in (939c). It is a confirmation to my surprised reaction (939b) to Juana's statement that frogs are prepared with tomatoes (939a).

(939) a. (nonverbal PRED),VO:
            j: *michaniki, tetuku tomate*

            michaniki ti-etuku tomate
            tasty   3i-put   tomato

            'it is tasty, they put tomatoes in (the cans with the frogs)'

       b. l: *¡aa, tomate!*

            aa   tomate
            INTJ tomato

            'ah, tomatoes!'

       c. OV:
            j: *ja, tomate tetuku*

            ja   tomate ti-etuku
            AFM tomato 3i-put

            'yes, tomatoes they put in'

If both subject and object are conominated by NPs, VOS and SVO are the most common orders, although I have found a few examples of VSO orders as well. As for OVS, it was only found in elicitation contexts, however, it was not rejected as being completely wrong, given that the relations between the participants were sufficiently clear. I will provide examples for all orders. (940) and (941) have VOS order, (943) and (944) are examples for SVO, (945) and (946) show VSO order. An example from elicitation with OVS order is (947).

(940) comes from María C. talking about Clara. Our visit at her place caused a delay in her work.

(940) VOS:
tanaumÿnÿ pan de arro eka nipiji

ti-anau-mÿnÿ pan de arroz eka   ni-piji
3i-make-DIM rice bread   DEMa 1SG-sibling

'my sister makes rice bread'

(941) was elicited from Clara.

(941) VOS:
chibukutu chikebÿke kusiÿ

chi-buku-tu   chi-kebÿke kusiÿ
3-finish-IAM 3-eye   ant

'the ants finished (i.e. ate) its eyes (of the dead dried fish that we found)'
[cux-c120414ls-2.104]

Generally, the preverbal position can be understood to convey emphasis on the participant. This is nicely illustrated by the following Example (942), in which María S. corrected herself when telling the story about the fox and the jaguar. She confused the main characters and first expressed – in VOS order – that the action of eating cheese was performed by the jaguar (942a), but then corrected herself and using SVO order emphasised that it was the fox who was eating cheese. (942b) is thus a focus construction.

(942) a. VOS:
tinikukuikuji kesu isini

ti-niku-kuiku-ji   kesu   isini
3i-eat-CONT-RPRT cheese jaguar

'the jaguar was eating cheese, it is said'

b. SVO:
jai kupisairÿ tinikuji kesu

jai   kupisairÿ ti-niku-ji   kesu
INTJ fox   3i-eat-RPRT cheese

'hay, THE FOX ate cheese, it is said'
[rxx-n120511l-1.026-027]

(943) is an example for SVO order. Juana and I had been looking at the frog story and she had identified the bird that flies from the tree as a hawk. We go on with the next page, but Juana digresses from the task in order to tell me about the hawk and an experience with another bird of prey that stole her dog. The hawk has been mentioned shortly before, but it is not topical. In order to indicate that the topic changes to the hawk again, the NP is positioned before the verb.

(943) SVO:
eka sia tiniku takÿra

eka   sia   ti-niku takÿra
DEMa bird.sp 3i-eat chicken

'the hawk eats chicken'
[jxx-a120516l-a.164]

In (944) the object is a headless relative clause (see Section 8.5.2). It comes from the story about the two men who meet the devil in the woods as told by Miguel. The devil approaches shouting. It is important in the development of the story that only one of the men answers the devil and this importance is highlighted by placing the NP in preverbal position.

(944) SVO:
i chinachÿ echÿu chikompanyerone chijakupu echÿu tiyÿbui

i   chinachÿ echÿu chi-kompanyero-ne   chi-jakupu echÿu ti-yÿbui
and one   DEMb 3-companion-POSSD 3-receive DEMb 3i-shout

'and one of the companions answered the one who shouted'

[mxx-n101017s-1.021]

(945) is an example for VSO order. It comes from Juana telling the frog story and describing the picture on which the dog is running away from the beehive that has fallen down and the bees chase it.

(945) VSO:
chinisapikutu jane eka kabe

chi-nisapiku-tu jane   eka   kabe
3-sting-IAM   wasp DEMa dog

'the wasps sting the dog'

[jxx-a120516l-a.112]

(946) is another example for VSO order, where the subject is a proper name. It remains to be checked whether VSO order is (more) usual if subjects are expressed by proper names, there are very few examples of such constellations in the corpus. In any case, this sentence was produced by María S. in elicitation, she first used a first singular index, when I asked her to translate the sentence, but repeated it with her own name to be put like this in this work. Here you are, María.

(946) VSO:
tanatu Maria yumaji

ti-ana-tu   Maria yumaji
3i-make.IRR-IAM María hammock

'María is making a hammock'

[rxx-e181022le]

One of the very few examples of OVS orders was produced by Juana, when Swintha asked her to describe a photo that showed me with my two daughters lying on top of me. However, a lot of hesitation marks accompany this sentence, so it is very probable that it might be taken as a mistake or probably as left dislocation of a topical object (the picture they had been looking at before also showed my daughters and me).

(947) OVS:
ruschunubechÿ chakachu chÿenujinube

ruschÿ-nube-chÿ chÿ-akachu chÿ-enu-ji-nube
two-PL-3   3-lift   3-mother-COL-PL

'the two of them, her mother lifts them'

[jxx-p141024s-1.21]

A different sentence with OVS order was produced by me in elicitation with María S. I asked her whether it was correct and she confirmed it, however, when she repeated

the sentence, her intonation indeed suggested that it was a case of left dislocation. She would not accept such a sentence if both object and subject were animate, i.e. when I tried to elicit OVS order with a cat being the subject and a mouse being the object of the verb *-niku* 'eat'.

(948) OVS:
amuke, tebuku nÿa

amuke ti-ebuku nÿ-a
corn   3i-sow   1SG-father

'corn, my father sowed it'
[rxx-e181024l]

I have not found a single example of a ditransitive verb being accompanied by three NPs in the corpus, but there is one example with a transitive verb with an incorporated body part. The possessor of this body part is expressed by an NP, and subject and object of the verb are also conominated. Presupposed that the possessor is analysed as a raised object here, word order is VOSO, with the theme object of the verb being expressed first and the possessor of the incorporated body part last. The example comes from the story about the fox and the jaguar as told by María S. It occurs close to the end of the story, where the fox ties a stone on the hands of the jaguar and the latter jumps into the water, expecting to find cheese there, but it is only the reflection of the moon that he sees.

(949) VOSO:
chirÿtÿnebuÿchuji mai echÿu kupisairÿ echÿu isini

chi-rÿtÿ-ne-buÿ-chu-ji   mai   echÿu kupisairÿ echÿu isini
3-tie-top-hand-TH2-RPRT stone DEMb fox   DEMb jaguar

'the fox tied a stone on top of the jaguar's hands, it is said'
[rxx-n120511l-1.037]

Two more examples with two conominated objects were produced by Juana. In (950), she tells that one of her daughters wants to give back money she borrowed from her sister in Spain, when the latter once comes to Bolivia. The whole sentence, which consists of three separate clauses is given here. Topical subject of the first clause is the daughter who lives in Spain, but in the second clause, topic switches to the other daughter, without that the new topic would be expressed by an NP. It is thus not totally clear whether the NP *nijinepÿi* 'my daughter' in the third clause refers to the subject or the object since both participants are Juana's daughters. I would opt for an analysis as an object, because the topical subject of this clause is the same as the one in the preceding clause, there is thus topic continuity and topical participants are usually not expressed by NPs. The translation of the example follows this analysis. The word order of the last clause is thus VOO. However, it is also possible that *nijinepÿi* is a subject NP, a delayed indication of topic switch in the previous clause, the translation of the last clause would be 'my daughter will give her the money' in that case and word order VSO.

(950) (nonverbal PRED, VO), VOO:
i despue kue kapupunuina te chebÿpekupuna echÿu tÿmue, chipua nijinepÿi chitÿmuane

i	*despue*	*kue*	*kapupunu-ina*	*te*	*chÿ-ebÿpeku-puna*
and	afterwards	if	come.back-IRR.NV	SEQ	3-borrow.money-AM.PRIOR.IRR

echÿu	*tÿmue*	*chi-pua*	*ni-jinepÿi*	*chi-tÿmua-ne*
DEMb	money	3-give.IRR	1PL-daughter	3-money-POSSD

'and later, when she comes back, then she goes to borrow money, and she will give my daughter her money'

[jxx-p120430l-1.294]

The other example consists of two juxtaposed clauses. Interestingly, the recipient object of the verb of the second clause appears to the left of the first (intransitive) verb, i.e. quite dislocated from the verb it belongs to. This can be considered a case of long-distance dependency in Paunaka. (951) describes the same situation as (907) above, but comes from another recording with Juana made in another year, when she told me the story again. It is about her daughter being arrested on the airport in Spain for not having a valid visa. She was brought to a room upstairs in the airport building and received some food. The structure of this sentence is OVVO, with the first O pertaining to the second V.

(951) O(V)VO:
i eka nijinepÿimÿnÿ tipununubetu chipunakunube yÿtÿuku

i	*eka*	*ni-jinepÿi-mÿnÿ*	*ti-punu-nube-tu*	*chi-punaku-nube*	*yÿtÿuku*
and	DEMa	1SG-daughter-DIM	3i-go.up-PL-IAM	3-give-PL	food

'and as for my daughter, they went up and gave her some food'

[jxx-p120430l-1.213]

As for obliques, the most frequent order is VX. All other participants are usually well-established by the preceding clauses and thus do not have to be conominated by an NP. XV is also found, but considerably less common, and largely restricted to temporal and source expressions. I will only consider different kinds of locative obliques and a few recipients here, because there are few examples for the other kinds of obliques.

(952) is one example with VX order. The oblique is a PP with the preposition *tukiu*, a source expression. The sentence was produced by Juana, when she told me about how her daughter was deported from Spain and arrived back to Bolivia.

(952) VX:
tikubupaikunubetu tukiu labion

ti-kubupaiku-nube-tu	*tukiu*	*labion*
3i-go.down-PL-IAM	from	plane

'they disembarked from the plane'

[jxx-p120430l-1.266]

An unmarked oblique with the semantic role of goal is found in (953), which was a statement by María S., when I told her that we had been looking for her before.

(953) VX:

niyunutu asaneti

ni-yunu-tu   asaneti
1SG-go-IAM field

'I had gone to the field'

<div align="right">[mrx-c120509l.052]</div>

It is very common that a locative adverb is placed before the PP. This is the case in (954): first comes the verb, then the adverb *nauku* 'there' and finally the locative-marked noun. Juana cites her own words here, which were directed to her daughter.

(954) VX:

niyuna nauku parkeyae

ni-yuna   nauku parke-yae
1SG-go.IRR there park-LOC

'I will go to the park there'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-2.242]</div>

If there is an object in the clause, we predominantly find VOX order and only occasionally XVO. VOX is the most common order cross-linguistically for languages in which the object usually follows the verb (Dryer & Gensler 2013).

(955) comes from Miguel telling José the frog story. This is his description of the picture on which the deer throws the boy down the slope into the water.

(955) VOX:

chibikÿkÿnÿkutu echÿu aitubuchepÿimÿnÿ kÿpenukÿyae

chi-bikÿkÿnÿku-tu   echÿu aitubuchepÿi-mÿnÿ kÿpenukÿ-yae
3-throw.away-IAM DEMb boy-DIM   depth-LOC

'it throws the boy into the depth'

<div align="right">[mox-a110920l-2.153]</div>

(956) has a first person plural benefactive oblique. It stems from Juana's account about how they made the reservoir in Santa Rita. A lady came to Santa Rita and promised them to make the reservoir in exchange for clearing of a big piece of land for her for agricultural use. She is the one who brought them meat.

(956) VOX:

tupunu chÿeche bitÿpi

ti-upunu chÿeche bi-tÿpi
3i-bring meat   1PL-OBL

'she brought us meat'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120515l-2.098]</div>

(957) is an example for XVO order. The oblique is a source expression with the preposition *tukiu* 'from', the adverb *naka* 'here', and a toponym, *Santa Cruz*, which does not take the locative marker. The sentence was produced by Juana when she still lived in Santa Cruz. She told me that when she had lived in Concepción before, her

<div align="center">399</div>

daughters bought meat for her and sent it to her by bus in a styrofoam box. She could then cook and sell *patasca* in Concepción.

(957) XVO:
tukiu naka Santa Cruz tiyÿseikunube chichÿti ÿba

tukiu	*naka*	*Santa Cruz*	*ti-yÿseiku-nube*	*chi-chÿti*	*ÿba*
from	here	Santa Cruz	3i-buy-PL	3-head	pig

'from Santa Cruz here, they bought a pig's head'

[jxx-e110923l-2.156]

There are even fewer verbal clauses in the corpus that contain an oblique and an NP that conominates the subject. I have found the orders SVX (958), VSX (959) and VXS (960), but cannot say which one is most neutral for lack of sufficient data. It is questionable whether one can speak of a neutral order at all for a type of sentence that is very uncommon.

(958) is from the account by María S. about how she grew up. It consists of two juxtaposed sentences, both with an unmarked oblique constituent following the respective verb, while the subject NPs precede the verbs.

(958) SVX, SVX:
depue Krara tiyunutu uneku Kuana tikubiupu uneku

depue	*Krara*	*ti-yunu-tu*	*uneku*	*Kuana*	*ti-kubiu-pu*	*uneku*
afterwards	Clara	3i-go-IAM	town	Juana	3i-have.house-DLOC	town

'later Clara went to town, Juana got a house in town'

[rxx-p181101l-2.263]

When giving me a description how to use palm fruit oil for hair care, Juana produced (959). The oblique NP is accompanied by the adverb *naka* 'here' in this case.

(959) VSX:
tipajÿkutu echÿu aseite naka bichÿtiyae

ti-pajÿku-tu	*echÿu*	*aseite*	*naka*	*bi-chÿti-yae*
3i-stay-IAM	DEMb	oil	here	1PL-head-LOC

'the oil (of the palm fruit) stays here on our head'

[jxx-d181102l.30]

(960) is from Juana's second account about her grandparents' journey to Moxos and back home with the cows they bought there. It is a long journey and the grandparents had to rest on the way. They usually stayed in huts along the way and sometimes the huts also had an enclosure, where they kept their cows.

(960) VXS:
tibÿkupujaneji bakayayae baka

ti-bÿkupu-jane-ji	*bakaya-yae*	*baka*
3i-enter-DISTR-RPRT	enclosure-LOC	cow

'the cows went into the enclosure, it is said'

[jxx-p151016l-2.166]

Finally, it is also possible to have two conominated arguments plus an oblique. This is the case in (961) and (962). The constituent orders are SVXO and SVOX respectively and the oblique constituent is a benefactive in both cases. As for the question which of these orders is more common, I would opt for the second one, because the oblique usually follows the object NP in VOX clauses. However, I would not be able to prove this with data from the corpus since there are simply not enough sentences in which we have conominal expressions of subject and object as well as an oblique.

Example (961) comes from Miguel's account about how he went to school. Since they had no paper, the pupils wrote on wooden boards. Miguel's board was made by his father.

(961) SVXO:
entonses kuineini taitaini tanau nitÿpi echÿu taurapamÿnÿ

entonses	*kuineini*	*taita-ini*	*ti-anau*	*ni-tÿpi*	*echÿu*	*taurapa-mÿnÿ*
thus	deceased	dad-DEC	3i-make	1SG-OBL	DEMb	board-DIM

'so my late father made a small wooden board for me'

[mxx-p181027l-1.023]

A sentence with the order SVOX was elicited from Juana.

(962) SVOX:
eka nijinepÿi tiyÿseiku eka epuke tÿpi eka chipiji

eka	*nij-inepÿi*	*ti-yÿseiku*	*eka*	*epuke*	*tÿpi*	*eka*	*chi-piji*
DEMa	1SG-daughter	3i-buy	DEMa	ground	OBL	DEMa	3-sibling

'my daughter bought ground for her sister'

[jxx-e191021e-2]

In summary, word order in Paunaka is quite flexible, but it is most common that the verb comes first, and it also quite common that the object follows the verb directly. There is one pre-verbal slot, which may be filled with S, O or X to indicate special discourse function.

The following section focusses on standard negation.

7.1.5 Standard negation

This section is about "the basic way(s) a language has for negating declarative verbal main clauses" (Miestamo 2005:1). This has been called "standard negation". Other types of negation are found in the individual sections about different non-verbal clauses (see 7.2) and in the section about negative imperatives (see 7.3.4).

As for morphological negation including a reflex of the famous Proto-Arawakan privative prefix *ma-*, this is not productive in Paunaka.[4]

Standard negation builds on the negative particle *kuina*, which seems to include the non-verbal irrealis marker *-ina* attached to a stem or affix *ku*. Note that a voiceless velar plosive is relatively common in standard negation of Arawakan languages (Michael

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4. The only two words I can think of containing a reflex of the privative prefix are *mupÿinube* (*mu-pÿi-nube* PRIV-body-PL) 'devil (lit.: the ones without body)' and *mÿbanejiku* (*mu-ÿ-bane-jiku* PRIV-be.long-REM-LIM1) 'close to, near'. In addition, there are some more words starting with *mu* like *mukÿe* 'squash sp.'. They may or may not have once been derived from other words with the privative prefix, in any case they are not decomposable in the current stage of the language.

2014b:288), and the Mojeño languages have a prefix *ku-* for irrealis negation (cf. Rose 2020, p.c.), the "doubly irrealis construction, see below.

Kuina is placed directly before the verb. The verb necessarily has irrealis RS given that a non-realised event is always non-factual. Standard negation in Paunaka thus shows a paradigmatic asymmetry as regards RS (Miestamo 2005:96). There is no such thing as a morphological "doubly irrealis construction" in declarative sentences, i.e. a construction that explicitly marks that apart from negation, there is another parameter that triggers irrealis RS (cf. Michael 2014a:253). This may be worth mentioning explicitly, because closely related Trinitario, Terena and Kinikinau as well as the more distantly related Kampan languages all have more or less elaborate doubly irrealis contructions (Michael 2014b:267-269).

Consider (963). The positive sentences in (a) and (b) differ from each other in RS, with (963a) encoding a factual event by default/realis and (963b) a non-factual event by irrealis. When negated like in (963c), this distinction is neutralised.

(963) a. *niniku*

   ni-niku
   1SG-eat

   'I eat/ate it'

b. *ninika*

   ni-nika
   1SG-eat.IRR

   'I will/can/must eat it'

c. *kuina ninika*

   kuina ninika
   NEG   1SG-eat.IRR

   'I don't/didn't/can't/couldn't/won't eat it'

Some more examples of negative declarative clauses follow, containing a stative intransitive verb in (964), an active intransitive verb in (965), a transitive verb in (966), and a ditransitive verb in (967).

(964) comes from María S. talking with me about snow in Germany.

(964) *kuina tasÿeiyu*

   kuina ti-a-sÿei-yu
   NEG   3i-IRR-be.cold-INTS

   'it is not very cold'

   [rxx-e120511l.312]

In (965), Juana states that her daughter did not go (to the airport). In her opinion, her daughter should have picked up her sister there. The latter was supposed to work as a nanny in Spain, but was finally deported without having ever entered the country.

(965) *kuina tiyuna*

    kuina ti-yuna
    NEG   3i-go.IRR

    'she didn't go'

<div align="right">[jxx-p110923l-1.312]</div>

(966) is part of the answer José gave, when Miguel asked him whether he knew the story about the lazy man.

(966) *kuina nichupa micha*

    kuina ni-chupa   micha
    NEG   1SG-know.IRR good

    'I don't know it well'

<div align="right">[mox-n110920l.007]</div>

In (967), Juan C. speaks about the old times, when his *patrón* refused to give him a pair of trousers that was supposed to be part of his compensation for working.

(967) *kuina tipunakane nikasuneina*

    kuina ti-punaka-ne   ni-kasune-ina
    NEG   3i-give.IRR-1SG   1SG-trousers-IRR.NV

    'he didn't give me my supposed trousers'

<div align="right">[mqx-p110826l.458]</div>

Word order is largely the same as in positive sentences, however, conominals are in general rarer. If present, they usually follow the negated verb. (968) is an example in which a conominated subject follows and (969) has a conominated object. In order to indicate special discourse status, a conominal argument can also precede the negator. This is the case in (970), where the subject precedes *kuina* for contrastive focus.

    (968) comes from Miguel speaking about the old days.

(968) *kuina chisiupuchanube eka patron*

    kuina chi-siupucha-nube eka   patron
    NEG   3-pay.IRR-PL   DEMa patrón

    'the *patrón* didn't pay them'

<div align="right">[mxx-p110825l.042]</div>

In (969), Juana tells her sister the reason why her ducklings died, when she was away for one week.

(969) *kuina chetukanube eka yÿtÿukumÿnÿ*

    kuina chÿ-etuka-nube eka   yÿtÿuku-mÿnÿ
    NEG   3-put.IRR-PL   DEMa food-DIM

    'they didn't give them food, poor ones'

<div align="right">[jrx-c151001lsf-11.063]</div>

The context of (970) is that María S. complains that her chicken get stolen when she is away from her house.

(970) *nÿti kuina nÿnika pero punachÿ tiniku*

> *nÿti kuina nÿ-nika pero punachÿ ti-niku*
> 1SG.PRN NEG 1SG-eat.IRR but   other 3i-eat

'I don't eat them, but another one eats them'

<div align="right">[rxx-e120511l.181]</div>

Some morphology can be attached to the negative particle, among them TAME markers and the additive. However, all of these markers can also attach to the verb with no difference in meaning.[5]

Consider the following example, which has an additive marker. Prior to uttering this sentence, Juana had just told me that she did not speak Spanish, when she was a child, only Paunaka. She adds to this statement by (971), telling me that she did not have any contact to Bésɨro either.

(971) *i echÿu tiseteiku kuinauku nisama*

> *i echÿu tiseteiku kuina-uku ni-sama*
> and DEMb Bésɨro NEG-ADD 1SG-hear.IRR

'and Bésɨro I didn't hear either'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-1.028-030]</div>

The way of listing that preceded (972) was very similar, however, in this case the additive is attached to the verb: María C. stated that she did not know her grandparents, but only knew her mother and then added that she did not know her father either (because she was still very young when he passed away).

(972) *nÿa, kuina nichupuikuka nÿa*

> *nÿ-a   kuina ni-chupuiku-uka nÿ-a*
> 1SG-father NEG 1SG-know-ADD.IRR 1SG-father

'as for my father, I didn't know my father either'

<div align="right">[ump-p110815sf.148]</div>

As for TAME marking in negative sentences, there is one peculiarity: the prospective does not occur in negative clauses, nor does the otherwise omnipresent iamitive.[6] Instead of this, the discontinuous marker *-bu* adopts one of the functions of the iamitive, it indicates that a previously ongoing event is already finished. The discontinuous marker is only found in negative clauses and can be translated as '(not) anymore'. The verb is usually interpreted as encoding a state, even if this is not inherent in its semantics, see 6.8.1.2. As for the other function of the iamitive, expressing that something is ongoing (telic verbs), there is not way to construe a corresponding negative sentence. Besides neutralisation of RS, this is the second asymmetry found between negative and positive declarative sentences.

One example of the discontinuous marker in a negative sentence is given in (973).[7] It was produced by Juana when she told me about how her brother passed away,

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5. Although when comparing the two Examples (971) and (972), it may look like the additive marker was a third-position clitic, this is not the case. There are dozens of examples in the corpus, where the additive occurs in other positions, see 3.2 for a general discussion on this issue.

6. The only exception is that the iamitive can be attached to the discontinuous marker on the negative particle itself, yielding *kuinabutu* 'not anymore now'.

7. The discontinuous marker actually occurs twice here, on the negative particle and on the verb, but this is not obligatory. It can also occur once, either on *kuina* or on the verb, see 6.8.1.2.

thus 'not speak anymore' is stative in the sense that it does not refer to a momentary disruption of speaking, but to an irreversible state of weakness before his death. It is another brother of hers whom she cites here.

(973) *"nÿbÿsÿu kuinabu tichujikabu", tikechu*

nÿ-bÿsÿu   kuina-bu   ti-chujika-bu   ti-kechu
1SG-come   NEG-DSC   3i-speak.IRR-DSC   3i-say

'"when I came, he didn't speak anymore", he said'

[jxx-p120430l-2.456]

The discussion of negation in verbal declarative clauses is completed at this point. The next section is dedicated to non-verbal predication, including both positive and negative non-verbal clauses.

7.2 Non-verbal predication

There are many clauses with non-verbal predicates. They belong to different semantic types of non-verbal predication with partly different construction types. As for the latter we find juxtaposition of the predicate and the subject NP, usage of the non-verbal copula *kaku* and other strategies. The semantic types of non-verbal predication comprise the ones typically found in the literature; equative, proper inclusion, attributive, location, existential and possessive to use the terminology by Payne (1997:ch. 6).[8] In addition, some other semantic types are found in Paunaka, which have been called "minor types"; genitive and benefactive, quantification, similative (Dryer 2007:246-249),[9] and also locomotion (Payne 1997:113), the latter being restricted to third person cislocative motion. Strikingly, verbs are often borrowed from Spanish as non-verbal predicates, too.

Table 7.1 shows how semantic types and construction types correlate. All semantic types marked by an asterisk can also be expressed by a verbal strategy.

Many semantic types in the table are assigned to the juxtaposition construction and a few to the one including a copula, however, this is a simplification of the issue. As for juxtaposition, a subject NP does not necessarily co-occur with the predicate just as in verbal predication. In non-verbal predication this can be related to the subject being topical and/or the predicate taking person indexes. As for the location, existential, and possessive non-verbal types, they include a copula in positive clauses, but do not need a copula in negative clauses where use of it is often related to emphasis.

Before describing the different constructions in more detail, I want to provide a short illustration about the properties in which non-verbal predicates differ from verbal ones. Two factors are involved, irrealis and person marking.

Realis is completely unmarked in non-verbal predication, but irrealis is marked. It is triggered by the same parameters that are also relevant for irrealis marking on verbs minus the imperative (see 6.5.2), but there is a specific irrealis marker *-ina* that only occurs on non-verbal words.

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8. Overall et al. (2018:6) use the term "identification" instead of "equative" and "categorisation" instead of "proper inclusion". They further deviate from Payne (1997) in that they split the attributive type in two subtypes encoding permanent versus temporary property, but this is not of concern for Paunaka. See also Dryer (2007) for yet another similar classification.

9. The author actually uses the term simulative, while similative is the one proposed by Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998).

Table 7.1: Semantic types and construction types in non-verbal predication

Semantic type	Construction type
equative	juxtaposition
proper inclusion	juxtaposition
attributive	juxtaposition
quantification	juxtaposition
genitive/benefactive	juxtaposition
location*	juxtaposition / copula
existential	copula
possessive*	copula
similative	other
(3rd person) locomotion*	other
borrowed verbs*	other

Consider (974), in which the nominal predicate is negated and thus has irrealis RS. The example was produced by María S. and referred to some puppies in her yard which had apparently been brought to Santa Rita although they were still suckling, thus they were condemned to die.

(974)   *kuina chÿenuina tukiu uneku*

    kuina chÿ-enu-ina   tukiu uneku
    NEG   3-mother-IRR.NV from town

    'they don't have a mother, they are from town'

                                                        [rxx-e1205111.363]

The non-verbal irrealis marker is the very same morpheme that is also used as a nominal irrealis marker (see 5.5). There is sometimes substantial functional overlap between both, as in (975), where the nominal predicate has future reference, but could also well be construed as a nominal future.

The example is taken from a syncretistic creation story told by Juana. Jesus is about to marry María Eva and God tells them:

(975)   *"eka pimaina i eka piyenuina"*

    eka   pi-ima-ina   i   eka   pi-yenu-ina
    DEMa 2SG-husband-IRR.NV and DEMa 2SG-wife-IRR.NV

    '"this one will be your husband and this one will be your wife"'
    or:'"this is your future husband and this is your future wife"'
                                              [jxx-n101013s-1.368-369]

Irrealis marking is applicable to distinguish most cases of verbal and non-verbal predication, however, some words do not inflect for irrealis, e.g. the demonstrative adverbs.

The second criterion to distinguish both kinds of predicates is the position of the subject indexes. It has been shown in 6.4 (and also in 7.1.1 and 7.1.3) that verbs index subjects by person prefixes and objects by person suffixes. Non-verbal predicates,

however, index subjects by suffixes, while the prefix position is retained to possessors. The suffixes are identical to the ones used on verbs.[10]

The subject indexes on non-verbal predicates are summarised in Table 7.2. Compare to Table 6.19 in 6.4, which summarises the person indexes used with verbs.

Table 7.2: Subject indexes on non-verbal predicates

Person	Index
1SG	*-ne / -nÿ*
2SG	*-bi / -pi*
3SG	/
1PL	*-bi*
2PL	*-e*
3PL	(*-nube*)
3DISTR	(*-jane*)

(976) is an example in which a person suffix indexes the subject on a nominal predicate. It comes from Isidro who was talking about getting old and grey with Miguel and contrasted this to my age.

(976)   *pimiyakuÿbi*

   pimiya-kuÿ-bi
   girl-INCMP-2SG

   'you are still young'

   [mdx-c120416ls.152]

Position of the subject index is not always applicable as an indicator for non-verbal predication. The use of third person suffixes on verbs is very restricted (see 6.4.2.2), and they do not occur on non-verbal predicates, so that there is no subject index for the third person.[11] In addition, indexing the subject is sometimes optional, e.g. in equative clauses, and some words generally do not take person markers, e.g. the demonstrative adverbs.

As concerns the copula *kaku*, it only relates to third-person referents. The same is true for the non-verbal locomotion predicate *kapunu* 'come'. The form of both of them includes a first syllable *ka* which, as I have argued in Section 4.1.3, could be the same deictic root that we find in the demonstratives *eka* 'DEMa' and *naka* 'here'. This would explain their restriction to the third person. However, as concerns the copula, there is also a suffix *-uku* used exclusively with personal pronouns (i.e. with first and second person reference) in non-verbal locative predication, see 7.2.4 below. This suffix might well be related to the final syllable *ku* of the copula *kaku*. As for expression of locomotion, however, a verbal strategy is used whenever there is an SAP subject.

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10. This type of split S-marking dependent on parts of speech has been described in detail for Baure in contrast with another Arawakan language in which the split depends on other factors (cf. Danielsen & Granadillo 2008).

11. A plural or distributive suffix can be used though if the subject is a third person plural, but it is not always possible to distinguish referential and predicative use, i.e. it is arguable whether *-nube* and *-jane* relate to subject marking or rather to number marking of a noun or nominal demonstrative. As concerns the locomotion predicate *kapunu* 'come' and borrowed verbs integrated as non-verbal predicates, these markers relate to subjects.

The remainder of this section is structured by semantic and construction type. Equative, proper inclusion and attributive clauses overlap to a large degree and are thus described together in 7.2.1. Predication of quantification is the topic of 7.2.2. Genitive and benefactive clauses are discussed in 7.2.3. All of these semantic types are construed by juxtaposition of predicate and subject. Predication of location can also be expressed by juxtaposition or with the help of a copula. Due to restriction of the copula to third person referents, there are different strategies for SAP. This is explained in detail in 7.2.4. The existential construction is described in 7.2.5, and possessive clauses, which can be considered to belong to the existential construction, in 7.2.6. 7.2.7 is about the similative construction and 7.2.8 describes the use of the non-verbal third person cislocative predicate. Finally, 7.2.9 shows how verbs from Spanish are integrated into Paunaka as non-verbal predicates.

7.2.1 Equative, proper inclusion and attributive

The two semantic types of equation and proper inclusion usually include nouns that serve as predicates, the difference among them being that equation expresses that the subject of the clause is an entity that is identical to the entity specified by the predicate, while proper inclusion encodes that the subject is member of a class which is specified by the predicate (Payne 1997:114). There are some languages, in which both types are encoded differently, but the languages in South and Central America commonly use the same construction for both types (Overall et al. 2018:7). Since Paunaka does not obligatorily mark definiteness on NPs, some sentences are ambiguous as to the question whether they represent equation or proper inclusion, one example of this ambiguity is presented in (991) below.

The attributive type is bound to adjectives having the role of predicates. However, in Paunaka most property concepts are expressed by stative verbs. Only a few words can felicitously be defined as adjectives, in addition, some properties, especially age, are predicated by nouns (see 4.2.1). This is where proper inclusion and attributive predication semantically overlap. In addition, attributive clauses are cross-linguistically often also identical to proper inclusion and equative clauses in structure (Payne 1997:120), and this is also the case in Paunaka.

There are three possibilities how to encode all three types: first, the subject NP and the predicate are juxtaposed, second, the subject is indexed on the predicate, and third, subject NP and predicate are juxtaposed AND the subject is indexed on the predicate. Example (977), which stems from elicitation with Miguel, shows all of these possibilities.

(977) a. *piti nÿa*

        piti   *nÿ-a*
        2SG.PRN 1SG-father

        'you are my father'

   b. *nÿabi*

        nÿ-a-bi
        1SG-father-2SG

        'you are my father'

c. *piti nÿabi*

piti   nÿ-a-bi
2SG.PRN 1SG-father-2SG

'you are my father'

If speakers choose the juxtaposition construction, the predicate usually precedes the subject NP unless the subject is expressed by a pronoun. In the latter case, the pronoun precedes the predicate. This is also the preferred word order in Trinitario's non-verbal clauses (Rose 2018b:75), and it mirrors the one found in verbal clauses, where non-emphasised subjects usually follow the verb, but not if they are pronominal (see 7.1.4). A few examples with the order predicate – subject NP follow. (978) and (979) are equative clauses, (980) is an example of proper inclusion, and (981) and (982) have adjectival predicates and are thus attributive clauses.

(978) comes from Juana who interrupted her speech, when she recognised the wasp close to her.

(978)   *¡aij jane echÿu!*

aij   jane   echÿu
INTJ wasp DEMb

'aiy, this is a wasp!'

(979) is a similar example from Miguel who first thought the bed of the boy in the frog story was a church.

(979)   *chubiukena bia eka naka*

chÿ-ubiu-kena   bia eka   naka
3-house-UNCERT God DEMa here

'this one here might be a church'

In (980), Juana tells me that the water spirit whom their grandparents met on their journey back home from Moxos was a woman, a fact that becomes important a bit later in the story.

(980)   *i seunube echÿu ue*

i   seunube echÿu ue
and woman DEMb water.spirit

'and the water spirit was a woman'

(981) was produced by Juana as a confirmation of what I had said before. It is about the house of her daughter in Santa Cruz.

(981)   *ja temena ubiyae*

    ja   temena ubiyae
    AFM big   house

    'yes, the house is big'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-1.414]</div>

(982) was a statement by María C. about her favourite drink.

(982)   *michaniki aumue*

    michaniki aumue
    delicious   chicha

    'chicha tastes good'

<div align="right">[uxx-p110825l.257]</div>

If the information given in the sentence is about the name of somebody, we actually find both orders: predicate – subject NP like in (983) and subject NP – predicate like in (984). This may be related to the structure of the corresponding sentence in Spanish. Both examples come from Juana, the first one is about her father, the second about one of her daughters.

(983)   *Kwachu chija*

    Kwachu chi-ija
    Juan   3-name

    'his name was Juan'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120515l-1.125]</div>

(984)   *chija Gladys*

    chi-ija   Gladys
    3-name Gladys

    'her name is Gladys'

<div align="right">[jxx-p110923l-2.059]</div>

There are a few more examples from Juana in which the order of predicate and subject is reversed, all of them either include proper names or contrastive topics as in (985). Note, however, that irrealis marking is on the subject (*punachina*) in this case although it is related to the predicate (*jente*).

(985)   *mm rusxhunubechÿ chichechajimÿnÿnube, kana, punachina jente*

    mm rusxhu-nube-chÿ chi-checha-ji-mÿnÿ-nube kana   punachÿ-ina jente
    INTJ two-PL-3   3-son-COL-DIM-PL   this.size other-IRR.NV man

    'mhm, she has two children, [one is] of this size (showing with hands) and the other one will be a man (soon)'

<div align="right">[jxx-p110923l-1.241]</div>

The following examples show that a pronominal subject precedes the nonverbal predicate, which can also be a prepositional phrase like in (988).

(986) was elicited from Miguel.

(986)   *nÿti chÿenunube*

       nÿti   chÿ-enu-nube
       1SG.PRN 3-mother-PL

       'I am their mother'

<div align="right">[mxx-e090728s-3.081]</div>

(987) comes from María narrating the story of the fox and the jaguar. The fox makes the jaguar believe here that the reflection of the moon in the water was a wheel of cheese.

(987)   *"chibu echÿu kesu"*

       chibu   echÿu kesu
       3TOP.PRN DEMb cheese

       '"this is the cheese"'

<div align="right">[rxx-n120511l-1.037]</div>

(988) is a statement by Clara about her origin.

(988)   *nÿti tukiu nauku Santa Rita*

       nÿti   tukiu nauku Santa Rita
       1SG.PRN from there Santa Rita

       'I am from Santa Rita'

<div align="right">[cxx-e121130s.011]</div>

(989) and (990) are two additional examples in which juxtaposition is accompanied by subject marking on the predicate.
In (989), María C. talks about herself.

(989)   *nÿti juberÿpunÿmÿnÿ*

       nÿti   juberÿpu-nÿ-mÿnÿ
       1SG.PRN old.woman-1SG-DIM

       'poor me, I am an old woman'

<div align="right">[uxx-p110825l.038]</div>

(990) is a confirmation of a sentence I had produced. It comes from María S.

(990)   *biti paunakabi*

       biti   paunaka-bi
       1PL.PRN Paunaka-1PL

       'we are Paunakas'

<div align="right">[rmx-e150922l.103]</div>

There are also some examples in which the person suffix alone is used as subject expression. Since there is no third person suffix, this means that third person singular subjects can be completely unmarked in non-verbal predication as in (993).
(991) comes from Juana who told me about her duty in Altavista. Depending on the noun's definiteness, this sentence could be an example of proper inclusion (if it is

indefinite) or as equative (if it is definite). NPs are not obligatorily marked for definiteness, so that only context or general knowledge can be used to distinguish both. In this case, I do not know whether Juana was the only cook or one among several (I guess the latter was the case, but this is speculation).

(991)   *asta nÿti niyunu, kosinerunÿ*

    asta   nÿti   ni-yunu kosineru-nÿ
    until 1SG.PRN 1SG-go   cook-1SG

    'even I went, I was a/the cook'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120515l-2.085-086]</div>

(992) is another example with an adjective serving as predicate. It is the adjective with which one usually answers small-talk questions for one's health and condition, but in this case María S.' statement is not about herself but about me (in helping me formulating an adequate answer).

(992)   *michachaikubi*

    micha-chaiku-bi
    good-CONT-2SG

    'you are fine'

<div align="right">[rmx-e150922l.016]</div>

(993) comes from Juana who provides some additional information about a woman she was talking about.

(993)   *chikomarne Miyel*

    chi-komar-ne   Miyel
    3-fellow-POSSD Miguel

    'she is Miguel's fellow'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-2.342]</div>

Negation is rarely found among the semantic types described in this section, most of the examples I found in the corpus were elicited. If the subject is an SAP, the same negative particle we find in standard negation is used. Consider (994) and (995) which were elicited from Miguel and Juana respectively.

(994)   *piti kuina nÿenuina*

    piti   kuina nÿ-enu-ina
    2SG.PRN NEG   1SG-mother-IRR.NV

    'you are not my mother'

<div align="right">[rmx-e150922l.100]</div>

(995)   *kuina nÿenubina*

    kuina nÿ-enu-bi-ina
    NEG   1SG-mother-2SG-IRR.NV

    'you are not my mother'

<div align="right">[jxx-p150920l.052]</div>

If the subject is a third person, there is a different strategy: a negative third person pronoun is used, composed of the third person index *chÿ-* and the non-verbal irrealis marker *-ina*. It thus resembles both the topic pronoun *chibu* and the negative particle *kuina*. Two examples are given below.

(996) comes from elicitation with María S.

(996)   *chÿina nÿenuina*

        chÿina   *nÿ-enu-ina*
        3NEG.PRN 1SG-mother-IRR.NV

        'she is not my mother'

                                          [rmx-e150922l.099]

(997) stems from Miguel's description of the frog story. It refers to the picture on which the boy realises that what he was holding were not branches of a bush, but a deer's antler.

(997)   *chÿinatu kÿkejina*

        chÿina-tu   *yÿkÿke-ji-ina*
        3NEG.PRN-IAM stick-COL-IRR.NV

        'now it wasn't branches'

                                        [mox-a110920l-2.129]

I have also found a few examples in which *kuina* is used with third person referents in non-verbal predication. One of them is (998) from elicitation with Juana. She was asked to translate 'he is not my brother' but instead she gave the form for a sibling of the same sex, i.e. a sister in this case.

(998)   *kuina nipijina*

        kuina *ni-piji-ina*
        NEG   1SG-sibling-IRR.NV

        'she is not my sister'

                                          [jxx-p150920l.053]

7.2.2   Quantification

Predication of a quantity is achieved in the same way as equative, proper inclusion and attributive predication, the only difference being that the predicate is a numeral or quantifier in this case. However, since it seems to be a type rarely mentioned in the literature (cf. Rose 2018b:61), it deserves being treated in a bit more detail here.

As is the case with the other types described above, a subject NP can be juxtaposed to the numeral or quantifier or a person marker can index the subject.

(999) was elicited from Juana.

(999)   *musumenubetu chimajinubetu*

        musume-nube-tu *chi-ima-ji-nube-tu*
        many-PL-IAM   3-husband-COL-PL-IAM

        'she has had many husbands (lit.: her husbands are many already)'
                                        [jmx-e090727s.076]

(1000) also comes from Juana who speaks about the duration of her grandson's studies at university.

(1000)   *ruschӱtu anyo*

       ruschӱ-tu   anyo
       two-IAM   year

       'it is two years now (that he is in university)'

                               [jxx-p110923l-1.185]

(1001) is a statement by Miguel after we came back from visiting José. Miguel was bitten by many ticks, I had only a few.

(1001)   *parikiyu samuchujane*

       pariki-yu   samuchu-jane
       many-INTS   tick.sp-PL.NH

       'there are a lot of ticks'

                               [mrx-c120509l.148]

(1002) is an example, in which the subject is indexed on the numeral. It is a statement by Juana about the number of the Supepí sisters, not counting in the ones who already passed aways.

(1002)   *i nӱti, Maria, Krara, tresxhecheikubimӱnӱ tanӱma*

       i   nӱti   Maria Krara tresxhe-cheiku-bi-mӱnӱ tanӱma
       and 1SG.PRN María Clara three-CONT-1PL-DIM   now

       'and me, María, Clara, we are only three now'

                                [jxx-p120430l-2.352-353]

One peculiarity of numerals acting as predicates is that after a plural marker, they can take a third person suffix. This suffix is usually part of the numeral, but it undergoes lenition if the plural marker or some other morphology (as in (1002)) is added. A third person suffix is then attached. Consider (1003) in which María S. first uses the numeral in juxtaposition to a nominal demonstrative and then again, in repetition of the predication on with plural and third person marker attached to it. By doing so, she corrected her own priorly uttered statement that I had three children.

(1003)   *ruschӱkena ekanube rusxhunubechӱ*

       ruschӱ-kena   eka-nube rusxhu-nube-chӱ
       two-UNCERT DEMa-PL two-PL-3

       'they are probably two, they are two'

                                 [rmx-e150922l.078]

(1004) is from Juana and has a similar context as (1002) above, only that this time she construes the predication to be about third person subjects and she counts the men in (sadly to say, one of them has passed away since then).

414

(1004)   *trexenubechÿ seunubenube i ruxhnubechÿ jentenube*

       trexe-nube-chÿ seunube-nube i   ruxh-nube-chÿ jente-nube
       three-PL-3   woman-PL   and two-PL-3   men-PL

       'the women are three and the men are two'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120515l-2.239]</div>

Finally, (1005) shows a quantification clause with the numeral *chÿnachÿ* 'one' to which the limitative marker *-jiku* is attached. It is a question by María C. about the number of my children, when I first came to Santa Rita in 2011.

(1005)   *¿chÿnajiku pichecha?, kuina punachÿina*

       chÿna-jiku pi-checha kuina punachÿ-ina
       one-LIM1 2SG-son NEG   other-IRR.NV

       'you have only one child?, there is no other'

<div align="right">[uxx-p110825l.242-244]</div>

7.2.3   Genitive and benefactive predication

Two further minor types in non-verbal predication have been called genitive and benefactive by Dryer (2007:248).

    Genitive predication is different from possessive predication in that the existence of an item is presupposed and the information conveyed is its relation to a possessor, while in possessive clauses, the possessor is presupposed and the predication is about relating an item to her. Structurally, genitive predication is a subtype of equation or proper inclusion. It only differs from them in that its focus is the possessive relation rather than identification of any kind.

    There are a few examples in the corpus which build on the general relational noun *-yae* as a predicate, which may be extended by a possessor NP if it has a third person possessor. A subject NP can be juxtaposed, but is omitted most of the times since the subject is usually topical. The subject is never indexed on the predicate, because it has always an inanimate third person referent. All of these examples clearly focus on possessive relations rather than on identification.

    (1006) was elicited from Clara.

(1006)   *niyae echÿu lote*

       ni-yae   echÿu lote
       1SG-GRN DEMb plot

       'the plot is mine'

<div align="right">[cux-c120414ls-1.104]</div>

    (1007) comes from Juana who talked about the different names a specific manor has had during the decades. Retiro was the place where Juan Ch., the consultant of Riester, used to live.

(1007)   *aa Retiro estansiane chiyaebane mm Aurerio Castedo*

     aa   *Retiro* *estansia-ne*   *chi-yae-bane* *mm* *Aurerio Castedo*
     INTJ Retiro manor-POSSD? 3-GRN-REM INTJ Aurelio Castedo

     'ah as for the manor Retiro, it was mm Aurelio Castedo's'

                               [jxx-p120430l-2.019]

(1008) was elicited from Juana.

(1008)   *kuina niyaena, chiyae nima*

     kuina *ni-yae-ina*   *chi-yae* *ni-ima*
     NEG   1SG-GRN-IRR 3-GRN 1SG-husband

     'it is not mine (the sombrero), it is my husband's'

                                 [jxx-e081025s-1.123]

(1009) comes from Miguel and refers to something that was mine, I cannot say what it was in retrospect, because there is no video-recording.

(1009)   *eka piyae*

     eka   *pi-yae*
     DEMa 2SG-GRN

     'this is yours'

                                 [mrx-c120509l.030]

Benefactive predicates are built on the oblique preposition *tÿpi*. Just like genitive predication, it can be considered a subtype of the equative or proper inclusion type. Unlike in equative or proper inclusion, the subject usually precedes the predicate, which may be due to influence of Spanish word order (but see (1013) where the subject follows due to emphasis on en exclusive benefactive relation).

(1010) and (1011) were both produced by Juana in elicitation.

(1010)   *eka pitÿpi*

     eka   *pi-tÿpi*
     DEMa 2SG-OBL

     'this is for you'

                                 [jmx-e090727s.067]

(1011)   *eka punachÿ tÿpi piati*

     eka   *punachÿ* *tÿpi* *pi-ati*
     DEMa other   OBL 2SG-brother

     'the other one is for your brother'

                                   [jmx-e090727s.063]

An example with a negated benefactive predicate is (1012), which comes from Juana telling the story about the origin of some plants. This story mixes with the biblical creation story, so it is actually Jesus who speaks here, telling a monkey that the corn is not meant for it.

(1012) *"kuina pitÿpina"*

    kuina pi-tÿpi-ina
    NEG   2SG-OBL-IRR.NV

    '"it is not for you"'

<div align="right">[jxx-n101013s-1.872]</div>

The long example of (1013) comes from Miguel and has several benefactive predications in a row. He explains here why the pupils in Altavista had wooden plates to write on in the old days; because paper was reserved for the *karay*.

(1013) *kaku pero kuina, chitÿpijiku eka kayaraunube echÿu ajumerku kuadernu,*
    chitÿpijikunube, chitÿpi eka jentenube naka o komunidades kuina

    kaku pero kuina chi-tÿpi-jiku eka   kayarau-nube echÿu ajumerku kuadernu
    exist but NEG 3-OBL-LIM1 DEMa karay-PL   DEMb paper   notebook

    chi-tÿpi-jiku-nube chi-tÿpi eka   jente-nube naka o komunidades kuina
    3-OBL-LIM1-PL   3-OBL DEMa man-PL   here or communities NEG

    'there was, but no, the paper and notebooks were only for the *karay*, only for them, not for the people here or the communities'

<div align="right">[mxx-p181027l-1.027-029]</div>

Calling this type of non-verbal predication "benefactive" suggests that the beneficiary is human or at least animate, but we also find constructions of this type in which we have inanimate "beneficiaries". Again these examples resemble Spanish word order very much only that a copula is missing. Two examples follow.

(1014) comes from the listing of several plants by María C. to teach me some vocabulary. I could not find out which tree *kupaju* refers to.

(1014) *kupajumÿnÿ tÿpi bubiu*

    kupaju-mÿnÿ tÿpi bi-ubiu
    tree.sp-DIM   OBL 1PL-house

    'the *kupaju* wood is for our houses'

<div align="right">[uxx-p110825l.229]</div>

(1015) was produced by Juana, when she told me about a house that they considered renting.

(1015) *... pero mil bolivianos tÿpi entero ubiae*

    pero mil   bolivianos tÿpi entero ubiae
    but   1000 bolivianos OBL whole house

    '...but it is 1000 bolivianos for the whole house'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-1.365-369]</div>

7.2.4 Location

Paunaka has a verb to express location, *-ubu* 'be, live', but it is mainly used with stable locations like the place where somebody lives. In reference to temporary locations, speakers often prefer a non-verbal strategy.

If the subject of a locative predication is a third person, the copula *kaku* 'exist' can be used. Just like the gloss suggests, *kaku* is also found in existential predication. Indeed, there is semantic overlap between locative and existential predication. According to Creissels (2014a:9) both provide different perspectives on how to encode the relationship between a figure and a ground, with locative predication tracking the figure and existential predication tracking the ground.

In Paunaka, this distinction can be reflected in different word order of the two constructions. In locative predication the locative expression directly follows the copula. In case that there is a conominal subject, the latter can precede the copula as in (1016) or follow the locative phrase as in (1017). In existential predication, however, it is the subject that directly follows the copula, a locative expression can occur in these clauses but is not mandatory.

(1016) comes from Juana who was speaking about several people in her social network, and told me where they lived.[12]

(1016) *i nikumarne kaku nauku Conceyae*

       i   ni-kumare-ne   kaku nauku Conce-yae
       and 1SG-fellow-POSSD exist there Concepción-LOC

       'and my fellow is there in Concepción'

                                                     [jxx-p110923l-2.133]

(1017) comes from the story about the enchanted cowherd told by Miguel. The spirit of the hill had taken away the cows to his world in the hill. When the cowherd finds out, he informs his wife, and she replies:

(1017) *"kakutu chiyikikiyae echÿu bakajane kakunubetu nauku"*

       kaku-tu   chiyikiki-yae echÿu baka-jane   kaku-nube-tu nauku
       exist-IAM hill-LOC   DEMb cow-DISTR exist-PL-IAM there

       '"the cows are in the hill now, they are there now"'

                                                     [mxx-n151017l-1.64]

I deliberately stated above that the difference between locative and existential predication *can* be reflected in different word order, because this is not always the case. Due to information structure, the locative expression can also sometimes precede the predicate. This is the case in (1018), in which Juana connects to my statement that Federico was in Buenos Aires with the following:

(1018) *aa Buenos Aires, aa, nauku kaku nijinepÿi*

       aa   Buenos Aires aa   nauku kaku ni-jinepÿi
       INTJ Buenos Aires INTJ there exist 1SG-daughter

       'ah Buenos Aires, ah, my daughter is there'

                                            [jxx-p110923l-1.104-107]

In this case, it is only the context and general knowledge that helps to distinguish locative from existential and also possessive predication. With general knowledge I

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12. This would actually be a context, in which the verb *-ubu* 'be, live' could well be used. I do not know why Juana preferred the copula here, but I suspect it has to do with the copula being much more frequent than the verb, thus gradually being extended to contexts of permanent location, too.

refer to the fact that Juana most probably presupposed that I know she has a daughter, so that an existential or possessive reading is excluded. For the sake of simplicity and because it is often not totally clear what exactly a speaker had in mind when producing a sentence, I will not consider more examples like (1018) here.

In locative predication, it is common that the subject is topical and thus not conominated, like in the following examples.

(1019) comes from Juana and is about my cell phone. The first person possessor on the noun is related to the fact that this sentence was produced to correct my pronunciation.

(1019) *kaku nipusaneyae*

       kaku ni-pusane-yae
       exist 1SG-bag-LOC

       'it is in my bag'

<div align="right">[jxx-p110923l-2.040]</div>

(1020) was produced by María S. and is about Juana. The reason for her being in Santa Cruz was given before: she cares for her grandchildren and cooks.

(1020) *nechikue kaku nauku Santa Cruz*

       nechikue kaku nauku Santa Cruz
       therefore exist there Santa Cruz

       'that's why she is there in Santa Cruz'

<div align="right">[rxx-e120511l.120]</div>

(1021) comes from an elicitation session with wooden toy figures. It is Miguel's answer to Alejo's question, where the wooden toy was.

(1021) *hm, kaku naka mÿbanejiku eka ubiae*

       hm kaku naka mÿbane-jiku eka ubiae
       INTJ exist here close-LIM1 DEMa house

       'hm, it is here, close to the house'

<div align="right">[mtx-e110915ls.47]</div>

So far, all examples were about the location of a third person referent. SAP referents cannot combine with the copula *kaku*.[13] There are two alternative ways to predicate location of a first or second person: first, the locative suffix *-uku* can be attached to a personal pronoun. This suffix is exclusively found with personal pronouns. Second, the personal pronoun and the locative expression can be juxtaposed without any further marking of the relation between them. In any case, the personal pronoun comes first and the locative expression follows.

(1022) to (1024) illustrate the use of the locative suffix, and (1025) and (1026) the juxtaposition strategy.

(1022) comes from the creation story as told by Juana. God has just asked Jesus where he was, thus the latter answers:

_____

13. A probable explanation for this incompatibility is provided in 7.2.8 below. Note that there is one counter-example in the corpus, which comes from Juana.

(1022) *"nÿtiuku naka"*

    nÿti-uku   *naka*
    1SG.PRN-PRN.LOC here

    '"I am here"'

<div align="right">[jxx-n101013s-1.467]</div>

(1023) comes from the recordings by Riester and is about Juan Ch. and his sister being the only ones of their family in Retiro.

(1023) *rusxujikubinube bitiuku nakaja*

    rusxu-jiku-bi-nube biti-uku   *naka-ja*
    two-LIM1-1PL-PL 1PL.PRN-PRN.LOC here-EMPH1

    'only the two of us are here'

<div align="right">[nxx-p630101g-1.165]</div>

(1024) was elicited from Juana. Note, however, that María S. does not accept the combination of the locative-marked pronoun with the adverb *nauku*. According to her, it can only combine with the proximate *naka* 'here'.

(1024) *pitiuku nauku*

    piti-uku   *nauku*
    2SG.PRN-PRN.LOC there

    'you were there'

<div align="right">[jxx-p150920l.108]</div>

(1025) comes from Isidro talking with Swintha. He contrasts his state of being at the place of conversation (here) in the first clause with his wife being alone on their field, which is expressed in the second clause with a verbal predicate.

(1025) *nÿti naka, tipÿisisikubu nauku*

    nÿti   *naka ti-pÿisisikubu nauku*
    1SG.PRN here 3i-be.alone   there

    'I am here, she is alone there'

<div align="right">[dxx-d120416s.167]</div>

(1026) was produced by Juana, re-narrating what happened when we wanted to meet, but she came late. When she just left home, I had already arrived at the zoo, so I had to wait for her for quite some time there.

(1026) *i piti nauku zoolojikayae*

    i   *piti*   *nauku zoolojika-yae*
    and 2SG.PRN there zoo-LOC

    'and you were there at the zoo'

<div align="right">[jxx-p110923l-2.044]</div>

Negation is achieved by the same negative particle *kuina* that we also find in verbal clauses (see Section 7.1.5). In negated clauses, the copula takes the non-verbal irrealis

marker like in (1027) or is omitted like in (1028), with the latter being less common. All examples of negated locative predication I found in the corpus have third person referents.

(1027) comes from Juana reporting what Miguel's daughter had said when she asked her about her father.

(1027) *"kuina kakuina, tiyunu Santa Kuru"*

> *kuina kaku-ina   ti-yunu Santa Kuru*
> NEG   exist-IRR.NV 3i-go   Santa Cruz

'"he is not here, he went to Santa Cruz"'

[jxx-e150925l-1.126]

(1028) was produced by Miguel in telling the frog story and it refers to the frog, which has left its glass.

(1028) *kuinabutu naka*

> *kuina-bu-tu   naka*
> NEG-DSC-IAM here

'it is not here anymore'

[mox-a110920l-2.039]

(1029) comes from Miguel. It is a description of the first picture of the frog story. He uses a locative clause first to introduce the boy into the discourse: the adverb *naka* 'here' directly follows the copula. Then he uses two existential clauses to introduce two additional referents, the dog and the glass. In these latter cases, the subjects follow the copula and the adverbs come last in the clause. Existential predication is the topic of the next section.

(1029) *kaku naka eka sepitÿmÿnÿ, kaku kabemÿnÿ naka, kakuku eka tachumÿnÿkena eka naka*

> *kaku naka eka   sepitÿ-mÿnÿ kaku kabe-mÿnÿ naka kaku-uku eka*
> exist here DEMa child-DIM   exist dog-DIM   here exist-ADD DEMa
> > *tachu-mÿnÿ-kena   eka   naka*
> > small.pot-DIM-UNCERT DEMa here

'the boy is here, here is a little dog and here is what I suppose is a small pot'
[mox-a110920l-2.006-007]

7.2.5 Existentials

Existential and locative clauses overlap in that both often express a spatial relation between a figure and a ground. Both prototypically encode "*episodic* spatial relationships between a *concrete* entity conceived as *movable* (the figure) and another concrete entity (the ground) conceived as occupying a fixed position in the space, or at least as being *less easily movable* than the figure" (Creissels 2014a:10). Existential clauses, however, provide a different perspective on the locative relation as locative clauses do, i.e. a perspective from the ground, not the figure (Creissels 2014a:9, 18). This is why they

do not serve as "adequate answers to questions about the location of an entity, but can be used to identify an entity present at a certain location" (Creissels 2014a:2).

(1030) and (1031) are examples for prototypical existential clauses resembling the ones presented by Creissels (2014a): they have an indefinite referent, which is the moveable figure on a relatively fixed ground. Both examples were elicited, (1030) comes from María S., (1031) from Juana.

(1030) *kaku jike nikusepineyae*

        kaku jike ni-kusepi-ne-yae
        exist fly   1SG-thread-POSSD-LOC

        'there is a fly on my thread'

                                                    [rxx-e181024l.092]

(1031) *kaku ÿne chÿupekÿyae keyu*

        kaku ÿne   chÿ-upekÿ-yae   keyu
        exist water 3-place.under-LOC snail

        'there is water under the snail'

                                                [jcx-e090727s.035]

Thus an existential construction exists in Paunaka, and it can in many cases be distinguished from locative predication by placement of the subject directly following the copula.[14] This, however, is not the only ambit of this construction type, and probably even not its main one. Consider (1032), which shows that the existential construction is not restricted to indefinite referents in Paunaka.[15] It was produced by María C. when it was about to rain. The hammock is mentioned here for the first time, this is probably the reason why María C. chose an existential construction rather than a locative one with the spatial expression following the copula directly.

(1032) *kaku niyumaji nekupai*

        kaku ni-yumaji   nekupai
        exist 1SG-hammock outside

        'my hammock is outside (i.e. there is my hammock outside)'

                                                [cux-120410ls.258]

A second example with a definite subject is (1033) from Juana. The cows she is speaking about were already well established in the story, which was about her grandparents buying cows in Moxos. However, they had not been mentioned for some time. The existential construction is thus used here to re-establish the cows as a topic. The location mentioned in this sentence is an enclosure by a hut where Juana's grandparents slept on their way home, so it can be considered a temporary, episodic location rather than a permanent one.

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14. Note, however, that manipulation of word order does not count as "a dedicated existential construction" but is rather analysed as an equivalent by Creissels (2014a:19).

15. Note that although indefiniteness is often explicitly or implicitly involved in the definition of an existential construction, Creissels (2014a:4) has shown that in some languages existential constructions are not restricted to indefinite subjects.

(1033) *i kaku baka bakayayae*

　　i　　kaku　baka　bakaya-yae
　　and　exist　cow　enclosure-LOC

　　'and the cows were in the enclosure (i.e. there were the cows in the enclosure)'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[jxx-p151016l-2.185]

The Paunaka existential construction also relates to two types that Creissels (2014b) explicitly distinguishes from existential predication, although he recognises that they are related and in some languages encoded by the same construction.

First, the Paunaka construction serves a presentative function, i.e. the introduction of participants into the discourse (cf. Creissels 2014a:15). Actually, the presentative and the "prototypical" existential construction both introduce an indefinite referent into the discourse and thus only differ in presence or absence of a locative expression in the clause. It is because of this presentative type that existential predication partly overlaps with possessive predication in Paunaka (see 7.2.6).

Second, the existential construction in Paunaka also encodes "habitual presence of an entity at some place" Creissels (2014a:14). The actual place does not have to be overtly expressed in this case if it is identifiable from the context or identical to the deictic centre. This is to say that if I speak of existential predication (or an existential clause or construction) in this work, this includes also presentatives as well as expressions of habitual presence. My usage of the term is thus more conform with the broader definition of existential predication given by Payne (1997:123-125) or Dryer (2007:240-244).

A last word about the notion of "subject" is necessary. I agree with Overall et al. (2018:9) who state that "[t]he indefinite participant introduced in the existential construction often lacks some of the grammatical properties of a prototypical subject, but even so, there is usually no other argument available as a candidate to be the subject."

With this general background in mind, I turn to a few more examples of existential predication in Paunaka now.

With (1034), Juana introduced the arroyo close to Santa Rita into the discourse as a place where the young people go swimming. This is another example of a definite subject being introduced by an existential clause.

(1034) *nauku Santa Ritayae kaku echÿu chÿkÿ*

　　nauku　Santa Rita-yae　kaku　echÿu　chÿkÿ
　　there　Santa Rita-LOC　exist　DEMb　arroyo

　　'there in Santa Rita, there is this arroyo'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[jxx-a120516l-a.571]

(1035) is a typical beginning of a story by Miguel. A participant is introduced into the discourse here. There is no locative expression, but the whole story is posited in the remote past by the remote marker *-bane* being attached to the copula.

(1035) *kakubaneji chÿnachÿ jente i tipÿkubai*

　　kaku-bane-ji　　　chÿnachÿ　jente　i　　ti-pÿkubai
　　exist-REM-RPRT　one　　　man　　and　3i-be.lazy

　　'once upon a time there was a man, it is said, and he was lazy'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[mox-n110920l.011]

The copula can also take the iamitive marker to contrast the state of existence of a referent with the time prior to this existence. This is the case in (1036) from Miguel. He was talking about the history of Santa Rita and his own personal history and had just abbreviated his more detailed account by simply telling me that several years turned by until:

(1036) *i kakutu echÿu nuebo presidente de Bolivia*

> *i   kaku-tu   echÿu nuebo presidente de Bolivia*
> and exist-IAM DEMb new president of Bolivia

'and then there was this new president of Bolivia'

<div align="right">[mxx-p110825l.035]</div>

(1037) comes from Juana and is an example of habitual presence. The subject of this clause is complex. It is an equative clause with two NPs in juxtaposition, which both mean 'pot'. The difference is that *nÿkÿiki* is a Paunaka word, and because of its native origin it is here associated with traditional (clay) pots. *Uyetaki* is a loan from Spanish *olleta* 'pot' with the classifier for round objects *-ki* attached to it. The Spanish loan is associated with modern pots made of aluminium.

(1037) *metu kakutu eka nÿkÿiki uyetaki*

> *metu   kaku-tu   eka   nÿkÿiki uyeta-ki*
> already exist-IAM DEMa pot   aluminium.pot-CLF:spherical

'now there are these modern pots (i.e. the pots that are aluminium pots)'
<div align="right">[jxx-d110923l-2.41]</div>

Another sentence representing habitual presence is (1038) from María S. Although a location is specified here, this sentence is not understood as encoding an episodic spatial relation, because the general context was that the Supepí siblings had left their old house after their father passed away, and it was only their mother who stayed in the old house, permanently.

(1038) *depue kakukuÿbane nÿenubane primero nubiu nauku*

> *depue   kaku-kuÿ-bane   nÿ-enu-bane   primero nÿ-ubiu   nauku*
> afterwards exist-INCM-REM 1SG-mother-REM first   1SG-house there

'afterwards there was still my late mother in my first house there long time ago'
<div align="right">[rxx-e120511l.172]</div>

I have found but one example in the corpus, in which an existential predication is about a non-third-person referent. It is given in (1039). Just like locative clauses, this sentence is realised without a copula. It comes from María S. telling me that it was only her family that lived in the specific place they used to live before most of the siblings moved to Santa Rita, to Concepción or elsewhere.

(1039) *kuina, bitiyÿchi nauku*

> *kuina biti-yÿchi   nauku*
> NEG   1PL.PRN-LIM2 there

'no, it was only us there'
<div align="right">[rxx-p181101l-2.130]</div>

Negative existential clauses require the negative particle *kuina*. They can be construed with or without a copula. The copula usually shows up if the subject is not conominated, like in (1040) or in negative answers. The non-verbal irrealis suffix is always attached to negated *kaku* in this case.

(1040) was elicited from Miguel and referred to the fact that Federico had bought some food for our picnic in Altavista.

(1040)   *kue kuina tiyÿseika, kuina kakuina naka*

   kue   kuina   ti-yÿseika   kuina   kaku-ina   naka
   if   NEG   3i-buy.IRR   NEG   exist-IRR.NV   here

   'if he hadn't bought it, there wouldn't be anything (to eat) here'
   [mxx-n120423lsf-X.45]

Otherwise use of the copula in negative clauses is rare, although it does occur sometimes like in (1041). This example was elicited from Miguel, but it seems to overemphasise the non-existence a bit.

(1041)   *kuina kakuina menonitanube*

   kuina   kaku-ina   menonita-nube
   NEG   exist-IRR.NV   Menonite-PL

   'there are no Menonites (in Beni)'
   [jmx-e090727s.357]

Usually, the negative existential clause can do without a copula like in examples (1042) and (1043).

(1042) comes from Juana who told me about the circumstances of the encounter of María S. and her husband with a snake (or water spirit) in the reservoir of Santa Rita.

(1042)   *tipÿsisikubunube kuina kristianunubeina*

   ti-pÿsisikubu-nube   kuina   kristianu-nube-ina
   3i-be.alone-PL   NEG   person-PL-IRR.NV

   'they were alone, there were no people'
   [jxx-p120515l-2.145]

(1043) is a summary of the climax of the story about the jaguar and the fox narrated by María S. The fox had made the jaguar believe that the reflection of the moon in the water was a wheel of cheese and the jaguar had drowned in trying to get hold of the suspected cheese.

(1043)   *kuina kesuina, kujejiku*

   kuina   kesu-ina   kuje-jiku
   NEG   cheese-IRR.NV   moon-LIM1

   'there wasn't any cheese, it was only the moon,'
   [rxx-n120511l-1.044]

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7.2.6 Possessive clauses

The non-verbal possessive clause is a type of existential clause (see 7.2.5 above). Just like in the latter, in positive possessive clauses, there is a copula directly followed by the subject, while in negative clauses, the copula can be omitted. The difference to existential clauses is that the subject is marked as possessed in some way. A locative expression is not demanded in possessive clauses, but as we have just seen, a locative expression does not necessarily occur in existential clauses either. The main reason to describe possessive clauses in its own section here is that unlike existence, possession can also be expressed by a verbal strategy which builds on a verb composed of the attributive prefix *ku-* and a noun or nominal root (see Section 6.1.3 for the verbal expression of possession).

Examples (1044) to (1046) show non-verbal possessive predication build on an inalienably possessed noun in positive clauses.

(1044) comes from the creation story as told by Juana. It is Jesus who had a field.

(1044) *kaku chisane*

   kaku chi-sane
   exist 3-field

   'he had a field' (lit.: there was his field)

   [jxx-n101013s-1.555]

(1045) was produced by Clara who was trying to remember the name of the fish that bites.

(1045) *kaku chija echÿu*

   kaku chi-ija   echÿu
   exist 3-name DEMb

   'it has a name'

   [cux-c120414ls-1.217]

With (1046), María C. made a judgement about the capacity of Clara's daughters to learn Paunaka.

(1046) *kaku pijinejinube pero kuina puero chitanube*

   kaku pi-jine-ji-nube   pero kuina puero chi-ita-nube
   exist 2SG-daughter-COL-PL but NEG can   3-master.IRR-PL

   'you have daughters, but they can't figure it out (to speak Paunaka)'
   [cux-c120414ls-2.265]

The inalienably possessed noun may also be derived by the possessed marker as in Example (1047). This is often the case with Spanish loans. The example comes from María S. telling the story about how the tortoise got its carapace. She did not want to leave her house to welcome new-born Jesus, because she had a shop in that house.

(1047)   *pimua, kaku chibentane*

   pi-imua   kaku chi-benta-ne
   2SG-see.IRR exist 3-shop-POSSD

   'you see, she had a shop'

(1048) is an example for a negative possessive clause without copula. It is a statement by María C. about being all alone, without any siblings.

(1048)   *kuina nÿatimÿnÿina nipijina*

   kuina nÿ-ati-mÿnÿ-ina   ni-piji-ina
   NEG   1SG-brother-DIM-IRR.NV 1SG-sibling-IRR.NV

   'I don't have a brother or sister'

The possessive clause can contain a locative expression as in (1049) and (1050). (1049) was elicited from Juana.

(1049)   *¿kaku pubiu nauku pisaneyae?*

   kaku pi-ubiu   nauku pi-sane-yae
   exist 2SG-house there   2SG-field-LOC

   'do you have a house at your field?'

(1050) also comes from Juana who was making a statement about her daughter here.

(1050)   *kaku ruschÿ chilotene nauku*

   kaku ruschÿ chi-lote-ne   nauku
   exist two   3-plot-POSSD there

   'she has two plots there'

Instead of marking the possession directly on the noun, the possessor can also be expressed by a person-marked preposition directly following the possessed entity. The causal and instrumental preposition *-keuchi* is used if the possessed is a concrete object, the general oblique preposition *-tÿpi* for possession of more abstract entities, usually some temporal units. In the latter case, it is arguable whether the clause can be analysed as a possessive clause at all or rather counts as existential, depending on the question whether temporal units can be considered as being possessed. This, however, is a philosophical rather than a linguistic question, because there is no difference in structure between existential and possessive clauses anyway.

Example (1051) is particularly interesting, because it contains a kind of secondary possession of an inalienably possessed noun. This noun, *chÿeche* 'meat', has a third person marker by default if used to denote meat as an edible good (*chÿ-eche* 3-flesh). The third person marker can be replaced by an SAP person marker in reference to the flesh of the body (e.g. *nÿ-eche* 'my flesh'). Since there is already a person marker

on the noun denoting 'meat', attachment of a second possessor prefix is blocked and another way of expressing the possessor is needed. In possessive predication, this is achieved by juxtaposing the preposition *-keuchi* which carries the person marker of the possessor. The example comes from Juan Ch. who was recorded by Riester and speaks about consequences of a successful hunting expedition.

(1051)   *tanÿmapaiku kaku chÿeche nikeuchi nubiuyae tÿpi chÿnachÿ semana*

tanÿma-paiku kaku   chÿeche ni-keuchi   nÿ-ubiu-yae   tÿpi chÿnachÿ semana
now-PUNCT   exist   meat   1SG-INS   1SG-house-LOC OBL   one   week

'right now I have meat for one week in my house'

[nxx-a630101g-1.56]

(1052) shows the same construction. In this case, it might also be possible to derive an inalienably possessed noun, I believe,[16] but the possessive relation between a shell and a possessor is not a permanent one, unlike the relation to family members, fields or walking canes. Thus a construction with *-keuchi* is preferred. The sentence comes from Miguel who was asking Juana about a special kind of shell which they use to polish pottery before burning.

(1052)   *¿pero kaku nauku sipÿ pikeuchi?*

pero kaku   nauku sipÿ   pi-keuchi
but   exist   there shell   2SG-INS

'but do you have shells (for polishing clay) there?'

[jmx-d110918ls-1.098]

(1053) is a negative possessive clause including *-keuchi*. It comes from María C. who said this to me regretfully, because I had told her that my little daughter wanted a plantain.[17]

(1053)   *kuinachu merÿna nikeuchi*

kuina-chÿu?   merÿ-ina   ni-keuchi
NEG-DEMb?   plantain-IRR.NV   1SG-INS

'I don't have plantains'

[uxx-p110825l.173]

Turning to the use of *-tÿpi* in possessive predication now, consider (1054). It was elicited from Isidro and is about the age of an invented person.

(1054)   *metu kakutu nobenta anyo chitÿpi*

metu   kaku-tu   nobenta anyo chi-tÿpi
already   exist-IAM   ninety   year 3-OBL

'she was already 90 years old'

[dxx-d120416s.203]

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16. Animals are in general not directly possessable with a few exceptions concerning parasites. In the case of shells, however, I can imagine that a possessed form could be derived at least if reference is not to the mussel as an animal but to its shell as is the case in (1052). This remains to be verified.

17. Actually I had intended to tell María C. that my daugther *liked* the plantains, when she was crawling around pointing to things and uttering one-word clauses. Apparently, she found some plantains particularly interesting.

(1055) is from the recordings made by Riester with Juan Ch.

(1055) *tanÿma uchuini kaku tiempo nitÿpi*

    tanÿma uchuine? kaku tiempo   ni-tÿpi
    now   just.now? exist time-IRR.NV 1SG-OBL

    'now I have time'

<div align="right">[nxx-p630101g-1.012]</div>

(1056) is a negated version of (1055) and comes from María S. who provides the reason why she has not finished knotting a hammock.

(1056) *kuina tiempoina nÿtÿpi*

    kuina tiempo-ina   nÿ-tÿpi
    NEG   time-IRR.NV 1SG-OBL

    'I didn't have time'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181022le]</div>

Another negative possessive clause including *-tÿpi* comes from Juan C. who was talking about the past with Miguel and stated here that he had a very hard life.

(1057) *tijainube tijainube kuina ruminkuina nitÿpi*

    tijai-nube tijai-nube kuina ruminku-ina   ni-tÿpi
    day-PL   day-PL   NEG   Sunday-IRR.NV 1SG-OBL

    'every single day (I worked), there was no Sunday for me'

<div align="right">[mqx-p110826l.467]</div>

There are also some cases of formally existential clauses, i.e. clauses that do not include any marking of possession, but imply a possessive relation nonetheless. One example is given in (1058), where existence of rice implies possession of rice. It comes from Miguel.

(1058) *kue kaku arusu banau pan de arroz*

    kue kaku arusu bi-anau   pan de arroz
    if   exist rice   1PL-make rice bread

    'when there is rice, we make rice bread'

<div align="right">[mxx-d120411ls-1a.042]</div>

7.2.7   Similative and related construction

The similative construction is relatively simple in Paunaka. It includes a comparee, a standard marker and a standard (Haspelmath & Buchholz 1998), that is, there are clauses of the type 'X is like Y' in Paunaka, in which *X* is the comparee, *like* the standard marker and *Y* the standard, but specific parameters of comparison are not included. Thus sentences equivalent to 'She is as old as me', which I will call "equality sentences", do not exist.[18] Such concepts are rather expressed by more than one clause, which do

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18. Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998:277) use the term "equative construction", but this term is already applied to a different construction here (see 7.2.1 above).

not convey exactly the same meaning.[19] There are a few cases that resemble sentences like 'She jumps like a frog'. This is the kind of sentence that has been described under the realm of "similative construction" by Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998:277), I thus apply the term a bit differently here. I believe though that such concepts are also often expressed by two clauses. Spanish influence may play a role here in that originally biclausal structures are re-interpreted as monoclausal, because *nena* is used as a translational equivalent of *como* 'like', *parece* 'it seems, resembles' and *igual que* 'equal to'.[20]

Depending on topicality, it is possible that the comparee or the standard are not overtly expressed in the similative clause, but if there is a standard NP, it follows the standard marker directly. The standard marker is *nena* 'like, resemble, be like'. I think it is generally not possible to index a subject directly, but there are a few counter-examples. It is common though that the additive marker is added to *nena*, and in this case, a subject index can follow the additive marker (see below in this section).

(1059) is an example in which both comparee and standard are expressed by NPs. It comes from María C. who uses a Bésɨro word to refer to a specific tree with dark, blood-like resin.

(1059) *echÿu tokoxhirx nena iti*

      echÿu tokoxhirx nena iti
      DEMb   tree.sp   like   blood

      'the (resin of the) *tokoxhirxh* tree is like blood'

<div align="right">[ump-p110815sf.366]</div>

The comparee can also follow the standard as in (1060), which is from the data collected by Riester in the 1960s. Juan Ch. compares the *pututu* soup with chicha here, i.e. the soup is not well garnished.

(1060) *nenayu aumue bijiemÿnÿjini*

      nena-yu   aumue abijie-mÿnÿ-ji-ini
      like-INTS chicha pututu-DIM-RPRT-FRUST

      'the so-called *pututu* soup is (thin) like chicha'

<div align="right">[nxx-p630101g-2.58]</div>

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19. This is also in line with what Rose (2019d) found for Trinitario.

20. Just because the question probably arises at this point how comparative constructions look like in Paunaka, and since there is no other place in the grammar, where they would be described, I give a very short summary here: Comparative constructions include the adverb *max* 'more, most', a loan from Spanish *más* which has the same meaning. The adverb is placed before the word expressing a property or quality. This may be an adjective, a noun or a stative verb. Comparative constructions never include a standard, i.e. the item that is surpassed. This is rather deduced from the context. (i) is an example with an adjective and thus also a case of non-verbal predication. It comes from Juana who was conversing with María S.

(i) *amukeyu max michaniki*

    amukeyu max   michaniki
    soft.corn more delicious

    'soft corn is more delicious'

<div align="right">[jrx-c151001lsf-11.184]</div>

(1061) comes from Juana and is a description of the spirit of the water, with whom her grandparents had an unpleasant encounter on their way back home from Moxos, where they had bought cows.

(1061) *kananaji chikebÿke, nenayuji kuje chibÿke*

    kanana-ji   chi-kebÿke nena-yu-ji   kuje   chi-bÿke
    this.size-RPRT 3-eye   like-INTS-RPRT moon 3-face

    'she had big eyes, her face was like the moon, it is said'

                                                [jxx-p151016l-2.091]

In (1062), there are two juxtaposed clauses. The comparee is expressed in the first clause, a possessive one. The similative clause follows, the comparee is not repeated. The fact that the parameter is the age has to be deduced from the context. The sentence comes from Juana who was talking about her relatives.

(1062) *i kaku echÿu chichechapÿi nena eka nisinepÿi*

    i   kaku echÿu chi-chechapÿi nena eka   ni-sinepÿi
    and exist DEMb 3-son   like DEMa 1SG-grandchild

    'and she had a son, who was like my grandson (in age)'

                                                [jxx-p120430l-2.163]

In (1063), the comparee is incorporated into the verb that precedes the similative clause. The sentence comes from Juana who reported what the old lady she met in Candelaria long ago said when some chicha dripped on her face.

(1063) *"nijirebÿketu nenayu chÿbÿke iyu"*

    ni-jire-bÿke-tu   nena-yu chÿ-bÿke iyu
    1SG-wrinkle-face-IAM like-INTS 3-face   monkey

    '"my face wrinkled, it looks like the face of a monkey"'

                                                [jxx-p120515l-1.075]

On the other hand, in (1064), it is the standard which is not expressed. The sentence comes from a conversation between María S. and Juana. They were just talking about keeping ducks and Juana had mentioned that ducks are dirty, because they just squat and defecate everywhere and their excrements are liquid like diarrhea. María S. adds to this:

(1064) *kuina nenaina echÿu gansojane tirÿrÿ chisikuji*

    kuina nena-ina   echÿu ganso-jane   ti-rÿrÿ   chi-sikuji
    NEG   like-IRR.NV DEMb goose-DISTR 3i-be.hard 3-excrement

    'the geese are not like them, their poo is hard'

                                            [jrx-c151001lsf-11.040]

Examples (1063) and (1064) come close to what was originally defined as the similative construction (cf. Haspelmath & Buchholz 1998:277). I have found one example, however, which comes even closer. It was produced by María S. when I was eliciting examples with the associated motion marker. Apparently, she found the idea of simultaneously moving and eating quite funny, saying:

(1065) *ninikukukӱu nena mura*

　　　　ni-niku-kukӱu　　　　*nena mura*
　　　　1SG-eat-AM.CONC.TR like   horse

　　　　'I walk eating like a horse'

<div align="right">[rmx-e150922l.066]</div>

It is not clear to me whether (1065) is still a biclausal sentence or can be considered a monoclausal one. What becomes apparent in any case is that there is no subject marker on *nena*, although the comparee is a first person. Consider also (1066), which comes from Miguel who addressed Juana. The latter had just loaded a big bag full of loam onto her head.

(1066) *nenayu mutuӱ*

　　　　nena-yu　　*mutuӱ*
　　　　like-INTS termite

　　　　'you look like a termite'

<div align="right">[jmx-d110918ls-1.112]</div>

There are, however, also a few examples in the corpus with a subject marker added to the standard marker. One of them is (1067), which comes from Miguel, when he was telling the story about the ants that are happy, when a boy is born, because when he is on a trip, he drops little crumbs of food that they can eat. The boy's being on a trip is compared to our situation, because we were currently on a trip to Altavista. Note that the verb *-chubiku* 'stroll' is mostly used to denote hunting trips, which is probably why Miguel felt the need to specify what he wanted to say by use of a Spanish loan *pasea* 'stroll'.

(1067) *tiyuna tichubikupa tiyuna paseana nenabi biti tanӱmapaiku*

　　　　ti-yuna　　*ti-chubiku-pa*　　　*ti-yuna*　　*pasea-ina*　　*nena-bi*　*biti*
　　　　3i-go.IRR 3i-stroll-DLOC.IRR 3i-go.IRR stroll-IRR.NV like-1PL 1PL.PRN
　　　　　tanӱma-paiku
　　　　　now-PUNCT

　　　　'he will go on a hunting trip, he will go on a jaunt like we are doing right now'

<div align="right">[mxx-n120423lsf-X.14-15]</div>

It is common to add the additive marker *-uku* to the standard marker and then attach a person marker. In (1068), Miguel uses the standard marker in this way to make a comparative statement to what Juan C. had said before. Both of them suffered lack of water in former times.

(1068) *nenaukubi nauku Santa Rita kuina ӱneina*

　　　　nena-uku-bi　　*nauku*　*Santa Rita*　*kuina*　*ӱne-ina*
　　　　like-ADD-1PL　 there　 Santa Rita　 NEG　 water-IRR.NV

　　　　'we didn't have water either in Santa Rita' (lit.: like us, too, there in Santa Rita was no water)

<div align="right">[mqx-p110826l.103]</div>

In (1069), Juana compares her own state of being full to mine. I had just said before that I was ready with eating.

(1069) *nenaukunÿ metu*

        nena-uku-nÿ   *metu*
        like-ADD-1SG already

        'me, too, I am finished'

                                                          [jxx-p120515l-2.262]

One last example with *nenauku* follows, including the complete statement. This is the closest possible equivalent to equality sentences in other languages. Juana speaks about how much her foster child and her daughter love her.

(1070) *tesabichunÿ micha nimijÿna,* (pause) *nijinepÿi Gladys nenauku, tisumachune micha*

        ti-esabichu-nÿ   *micha* *ni-mijÿna*   *ni-jinepÿi*   *Gladys* *nena-uku*
        3i-estimate-1SG good 1SG-foster.child 1SG-daughter Gladys like-ADD
          ti-sumachu-ne *micha*
          3i-want-1SG good

        'my foster child estimates me a lot, (pause) my daughter Gladys, too, she likes me a lot'

                                              [jxx-p110923l-1.212-214]

7.2.8 Locomotion of third person

Cislocative locomotion of third person participants is usually expressed with a non-verbal strategy in Paunaka. There is also a verb *-bÿsÿu* 'come', but it is hardly ever used with a third person subject.

Non-verbal predication includes stativity, so it may sound strange that the volitional action of motion is expressed non-verbally. There is, however, a connection between locomotion and stativity and this is expressed in some way in several languages of very different language families around the world (Payne 2008). The similarity derives from locomotion predicates encoding a change of place, situation or scene which is in analogy to the change of state encoded by other stative predicates (Payne 2008:249). Payne (1997:57, 113) further states that locomotion may even be expressed non-verbally in some languages.

This does still not explain why non-verbal expression of locomotion is restricted to cislocative motion of third person participants in Paunaka. A look at closely related Trinitario sheds some light on this issue. Trinitario has a non-verbal predication type called "motion-presentationals" by Rose (2018a:68). This construction is used to introduce new participants into the discourse, just like the existential construction does, but with an additional notion of movement onto the scene. That is, while the existential construction can be often translated by 'there/here is ...', the motion-presentational construction expresses meanings like 'there/here comes ...'. Both constructions are based on a personal or demonstrative pronoun in Trinitario to which a suffix (existential or motion copula) is added.

As I have argued in 4.1.3 and in 7.2 above, the first syllable *ka* of *kapunu* is most probably a deictic root with third person reference. The rest is the associated motion

suffix *-punu* that encodes prior motion to and away from the deictic centre on non-motion verbs, but has exclusively cislocative semantics if combined with motion verbs (see Section 6.6.2). Unlike in Trinitario, this marker never combines with personal pronouns, and this is the reason why there is no non-verbal motion expression in Paunaka.

I would suggest that just like in the Trinitario case, a construction with *kapunu* was once used to introduce new participants into the discourse only, but at some point, use of the predicate became independent from the presentational function. It thus developed into the default cislocative motion predicate for third person referents, that is nowadays it can for example occur in questions, it can be negated etc.

Consider (1071). The subject is not conominated here and it is not the place of arrival but of precedence that is of importance here. This shows that this is not a presentational construction anymore. The sentence was elicited from Juana.

(1071) *kapununube tukiu tÿbane*

      kapunu-nube tukiu ti-ÿbane
      come-PL   from 3i-be.far

      'they came from far away'

<div align="right">[jmx-e090727s.320]</div>

In (1072), *kapunu* is part of the antecedent clause of a conditional sentence. Thus no presentation is implied here. The sentence also comes from Juana, who was talking about a possible visit of her daughter to hers.

(1072) *kue kapunuina parauna kuatruchÿ kuje*

      kue kapunu-ina   parau-ina   kuatruchÿ kuje
      if   come-IRR.NV stop-IRR.NV four   month

      'if she comes, she stays four months'

<div align="right">[jxx-p110923l-1.425]</div>

Nonetheless, there are also cases in which a presentational function is notable as in (1073), a statement by Clara about the weather.

(1073) *mm, kapunu ÿku*

      mm kapunu ÿku
      mh   come   rain

      'mh, rain is coming'

<div align="right">[cux-120410ls.257]</div>

Some more examples follow. (1074) comes from Miguel's account about the history of Santa Rita.

(1074) *i depueskuku, kuina naejumibu chijakena anyokena, kapunu padre Xeinaldo*

      i   depues-uku?   kuina nÿ-a-ejumi-bu   chija-kena
      and afterwards-ADD? NEG   1SG-IRR-remember-DSC what-UNCERT
        anyo-kena   kapunu padre Xeinaldo
        year-UNCERT come   Father Reinaldo

      'and also afterwards, I don't remember anymore in which year, Father Reinaldo came'

<div align="right">[mxx-p110825l.150-151]</div>

(1075) also comes from Miguel, who was conversing with Juana.

(1075) *rumingo kapunu unekoyae echÿu don Mario*

     rumingo kapunu uneku-yae echÿu don Mario
     Sunday come   town-LOC DEMb hon Mario

     'on Sunday, don Mario came to town'

<div align="right">[jmx-c120429ls-x5.141]</div>

Unlike the copula *kaku*, *kapunu* is never omitted in negated sentences. One example is given in (1076). It comes from Juana who was disappointed that her daughter did not visit her over Christmas.

(1076) *kuina kapunuina nijinepÿi*

     kuina kapunu-ina   ni-jinepÿi
     NEG   come-IRR.NV 1SG-daughter

     'my daughter didn't come'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-1.317]</div>

Just like other motion predicates (see 6.6.6), *kapunu* has a regressive derivation, which is *kapupunu* 'come back'. This is illustrated by (1077), which comes from María S. and is about me.[21]

(1077) *tichÿunumi kuina kapupunuinabu naka*

     ti-chÿnumi kuina kapupunu-ina-bu   naka
     3i-be.sad   NEG   come.back-IRR-DSC here

     'she is sad, because she doesn't come back here anymore'

<div align="right">[rxx-e121128s-1.020]</div>

The existence of a non-verbal predicate with active semantics may have played a role in non-verbal integration of verbs borrowed from Spanish into Paunaka. This is the topic of the following section.

7.2.9 Borrowed verbs

Although verbs borrowed from Spanish can be verbalised and then be used just like normal verbs in Paunaka (see 6.2.2), this is not the preferred pattern.[22] Speakers rather rely on integrating borrowed verbs as non-verbal predicates. No light verb is needed in order to accommodate these non-verbal predicates,[23] they are rather treated as if they were nouns or adjectives (see 7.2.1 above), i.e. they take person suffixes to index the subject and the non-verbal irrealis marker *-ina* in contexts that demand irrealis RS.

This can be seen in (1078), where the borrowed form *komorau*, from Spanish *acomodar* 'accomodate, arrange', takes a second person singular suffix to index the subject and the non-verbal irrealis marker for future reference. It comes from Juana and refers to me packing my stuff shortly before I would fly back to Germany.

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21. Actually, I *did* come back, but only later, when my second child was born and had grown a little.
22. This section is based on Terhart (2017), but provides some additional examples.
23. A light verb is a verb with relatively general semantics, such as 'do', which is used as a kind of auxiliary together with an uninflected form of the borrowed verb (Wohlgemuth 2009:102).

Table 7.3: Paunaka loans of past participles in *-ado*

Spanish infinitive	Spanish participle	Paunaka loan	Translation
apostar	*apostado*	*apostau*	bet
ayudar	*ayudado*	*ayurau*	help
comenzar	*comenzado*	*komensau*	begin
ganar	*ganado*	*kanau*	win
mandar	*mandado*	*mandau*	send
multiplicar	*multiplicado*	*multiplikau*	multiply
olvidar	*olvidado*	*arbidau/arbirau*	forget
pasar	*pasado*	*pasau*	pass by; happen, pass
regalar	*regalado*	*regalau*	give as present

(1078) *metu komoraubinatu*

 metu   *komorau-bi-ina-tu*
 already accommodate-2SG-IRR.NV-IAM

 'you are already going to arrange (your stuff)'

[jxx-p120515l-2.275]

In most cases the input form, i.e. the form of the original verb which is borrowed (cf. Wohlgemuth 2009), is based on a Spanish past participle in *-ado*, which is pronounced [aọ] in Eastern Bolivia. Some examples are listed in Table 7.3.[24]

For verbs that do not provide participles in *-ado*, i.e. the ones with an infinitive ending in *er* and *ir*, there exist different strategies. Either a past participle ending in *-ido* is the input form – Paunaka then borrows a form ending in *-iru* or *-iu* –, or a reduced infinitive is borrowed. The reduced infinitive is the Spanish infinitive minus the final *r*, a form that is often borrowed by American languages in contact with Romance languages (Wohlgemuth 2009:170). In addition, there are some minor strategies encountered with only one or two verbs, e.g. the predicate *trabaku* 'work' seems to be derived from the noun *trabajo* 'work'. It can also be used nominally in Paunaka (e.g. a possessed form can be derived by addition of the possessed marker *-ne*).

In Terhart (2017:8), I developed the hypothesis that the predicate *kompirau* 'share, invite' has evolved from the Spanish verb *compartir* 'share', whose participle is *compartido*. In my argumentation, speakers would have metathesised the vowels of the last two syllables of the Spanish infinitive in order to arrive at the form *kompirau*, yielding first **compirtar* and then a participle **compirtado* with the preferred ending in *-ado*. However, as Nikulin (2020, p.c.) has pointed out, the input verb is possibly not *compartir* 'share' but *convidar* 'invite' with the participle *convidado*, thus no metathesis is involved. I deem it possible that both input verbs merged in the Paunaka predicate.

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24. In addition, borrowed participles are sometimes also used adverbially like in Spanish, consider (i) which has *purau* from *apurar(se)* 'hurry up' :

(i) *purau tikubu*

 purau *ti-kubu*
 hurry 3i-bath

 'she bathed quickly'

[jxx-p120515l-2.152]

This would explain the sequence /mp/ in *kompirau* as well as the fact that both meanings 'share' and 'invite' can be realised by this form. *Kompirau* is verbalised in most cases, but one example in which it is used non-verbally is (1079). Note that the predicate irregularly takes a third person suffix in this case. This is usually excluded in non-verbal predication. The example comes from Miguel telling the story about the cowherd and the spirit of hill. After the spirit has taken away the cows of the man, the latter agrees to reside with the spirit in his world. Towards the end of the story, the spirit suggests that the cows can be given to the people of a village. In order to bring the cows there, the cowherd needs some help.

(1079)   *tupunuji kompirauchituji sinko jentenube*

     ti-upunu-ji   kompirau-chi-tu-ji sinko jente-nube
     3i-bring-RPRT   share-3-IAM-RPRT five   man-PL

     'he brought five men to share (the workload), it is said'

                                                [mxx-n151017l-1.81]

(1079) shows another interesting feature of these borrowed non-verbal predicates: they can be used transitively. The object is expressed by an NP in this case. A similar example is (1080), which comes from Miguel's account about how he learned to calculate. It was a young man doing military service together with Miguel who taught him, but first of all, Miguel had to register for military service:

(1080)   *konsegiunÿtu echÿu niribretane*

     konsegiu-nÿ-tu   echÿu ni-ribreta-ne
     obtain-1SG-IAM DEMb 1SG-military.registration.document-POSSD

     'I obtained my military registration document'

                                               [mxx-p181027l-1.114]

In (1081), a theme object is expressed by an NP and additionally a recipient participant is added to the clause with the help of the oblique preposition *-tÿpi*. This example comes from María S. and is about her plans to write back to me after I had sent her greetings via Swintha. She actually produced this sentence in Spanish first and translated it on request.

(1081)   *mandaubina karta chitÿpiuku*

     mandau-bi-ina   karta chi-tÿpi-uku
     send-1PL-IRR.NV letter 3-OBL-ADD

     'we will send her a letter, too'

                                               [rxx-e121128s-1.115]

(1082) has another recipient participant that is encoded with the oblique preposition. This is a sentence by Juana about some coffee from Argentina which some friends of her daughter had given her. Note that the borrowed verb does not take a plural marker here, which is unusual since there is a plural subject (which is clear from the context).

(1082) *regalau nitÿpi*

> *regalau*   *ni-tÿpi*
> give.as.present   1SG-OBL

'they gave it to me as a present'

<div align="right">[jxx-e120430l-4.29]</div>

Borrowed non-verbal predicates can be used in complex clauses. In (1083), *trabaku* 'work' is the complement of a desiderative verb, in (1084) we have a construction that resembles the serial verb construction but with a non-verbal predicate as second predicate (i.e. a serial predicate construction).

(1083) *nijinepÿi kuina tisacha trabakuneina*

> *ni-jinepÿi*   *kuina*   *ti-sacha*   *trabaku-ne-ina*
> 1SG-daughter   NEG   3i-want   work-1SG-IRR.NV

'my daughter doesn't want me to work'

<div align="right">[jxx-n101013s-1.193-194]</div>

(1084) *eka semana niyuna kontratauneina chÿnachÿ makina*

> *eka*   *semana*   *ni-yuna*   *kontratau-ne-ina*   *chÿnachÿ*   *makina*
> DEMa   week   1SG-go.IRR   engage-1SG-IRR.NV   one   machine

'this week I will hire a machine'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120515l-2.106]</div>

There is also one modal verb borrowed from Spanish *poder* 'can, be able to'. In Paunaka, its form is *puero*, and it has possibly been borrowed via Bésɨro, which has a noun *puéru* 'possibility' and a verb *puérux* 'can, be able to', which is derived from that noun (cf. Sans 2011).

Puero is exceptional insofar that it usually does not take subject indexes, although a few cases with a first person singular marker do occur. If used together with another predicate, it is also not necessarily marked for irrealis in irrealis contexts. If used alone (e.g. as an answer to a question), it does take the irrealis marker in these contexts. *Puero* is primarily used in negative contexts, since irrealis alone is sufficient to indicate a permissive or abilitive reading in Paunaka. In negation of a permissive or abilitive constructions, however, two factors trigger irrealis marking, so that speakers may feel the need to be more explicit about the modal meaning. Two examples of *puero* follow, one with and the other one without irrealis marking on *puero*. Both come from María S.

(1085) was elicitated. It refers to an imagined old man.

(1085) *kuina pueroina tiyuna asaneti*

> *kuina*   *puero-ina*   *ti-yuna*   *asaneti*
> NEG   can-IRR.NV   3i-go.IRR   field

'he cannot go to the field'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181022le]</div>

(1086) is a statement by María S. about herself. She had a bad knee by that time.

(1086) *kuina puero niyuika kasi*

       kuina puero ni-yuika   kasi
       NEG   can   1SG-walk.IRR almost

       'I almost cannot walk'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181017l.011]</div>

In addition, there is also *tiene ke* 'must' (from Span. *tiene que* 'he/she/it has to'), but this one is used very infrequently. It also occurs in Bésɨro (cf. Bésɨro text examples in Sans 2013:47-70). One example is (1087) from Clara, who refers to the excursion to Altavista which Swintha, Federico and I had planned.

(1087) *pero esachu eyuna tiene ke tiyunakena Miyel*

       pero e-sachu   e-yuna   tiene ke ti-yuna-kena   Miyel
       but   2PL-want 2PL-go.IRR must   3i-go.IRR-UNCERT Miguel

       'but if you want to go, Miguel probably has to go as well'

<div align="right">[cux-c120414ls-1.139]</div>

The use of borrowed verbs as non-verbal predicates is surprising, because it links the encoding of events and actions to non-verbal predication, although this is usually closely connected to verbal predication (e.g. Langacker 1987:189, 244; Frawley 1992:140, 142; Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:82-83; Givón 2001:52).

Considering native structures only, non-verbal predication in Paunaka covers stative relationships, but the insertion of borrowed Spanish verbs has extended the semantic scope to include also active relationships. It might be the case though that prior to this, the non-verbal predicate *kapunu* 'come' was already used with active semantics, thus facilitating the integration of borrowed verbs in a similar way. Furthermore, the integration of borrowed verbs as non-verbal predicates might be an areal feature. Consider the case of Bésɨro. In this language, verbs obligatorily take prefixes to index the subject and they take enclitics to index objects. Nominal and adjectival predicates take enclitics to index a subject, and so do some borrowed verbs. Between the input form and the enclitic, a suffix *-bo* is inserted (Sans 2012, p.c.). Note, however, that Bésɨro borrows reduced infinitives instead of participles, and some borrowed verbs seem to be verbalised rather than used non-verbally (cf. Bésɨro texts in Sans 2013:47-70). It remains unclear, for the time being, how frequent the borrowing of verbs as non-verbal predicates is in Bésɨro.

As for the borrowing of participles, this input form could also have been preferred by speakers of the Chapacuran language Kitemoka (cf. ex. KIT1 739 in Wienold 2012:96). With only one example of a borrowed Spanish verb in the Kitemoka corpus and the little knowledge about Kitemoka in general, we cannot, unfortunately, make any statements about verbal or non-verbal character of the borrowed item.

While this chapter has focussed on different kinds of declarative clauses up to here, the remaining two sections are dedicated to other speech acts: directives and interrogatives. The next section starts with a discussion of imperatives and other kinds of directives.

7.3 Imperatives and other directives

Imperatives are directive speech acts. They can express a "command, request, offer, advisory, or exhortation" (König & Siemund 2007:277). In Paunaka, imperatives can be identical in structure to a declarative clause. I call this type of imperatives "unmarked", although they require irrealis RS. Irrealis could occur in declarative clauses for other reasons. Unmarked imperatives inflect for person, they either have second person singular or second person plural subjects. Objects can be indexed on these imperatives and conominated objects can occur, but they are never placed in focus position preceding the verb. Some examples of unmarked imperatives can be found in 7.3.1.

Alternatively, imperatives can be marked by adding the suffix *-ji* to the end of the verb. I cannot tell what is the exact difference to unmarked imperatives, but more emphasis seems to be involved. They are possibly only used to make requests and commands (i.e. no offers), but this remains to be verified. Emphatic imperatives are the topic of 7.3.2.

There are two suppletive motion imperatives: *nabi/nabue* 'go!' and *pana* 'come!', they are dealt with in Section 7.3.3.

Negative imperatives can look like negative declarative sentences if they include the standard negation particle *kuina* and an irrealis predicate, however, they can also be construed with a realis predicate and the prohibitive particle *naka* or the admonitive particle *masaini*. The latter is rather used in warnings. Different kinds of negative imperatives are described in 7.3.4.

Hortatives are construed with the hortative particle *jaje*. This is the topic of 7.3.5.

7.3.1 Unmarked imperatives

Imperatives may be unmarked, but the verb usually has irrealis RS (some possible exceptions are discussed in the end of this section). The verb is not inflected for TAME. Imperatives have second person singular or plural addressees, with singular being more frequently found in the corpus. They take the same person indexes that are also found in declarative sentences. Examples (1088) – (1092) have singular and (1093) – (1096) plural addressees. Unmarked imperatives do not only express commands, but also requests or invitations/offers. It is intonation alone that marks different degrees of politeness or friendliness, thus setting apart commands from all other possible uses.

By producing (1088), Juana offered me something to drink.

(1088) *¡pea!*

   pi-ea
   2SG-drink.IRR

   'drink!'

                                                              [jxx-p150920l.002]

(1089) is an imperative including a goal argument. It also comes from Juana and was directed to Miguel to help her load the loam she had collected onto her head to carry it.

(1089) *¡petuka nitapukiyae!*

　　pi-etuka　　　ni-tapuki-yae
　　2SG-put.IRR　1SG-head-LOC

　　'put it on my head!'

<div align="right">[jmx-d110918ls-1.110]</div>

In (1090), a first person singular object is indexed on the verb. The example comes from the story about the lazy man by Miguel. When he has finally cut off his limbs, pretending they were *cusi* palm fruits, he requests his son to lift him and put him into the basket to be carried, since he cannot walk anymore without legs.

(1090) *"bueno, ¡pakachane pipurtukane naka sÿkiyae!"*

　　bueno　pi-akacha-ne　　　pi-purtuka-ne　　　　　naka　sÿki-yae
　　well　　2SG-lift.IRR-1SG　2SG-put.in.IRR-1SG　here　basket-LOC

　　'"well, lift me and put me into the basket!"'

<div align="right">[mox-n110920l.118]</div>

(1091) represents what Jesus tells the monkey in the creation story narrated by Juana. The background is that the monkey had stolen corn and hidden it in his mouth, although the corn was meant for the people to eat.

(1091) *"¡piyuna pinika eka chÿi yÿkÿke!"*

　　pi-yuna　　　pi-nika　　　eka　　chÿi　yÿkÿke
　　2SG-go.IRR　2SG-eat.IRR　DEMa　fruit　tree

　　'"go and eat the fruit of the trees"'

<div align="right">[jxx-n101013s-1.873]</div>

(1092) is an example which contains an associated motion marker. It was produced by Clara and directed to María C. to give her advice on how her children could learn some Paunaka. The first clause is a directive which does not build on an imperative clause, but rather makes use of the borrowed modal expression *tiene ke* 'must'. It does not inflect for person. The second clause, i.e. the direct speech complement, is an imperative.

(1092) *pero pue tiene ke pikechachi: "¡pinipuna nichechapÿibi!"*

　　pero　pue　tiene ke　pi-kecha-chi　　pi-ni-puna　　　　　　　ni-chechapÿi-bi
　　but　　well　must　　2SG-say.IRR-3　2SG-eat-AM.PRIOR.IRR　1SG-son-2SG

　　'but, well, you have to tell him: "come and eat, my dear son!"'

<div align="right">[cux-c120414ls-2.302]</div>

(1093) has a second person plural addressee, Miguel, Swintha and me. Juana and Miguel dug for loam, and the sentence is an exclamation by Juana, being excited about the quality of the loam she found.

(1093) *¡emua, micha michana muteji!*

    e-imua   micha michana muteji
    2PL-see.IRR good   nice   loam

    'look, the loam is good, beautiful!'

<div align="right">[jmx-d110918ls-1.089]</div>

In (1094), Juana cites what their landlord said to her daughter.

(1094) *"¡esemaika juchubu ejecheka! porke kopaunatu nubiu", tikechu*

    e-semaika   juchubu e-jecheka   porke   kopau-ina-tu   nÿ-ubiu
    2PL-search.IRR where   2PL-move.IRR because use-IRR.NV-IAM 1SG-house

      ti-kechu
      3i-say

    '"look for where to move, because I want to use my house for myself!", he
    said'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-1.397]</div>

(1095) shows that an adverb can precede the verb in an imperative. This sentence comes from the story about the cowherd and the spirit of the hill told by Miguel. When he has passed some time with the spirit, the cowherd finally brings the cows to a village with the help of some people. This is what the cowherd tells the people, before he actually releases the cows.

(1095) *"¡nakajiku ekichupupuikanÿ!", tikechuchÿji*

    naka-jiku   e-kichupu-puika-nÿ   ti-kechu-chÿ-ji
    here-LIM1 2PL-wait-CONT.IRR-1SG 3i-say-3-RPRT

    '"wait for me right here!", he said to them, it is said'

<div align="right">[mxx-n151017l-1.81]</div>

(1096) is a request of Juana's sister to the policemen after she has been arrested for the deeds of her husband.

(1096) *"¡epuninane nijinepÿimÿnÿ!"*

    e-epun-ina-ne   ni-jinepÿi-mÿnÿ
    2PL-take-BEN.IRR-1SG 1SG-daughter-DIM

    '"take my daughter to me!"'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-2.101]</div>

There are also examples in the corpus albeit very few, in which an imperative seems to be construed with a realis verb. They all have in common that they are exclamations. It might thus be the case that realis is possible in those specific cases. Otherwise, these examples could also simply be taken as mistakes, considering (1093) above, which is an exclamation, too, but has an irrealis verb nonetheless. Or they are no imperatives at all, but rather a verbalisation of an ongoing action. Two examples are given below.

(1097) was produced by María S, when she showed the flower of a plant to Swintha.

(1097) *¡pimu! chibu eka chÿina*

pi-imu   chibu   eka   chÿi-ina
2SG-see 3TOP.PRN DEMa fruit-IRR.NV

'look, this will be its fruit!'
or: 'you see, this will be its fruit!'

[rxx-e121126s-3.17-18]

(1098) is from Riester's recordings. It was produced by Juan Ch. as part of an introduction to his playing the flute. Note that the morphologically stative verb *-kusabenu* 'play flute' (an attributive derivation, see 6.1.3), seems to be construed as a subordinate verb here (see 8.1.4). This is relatively uncommon, but happens from time to time.

(1098) *¡esamu kristianunube! nikusabenuiu baile suelto*

e-samu   kristianu-nube ni-kusabenu-i-u   baile suelto
2PL-hear person-PL   1SG-play.flute-SUBORD-REAL name.of.song

'people, listen to me playing *baile suelto* by flute'!

[nxx-a630101g-2.002-003]

7.3.2 Emphatic imperatives

Imperatives can be construed by adding the suffix *-ji* to a verb inflected for irrealis and second person. Actually, it began to dawn on me relatively late that this was indeed an imperative marker, I had taken it for some deictic element before, and thus in elicitation sessions, I tried to find out about dimensions of space rather than characteristics that set the marked imperatives apart from the unmarked ones. Thus, I can only share some observations here that remain to be checked.

First of all, looking at the examples with this marker, it seems that they only include requests and commands. Offers or invitations and suggestions are absent. However, this may be mere co-incidence, there are also more requests among the unmarked imperatives than there are offers or suggestions.

Second, in an elicitation session, the gestures Juana made when using the word form with *-ji* were bigger and more encompassing, which makes me suggest that more emphasis is involved. This is why I speak of an emphatic imperative.

Third, in the same elicitation session, the form *¡pupuna!* was consistently translated by her with Spanish *¡trae!* 'bring!', and *¡pupunaji!* with *¡traélo!* 'bring it!'. All but one of the examples with marked imperatives indeed have a third person object. The one exception has a first person singular object index and *-ji* is added after that one. Unmarked imperatives can also have third person objects (e.g. (1089) and (1091) above), so the difference may ultimately not depend on the presence or absence of a third person object in the imperative clause, but rather the translations with or without an object is the way people express the same difference in Spanish. This remains to be proved.

Fourth, I have only found one example of an emphatic imperative with a second person plural subject, but I suppose this is connected to the fact that imperatives with plural subjects are in general rarer than the ones with singular subjects.

Emphatic imperatives take person indexes and irrealis RS just like the unmarked ones.

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To start with, consider (1099). The verb has the second person singular marker, it has irrealis RS and it takes the imperative marker *-ji*. The example was elicited from Juana and represents a command to a dog to bite a thief.

(1099)   *¡pinijabakaji!*

   pi-nijabaka-ji
   2SG-bite.IRR-IMP

   'bite him!'

<div align="right">[jxx-e191021e-2]</div>

(1100) stems from the story about the lazybones told by Miguel. The man has just climbed a tree and cut off his arm in order to throw it down to his son, pretending it was a raceme of *cusi* palm fruit.

(1100)   *"¡pijakupaji eka kÿsi!" tikechu chichechapÿi*

   pi-jakupa-ji   eka   kÿsi ti-kechu chi-chechapÿi
   2SG-receive.IRR-IMP DEMa cusi 3i-say   3-son

   '"take the *cusi* fruit!" he said to his son'

<div align="right">[mox-n110920l.100]</div>

(1101) comes from Juana telling me how her grandparents bought cows in Moxos. On their way back home they were caught by heavy rainfalls and had to cross an arroyo, which had filled with water. In this situation, her grandfather can hardly reach the ground and in order to guide his wife through the water he says:

(1101)   *"¡pabikÿkaji nitijÿe naka!"*

   pi-abikÿka-ji   ni-tijÿe   naka
   2SG-grab.IRR-IMP 1SG-belt here

   '"hold on to my belt here!"'

<div align="right">[jxx-p151016l-2.141]</div>

(1103) is from the creation story told by Juana and is a citation of the snake. It is the forbidden apple that María Eva is supposed to take to her husband.

(1102)   *"¡pumaji nauku tÿpi pima!"*

   pi-uma-ji   nauku tÿpi pi-ima
   2SG-take.IRR there OBL 2SG-husband

   '"take it there for your husband!"'

<div align="right">[jxx-n101013s-1.413]</div>

In (1103), Miguel requests from Alejo that he asks the taxi driver, who was joining the recording session, about his place of origin.

(1103)   *¡piyÿsebÿkeaji juchubu chubiu, juchubu eka kapuniuchÿ!*

   pi-yÿsebÿkea-ji   juchubu chÿ-ubiu juchubu eka   kapun-i-u-chÿ
   2SG-ask.IRR-IMP where   3-house where   DEMa come-SUBORD-REAL-3

   'ask him where he lives, where he comes from!'

<div align="right">[mty-p110906l.211-212]</div>

(1104) is the only example I have found of an emphatic imperative that does not have a third person object. It is a first person singular object in this case, which is indexed on the verb. The imperative marker follows the object index. The example comes from Miguel telling the story about the fox and the jaguar. Since the vulture let the fox escape, the jaguar wants to punish and eat him. The vulture seemingly accepts his fate and tells the jaguar to pluck him except for his wings and throw him up into the air:

(1104) *"entonses ¡pibikÿkaneji anÿke!"*

        entonses   *pi-bikÿka-ne-ji*   *anÿke*
        thus   2SG-throw-1SG-IMP   up

        "'then throw me up!'"

[jmx-n120429ls-x5.195]

Finally, I also came across one occurrence of an emphatic imperative with a second person plural subject, given as (1105) here. It comes from a conversation between Juana and Miguel, where the latter told his sister what a certain person had said to the people of Santa Rita.

(1105) *"¡anaji echÿu senta!"*

        e-ana-ji   *echÿu*   *senta*
        2PL-make.IRR-IMP   DEMb   path

        "'make the path!'"

[jmx-c120429ls-x5.063]

7.3.3 Suppletive imperatives

There are two suppletive imperatives, *nabi* 'go!' and *pana* 'come!', the former being much more frequent. Both words can combine with a verb as well as with a deictic adverb, *nabi* has also been found in combination with locative-marked nouns.

It is not entirely clear how the suppletive imperatives are composed. As for *nabi*, there may be a root *na* that takes the second person singular marker *-bi*, which is used to index objects on verbs and subjects on non-verbal predicates. *Pana* is identical to the second person singular irrealis form of the verb *-anau* 'make'. Alternatively, it might be related to the prior associated motion marker *-punu* (realis) / *-puna* (irrealis).[25]

I will first present some examples with *nabi*. In (1106), it first stands alone in the first clause and is then combined with an adverb plus locative marked noun in the second clause to indicate the goal of the motion action that is demanded here. The examples comes from Juana's narration about her grandparents' journey and is a citation of the water spirit talking with her grandfather at night, trying to lure him away from his wife.

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25. Regarding active verbs, Terena, Old Baure (i.e. the Baure variety documented by the Jesuits) and marginally Trinitario inflect for irrealis by changing every vowel /o/ to /a/ (Danielsen & Terhart 2015b:103). The suffix *-punu* may be related to *pana* in a similar fashion if we assume that the same kind of RS-triggered vowel harmony once existed in Paunaka.

(1106) *"¡nabi! ¡nabi nauku nubiuyae!" chikechuchÿji*

    nabi nabi nauku nÿ-ubiu-yae   chi-kechu-chÿ-ji
    go! go! there 1SG-house-LOC 3-say-3-RPRT

    '"go! go to my house there!" she said to him, it is said'

<div align="right">[jxx-p151016l-2.195]</div>

(1107) was elicited from María C. It is something one could say to a dog to chase it off.

(1108) *¡nabi nekupaiyae!*

    nabi nekupai-yae
    go! outside-LOC

    'go out!'

<div align="right">[uxx-e120427l.078]</div>

In (1108), *nabi* combines with a verb. It is a repetition of (1091) above, with which Juana got back to the storyline after summarising in Spanish a part of the creation story. Note that while she used a second person singular irrealis form of the verb *-yunu* in the example above, she replaces it by the suppletive form *nabi* here.

(1108) *"¡nabi pinika chÿi yÿkÿke!"*

    nabi pi-nika   chÿi yÿkÿke
    go! 2SG-eat.IRR fruit tree

    '"go and eat the fruit of the trees!"'

<div align="right">[jxx-n101013s-1.885]</div>

(1109) also comes from Juana. She was telling Swintha about a very smart dog she once had. When she wanted to slaughter a chicken, she could point to one chicken and tell the dog to catch it. This is what she said to the dog:

(1109) *bikupaika takÿra ¡nabi peikukuika takÿra!*

    bi-kupaika   takÿra nabi pi-eikukuika   takÿra
    1PL-slaughter.IRR chicken go! 2SG-chase.IRR chicken

    'we are going to slaughter a chicken, go and chase the chicken!'

<div align="right">[jxx-e191021e-2]</div>

For plural addressees, Juana used *nabue* a few times, which includes the second plural index *-e* instead of singular *-bi*. However, this has not been found with other speakers. Indeed, Juan C. once corrected himself with a verb with second person plural index, when he wanted to construe an imperative with second person plural reference, see Example (1110). Juana's use of *nabue* is exemplified in (1111) below, which comes from elicitation.

(1110) *¡nabi! ¡eyuna!*

    nabi e-yuna
    go! 2PL-GO.IRR

    'go (SG)! go (PL)!'

<div align="right">[mqx-p110826l.031]</div>

(1111)   *nabue emusuika*

     nabu-e   e-musuika
     go!-2PL 2PL-wash.IRR

     'go and wash!'

<div align="right">[jxx-e081025s-1.535]</div>

The suppletive imperative *pana* has only been found with singular addressees in the corpus. It mostly combines with the adverb *naka* 'here'. One such case is (1112), where Juana told me how her sister María S. and her husband once had an encounter with a snake or water spirit in the reservoir of Santa Rita. This is what the husband exclaimed, when he noticed the snake:

(1112)   *"¡pana naka! ¡kechue echÿu!"*

     pana   naka kechue echÿu
     come! here snake DEMb

     '"come here! that's a snake!"'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120515l-2.164]</div>

(1113) comes from Juana telling the creation story. After having fashioned her from mud, God requests María Eva to approach him in order to wed her to Jesus.

(1113)   *"Maria Eva, ¡pana naka!" chikechuchiji*

     Maria Eva pana   naka chi-kechu-chi-ji
     María Eva come! here 3-say-3-RPRT

     '"María Eva, come here!" he said to her, it is said'

<div align="right">[jxx-n101013s-1.364]</div>

In (1114), a verb follows the adverb. This example was elicited from Miguel.

(1114)   *¡pana naka pitibua!*

     pana   naka pi-tibua
     come here 2SG-sit.down.IRR

     'come here and sit down!'

<div align="right">[mxx-e160811sd.221]</div>

If a verb follows *nabi* or *pana*, it is not unusual that this verb takes the prior motion marker. (1115) and (1116) exemplify this for *nabi*, and (1117) and (1118) for *pana*.

     (1115) comes from María C. who had told that she medicated herself with the bark of a tree. She knew about the use of the bark, because it was as if God had told her:

(1115)   *¡nabi parejipuna echÿu pichai!*

     nabi pi-areji-puna   echÿu pichai
     go! 2SG-rasp-AM.PRIOR.IRR DEMb medicine

     'go and rasp the medicine'

<div align="right">[ump-p110815sf.371]</div>

<div align="center">447</div>

(1116) was elicited from María S., when a pig of hers was grunting very loudly, disturbing the recording we made. Note that *-sabaiku* 'grunt' is a stative verb,[26] so it takes an irrealis prefix, and consequently, the associated motion marker occurs in its default/realis form here.

(1116) *¡nabi pasabaipunu max nauku!*

       nabi pi-a-sabai-punu   *max nauku*
       go!   2SG-IRR-grunt-AM.PRIOR more there

       'go to grunt over there!'

<div align="right">[rmx-e150922l.159]</div>

(1117) was elicited from Miguel. The verb follows the adverb *naka* in this case.

(1117) *¡pana naka pimukupuna!*

       pana   naka pi-muku-puna
       come! here 2SG-sleep-AM.PRIOR.IRR

       'come here to sleep!'

<div align="right">[mxx-e160811sd.232]</div>

In (1118), *pana* takes the prospective marker *-bÿti*. This example stems from the recordings by Riester and I have not found neither *pana* nor *nabi* taking any TAME markers in the recordings made from 2008 on. The example is one of the sentences Juan Ch. produces as a beginning of an imagined conversation with a visitor.

(1118) *¡panabÿti pitibupuna!*

       pana-bÿti   pi-tibu-puna
       come!-PRSP 2SG-sit.down-AM.PRIOR.IRR

       'come and sit down!'

<div align="right">[nxx-p630101g-2.07]</div>

While the prior motion marker has been found with verbs accompanying both suppletive imperatives, the dislocative marker only occurs with verbs combining with *nabi*. This is in accordance with their semantics. While *-punu* is not specified for direction towards or away from a place, the dislocative marker has only been found in expressions of translocative motion (see 6.6.2 and 6.6.4). If *nabi* is combined with a verb taking the dislocative marker, this can be analysed as a case of motion-cum-purpose construction (see 8.3.3.2). Two examples follow. Both were elicited from Juana.

(1119) *¡nabi piyÿseikupa kanela! kuina kakuina*

       nabi pi-yÿseiku-pa   *kanela*   *kuina kaku-ina*
       go!   2SG-buy-DLOC.IRR cinnamon NEG   exist-IRR.NV

       'go and buy cinnamon! There isn't any'

<div align="right">[jxx-e190210s-01]</div>

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26. It is actually rare that stative verb combines with the with prior motion marker, but this seems one of the cases, in which a morphologically stative verb is semantically active. Note that the related continuous verb form *-sabaipaiku* 'grunt' is active.

(1120)   *¡nabue emusuikupa!*

    nabu-e   e-musuiku-pa
    go!-2PL 2PL-wash-DLOC.IRR

    'go and wash!'

<div align="right">[jxx-e190210s-01]</div>

7.3.4   Negative imperatives

There are several possibilities to construe a negative imperative. First of all, the negative particle *kuina* can be used together with an irrealis verb. In this case, the negative imperative is identical to a negative declarative clause in structure.

    Second, it is also possible to use the specific negative particles *naka* or *masaini*. The first of them is used to construe prohibitives, i.e. commands and requests not to do something. It is possibly related to the negative particle in Baure, which is *noka* (cf. Danielsen 2007:338). As for *masaini*, this is composed of the apprehensional connective *masa* (see 4.5) and the frustrative marker *-ini* (see 6.8.3.1). María S. seems to use it in the same fashion as *naka,* i.e. in prohibitives, but data from other speakers suggests that it is rather an admonitive particle, i.e. it appears in warnings.

    (1121) to (1123) are examples of negative imperatives with *kuina*. As can be seen in (1121), the negative particle precedes the irrealis verb and a declarative sentence would have exactly the same structure. This example was elicited from María S.

(1121)   *¡patÿkemiu nijinepÿi! ¡kuina piyuabu!*

    pi-a-tÿkemiu   ni-jinepÿi   kuina pi-iyua-bu
    2SG-be.quiet 1SG-daughter NEG   2SG-cry.IRR-DSC

    'be quiet, my daughter, don't cry anymore!'

<div align="right">[mrx-e150219s.136]</div>

    (1122) comes from María C. Actually, I am not entirely sure whether this is really meant to be a negative imperative or rather a sentence with future reference ('you won't die!'). In any case, María C. tells what she said to her mother, when the latter was envenomed by a sorcerer.

(1122)   *¡kuina pipaka!*

    kuina pi-paka
    NEG   2SG-die.IRR

    'don't die!'

<div align="right">[ump-p110815sf.465]</div>

    The case is clearer in (1123). This sentence was produced by Miguel and comes from the story about the fox and the jaguar. This is what the vulture says to the jaguar, when he is supposed to be punished for having let the fox escape. The vulture starts his utterance in Spanish (*no* being the Spanish negative particle), but continues in Paunaka.

<div align="center">449</div>

(1123) *entonses echÿu sÿmÿ tikechu: "no no no no, ¡kuina pinikanÿ!"*

    entonses echÿu sÿmÿ   ti-kechu no no no no kuina pi-nika-nÿ
    thus   DEMa vulture 3i-say   no no no no NEG 2SG-eat.IRR-1SG

    'so the vulture said: "no, no, no, no, don't eat me!"'

                                             [jmx-n120429ls-x5.180]

In prohibitives, speakers can make use of *naka*. This negative particle is delimited to imperative contexts (commands, requests), so that no ambiguity arises. All examples of prohibitives with *naka* were elicited. They can contain a realis verb. Thus it seems that the fact that two parameters trigger irrealis marking here, negation and imperative, is encoded by using the RS that matches none of them.

When studying negation among Arawakan languages, Michael (2014b) identified five types of possible prohibitive constructions. They are given in Table 7.4. The distinguishing factors include how the negative expression differs from the one found in standard negation (column "expression of negation") and how the rest of the prohibitive sentence differs from a positive imperative (column "prohibitive construction").

Table 7.4: Prohibitive construction types by Michael (2014b:270)

Prohibitive type	Prohibitive construction	Expression of negation
Type I	same as imperative	same as standard negation
Type II	same as imperative	different from standard negation
Type III	different from imperative	same as standard negation
Type IV	different from imperative	different from standard negation
Type V	no distinct prohibitive construction	

According to this classification, the Paunaka prohibitive with *naka* belongs to type IV: the negative particle is different from the one used in standard negation and the rest of the construction is different from the imperative. In his sample of 23 Arawakan languages, only Kinikinau and Nanti share this specific behaviour with Paunaka (Michael 2014b:271). [27]

Consider (1124), which comes from Juana. The prohibitive particle *naka* is followed by a realis verb.

(1124) *¡naka piyu!*

    naka   pi-iyu
    PROHIB 2SG-cry

    'don't cry!'

                                             [jxx-e120430l-3a]

In elicitation, Juana also produced some prohibitives with an irrealis verb like the one in (1125), however, the seemingly more spontaneous uses (e.g. the first translation she gave in elicitation) all included realis predicates.

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27. In Nanti, this construction is not delimited to prohibitives, but occurs in any context in which negation and another parameter trigger irrealis marking (Michael 2014a:272-273).

(1125) *¡naka piyua!*

naka   pi-iyua
PROHIB 2SG-cry.IRR

'don't cry!'

<div align="right">[jxx-p150920l.041]</div>

Although María S. rather uses *masaini* as a negative particle in prohibitives (see below), she confirms the use of *naka*. (1126) is an example of a prohibitive with *naka* elicited from her.

(1126) *¡naka pekubu!*

naka   pi-ekubu
PROHIB 2SG-laugh

'don't laugh!'

<div align="right">[rxx-e150220s-1.08]</div>

(1127) comes from Juana again.

(1127) *¡naka pikupaiku ÿne! tisÿeimuyu*

naka   pi-kupaiku   ÿne   ti-sÿei-umu-yu
PROHIB 2SG-step.on water 3i-be.cold-CLF:liquid-INTS

'don't step in the water, it is very cold!'

<div align="right">[jxx-e150925l-1.083-084]</div>

It is less clear which RS is required in clauses with *masaini*. All examples that follow were elicited, except for the last one, (1135), and they vary with regard to RS.

María S. prefers to construe prohibitives with *masaini*, and this use was verified by Juana as a valid alternative to those with *naka*. However, all of the examples produced by María S. can be read as warnings, the particle was translated with Spanish *cuidado* 'caution!, be careful!, watch out!' by her and Miguel (mrx-e150219s) and it is also warnings that Juana and Miguel use this particle for in (1133) and (1135). For this reason it is analysed as an admonitive particle here.

To start with, consider (1128) from María S. The admonitive particle precedes the realis verb here.

(1128) *¡masaini pijikupu!*

masaini pi-jikupu
ADM   2SG-swallow

'don't swallow it!'

<div align="right">[rxx-e141230s.076]</div>

Example (1128) also has a realis verb. This is a warning directed to a child not to step on the table lest it topples over. The warning was originally produced in Spanish by María S. and translated to Paunaka by request of Swintha.

(1129)   ¡*masaini pikupachu naka!*

       masaini pi-kupachu   naka
       ADM   2SG-step.on here

       'don't step on it here!'

<div align="right">[mrx-e150219s.150]</div>

(1130) is another warning with a realis verb elicited from María S. to tell Swintha that she should not eat a corncob half-raw.

(1130)   ¡*masaini piniku enui! painuepÿi*

       masaini pi-niku   enui   pi-a-inuepÿi
       ADM   2SG-eat green 2SG-IRR-have.wind

       'don't eat it raw! You will have wind'

<div align="right">[rxx-e150220s-1.25]</div>

In (1131), which is very similar to the previous example, María S. opted for an irrealis verb.

(1131)   ¡*masaini pinika! kuinakuÿ tayu*

       masaini pi-nika   kuina-kuÿ   ti-a-yu
       ADM   2SG-eat.IRR NEG-INCMP 3i-IRR-be.ripe

       'don't eat it! It is not ripe yet'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181022le]</div>

She also uses an irrealis verb in (1132). This warning was first uttered in Spanish and then translated. It was directed to a child (as (1129) above, which comes from the same session).

(1132)   ¡*masaini pakupuru!*

       masaini pi-a-kupuru
       ADM   2SG-IRR-burn

       'don't burn yourself!'
       or: 'be careful, you will burn yourself!'

<div align="right">[mrx-e150219s.147]</div>

In the very same elicitation session, Miguel used *masaini* together with a verb with third person subject and irrealis RS.

(1133)   ¡*masaini, tinijabakapi!*

       masaini tinijabakapi
       ADM   3i-bite.IRR-2SG

       'be careful, it may bite you!'

<div align="right">[mrx-e150219s.148]</div>

When he repeated the sentence, the verb had realis RS, see (1134).

<div align="center">452</div>

(1134)   *¡masaini tinijabakubi kabe!*

        masaini ti-nijabaku-bi kabe
        ADM   3i-bite-2SG   dog

        'be careful, the dog may bite you!'

<div align="right">[mrx-e150219s.149]</div>

Finally, the only non-elicited example with *masaini* is (1135) and comes from Juana. The particle seems to constitute a whole clause here, the following one starting with the Spanish conditional conjunction *si* 'if'. The example comes from the creation story and comprises the warning of God that Jesus and María Eva should not go into the garden and eat the apple.[28]

(1135)   *"ta masaini si eyuna uertiyayae kaku nauku mansana kaku ucheti"*

        ta masaini si e-yuna   uerta-yae   kaku nauku mansana kaku ucheti
        ? ADM   if 2PL-go.IRR garden-LOC exist there apple   exist chili

        '"be careful if you go into the garden, there are apples, there is chili"'
<div align="right">[jxx-n101013s-1.371-373]</div>

7.3.5 Hortatives

Hortatives direct a command, request or invitation to a first person plural, i.e. they include the speaker. Hortatives are construed with the particle *jaje*. This particle usually implies some motion and can be translated as 'let's go!'. The case being like this, it can occur on its own (1136) or it can combine with adverbs (1137) or verbs (1138). Interestingly, Miguel also combines it with motion verbs (1139).

(1136) comes from Miguel's story about the cowherd and the spirit. The spirit has just told the man, who desperately searches for his cows, that he has taken them. He offers the man to go and have a look at them:

(1136)   *"¡jaje!" chikechuchÿji*

        jaje   chi-kechu-chÿ-ji
        HORT 3-say-3-RPRT

        '"let's go!" he said to him, it is said

<div align="right">[mxx-n151017l-1.36]</div>

(1137) is what Juana's grandmother said to her husband when she realised that there was a water spirit in the arroyo they tried to cross with their cows on their way back from Moxos.

(1137)   *"¡jaje nauku anÿke!"*

        jaje   nauku anÿke
        HORT there up

        '"let's go up there!"'

<div align="right">[jxx-p151016l-2.102]</div>

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28. I do not know what the function of *ta* is. It shows up infrequently. When asked, Miguel once told me that *ta kue* was simply a longer variant of *kue* 'if, when', however, occurrence of *ta* is not restricted to combinations with *kue* as becomes apparent from this example.

(1138) also comes from Juana, this example is from the creation story and a citation of God talking to María Eva after she has eaten the apple.

(1138)   *"¡pana naka! ¡jaje bana jiriensu tÿpi pimÿuna!"*

    pana   naka jaje   bi-ana   jiriensu tÿpi pi-mÿu-ina
    come! here HORT 1PL-make.IRR linen   OBL 2SG-clothes-IRR.NV

    '"come here! Let's go and make linen for your future clothes!"'

                                                              [jxx-n101013s-1.503]

In telling about his days in school, Miguel used (1139) to tell me what other children said to him, when they invited him to join school.

(1139)   *"¡jaje biyuna xhikuerayae!"*

    jaje   bi-yuna   xhikuera-yae
    HORT 1PL-go.IRR school-LOC

    '"let's go to school!"'

                                                          [mxx-p181027l-1.006]

The hortative particle can take some morphology. It has been found with the iamitive, the additive and the emphatic marker *-ja*. One example with the iamitive is given below. It was produced by Juana in order to teach me this expression.

(1140)   *¡jajetu! ¡tosetu!*

    jaje-tu   tose-tu
    HORT-IAM noon-IAM

    'let's go now! It is already noon!'

                                                           [jxx-e110923l-1.084]

This has been the last example in this section. The chapter on simple clauses is almost completed by now, the only sentence type missing being interrogative clauses. They are described in detail in the following section.

7.4   Interrogative clauses

While declarative clauses typically assert information, the main function of interrogative clauses is to request information (Payne 1997:294). Two main types of interrogative clauses can be distinguished. Polar questions seek an affirmation or negation of information already given in the question (König & Siemund 2007:291). They can be distinguished from declarative sentences by intonation in Paunaka. Content question seek information about a participant in an event or some circumstances in the event. They build on a question word. Question words always precede the verb, i.e. they are placed in focus position (see 7.1.4).

In this section, I first describe polar questions in 7.4.1 and then turn to content questions in 7.4.2.

7.4.1 Polar questions

The only feature that distinguishes polar questions from declarative sentences is intonation. In polar questions, pitch rises towards the end of the utterance, sometimes considerably, sometimes only slightly.

To start with, consider Example (1141). The question was produced by Juana and directed to me. It was uttered with a very high pitch towards the end.

(1141) *¿pisachu pinika yÿtÿuku?*

       pi-sachu   *pi-nika*   *yÿtÿuku*
       2SG-want 2SG-eat.IRR food

       'do you want to eat some food?'

                                   [jxx-d110923l-2.45]

Figure 7.1 shows the pitch analysis for (1141), for which I used Praat.[29]
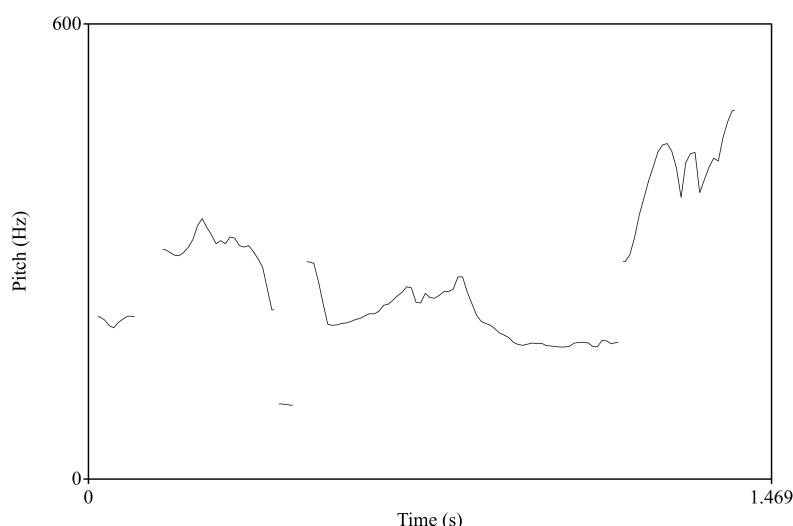
Figure 7.1: Pitch analysis of the question *¿pisachu pinika yÿtÿuku?*

A question can consist of a single verb like in (1142), where María S. asked me whether I had met her sister Clara earlier that day.

(1142) *¿pisimuku?*

       pi-simuku
       2SG-find

       'did you meet her?'

                                   [rxx-e1205111l.083]

(1143) is a question about a third person. It refers to Federico who had rented an apartment in Concepción.

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29. Developed by Paul Boersma and David Weenink, Phonetic Sciences, University of Amsterdam, see: https://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/ last accessed 16-04-2021

(1143)   *¿eka Federico tepajÿka nauku?*

   eka   Federico ti-pajÿka   nauku
   DEMa Federico 3i-stay.IRR there

   'Federico will stay there?'

A polar question can also be construed with a non-verbal predicate. The greeting formula in Paunaka is actually a question for one's condition and builds on the adjective *micha* 'good'. (1144) is an example, where Juana produced this formula to teach Swintha.

(1144)   *¿michabi?*

   micha-bi
   good-2SG

   'how are you?' (lit.: are you well?)

It is not really expected to provide information about ones condition when one is asked the question in (1144). In order to ask for the condition of somebody, speakers use a slightly different wording attaching the continuous marker to the adjective, see (1145).[30]

(1145)   *¿michachaikubi?*

   micha-chaiku-bi
   good-CONT-2SG

   'how are you?'

The question in (1146) is construed with the non-verbal existential copula *kaku*. In this specific case, the question rather expresses surprise than a request for information, since the information has been given before; Miguel had already told María S. that we were attacked by little ticks on the way to José's house.

(1146)   *¿kakutu samuchu?*

   kaku-tu   samuchu
   exist-IAM tick

   'there are ticks already?'

A polar question can also include a negative particle, and in that case it usually includes some greater amount of previous knowledge or some presupposition as in the following examples.

(1147) was elicited from María S. for the purpose that I could ask her about her knee, which I knew had hurt the days before.

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30. Actually, I cannot provide a recorded source for this question since I simply do not have a recording of it. Greeting usually took place before I started my recording device.

(1147)   *¿kuina takutibu pisÿikuke?*

      kuina *ti-a-kuti-bu*   *pi-sÿikuke*
      NEG   3i-IRR-hurt-DSC 2SG-knee

      'doesn't your knee hurt anymore?

                                           [rxx-e181022le]

(1148) is a negative question produced by Juana. She was talking about Cotoca, a town in the vicinity of Santa Cruz, and it was probably my reaction to what she had just said before that let her suppose that I had never visited the place.

(1148)   *¿kuina piyuna?*

      kuina *pi-yuna*
      NEG   2SG-go.IRR

      'you haven't gone there?'

                                       [jxx-p120430l-2.551]

When answering a question, the predicate is usually repeated. There is an affirmative particle in Paunaka, which is *jaa, ja'a* or the like, but it does not suffice as an answer.

One example for a question-answer pair is (1149), where María C. asks whether Pedro knows the man she was speaking about, a sorcerer, and Pedro affirms that he knows him.

(1149)   a. u: *¿pichupuiku?*

         pi-chupuiku
         2SG-know

         'do you know him?'

     b. p: *nichupuiku*

         ni-chupuiku
         1SG-know

         'I know him (i.e. yes)'

                                    [ump-p110815sf.553-554]

Another question-answer pair is given in (1150). The question was asked by Miguel, when he helped Juana digging for loam for her clay pot in the vicinity of Santa Rita. The shell he asks for is used to pull up and smoothen the clay rolls, *nauku* 'there' refers to Juana's house in Santa Cruz, where she lived at that time.

(1150)   a. m: *¿pero kaku nauku sipÿ pikeuchi?*

         pero *kaku* *nauku* *sipÿ* *pi-keuchi*
         but   exist there shell 2SG-INS

         'but do you have shells there?' (lit.: are there shells with regard to you?)

b. j: *kaku*

kaku
exist

'there is'

<div align="right">[jmx-d110918ls-1.098-099]</div>

In (1151) the affirmative particle accompanies the repeated verb in the answer. This example stems from Miguel's narration about his time in school. It is a citation of a question of his teacher and the answer of one pupil.

(1151) a. *"¿pichuputu eka pitareane?"*

pi-chupu-tu   eka   pi-tarea-ne
2SG-know-IAM DEMa 2SG-excercise-POSSD

'"do you know your exercise now?"'

b. *"jaa, nÿchuputu"*

jaa   nÿ-chupu-tu
AFM 1SG-know-IAM

'"yes, I know it"'

<div align="right">[mxx-p181027l-1.047]</div>

A negative question can also be answered positively by repeating the predicate. This is the case in (1152), which is a little imagined conversation by Juana and was triggered by me asking questions about lurking (in trying to make sense of the dislocative marker). This made Juana think about hunting and catching animals.

(1152) a. *¿kuina tituika?*

kuina ti-tuika
NEG   3i-hunt.IRR

'he didn't catch any (animals)?'

b. *tituiku, unya*

ti-tuiku unya
3i-hunt gray.brocket

'he caught one, a gray brocket'

<div align="right">[jxx-e110923l-1.059-060]</div>

7.4.2 Content questions

Content questions "receive answers that provide the kind of information specified by the interrogative word" (König & Siemund 2007:291). Content questions build on question words in Paunaka, which are given in Table 7.5. The question words are always placed in the first position, i.e. they occupy the position of the sentence that is associated with emphasis.

Question words often, but not always, combine with focus expressions. This may be a special form of the transitive verb including the third person suffix, a relative clause

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Table 7.5: Question words

Question word	Translation	Category	Source
chija	what, who, whom	subject, object, action, identity	*chi-ija* 3-name 'his/her/its name'?
(chi)kuyena	how, why	manner, reason	based on manner verb *-kuye* 'be like this'
kena	what about	generic	uncertainty marker *kena*
juchubu	where, when	location, time	*j-u-chu-bu*?
(u)kajane	how many	quantity	with distributive suffix *-jane*

or a deranked verb, see 6.4.2.2, 8.5.4 and 8.1.4 for more information about these constructions. The different question words have different possibilities of combining with one or the other of them. In addition, "plain" finite verbs can also be used in questions.

Sometimes, question words take *-chÿ, -chÿu* or *-chu*. It is not entirely clear to me, what this form is, and whether it is always the same marker only pronounced differently. As for *-chÿ*, it is found on *chija* and *(u)kajane*. This might be the third person suffix. The form *-chÿu*, which may be a cliticised form of the demonstrative *echÿu*, occurs on *chija, juchubu* and *(chi)kuyena, -chu* is only found on *juchubu*. I gloss *-chÿ* as '3', i.e. as third person marker on *(u)kajane*, every other occurrence of *-chÿ, -chÿu* or *-chu* is glossed as 'DEMb?', regardless of its actual pronunciation.[31]

The remainder of this section is structured as follows: 7.4.2.1 is about questions for subject and object participants as well as actions, 7.4.2.2 deals with questions about locations and points in time. In 7.4.2.3, questions for reason and manner are presented, and 7.4.2.4 is about requesting quantities. Finally, 7.4.2.5 describes some very general questions based on the uncertainty marker.

7.4.2.1 Questions for persons and things

The question word *chija* 'what, who' is used to construe different kinds of questions for a referent: it can be used to request for human and non-human entities, animate and non-animate alike. It can be combined with a verbal or non-verbal predicate and the requested participant can be a subject or an object of a verbal clause, one of the constituents of an existential or equative clause or an action.

The question word itself could possibly derive from the noun *-ija* 'name' with a third person possessor, but in any case it is totally grammaticalised and may thus be called an interrogative pronoun.[32] This becomes apparent in questions about the name of somebody, in which the word form *chija* doubles, like in (1153), which was produced by María C. to obtain some information about my family.

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31. Mojeño Trinitario has a "restrictive clitic" *-chu* (Rose 2021, p.c.). Thus in the future, thorough comparison with this language could shed light on the precise function of the Paunaka form(s) found on question words.
32. In addition, *chija* also serves as a indefinite pronoun, see Section 4.1.4.

(1153)   *¿chija chija penu?*

   chija   chi-ija   pi-enu
   what   3-name   2SG-mother

   'what is your mother's name?'

<div align="right">[uxx-p110825l.144]</div>

Sometimes, *-chÿu* or *-chÿ* is attached to *chija*, which could be a cliticised nominal demonstrative (*echÿu*). Like the question word itself, attachment of *-chÿu* seems to be relatively grammaticalised, because a free demonstrative can co-occur, like in (1154), which represents Juana's reaction as reported by herself, when she was offered frogs to eat.

(1154)   *¿chijachÿu echÿu?*

   chija-chÿu   echÿu
   what-DEMb?   DEMb

   'what is this?'

<div align="right">[jxx-a120516l-a.479]</div>

When asking for an action, speakers make use of the verb *-chabu* 'do', which almost exclusively occurs in questions.[33]

The question in (1155) belongs to the repertoire of exchange of pleasantries, when meeting each other, like (1144) and (1145) above. It was produced by Isidro when meeting Swintha.

(1155)   *¿chija pichabu?*

   chija   pi-chabu
   what   2SG-do

   'what are you doing?'

<div align="right">[mdx-c120416ls.005]</div>

The verb can also be used to request what others are doing like in (1156), in which María S. asks about her brother.

(1156)   *¿chija chichabu Miyel?*

   chija   chi-chabu   Miyel
   what   3-do   Miguel

   'what is Miguel doing?'

<div align="right">[rxx-e120511l.337]</div>

Apart from *-chabu* 'do', *chija* is not often combined with a plain finite verb, but a few examples occurred nonetheless. Two are given here.

(1157) is a question the jaguar asks the fox, when he finds him eating cheese in the story told by María S.

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33. The verb may also be nominalised *-chabukene* 'deeds, behaviour', but is not used as a verbal predicate in declarative sentences.

(1157) *"¿chija piniku?"*

  chija pi-niku
  what 2SG-eat

  '"what are you eating?"'

<div align="right">[rxx-n120511l-1.031]</div>

In (1158), the uncertainty marker on the question word tells us that we are dealing with a rhetorical question, that the one who asks does not expect the addressee to know the answer. Juana reports here what she asked her brother, when he told her that a family member had died, but could not say whom it was, because the message he received to tell him about the death was not clear.

(1158) *¿chijakena tepaku?*

  chija-kena   ti-paku
  what-UNCERT 3i-die

  'who may have died?'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-2.285]</div>

If the verb is transitive, it can occur with a third person suffix, a form reserved to express argument focus. This is the case in the following questions.
(1159) was elicited from María S.

(1159) *¿chija tikurabajikuchÿ nÿnikÿiki?*

  chija ti-kurabajiku-chÿ nÿ-nikÿiki
  what 3i-break-3   1SG-pot

  'who broke my pot?'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181024l]</div>

(1160) comes from Juana telling the story about how the silk floss tree obtained its big belly-like trunk: it swallowed all of Jesus' corn, who asks for the fate of this supply of corn here.

(1160) *"¿chija tumuchÿ?"*

  chija ti-umu-chÿ
  what 3i-take-3

  '"who took it?"'

<div align="right">[jxx-n101013s-1.663]</div>

Questions for a possessor are a subtype of this kind of questions, since they all build on a verb. The verb is composed of the attributive prefix *ku-* (see 6.1.3) and either *-peu* 'animal', like in (1161), or *-yae* 'GRN', like in (1162). Both *-peu* and *-yae* also play a role in possession marking of non-possessable nouns (see 5.3.3). A verb construed this way usually takes the third person marker in questions for an owner.
Both examples were elicited from María S.

(1161)   *¿chija tikupeuchÿ ÿba?*

chija   ti-kupeu-chÿ   ÿba
what   3i-have.animal-3   pig

'whose pig is this?'

<div align="right">[rxx-e201231f.08]</div>

(1162)   *¿chijakena tikuyaechÿkenatu San Jorge?*

chija-kena   ti-kuyae-chÿ-kena-tu   San Jorge
what-UNCERT   3i-own-3-UNCERT-IAM   San Jorge

'who may be the owner of (the estate) San Jorge now?'

<div align="right">[rxx-e201231f.34]</div>

The usage of an attributive verb based on either *-peu* or *-yae* can be considered the main strategy of asking for a possessor, but alternatively, any other noun can also be added to the attributive prefix to derive a verb of possession, as in (1163), which was also elicited from María S.

(1163)   *¿chijakena tikumÿubanechÿ eka mÿuji?*

chija-kena   ti-kumÿu-bane-chÿ   eka   mÿu-ji
what-UNCERT   3i-have.garment-3   DEMa   clothes-CLF:soft.mass

'whose garment may this have been before?'

<div align="right">[rxx-e201231f.44]</div>

Finally, *chija* often combines with a relative clause, especially when *-kena* is attached. In many relative clauses, the verb is totally unmarked, but they can be recognised by being introduced with a demonstrative (see 8.5.2). Combination of *chija* with a relative clause can be considered a subtype of cleft construction (see 8.5.4) and reflects the structure of the corresponding question in Spanish: *¿qué/quién será que...?* 'what/who could it be that...?'.

In (1164), Juana starts telling the story about the fox and the jaguarundi, but interrupts herself, because she does not remember which animal the fox met.

(1164)   *i chitupukuku echÿu ¿chijachÿukena echÿu chitupuku?*

i   chi-tupuku-uku echÿu chija-chÿu-kena   echÿu chi-tupuku
and   3-meet-ADD   DEMb   what-DEMb?-UNCERT   DEMb   3-meet

'and he also met the, what was it that he met?'

<div align="right">[jmx-n120429ls-x5.301-302]</div>

(1165) was elicited from María S. The relative clause builds on a non-verbal predicate borrowed from Spanish.

(1165)   *¿chijakena eka pasau chitÿpi? kuina kapunuinabu*

chija-kena   eka   pasau chi-tÿpi kuina kapunu-ina-bu
what-UNCERT   DEMa   pass   3-OBL   NEG   come-IRR.NV-DSC

'what may have happened to him that he doesn't come anymore?'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181022le]</div>

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(1166) was elicited from Juana. Actually, she was asked to translate "why are the cows afraid?", but she construed the question differently.

(1166)   *tipikujane eka bakajane, ¿chijakena eka cheikukuikujane?*

   ti-piku-jane   eka   baka-jane chija-kena   eka   chÿ-eikukuiku-jane
   3i-be.afraid-DISTR DEMa cow-DISTR what-UNCERT   DEMa   3-chase-DISTR

   'the cows are afraid, what may it be that chases them?'

   [jxx-a110923l.18]

Occasionally, in questions with a relative clause, the Spanish relative pronoun *ke* (Span. *que*) shows up instead of a demonstrative, like in (1167). This question was asked by Juana, when we had requested a story from her and Miguel.

(1167)   *¿chijakena ke bakueteachikena?*

   chija-kena   ke   bi-a-kuetea-chi-kena
   what-UNCERT   REL 1PL-IRR-tell-3-UNCERT

   'what can we tell her?'

   [jmx-n120429ls-x5.046]

7.4.2.2   Questions for locations and time

Questions for location and points in time are construed with the question word *juchubu*. The composition of the word is quite opaque, it may be decomposed into *j-u-chu-bu*, with an existential or locative root *-u*, also found in the defective verb *-ubu* 'be, live', the thematic suffix *-chu* and the middle marker *-bu*, so it possibly goes back to a verb maybe one denoting existence or location at a place. It may also be related to the uncertain future particle *uchu* (see 6.8.2.2). As for the first part *j-*, this prefix is also found on the mirative particle *jimu* 'you see' (see Footnote 88 in 6.8.3.1), but it is not productive in any way. The middle marker *-bu* in *juchubu* is dropped in a few examples and sometimes *-chÿu* or *-chu* is attached to the question word. Like *chija juchubu* can also be used as an indefinite pronoun, see 4.1.4.

In questions for location, the question word *juchubu* is usually combined with the copula *kaku* or the defective verb *-ubu* 'be, live'. The first two examples are construed with the non-verbal existential copula *kaku*.

(1168) was produced by Miguel in an elicitation session, in which he and Alejo had two identical sets of wooden toys. The arrangement of toys Alejo saw was given and Miguel was supposed to arrange his set of wooden toys in an identical way by asking questions.

(1168)   *¿juchubu kaku echÿu yÿkÿke?*

   juchubu kaku   echÿu yÿkÿke?
   where   exist DEMb   tree

   'where is the tree?'

   [mtx-e110915ls.19]

In (1169), which comes from the story about the fox and the jaguar told by María S., the jaguar asks the fox, where he had obtained the cheese he was eating. There is no NP denoting the cheese, reference is sufficiently clear from the context.

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(1169)   *"¿juchubu kaku?"*

   juchubu   kaku
   where   exist

   "where is some?"

[rxx-n120511l-1.033]

(1170) and (1171) are examples of the use of the verb *-ubu* in a question for a location.

In (1170), the location of a third person participant is requested. The verb thus takes a third person prefix, more precisely *chÿ-* since this verb is never found with *ti-*. The example comes from Juana's story about how the floss silk tree obtained its big trunk. The question is asked by Jesus in the story in order to obtain information about his supply of corn (see also (1160) above).

(1170)   *"¿juchubu chubu neumuka?"*

   juchubu   chÿ-ubu   neumuka
   where   3-be   supply

   '"where is the supply (of corn)?"'

[jxx-n101013s-1.659]

In (1171), there is second person reference. It is Miguel's translation of the book title of the frog story by Mayer (2003) "Frog, where are you?".

(1171)   *¿juchubu pubu peÿyubi?*

   juchubu   pi-ubu   peÿ-yu-bi
   where   2SG-be   frog-INTS-2SG

   'where are you, dear frog?'

[mox-a110920l-2.197]

It seems that any other verb except for *-ubu* usually occurs in deranked form when combined with *juchubu*, although a few exceptions of this are found. The deranked form of a verb contains the "subordinate" affix *-i*. This form occurs in several contexts of subordination but not exclusively, see Sections 8.1.4 and 8.6.

(1172) is such an exception. It has a dynamic finite verb and was directed to José whom Miguel and Swintha met, when they were just on the way to his house to visit him.

(1172)   *¿juchubu piyuna?*

   juchubu   pi-yuna
   where   2SG-go.IRR

   'where are you going?'

[mox-c110926s-1.132]

In contrast, the question in (1173) is built on a deranked verb. It was produced by Juana to ask me about the route of my flight back to Germany.

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(1173) *¿juchubu piyunia tukiu naka, Argentina?*

       juchubu pi-yun-i-a   *tukiu naka Argentina*
       where   2SG-go-SUBORD-IRR from here Argentina

       'where will you go from here, to Argentina?'

<div align="right">[jxx-e120516l-1.111]</div>

Two more examples with deranked verbs follow. (1174) is from the story about the two men and the devil. Having eaten all meat the men hunted, the devil is still hungry and asks for the pigs' heads.

(1174) *"¿juchubu ebikÿjikiuchÿ echÿu chichÿtijane ÿba?"*

       juchubu e-bikÿjik-i-u-chÿ   *echÿu chi-chÿti-jane ÿba*
       where   2PL-throw.away-SUBORD-REAL-3 DEMb 3-head-DISTR pig

       '"where did you throw the pigs' heads?"'

<div align="right">[mxx-n101017s-1.046-048]</div>

(1175) was translated on request in an elicitation session with Miguel and Juana. Note that Miguel attaches *-chÿu* to the question word (1175a), while Juana does not (1175b). It is not clear whether there is a difference in meaning.

(1175) a. m: *¿juchubuchÿu pimukiu?*

       juchubu-chÿu pi-muk-i-u
       where-DEMb? 2SG-sleep-SUBORD-REAL

       'where do you sleep?'

      b. j: *¿juchubu pimukiu?*

       juchubu pi-muk-i-u
       where   2SG-sleep-SUBORD-REAL

       'where do you sleep?'

<div align="right">[jmx-e090727s.362-363]</div>

Finally, (1176) also has *-chÿu* on the question word but is combined with a finite verb. Everything seems possible here.

The example comes from the recordings made by Riester and reflects the hopelessness of Juan Ch. who knows he is treated badly by his *patrón*, but sees no alternative to staying with him nonetheless.

(1176) *¿juchubuchÿukena biyuna?*

       juchubu-chÿu-kena   *bi-yuna*
       where-DEMb?-UNCERT 1PL-go.IRR

       'where could we go?'

<div align="right">[nxx-p630101g-1.176]</div>

Requesting a location can be considered the primary function of *juchubu*, but it may also be used to ask for a point in time. In the latter case, *juchubu* is usually combined with a word with temporal meaning. In (1177), this is the word *tijai* 'day'. The question was asked by María C. in seeking information about which day the workshop on Paunaka would be held.

(1177)   *¿juchu tijai?*

       juchu   tijai
       where day

       'what day?'

<div align="right">[mux-c110810l.015]</div>

In (1178), *juchubu* combines with *uchu,* a particle denoting an uncertain and in most cases remote future (see 6.8.2.2). Juana asked this question, when she was telling me about Cotoca and felt like going there together with me.

(1178)   *¿juchubukena uchukena biyuna nauku?*

       juchubu-kena   *uchu-kena*   *bi-yuna*   *nauku*
       where-UNCERT UNCERT.FUT-UNCERT 1PL-go.IRR there

       'when may we go there?'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-2.557]</div>

(1179) was produced by Juana in an elicitation session in an imagined beginning of a conversation. Note that the adverb *uchuine* 'just now' denoting a point in time some time ago on the same day has a continuous marker attached here and a third person suffix and thus resembles a verb. I do not know why this is the case.

(1179)   *naka, ¿juchubu chuineneikuchÿ pibÿsÿu?*

       naka juchubu uchuine-neiku-chÿ pi-bÿsÿu
       here   where   just.now-CONT-3   2SG-come

       'how much time has passed since you came here?'

<div align="right">[jxx-e150925l-1.038]</div>

Finally, sometimes there is no temporal expression in combination with *juchubu,* usually, if it is clear enough from the context or due to combination with the verb that a point in time is requested instead of a location. This is the case in the last example in this section, which comes from elicitation with Miguel and has the structure of a cleft construction.

(1180)   *¿juchubukena echÿu pibÿsÿupupunuka?*

       juchubu-kena   *echÿu pi-bÿsÿu-pupunuka*
       where-UNCERT DEMb 2SG-come-REG.IRR

       'when is it that you come back?'

<div align="right">[mxx-e090728s-1.48]</div>

7.4.2.3   Questions for manner and cause

Questions for manner and reason are construed with *(chi)kuyena.* Reason may be an extension from manner, the overlap resembles the overlap between instrumental and causal function of the preposition *-keuchi* (see 4.4.3). The question word derives from the manner verb *-kuye* 'be like this', which always takes the third person marker *chi-* in my corpus even though it is stative by position of irrealis marking (i.e. its irrealis form

<div align="center">466</div>

ist *chakuye,* see also Section 6.3.2, but this one does not occur in questions). When used as a question word, *-na* is added to *chikuye* yielding *chikuyena.*[34] It is not clear what kind of suffix this is, it could be the general classifier *-na,* which we also find with some adjectives (see 4.2.1) or – less probably given the verbal origin – the non-verbal irrealis marker *-ina.* The third person prefix is sometimes dropped, thus we also find *kuyena* in questions.

The question word most often combines with a verb that is introduced by the demonstrative *eka,* a construction that we also sometimes find in complementation (see Section 8.4.3). The verb may be finite or deranked. Sometimes, however, no demonstrative is used together with the finite or deranked verb. Everything seems possible here. I will start with some examples that show the use of the question word in requesting manner and then turn to some examples which illustrate its use in questions for reason.

(1181) was elicited from María S. It has a deranked verb which is not introduced by a demonstrative.

(1181)   *¿kuyena panaiuchi yumaji?*

> *kuyena   pi-ana-i-u-chi   yumaji*
> how   2SG-make-SUBORD-REAL-3   hammock

> 'how do you make the hammock?'

> [rxx-e181022le]

A deranked verb combined with a demonstrative is found in (1182) from Juana telling the story about the fox and the jaguar. This is a question the hungry jaguar asks the fox when he finds him eating cheese.

(1182)   *"¿chikuyena eka pitiuchi eka?"*

> *chikuyena eka   pi-it-i-u-chi   eka*
> how   DEMa 2SG-manage-SUBORD-REAL-3 DEMa

> '"how did you get this?"'

> [jmx-n120429ls-x5.245-246]

(1182) has a finite verb introduced with *eka.* The sentence produced by Miguel, when he helped Juana dig for loam at a place close to Santa Rita. The remote marker *-bane* on the verb indicates that he knows that she has known this place long before.

(1183)   *¿chikuyena eka pitupubanechÿ eka muteji?*

> *chikuyena eka   pi-tupu-bane-chÿ eka   muteji*
> how   DEMa 2SG-find-REM-3   DEMa loam

> 'how did you find the loam?'

> [jmx-d110918ls-1.013]

(1184) can also be analysed as a request for manner, but this is a rhetorical question, so that no answer is expected.

In this example, Juana uses finite verbs together with the question word that are not introduced by *eka.* She told me about a place in the woods, where they wash in a

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34. *Chikuyena* or *kuyena* is also occasionally found in non-interrogative contexts, but *chikuye* or *kuye* without *-na* is never used as a question word.

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big hollow rock. Apparently, the place is watched over by a spirit, because the clothes are often blown away and disappear in the woods, which is difficult to access with all the plants growing there.

(1184) *kimenu nauku ¿kuyena biyuna bisemaika bimÿu nauku?*

        kimenu nauku kuyena bi-yuna   bi-semaika   bi-mÿu   nauku?
        woods there how   1PL-go.IRR 1PL-search.IRR 1PL-clothes there

        'there is the woods, how could we go and look for our clothes there?'

                                                [jxx-p151020l-2]

The next example clearly does not request manner, because it is about the non-realisation of an action. Here, *-chÿ* is attached to the question word, however, this is less frequent with *(chi)kuyena* than with *chija* or *juchubu*, see 7.4.2.1 and 7.4.2.2 above. Like in (1184) above, a finite verb is used, this time in combination with the demonstrative.

In Juana's report, she said this sentence to her daughter, when the latter did not pick up her other daughter at the airport in Spain. Her other daughter was finally deported and had to fly back to Bolivia.

(1185) *¿chikuyenachÿ eka kuina piyuna?*

        chikuyena-chÿu eka   kuina pi-yuna
        how-DEMb?   DEMa NEG 2SG-go.IRR

        'how could you NOT go?'
        or: 'why didn't you go?'

                                        [jxx-p110923l-1.308]

(1186) is similar to (1185) in that it allows a manner and reason reading. The question has no verb, but an equative clause is attached to the question word. It was produced by Clara and refers to Swintha's dreadlocks.

(1186) *¿kuyenakena eka chimukiji eka?*

        kuyena-kena eka   chi-muki-ji eka
        how-UNCERT DEMa 3-hair-COL DEMa

        'how can her hair be like this?'
        or: 'why is her hair like this?'

                                    [cux-c120414ls-2.345]

The last two examples in this section rather request reason than manner and both make use of deranked verbs.

(1187) comes from the story about the fox and the jaguar as told by Miguel. This is what the jaguar asks the vulture, when he discovers that the vulture, who was supposed to watch over the fox, let him escape.

(1187) *"¿chikuyena eka pikujikiuchi eka kupisaÿrÿ?"*

        chikuyena eka   pi-kujik-i-u-chi   eka   kupisaÿrÿ
        how   DEMa 2SG-let.go-SUBORD-REAL-3 DEMa fox

        '"why did you let the fox go?"'

                                        [jmx-n120429ls-x5.179]

Finally, (1188) was elicited from Miguel to be able to ask him questions about the process of baking rice bread that we had filmed.

(1188) *¿chikuyena eka penukiuchÿ echÿu merÿpune naka latakÿye?*

chikuyena	*eka*	*pi-nuk-i-u-chÿ*	*echÿu*	*merÿ-pune*	*naka*
how	DEMa	2SG-put-SUBORD-REAL-3	DEMb	plantain-leave	here

    lata-kÿ-yae
    metal.sheet-CLF:bounded-LOC

'why do you put plantain leaves on the baking tray?'

<div align="right">[mxx-e120415ls.058]</div>

7.4.2.4 Questions for quantities

Questions for quantity build on the question word *kajane* 'how many'. It is composed of a root *ka-* and the distributive suffix *-jane*. As for *ka-*, this possibly the same root we find in the copula *kaku* and the non-verbal motion predicate *kapunu* 'come'. This root might be related to the demonstrative *eka* (see 4.1.3). In some cases, *-chÿ* is added to the question word. Unlike the similar sequence added to other question words, this is never pronounced *-chÿu*, so that there is no reason to believe that it could be a demonstrative. Consequently *-chÿ* is glossed as a third person suffix here. Sometimes *u-* is placed before the question word and in that case, the suffix *-chÿ* always follows, yielding *ukajanechÿ*.[35]

There are not many examples in the corpus which stem from one of the speakers (there are some more examples that were produced by the researchers though). All but one refer to quantities of countable things. Although the semantics of the distributive marker rather seems to impede requesting quantity of a mass noun, Example (1193) lets suggest that it is possible. This is ultimately a matter of semantic extension.

The only example in which the quantity of a solid object is requested is (1189), which was elicited from Miguel, when Swintha wanted to ask him how many baking trays of rice bread he had baked.

(1189) *¿kajane latajane?*

kajane	*lata-jane*
how.many	metal.sheet-DISTR

'how many baking trays?'

<div align="right">[mxx-e120415ls.093]</div>

The question word is used to request age, like in (1190), which was elicited from Isidro.

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35. The word patterns with *punachÿ* 'other', which is also sometimes given as *upunachÿ*. When *u-* is added, those words have the regular iambic pattern of polysyllabic words (see Section 2.6.1), while *kajane* and *punachÿ* are both irregularly stressed on the first syllable. This hints at *u* having been a fixed part of the root once.

(1190) *¿kajane anyu pitÿpi?*

    kajane   *anyo*   *pi-tÿpi*
    how.many   year   2SG-OBL

    'how old are you?'

<div align="right">[dxx-d120416s.073]</div>

The same question was translated by María S. using *ukajanechÿ*, see (1191). It is not clear whether there is any difference to (1190).

(1191) *¿ukajanechÿtu anyo pitÿpi?*

    ukajane-chÿ-tu   *anyo*   *pi-tÿpi?*
    how.many-3-IAM   year   2SG-OBL

    'how old are you?'

<div align="right">[rxx-e151017l]</div>

(1192) comes from the story about the fox and the jaguarundi. The fox asks how many different jumps the jaguarundi knows and the latter answers him that he knows only one, while the fox boosts about knowing twenty-five. Nonetheless, it is this one jump that saves the jaguarundi later; he escapes on a tree, while the fox is killed by dogs.

(1192) *"¿kajane eka piyae lanse?" tikechuchÿji*

    kajane   *eka*   *pi-yae*   *lanse*   *ti-kechu-chÿ-ji*
    how.many   DEMa   2SG-GRN   jump   3i-say-3-RPRT

    '"how many jumps do you know?" he said to him, it is said'
<div align="right">[jmx-n120429ls-x5.355]</div>

The one example in which *kajane* rather refers to a non-countable noun is given in (1193). Juana asks for the quantity of money here that I had to pay for my flight to Germany.

(1193) *¿kajanechÿ eka tÿmue?*

    kajane-chÿ   *eka*   *tÿmue*
    how.many-3   DEMa   money

    'how much money did you pay?'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-1.157]</div>

7.4.2.5 Questions of the 'what about' type

The uncertainty marker *kena* is not precisely a question word, but can be used to construe very general questions. Just like the question word in the other kinds of content questions, *kena* is placed in focus position. It is usually followed by an NP or sometimes by a relative clause, but not directly by a verb. *Kena* signals that there is some uncertainty about a referent. This kind of question can be translated to English with 'what about X?'. Depending on the context, *kena* can be used to request the identity of someone, her disposition, health, activity etc. Some examples follow.

(1194) was produced by María C. to follow up on questions about my parents. Shortly before, she had asked about the name of my mother, see (1153), so it is clear that the information she is seeking is a name here, too.

(1194) *¿kena pia?*

> *kena   pi-a*
> UNCERT 2SG-father

'what about your father?'

[uxx-p110825l.152]

(1195) is the counter question to (1192). The jaguarundi has replied to the fox, telling him that he knows one jump, and now he wants to know about the repertoire of jumps of the fox.

(1195) *"¿i kenabi?" chikechuchÿji echÿu tisepiu*

> *i   kena-bi   chi-kechu-chÿ-ji echÿu tisepiu*
> and UNCERT-2SG 3-say-3-RPRT   DEMb jaguarundi

'"and what about you?", said the jaguarundi to him, it is said'

[jmx-n120429ls-x5.360-361]

(1196) was produced by Juana when turning a page of the book with the frog story and having a first look at the picture.

(1196) *¿kena naka?*

> *kena   naka*
> UNCERT here

'what do we have here?'

[jxx-a120516l-a.033]

In (1197), Juana ponders about her daughter in Argentina, whom she has not seen in a while.

(1197) *¿kenaja nijinepÿi?*

> *kena-ja   ni-jinepÿi*
> UNCERT-EMPH1 1SG-daughter

'how may my daughter be doing?'

[jxx-e120516l-1.022]

Finally, (1198) is an example, in which *kena* combines with a relative clause. María C. asks Miguel here about a leaflet with information about the Paunaka Documentation Project, when Miguel had told her that she would receive another one.

(1198) *¿i kena echÿu chinejiku ukuinebu?*

> *i   kena   echÿu chi-nejiku ukuinebu*
> and UNCERT DEMb 3-leave   some.time.ago

'and what about the one he left some days ago?'

[mux-c110810l.131]

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This is the end of the description of simple clauses. The chapter that follows is about different kinds of combinations of clauses and predicates.

8 Clause combining and complex clauses

Complex sentences contain more than one predication. They typically consist of two (or more) clauses and are classically divided into two different main types: one type includes coordination and the other one subordination. Prototypically, coordinated clauses are semantically independent from each other, and this is reflected by the absence of dependency-marking of any sort. Subordinate clauses, on the other hand, are semantically dependent and marked for this dependency. Unfortunately, however, there is not always a clear correlation between semantic dependency and overt marking of this dependency. The boundaries between coordination and subordination are far from clear-cut, there is rather a continuum which reaches from clauses that are semantically and syntactically independent on one end to semantically and syntactically dependent clauses on the other end and possibly a large number of clauses that fall in-between these two poles (cf. Lehmann 1988).[1] It is thus wise to think about semantic and syntactic dependency independently.

In addition to complex sentences consisting of two (or more) clauses that may be semantically and syntactically more or less dependent on each other, there is another kind of complex clause formation in which one predication is neatly integrated into another one so that the result is a single clause with multiple verbs. An indication of this monoclausality is that only one possibility to negate the whole clause exists, with the negative particle having scope over both predicates (cf. Haspelmath 2016:299 in following Bohnemeyer et al. 2007:501).

The case being complex like this, this chapter draws on the functional-semantic approach by Cristofaro (2003) as regards subordination. According to this approach a subordinate clause lacks assertiveness and subordination is defined as "a situation of functional asymmetry whereby the profile of one of two linked SoAs [= state of affairs[2]] is overriden by that of the other" (Cristofaro 2003:39). Clause combinations in which one clause lacks assertiveness are thus considered as cases of subordination. Clause combinations in which both events are asserted are taken as cases of coordination.

It is further possible to distinguish between different types of subordinate relations in Paunaka: adverbial relations, complement relations, and relative relations. The clauses expressing an adverbial relation are consequently called adverbial clauses, complement relations are expressed by complement clauses and relative relations by relative clauses. Adverbial clauses modify a verb or clause, complement clauses are required as arguments by some verbs, relative clauses modify an argument or, in the case of headless relative clauses, become an argument themselves. This does not imply that there is a 1:1 correspondence between function and form, at least not in Paunaka, differently construed clauses may fulfil one and the same function.

The morphosyntactic repertoire to combine clauses and to form complex single clauses includes asyndetic juxtaposition, syndetic juxtaposition (with independent

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1. Actually the continuum goes even further in that semantically subordinate relations can also be expressed on the word-level thus reducing syntactic complexity again.
2. In this work, I use the term "event" rather than "state of affair". The latter term arose from a specific theoretical approach, i.e. Functional Grammar, but is less common than "event". The terminological distinction is not relevant here.

words functioning as linkers), dependency marking on the verb and deranking. All of them will be explained in more detail below (see 8.1).

Predicates in coordinate clauses are never marked for dependency in any way, but there may be a connective word that specifies the kind of relation between the clauses. Among those relations are temporal sequence, conjunction, disjunction, adversative and consequence coordination. Alternatively, the clauses can be juxtaposed asyndetically, i.e. without any morphosyntactic linking device.

As regards coding of subordination, three strategies prevalent in Amazonian languages have been identified by van Gijn et al. (2011:10). They build on nominalisation, combination of verbs or close integration of different verbs into one clause or even into one verb as given in Figure 8.1.

1. Nominal strategies: the subordinate verb is nominalized, possibly with the retention of (some) verbal categories.

2. Verbal strategies: clause combination of two more or less finite structures, often with a (bound) dependency marker

3. Integrating strategies: the two predicative elements are grammatically integrated, resulting in multi-verb constructions, verb compounds, and affixing.

Figure 8.1: Subordination strategies in South America (van Gijn et al. 2011:10)

In Paunaka's subordinate clause formation, we can observe all of these strategies to a certain degree.

As for verbal strategies, the verb in the subordinate clause can be said to be totally finite, i.e. all categories obligatorily expressed on a main clause predicate, that is person and RS, are expressed in the same way on the subordinate predicate and there is no dependency marker. This does not preclude that the RS of the subordinate predicate is in some cases determined by the main clause predicate or that certain TAME markers on the subordinate predicate provide clues for the interpretation about the specific semantic connection to the main clause. A subordinate clause with a finite verb not marked for dependency, i.e. a verb that is "balanced" to use the terminology of Cristofaro (2003), can be juxtaposed to a main clause without any specific linking device. This is regarded as asyndetic juxtaposition. If there is a linker but no sign of dependency on the subordinate verb itself, I take it as a case of syndetic juxtaposition. Linkers are usually independent words that introduce the subordinate clause. In adverbial clauses, we find connectives, in relative clauses, there are demonstratives, and in complement clauses we marginally find demonstratives, too.

Regarding integrating strategies, these are found in clausal expressions of objects, i.e. in complementation, as well as of goals of motion predicates, i.e. constructions expressing purpose of motion. The subordinate verbs in complementation are usually completely unmarked for dependency, in the expression of purpose of motion, we find two different construction types, one in which there is no sign of dependency either (serial verb construction) and one in which dependency is marked on the purpose verb (motion-cum-purpose construction).

Distinctly nominal strategies are rare in Paunaka, but see 8.1.5 for some examples construed with nominalised verbs that have shown up in the corpus. More importantly, there is one form of the verb that I call "deranked" throughout this grammar in making use of the terminology by Cristofaro (2003), which has partly verbal and partly nominal characteristics. It seems that at least in some constructions such a deranked verb

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is chosen because a (more) nominal word is demanded. Regarding the partly nominal behaviour of deranked verbs, this is bound to these verbs not expressing the category of person in exactly the same way as main clause predicates do, but rather like (internal) possessors of inalienable nouns. This fact should not be overemphasised, though, because subject markers on verbs and possessor markers on nouns are identical except for one third person marker that is only found with verbs. The use of such a deranked verb is the strongest sign for embedding in Paunaka, i.e. the clause containing the deranked verb is dependent, it cannot usually occur on its own (cf. Lehmann 1988).[3]

The remainder of this chapter is organised around the functional-semantic sub-classes of complex sentences and clauses that are traditionally distinguished, coordination (8.2), adverbial relations (8.3), complement relations (8.4) and relative relations (8.5). In addition, a focus construction containing a deranked verb is discussed in 8.6. Before giving details about these different sub-classes of clause combinations and complex clauses, the different construction types found throughout this chapter are presented in greater detail in 8.1. This has the advantage that the same construction types do not have to be explained over and over again, when occurring in different contexts.

8.1 Construction types in clause combining and complex clause formation

When considering the combination of clauses and predicates, five general features turn out to be important in Paunaka: integration, syndesis, dependency marking, deranking, and predetermination of the RS. These features correspond to five general questions given in Figure 8.2.

- Integration: Are both predicates individually negatable?

- Syndesis: Is the kind of relation marked on one of the clauses?

- Dependency marking: Is one of the verbs marked for dependency?

- Deranking: Has one of the verbs acquired some nominal properties?

- Reality status: Is the RS of one of the verbs predetermined by its relation to the other verb?

Figure 8.2: Questions to determine the relation between two clauses or predicates

Considering the overt encoding of relations only, i.e. the features syndesis, dependency marking and deranking, it turns out that there are three different general construction types and one minor one in clause combining and complex clause formation. I call them asyndetic juxtaposition, syndetic juxtaposition, dependency marking and deranking. These four types cross-cut the different functional categories of complex sentences in Paunaka, which are coordination, adverbial relations, complement relations, and relative relations. This means that there is usually no one-to-one correspondence between construction type and functional type of the complex sentence, but it is not the case either that each of the functional types is found with all construction types. In Table 8.1, the construction types are ordered from least overt marking of

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3. See, however, Section 8.6 for clauses in which the deranked verb is the only verb.

dependency to most overt marking of dependency (regarding the first column). Thus the construction type that includes no overt morphosyntactic marking of coordination or subordination, i.e. asyndetic juxtaposition, is positioned on top of the table. Syndetic juxtaposition occupies a middle position. In this construction type, a connective specifies the kind of relation between the two clauses. This is followed by dependency marking, which applies to only one specific construction. The dependent verb is non-controversially verbal. This is different in deranking. The deranked verb is partly verbal and partly nominal, which eases its embedding into the clause. Since deranking predominantly occurs in subordination contexts, we can consider it a sign of dependency marking. It is thus found at the bottom of the table.

All three main construction types are found in clause combining as well as in complex monoclausal constructions, the fourth one (dependency marking) is only found in one complex monoclausal construction. I provide more detailed descriptions for each construction type below. Having identified the different construction types, it is still necessary to check for degree of integration and predetermination of RS of each construction. This will be done in the individual sections on coordinate and subordinate relations, whenever possible.

8.1.1 Asyndetic juxtaposition

The linking of two clauses can be totally unmarked, i.e. there is neither a connective word of any kind nor does one of the predicates have a special form or carry a marker with a peculiar linking function. This is not to say that there is absolutely no means to express the relation between the clauses, on the contrary, TAME markers on the predicates often provide the clue as to how to analyse the relation between the clauses. It is just that these markers are not specified for clause linking, they can also occur when no linking is involved.

Asyndetic juxtaposition is frequently found in coordination of semantically independent clauses, called "parataxis" by Lehmann (1988), but also in subordination, where we recognise that one clause is pragmatically subordinate to the other one without this being marked overtly (cf. Mithun 1988:355). This is the case with most complement and headed relative clauses as well as some adverbial clauses.

As for integration of the two predications into a single clause, this is different for each relation and construction as shown by Figure 8.3 inspired from the diagram given by Payne (1997:307).

one clause   two separate clauses

purpose of   other   relative
motion (SVC) &   adverbial   relations &
complementation   relations   coordination
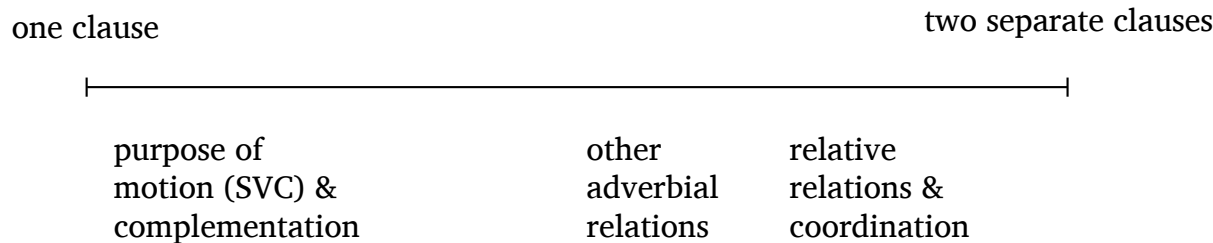
Figure 8.3: Integration of asyndetically juxtaposed clauses

It can be claimed that all coordinated clauses and all headed relative clauses that are asyndetically juxtaposed to another clause have a relatively high degree of independence. They are not totally independent or separate, however, since they occur inside one intonation unit together with the clause they are combined with. On the other hand, in complementation as well as in expressions of purpose of motion the attached

Table 8.1: Construction types in clause combining

Construction type	Independent negation	Type of relation	Comment	Sections
asyndetic juxtaposition	yes	coordination		8.2.1
		adverbial relations		8.3.1.1
		relativisation	typically headed	8.5.1
	no	complementation		8.4.1
		adverbial relations	only purpose of motion	8.3.3.1
syndetic juxtaposition	yes	coordination		8.2.2 – 8.2.6
		adverbial relations		8.3.1.2 – 8.3.1.5
		complementation	marginal type	8.4.3
		relativisation	typically headless	8.5.2
dependency marking	no	adverbial relations	only purpose of motion	8.3.3.2
deranking	yes	adverbial relations		8.3.2
		relativisation	mainly of obliques	8.5.3
	no	complementation	atypical relations	8.4.2
		focus construction	subtype of equative clause	8.6

clause lacks independent negatability, a sign that they are neatly integrated into the main clause. Other types of asyndetically juxtaposed adverbial clauses are closer to the bi-clausal end of the continuum than to the monoclausal one, but they are not as independent as coordinated and headed relative clauses. This is bound to the fact that the RS of the subordinate predicate is sometimes determined in some way by the main clause predicate. Irrealis RS is necessarily found in adverbial clauses of the purpose (except for purpose of motion), apprehensional and counterfactual conditional types. Irrealis RS is also found in complement clauses of desiderative and manipulative predicates. The RS of the subordinate predicate must match the one of the matrix predicate in complement clauses of knowledge and perception predicates. In purpose-of-motion expressions, RS of the purpose predicate has to be either irrealis or identical to the motion verb.

(1199) provides an example for two clauses that are coordinated by asyndetic juxtaposition. There is no sign of connection between the clauses, but the reportive marker *-ji* that occurs twice gives a hint in this case that we are dealing with two clauses since it usually occurs only once per clause (but may also occur twice in one clause, so that this is no reliable evidence).

The example comes from Juana's account about her criminal in-law. He hid away in the forest, but came home at night to eat and sleep until he was arrested one night.

(1199) *bueno, tibÿkuputuji tinikuji*

     bueno ti-bÿkupu-tu-ji   ti-niku-ji
     well   3i-enter-IAM-RPRT 3i-eat-RPRT

     'well, he came in and ate, it is said'

                                 [jxx-p120430l-2.147-148]

For contrast with the coordinated clauses in (1199) above, consider (1200) below, which encodes a subordinate relation, a complement clause whose predicate *tinika* is also completely unmarked for linkage to the matrix predicate, but has to occur with irrealis RS. The example was elicited from María S. and refers to her coati, which was chasing a butterfly.

(1200) *tisachu tinika churupepe*

     ti-sachu ti-nika   churupepe
     3i-want 3i-eat.IRR butterfly

     'it wants to eat the butterfly'

                                 [rxx-e150220s-1.20]

There is little ambiguity about how to analyse the relations in the constructions that show a high degree of integration like complement clauses and serial verb constructions. In coordination and in most expressions of adverbial relations, however, one clause is attached to another one at a higher level, the clause. If the kind of relation between both clauses is not overtly marked by a connective, it is sometimes hard to determine whether a speaker wants to present both events as being asserted, i.e. coordinated, or one of the events as non-asserted and pre-supposed, i.e. in adverbial relation to the other one. It may sometimes even be the case that a clause could alternatively be analysed as a coordinated, adverbial or relative clause.

This is the case in (1201). Both clauses can either be understood to represent two equally asserted facts that contribute to the realisation of the two old ladies that Juana

is a speaker of Paunaka or alternatively the second clause (about understanding Paunaka) may offer the basis for the deduction expressed in the first clause or it can be analysed as a relative clause to modify a participant of the main clause. If we favour the first analysis, this is an example for coordination, the second analysis yields an adverbial clause and according to the third one, we deal with relativisation here.

The sentence was produced by Juana, when she told me of an encounter with two old ladies in Candelaria who first did not recognise that she was a speaker of Paunaka.

(1201) *"kumade, biparienteneyenu eka pimiya chisamuyenu paunaka"*

       kumade bi-pariente-ne-yenu   *eka*   *apimiya chi-samu-yenu paunaka*
       fellow   1PL-relative-POSSD-DED DEMa girl   3-hear-DED   Paunaka

       "'fellow, this girl must be our relative (and) she must understand Paunaka!'"
       or: "'fellow, this girl must be our relative, since apparently she understands Paunaka'"
       or: "'fellow, this girl who apparently understands Paunaka must be our relative'"

                                                                    [jxx-p120515l-1.108]

Even if we decide to analyse a clause as encoding an adverbial relation, it is still not always clear which kind of adverbial relation is encoded like in (1202), which may express a temporal ("when") or a causal ("because") relation. This ambiguity is also reflected in the English translation with a gerund, which leaves the specific kind of semantic connection unexpressed, just like the Paunaka predicate does. However, while the predicate in the English translation is deranked, there is no sign of dependency in the original Paunaka clause.[4] The sentence stems from Miguel's account about how he learned to read, write and calculate.

(1202) *komensau niyunu xhikuerayae tikupirauchunube eka punachÿ sesejinube*

       komensau ni-yunu xhikuera-yae ti-kupirauchu-nube eka   *punachÿ sesejinube*
       begin   1SG-go school-LOC 3i-invite-PL   DEMa other   children

       'I started to go to school being invited by other children'

                                                                   [mxx-p181027l-1.003]

The question of which type of clause connection we are dealing with is of concern for translation into English, where the kind of relation between the events often needs to be expressed overtly, and it is of concern when trying to attach some labels to the examples in this grammar and sort them into different categories. It is, of course, not of concern for the speakers of Paunaka, who do not demand this kind of analysis, when speaking their language. They simply link by intonation what belongs together.

8.1.2 Syndetic juxtaposition

In syndetic juxtaposition, the predicates of both clauses are balanced, just like in asyndetic juxtaposition, but there is a linking element that specifies the kind of relation between the clauses. In Paunaka, we find syndetic juxtaposition in coordination and in

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4. The translation fails to capture another peculiarity: the verb in the adverbial clause of the Paunaka example, besides not involving passivisation like the English translation, has no object marker and is thus best analysed as encoding the event in such a way that children went around and invited other children to come to school, i.e. it was not only Miguel who was invited.

adverbial linking. A connective is placed between the two clauses in these cases. There is always only one connective word per connection, so we can speak of a monosyndetic pattern (cf. Haspelmath 2004:4). We can also speak of syndetic juxtaposition in defining the construction type of most headless and a few headed relative clauses and of a marginal type of complement clauses. However, in these cases, it is not a connective but a nominal demonstrative that serves as linker.

On the integration scale given in Figure 8.4, syndetic complementation is possibly found far on the left-hand side, I use the word "possibly" here, because this is really a marginal type of complementation, so that I cannot provide much information about it. Headless relative clauses share with complement clauses that they are integrated into the main clause as an argument. However, in contrast to complement clauses, headless relative clauses can be negated separately. Relative relations are thus placed right of complementation. Adverbial relations and coordination are found at the right side of the scale, however since adverbial clauses lack assertiveness, they are less independent than coordinated clauses. Since in syndetic juxtaposition both of them are overtly linked to another piece of discourse, they are both less independent than the asyndetically juxtaposed ones.

one clause   two separate clauses

|--|

(complementation?)   relative   adverbial   coordination
                        relations relations
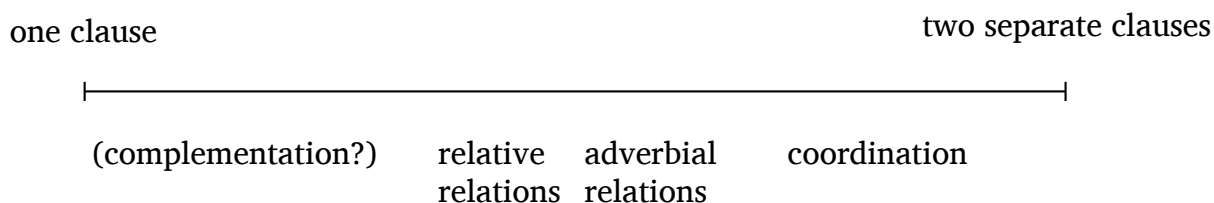
Figure 8.4: Integration of syndetically juxtaposed clauses

As for coordination and adverbial relations, there is no ambiguity as to which kind of semantic relation between the clauses is expressed since there are several different connectives (see 4.5 for an overview of connective words). (1203) involves coordination with the sequential connective *te*. Like (1199) above, it is about the last things Juana's brother did before he suddenly died.

(1203) *titupunubu terminalyae te tiyunu mikroyae*

      ti-tupunubu terminal-yae te ti-yunu mikro-yae
      3i-arrive bus.station-LOC SEQ 3i-go microbus-LOC

      'he arrived at the bus station and then went by microbus'
<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-2.402]</div>

In (1204) on the other hand, we have a subordinate clause, which is introduced by the connective *kue* 'if, when'. This connective marks the clause as an antecedent in a conditional sentence. The verb in the antecedent clause is not marked for subordination, but it necessarily takes irrealis RS since it refers to a non-factual event. The sentence was produced by Miguel, when inviting María C. to come to the workshop on Paunaka we had organised in 2011. Her husband was very ill, so she doubted that she would be able to come. Miguel was also sure that María C.'s husband could not stay at home alone.

(1204) *kue piyuna tiyunauku echÿu*

       kue *pi-yuna*   *ti-yuna-uku*   *echÿu*
       if   2SG-go.IRR 3i-go.IRR-ADD DEMb

       'if you go, he has to go, too'

<div align="right">[mux-c110810l.042]</div>

In some relative clauses, typically the headless ones, the linking element is a nominal demonstrative, thus it is not specialised as a connective per se. The demonstrative precedes the otherwise completely unmarked clause just like it would precede a noun. This can be considered as a sign of the verb having gained some nominal characteristics. (1205) offers one example.

María C. asks Miguel here about a sheet of paper with some information about our project that Federico had given her a few days earlier.

(1205) *¿i kena echÿu chinejiku ukuinebu?*

       i   *kena*   *echÿu* *chi-nejiku* *ukuinebu*
       and UNCERT DEMb 3-leave   some.time.ago

       'and what about the one he left some days ago?'

<div align="right">[mux-c110810l.131]</div>

8.1.3 Dependency marking

There is only one specific construction in which a finite verb carries a dependency marker: the motion-cum-purpose construction, in which the purpose verb is marked by the dislocative suffix (see 6.6.4). This suffix also occurs in other contexts that have nothing to do with dependency. It may have had primarily other functions in older times, but this is relatively restricted today. In the motion-cum-purpose construction, the verb expressing purpose is dependent on the one expressing motion by having the same subject and the same RS. Thus, the dislocative marker can be considered a marker of this dependency. The dislocative marker occurs directly after the verb stem, but does not cause deletion of the thematic suffixes. It inflects for RS.

Since the purpose verb in a motion-cum-purpose construction cannot be negated individually, the construction belongs to the integrating monoclausal type, see Figure 8.5.

one clause   two separate clauses

⊢—————————————————————————⊣

       purpose of
       motion (MCPC)
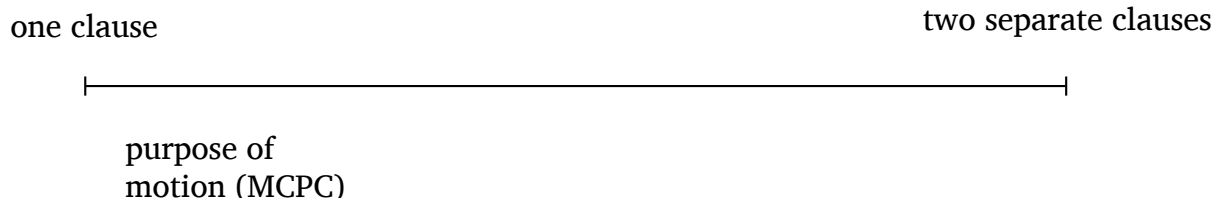
Figure 8.5: Integration of verbs marked for dependency

A motion predicate, most typically the verb *-yunu* 'go', is combined with another verb that encodes the purpose of the motion. The purpose verb carries the dislocative suffix and is thus marked as dependent, but does not have any nominal properties in contrast to the deranked subordinate verb (see the following Section 8.1.4).

<div align="center">481</div>

One example of a motion-cum-purpose construction is (1206). It was elicited from Miguel.

(1206) *niyuna ninikupa*

       ni-yuna   *ni-niku-pa*
       1SG-go.IRR 1SG-eat-DLOC.IRR

       'I will go to eat'

<div align="right">[mxx-e160811sd.174]</div>

If we exchange the verb containing the dislocative suffix by one with the subordinate suffix *-i*, the meaning of the sentence changes, compare to (1207), which was also elicited from Miguel.

(1207) *niyuna ninikia*

       ni-yuna   *ni-nik-i-a*
       1SG-go.IRR 1SG-eat-SUBORD-IRR

       'I will go in order to eat'

<div align="right">[mxx-e160811sd.176-177]</div>

In (1206) motion is directed towards the place where the food is, this is not necessarily the case in (1207), which only specifies that the speaker moves from or to a place and that the purpose for this motion is eating, but the exact relation between going and eating is not specified. Actually, though grammatically correct, speakers would normally not use a sentence like (1207), exactly because the relation between both predicates is too vague. The use of deranked verbs with the subordinate suffix *-i* is the topic of the next section.

8.1.4 Deranking

A verb can be marked as subordinate by a suffix *-i*. Verbs that take *-i* partly lose their verbal properties, they are deranked. Deranked verbs occur in different kinds of adverbial clauses, in a few atypical complement clauses, in the relativisation of obliques and in a specific focussing construction (including some questions). They sometimes also simply pop up for no apparent reason – or at least no reason obvious to me. The suffix *-i* can thus be considered a multi-purpose subordinator. The different constructions with a deranked verb occupy different positions on the integration scale as is illustrated in Figure 8.6. In focus constructions and complementation, the deranked verb constitutes an argument and is thus completely integrated. In relative and adverbial clauses it acts as a modifier and as such it is also individually negatable. Since the clause with the deranked verb could not occur independently in this way, they occupy a middle position on the scale.

A clause with a deranked verb usually contains no other means to establish the link to another clause. Occasionally, however, we find it being combined with a preposition in adverbial clauses or with a demonstrative in relative clauses.

The subordinate suffix directly follows the last consonant or vowel of the stem of an active verb, thus it directly precedes the RS marker.[5] This can be seen in (1208) and

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5. Stative verbs do usually not take this suffix with a few exceptions and there are also a few cases in the corpus in which a non-verbal predicate takes the subordinate marker, e.g. the non-verbal predicate *kapunu* 'come' sometimes has a subordinate form *kapuniu*.

one clause		two separate clauses

focus constructions,	adverbial relations,	
(complementation)	relative relations	
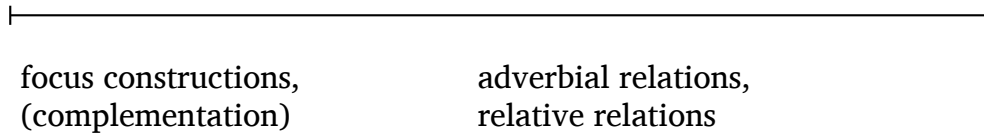
Figure 8.6: Integration of deranked clauses

(1209), which both contrast an active finite verb with its deranked form. The finite verbs are given in a) and the deranked forms in b). In (1208a), we have the verb *-yunu* 'go', which is a verb that does not take a thematic suffix. Its RS is realis by absence of any irrealis marking. In (1208b), the deranked form of the verb is given, with the subordinate marker interrupting the sequence of the last stem consonant /n/ and the default/realis marker *-u*. It is quite unusual that a well-formed CV syllable is broken up to insert some grammatical material in Paunaka, but exactly this happens, when the subordinate marker is attached to a verb stem. The default/realis marker follows the subordinate marker and is glossed as 'realis' in this case.[6] In (1209a), we have a verb whose stem ends in a thematic suffix *-ka* with irrealis RS in this case. The subordinate form of the verb in (1209b) is built the same way as the one in (1208b): the subordinate marker breaks up the sequence of the last consonant of the stem, which is thematic /k/ in this case, and the irrealis marker *-a*. The deranked verbs are translated with English gerunds, which I believe most closely reflects the status of Paunaka deranked verbs.

(1208)   a. *niyunu*

        ni-yunu
        1SG-go

        'I go'

   b. *niyuniu*

        ni-yun-i-u
        1SG-go-SUBORD-REAL

        'my going'

(1209)   a. *pinika*

        pi-nika
        2SG-eat.IRR

        'you will/can/must eat'

   b. *pinikia*

        pi-nik-i-a
        2SG-eat-SUBORD-IRR

        'your (future/possible/forced) eating'

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6. Regarding the question why the /u/ is glossed as realis in the subordinate form *-yuniu* but not in the non-subordinate verb stem *-yunu*, this is discussed in 6.5.1.

Regarding their part of speech behaviour, deranked verbs are partly verbal and partly nominal. Their verbal behaviour is bound to the way they mark RS. As we have just seen in the previous Examples (1208) and (1209), there is a suffix *-u* for realis and a suffix *-a* for irrealis RS. This kind of RS marking is identical to that of finite verbs, and it is exclusively found on verbs (see 6.5). Paunaka also has a non-verbal irrealis marker, but it has a different form, *-ina* (see 5.5 and 7.2).

Subordinate verbs behave like nouns as concerns person marking. Person markers are identical for both nouns and verbs with one exception, the third person marker *ti-*, which is only found on intransitive verbs and transitive verbs with SAP objects or non-emphasised third person objects (see 6.4.2). The marker *chÿ-* is used to encode third person possessors on nouns, on verbs it encodes 3＞3 relationships. Deranked verbs always take *chÿ-* for third person indexing. The marker *ti-* does not occur, not even with intransitive verbs. This means that person marking on these subordinate verbs is achieved in the same way as possessor marking on nouns (see 5.3). Consider Example (1210), which contrasts an intransitive finite verb taking a third person subject indexed by *ti-*, with the same verb in deranked form that takes the prefix *chi-* (an allomorph of *chÿ-*).

(1210)   a.   *tiyunu*

   ti-yunu
   3i-go

   'he/she/it goes'

   b.   *chiyuniu*

   chi-yun-i-u
   3-go-SUBORD-REAL

   'his/her/its going'

According to Cristofaro (2003:69), "[s]ome languages express person agreement distinctions in the dependent clause by means of possessive affixes", and by doing so, they "reflect a conceptualization of the dependent SoA as a thing rather than a process" (Cristofaro 2003:285), i.e. the subordinate predicate is integrated into the main clause as a "unitary whole" rather than a process that involves a sequence of different states that have to be cognitively processed in succession (Cristofaro 2003:262). However, the fact that Paunaka marks subjects of deranked verbs like possessors should not be overemphasised, since the effect of using possessor markers instead of subject markers is considerably small. It is only visible with a small number of verbs after all: intransitives with a third person subject and transitives with a third person subject and an SAP object.

Apart from the person marker, there is usually nothing else on the deranked verb that could indicate its nominal status. There are cases in which speakers translate deranked verbs to Spanish with a finite verb and other cases, in which they find a noun more appropriate. It is typically action nominalisations (cf. Comrie & Thompson 2007:335) they use in the latter cases. While translation to another language certainly does not prove the status of the word in the source language, it can be taken as proof that Paunaka uses deranked verbs in situations that are cross-linguistically apt to be encoded by finite verbs as well as situations that can cross-linguistically be associated with nominalisation.

There are even a few cases, in which a deranked verb takes a locative marker (see 5.8). This is regularly done with the word *-ubiu* 'house', as in (1211). The word must have arisen as a subordinate verb, but is now best considered a noun with the meaning 'house' (due to a former lexicalisation process). In addition to frequently taking the locative marker, it also takes the non-verbal irrealis marker. (1211) and (1212) provide two examples of the word *-ubiu* 'house' with nominal morphology, the locative marker *-yae* and the non-verbal irrealis marker *-ina* respectively. (1211) provides an analysis in which the noun is split into its separate morphemes to show its origin as a deranked verb, in (1212) the full form *-ubiu* is glossed as a noun 'house', which is the way I usually analyse this word in the grammar.[7]

(1211) *pitupunubutu nubiuyae*

      pi-tupunubu-tu nÿ-ub-i-u-yae
      2SG-arrive-IAM 1SG-be-SUBORD-REAL-LOC

      'you have arrived at my house'

                                                   [rxx-e181017l]

(1212) *kuina nubiuna*

      kuina nÿ-ubiu-ina
      NEG   1SG-house-IRR

      'I don't have a house (in Santa Cruz)'

                                           [rxx-e120511l.233]

Locative marking is rarely found with other deranked verbs, but consider (1213), which was also translated to Spanish by María S. with a noun, *carta* 'letter'. There are no other cases to my knowledge in which a deranked verb takes the non-verbal irrealis marker.

(1213) *chisuikiuye*

      chi-suik-i-u-yae
      3-write-SUBORD-REAL-LOC

      'in her letter'

                                          [rxx-e121128s-1.026]

Deranked verbs have been found in combination with prepositions in some sub-classes of adverbial clauses, another indication for their partly nominal status. Consider (1214), which has a purpose clause with a deranked verb preceded by the preposition *tÿpi* 'OBL'.

The sentence was produced by Miguel to explain María C. the content of a leaflet with information about the workshop on Paunaka held in 2011.

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7. In addition to the inalienably possessed noun *-ubiu* 'house', there is also a free form *ubiae* 'house', which most probably goes back to a deranked verb as well, but with irrealis marking: *ub-i-a* be-SUBORD-IRR. The /e/ attached to the end of this word could go back to a nominalising suffix that is not productive anymore, compare Mojeño *-re* (Olza Zubiri et al. 2004:630; Rose 2014a:85) and remember that Paunaka lost /ɾ/ (see 2.1.1.3). A few cases of a nominalising *-e* in Paunaka are described in 5.2.5.

(1214) *eka ajumerku tÿpi piyunia nauku unekuyae reunion*

eka	*ajumerku*	*tÿpi*	*pi-yun-i-a*	*nauku*	*uneku-yae*	*reunion*
DEMa	paper	OBL	2SG-go-SUBORD-IRR	there	town-LOC	meeting

'this paper is for you to go to the meeting in town'

[mux-c110810l.012]

TAME marking on deranked verbs is very restricted. A few cases of iamitive and uncertainty marking occur, but they are so rare that they should be considered exceptional. Thus, we can state that in general TAME marking is lacking on deranked verbs, which is cross-linguistically quite frequent in subordination (cf. Cristofaro 2003:66).

Sometimes the third person suffix *-chÿ* occurs with deranked verbs, which is remarkable because it is unusual that non-subordinate verbs take this suffix (see 6.4.2). Nouns do not take it at all. Its presence on deranked verb may be motivated by the neutralisation of the distinction usually encoded by the two third person prefixes *ti-* and *chÿ-*, with the latter one overtly encoding that there is a third person object. Object marking by *-chÿ* often occurs when the subordinate verb has a different subject than the main clause predicate and additionally its object is not identical with an argument of the main clause. This is not restricted to verbs with third person subjects though, as can be seen in (1215), which comes from elicitation with Miguel. For more examples see 6.4.2.2. It is not totally clear to me why deranked transitive verbs are in general more prone to take third person suffixes than finite ones, even in constellations like (1215), in which a corresponding finite verb would not index a third person object. It does not seem to depend on presence or absence of a conominal object.

(1215) *nibÿchekubi pupuniachÿ nijinepÿi*

ni-bÿcheku-bi	*pi-upun-i-a-chÿ*	*ni-jinepÿi*
1SG-order-2SG	2SG-bring-SUBORD-IRR-3	1SG-daughter

'I sent you to pick up my daughter'

[mxx-e160811sd.301]

I have not found a descriptive term that would well fit Paunaka's deranked verbs, the closest related, but not totally matching concept is that of a converb. Due to the definition given by Haspelmath (1995:3), a converb is "a nonfinite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination." I have shown above that deranked verbs are arguably less finite than non-subordinate verbs, considering that they index subjects like possessors and in general do not mark TAME distinctions, but I would not define them as completely nonfinite since they inflect for RS in just the same way that non-subordinate verbs do, with RS beside person being the only category that is obligatorily expressed on verbs. In addition, deranked verbs are indeed used in adverbial clauses, but also found in relativisation, marginally in complementation and in focus constructions. I am not sure whether adverbial subordination can be considered their "main function". Comparison with other Amazonian languages does not help solving the terminological issue: In Hup, a Nadahup language spoken in the Vaupés region on both sides of the Brazilian and Columbian border, Epps (2009) found a multi-purpose dependency marker that occurs on relative as well as adverbial clauses; she uses the term "converb" only if a verb that is marked for dependency in this way occurs in an adverbial clause. When it occurs in relative clauses, she uses the term "relative" instead. Since I am more interested in finding a term that describes the verb form rather than its function in different clauses, I refrain from the use of "converb" in this gram-

mar, but rather speak of "deranked verb", subordinate verb marked by *-i* or the like whenever I refer to a verb that is marked as subordinate in this way.[8]

Considering the many different environments in which these deranked verbs occur, what is the common function of the subordinator *-i* in Paunaka? All of the cases in which deranked verbs are found have in common that a dependency of the subordinate verb to another clause is *overtly* expressed. Sometimes it just seems necessary to be explicit about a dependent relation. In adverbial clauses, deranked verbs mark that the clause has to be interpreted in relation to another clause, that the connection is not co-incidental, but involves reason, purpose or non-incidental temporal overlap. As regards complement clauses, deranked verbs are used whenever an unusual relation is involved, e.g. because the matrix verb does not normally take clausal complements. In relative clauses, deranked verbs occur in the relativisation of obliques, which are found on the right side of the relativisation hierarchy, i.e. are cross-linguistically found more rarely in relative clauses and are thus possibly more difficult to access. Last, deranked verbs can also be used to indicate that the preposed constituent has a special discourse status. In all of these cases, the actual process encoded by the verb is downplayed in order to emphasise that another relation, be that another process or a stative relation, is more prominent, more important for the development of discourse (see also 8.6, where this issue is discussed in more detail.)

The use of deranked verbs is the most overt means in Paunaka to mark subordinate status of a predicate. In using a deranked verb a Paunaka clause comes as close as possible to what constitutes a typical embedded clause: a subordinate clause including a less finite verb filling the role of an argument or modifier in its main clause (cf. Lehmann 1988:184). In focus constructions and complementation, the deranked verb acts like an argument, in relative clauses and adverbial clauses as a modifier. Deranked verbs are in general independently negatable, though this may be rare in actual discourse.

A few cases of full nominalisation in subordination have also been found in the corpus. This is the topic of the next section.

8.1.5 Nominalisation

It has been noted over and over again that nominalisation is a wide-spread strategy in subordination marking throughout South American languages (e.g. Derbyshire & Pullum 1986:19; van Gijn et al. 2011:10-13; Aikhenvald 2012:332-334). Nominalised verbs are also found in subordinate clauses of closely related Baure (Danielsen 2011a),[9] so why does Paunaka use a different strategy?

The nominaliser *-kene* is only rarely used in current Paunaka in general, also as concerns lexical nominalisations, see Section 5.2.5. New nouns do not seem to be derived

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8. It should be noted at this place that Rose (2021, p.c.) analyses a cognate form of the subordinate marker *-i* as an applicative suffix in Trinitario. However, it seems that the Trinitario verbs containing this suffix do not occur in all of the contexts found with the Paunaka marker. In Trinitario, verbs with the suffix mainly show up in main clauses with an unmarked and preposed oblique (i.e. the applied object). Although this is also found in Paunaka (see 8.6), an analysis as applicative fails to explain other contexts. As for Baure, Danielsen (2007, 2011a) relates the cognate form to locative subordination. Some of the examples she gives could also qualify as proof of the applicative hypothesis, but not all of them. A thorough comparison between all three languages, possibly also taking into account Terena, is certainly desirable.

9. Actually, the Baure participles with the suffix *-cho* come relatively close in function to Paunaka's deranked verbs, but the latter are found in more contexts. The suffix *-i* has a cognate *-iy* in Baure, but the Baure form is only used in adverbial "locative subordination". Different kinds of relative clauses build on different kinds of nominalisers in Baure (cf. Danielsen 2011a).

with it at all. Instead of this, finite verbs can take a demonstrative and be used like a noun, this is analysed as a case of (headless) relativisation (see Section 8.5.2).

In the recordings by Riester from the 1950s, however, we find more nominalised verbs than in the recordings made by the PDP and colleagues between 2008 and 2018. A few of them can be analysed as being used for subordination purposes.

In (1216), the nominalised verb seems to express the purpose of the main verb, i.e. an adverbial relation. Juan Ch. is speaking about his *patrón* who is supposed to support his workers.[10]

(1216) *tikupaiku ÿba binikeneina*

    ti-kupaiku   ÿba bi-ni-kene-ina
    3i-slaughter pig 1PL-eat-NMLZ-IRR

    'he slaughters a pig for us to eat'

<div align="right">[nxx-p630101g-2.45]</div>

In (1217), we have a nominalised verb following *juchubu* 'where', which is used as an indefinite pronoun here. The nominalised verb thus functions as a relative clause that specifies the indefinite pronoun.[11] In current Paunaka, it is rather a balanced verb that is used in such constructions (see Section 4.1.4). In this sentence, Juan Ch. states that even if he wanted to leave Retiro, the place where he was living and working for his *patrón*, there was no place that he could go to.

(1217) *kuina juchubu biyunukeneina*

    kuina juchubu bi-yunu-kene-ina
    NEG   where   1PL-go-NMLZ-IRR.NV

    'there is nowhere we could go'

<div align="right">[nxx-p630101g-1.177]</div>

It is, of course, impossible to draw conclusions from two examples, but given the higher frequency of nominalised verbs in Juan Ch.'s speech in general, it seems possible that nominalised verbs were once used a lot more than today and possibly with a wider array of functions including subordination.

To sum up, this section has shown different possibilities of combining clauses and construing complex clauses: asyndetic juxtaposition, syndetic juxtaposition, dependency marking, and deranking. Full nominalisation does not play a major role and is thus neglected in everything that follows. The following sections describe the different semantic-functional subtypes in clause combining and complex clause formation.

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10. The exact context of this utterance is not clear, unfortunately. Shortly before, Juan Ch. had been complaining about the *patrón*, what follows is unintelligible, and then he speaks about all the meat the workers get, which is the passage, the example is taken from. Shortly after, he goes on and speaks about how bad nutrition is, but this, apparently, was in times before. While Juana and Miguel did not agree on the exact wording here, time setting in former times was recognised by both.

11. The analysis as a nominalised verb depends on the presence of the non-verbal irrealis marker *-ina* here. Consider Example (182) in 4.1.4, which is from the same context and structurally similar. The form *-kine* is analysed as emphatic marker there since the verb carries a verbal irrealis prefix (see also Section 6.9.4).

8.2 Coordinated clauses

Coordination has been defined by Haspelmath (2004:34) as follows: "The term *coordination* refers to syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements." As for the term "syntactic construction", I consider only those clauses as coordinated that occur within the same intonation unit (Mithun 1988:332). Since I have not undertaken a full-fledged analysis of intonation patterns, one intonation unit is defined mainly on the basis of pauses, i.e. in one intonation unit there is no pause between the two clauses. In addition, if intonation is not falling at the end of a clause, this is considered a further sign of connectedness to a second one. In contrast to subordination, all clauses in coordination are asserted.

Coordination of clauses is signaled by either asyndetic juxtaposition or syndetic juxtaposition with a connective (see 8.1.1 and 8.1.2 for a general discussion of the construction types). The structure of asyndetically and syndetically coordinated clauses is given in Figure 8.7.

[[MC] [MC]]
[[MC] co [MC]]

Figure 8.7: Sentence structure of juxtaposed coordinated clauses

As for asyndetic juxtaposition, this is found mostly for conjunctive and sequential coordination. In syndetic juxtaposition, connectives specify the kind of connection between the two clauses. The connectives used in coordination are given in Table 8.2. Apart from *te* 'then' and *nechikue* 'therefore', all of them have been borrowed from Spanish, which is not surprising considering the high degree of borrowability of connectives in general (cf. Matras 2009:194). All coordinating connectives not only combine clauses uttered within one intonation unit, but also occur at the beginning of clauses that form their own intonation unit. The latter is analysed as discourse connection, not clause combining, i.e. the connective is used to link a piece of information to an entire episode, a feature which may just be typical for spoken mediality (cf. Chafe 1988). I will confine the discussion to coordination of clauses here, i.e. those uttered within one intonation unit, although the distinction between clause connection and discourse connection is certainly a gradual one.[12] Verbs in coordinated clauses are never deranked or marked for dependency – at least not for the sake of signaling linking. RS of both clauses is usually independent from each other with one exception: if the first clause encodes future reference by having irrealis RS, a coordinated clause that expresses consequence or temporal succession cannot have realis RS. This does not exclude the combination of irrealis and realis clauses for other reasons.

The remainder of this section is organised as follows. 8.2.1 deals with asyndetic coordination, the other sections deal with coordinated clauses that are linked by a connective: 8.2.2 is about sequential coordination including the connective *te* 'then', 8.2.3 deals with conjunctive coordination with the connective *i* 'and', in 8.2.4 disjunctive coordination with the connective *o* 'or' is described, 8.2.5 is about adversative coordination with *pero* 'but' and finally, 8.2.6 deals with consecutive coordination, a minor type of clause combining, with the connectives *nechikue* 'therefore' and *entonses* 'thus'.

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12. For a preliminary analysis of discourse connection see Danielsen & Terhart (2015a:138-142).

Table 8.2: Connectives in coordinated clauses

Connective	Translation	Clause type
entonses	thus	consecutive coordination
i	and	conjunction
nechikue	therefore	consecutive coordination
o	or	disjunction
pero	but	adversative coordination
te	'SEQ' ('then')	sequential coordination

8.2.1 Asyndetic coordination

Clauses can be coordinated by simply juxtaposing them. They occur within one into-
nation unit, but there is no morphosyntactic signal of connection. These clauses are
asyndetically coordinated.[13]

According to Mithun (1988:335), in asyndetic coordination clauses "conjoined with
no intonation break typically describe subparts of what is conceived of as a single event.
One clause typically sets the stage for the other by positioning a major participant. [...]
By contrast, clauses separated by comma intonation typically represent conceptually
distinct aspects of an action, event, or scene. The conjoined clauses most often describe
sequential actions." Alternatively, the latter can also "describe simultaneous aspects of
a scene or state" (Mithun 1988:336). As for the notion of "single event", this is hard
to prove, because whether something is perceived as a single event or as multiple
connected events is connected to cognitive processes, which I do not have access to.[14]
Or, as Haspelmath (2016:306) states, "there is no objective way of identifying a single
event and distinguishing it from a set of several events." For the time being, I do not
make any distinctions between single and multiple events.

What we do find in coordination of clauses in Paunaka is that one clause sets the
stage for another one by mentioning a participant. Both of these clauses typically have
the same RS.[15] They usually share at least one participant and often but not always
describe sequential actions.

Consider (1218), where subject and object of both clauses are identical. A partic-
ipant, *echÿu jente* 'the man', is introduced as an object by a conominal NP in the first
clause. The man is already well-established in the story, but not accessible as a possi-
ble object of the verb. This very same participant also acts as an object of the second
clause, this time without being conominated. The subject of both clauses is topical and

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13. Asyndetic juxtaposition is also found in coordination of NPs, consider (i):

(i) *nÿenu nÿa tebuku amuke*

   nÿ-enu   *nÿ-a*   *ti-ebuku* *amuke*
   1SG-mother 1SG-father 3i-sow   corn

   'my mother and my father sowed corn'

                                  [rxx-p181101l-2.200]

14. Defina (2016) describes an interesting approach, considering gestures co-occurring with serial verbs
as indication of whether a sequence of verbs is considered as one or several events. This approach
requires excellent video recordings, something that could be worth collecting in the future as long as
there are still speakers available.

15. I do not follow Mithun (1988) in making a distinction between coordination of predicates and
clauses since a single predicate can be a full clause in Paunaka, see 7.1.4.

thus not conominated. The sentence stems from the tale told by María S. about the two men who meet the devil. The devil demands food and one man gives him. When the food is finished, the devil is still hungry, so he grabs the man and takes him with him in order to eat him.

(1218)   *chakachutuji echÿu jente chumu*

    chÿ-akachu-tu-ji echÿu jente chÿ-umu
    3-lift-IAM-RPRT DEMb man 3-take

    'he picked up the man, it is said, and took him (with him)'
                     [rxx-n120511l-2.57]

In (1219), the conominated object participant of the first verb, *aitubuchepÿimÿnÿ* 'little boy', is a raised possessor belonging to the incorporated body part *-bÿke* 'face'. It acts as the subject of the second, intransitive verb without being conominated again. The example stems from Miguel's description of the frog story, more precisely the picture on which the owl flies out of its hole in the tree and boy falls from the tree.

(1219)   *i chijipubÿkejukukena eka aitubuchepÿimÿnÿ tibÿtupaikubu tukiu anÿke*

    i chi-jipu-bÿke-ju-ku-kena   eka aitubuchepÿi-mÿnÿ ti-bÿtupaikubu
    and 3-jump-face-?-TH1-UNCERT DEMa boy-DIM   3i-fall

     tukiu anÿke
     from up

    'and it seems that it jumps into the face of the little boy and he falls down from above'
                     [mox-a110920l-2.102]

In (1220), the subject of both verbs is identical, however, the participant *chÿkuaji* 'her fishing net', which is introduced in the first clause, is not in a grammatical relation to the predicates of the second clause, two verbs in an motion-cum-purpose construction (see 8.3.3.2). However, the fishing net sets the ground semantically for the second clause, which is about fishing. Even more so, the verb *-epuiku* 'fish' is only used for fishing with a net; when the Paunaka speak about fishing with a hook, they use a different verb. This example was produced by María C. to illustrate that her mother did not care for her, when she had a difficult birth and was weak by loss of blood.

(1220)   *chakapaiku chÿkuaji tiyunu tepuikupu*

    chÿ-akapaiku chÿ-kuaji ti-yunu ti-epuiku-pu
    3-lift   3-net   3i-go 3i-fish-DLOC

    'she picked up her net and went fishing'
                     [ump-p110815sf.433]

We also find asyndetic juxtaposition in coordination of clauses with SAP participants. This is the case in (1221), in which both clauses have first person plural subjects. With this sentence, Miguel states that they went away from Altavista and came to Santa Rita.

(1221)   *biyunu bibÿsÿupunutu naka*

     bi-yunu   bi-bÿsÿupunu-tu   naka
     1PL-go   1PL-come-IAM   here

     'we went and then came here'

<div align="right">[mqx-p110826l.380]</div>

Except for (1219), in all examples presented up to here, the subjects of both co-ordinated clauses were identical. Another example for coordinated clauses with non-identical subjects is (1222). The first person participant is introduced as the object of the first clause by being indexed on the verb with the suffix *-nÿ*, and then it acts as the subject of the intransitive verb in the second clause, being indexed by a prefix. The sentence comes from Miguel's account about how he acquired literacy and learned to calculate and it refers to the school.

(1222)   *bueno, tisuichunÿtu echÿu profesor nipajÿkutu*

     bueno   ti-suichu-nÿ-tu   *echÿu   profesor   ni-pajÿku-tu*
     well   3i-inscribe-1SG-IAM   DEMb   teacher   1SG-stay-IAM

     'well, the teacher inscribed me and I stayed'

<div align="right">[mxx-p181027l-1.019]</div>

The examples I have given up to this point resemble the ones cited by Mithun (1988) to exemplify her category of "coordination by intonation", i.e. asyndetic coordination. However, many of them equally resemble the ones given by Aikhenvald (2006a, 2018) and Haspelmath (2016) as proof for another syntactic construction, namely the serial verb construction. This is because in all examples so-far, at least one participant is shared, the verbs are often adjacent and they share the same RS. I prefer the term asyndetic coordination over serial verb construction nonetheless.

First of all, in an attempt to distinguish serial verbs from coordinated verbs, Aikhenvald (2018:3,24,125-127) proposes that the meaning changes if one inserts a connective between the verbs, i.e. serial verbs cannot be rephrased with a sequence of syndetically coordinated clauses. I have not tried this with the examples in this section, however, my hypothesis is that nothing would change substantially if connectives were used. There are similar examples that do contain connectives (especially sequential *te* and conjunctive *i*, see Sections 8.2.2 and 8.2.3). One factor in the choice between asyndetic and syndetic coordination I could identify is that the former is preferred if the time lapse between the events described by the two verbs is minimal like in (1218) above or also in the following Example (1223). The situation described here is dangerous and thus requires quick and immediate action. The sentence comes from Juana, who was telling me how her sister María S. once met a snake (or water spirit), when she was bathing in the reservoir. Her husband saved her from being attacked.

(1223)   *kapunu chima chijatÿku*

     kapunu   chÿ-ima   *chi-jatÿku*
     come   3-husband   3-pull

     'her husband came and pulled her (out of the water)'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120515l-2.168]</div>

In contrast, consider (1224), which uses the same predicates but has a sequential connective *te* (see Section 8.2.2). It stems from Juana's account about her grandparents who lost the cows they had bought, because a *karay* took them away. Apparently, Juana's father found two of them in the pampa and brought them to Altavista, where he lived at that time. The action of taking cows probably requires some preparation, we can thus assume a bigger time lapse to the first action of coming.

(1224) *kapunu nÿabane te chumu nauku Turuxhiyaebane*

      kapunu *nÿ-a-bane*   *te* *chÿ-umu* *nauku* *Turuxhi-yae-bane*
      come   1SG-father-REM SEQ 3-take   there Altavista-LOC-REM

      'my late father came and took them to old Altavista'

                                        [jxx-e150925l-1.238]

This does, however, neither imply that a connective is not possible in expressing sequential events with minimal time lapse nor that it is required when time lapse between two events is bigger.

The second reason why I prefer to analyse the examples in this section as cases of asyndetic coordination rather than as serial verbs is connected to grammatical integration: a crucial feature of serial verb constructions according to the definitions by Haspelmath (2016:296) and by Aikhenvald (2006a:1) is that they are monoclausal. Consequently, they can only be negated in one way with negation having scope over both predicates (Haspelmath 2016:299). There are some construction types in Paunaka that fulfil this criterion, i.e. a serial verb construction with the motion verb *-yunu* 'go' in which the second verb specifies the purpose of motion (see 8.3.3.1) and cases of complementation (see 8.4), but it is not clear whether the examples presented here could be defined as monoclausal by the criterion of (possible) negation having scope over both predicates. In general, clauses with negated predicates are seldom coordinated to other clauses in Paunaka, and if so, they usually have a connective word.[16] Since negation often includes contrast, this calls for a less ambiguous strategy of clause combining. Nonetheless, there are a few examples of asyndetic coordination of one positive and one negative clause showing that negation only has scope over one predicate, i.e. the one that follows the negator directly.

If the negative clause comes first, both clauses often express the same circumstance with different wording. Consider (1225) where it is very clear that negation only has

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16. What we do find regularly is that first a negative clause is uttered and then the negator *kuina* is repeated at the beginning of the next sentence, it is pronounced with a slightly falling intonation and followed by a short pause. Juxtaposed to this negator we find a positive clause, see Example (i). We can thus speak of one clause containing only the negator, which is coordinated to a positive clause. Word order would be identical if this was a single negative clause, but it would have a different intonation contour and no pause would occur between the negator and the following predicate. The example comes from Juana and is about the way chicha is served in Cotoca: in *tutumas*, drinking vessels made from tree calebasses.

(i) *kuina tekikanube basoyae, kuina, japuyae*

    kuina *ti-ekika-nube*   *basoyae* *kuina* *japuyae*
    NEG   3i-serve.IRR-PL glass-LOC NEG   tutuma-LOC

    'they don't offer it in glasses, no, in *tutumas*'

                                [jxx-p120430l-2.571-574]

This and some other patterns related to repetition of predicates can be considered bridging constructions, though they do certainly not count as full-fledged tail-head linkage (cf. Guérin & Aiton 2019). Analysis of discourse structure remains a topic for future research.

scope over the first predicate. First of all, both predicates have different RS, the negative one is irrealis, the positive one realis. With this sentence María C. paraphrases that she was still very young when her father died and both clauses depict her age at the respective time. The first verb denoting speaking is negated since the ability to speak is associated with older children, the second verb denoting crawling is associated with small children and thus it is not negated. [17]

(1225) *kuina nichujikakuÿmÿnÿ nÿmajikukuyu*

   kuina ni-chujika-kuÿ-mÿnÿ   nÿ-majiku-kuÿ?
   NEG   1SG-speak.IRR-INCMP-DIM 1SG-crawl-INCMP?

   'I did not speak yet, I was still crawling'

   [cux-c120414ls-2.278]

A similar example is (1226), a comment by María S. about me coming to Bolivia without my daughters. She uses the two antonyms *-upunu* 'bring' and *-eneiku* 'leave' to express this fact, the first one being negated, the second one not. Thus, as in (1225) above, negation has scope over the first predicate, but not over the second.

(1226) *kuina pupunanube peneikunubetu*

   kuina pi-upuna-nube   pi-eneiku-nube-tu
   NEG   2SG-bring.IRR-PL 2SG-leave-PL-IAM

   'you didn't bring them, you have left them'

   [rmx-e150922l.079]

It is also possible that the second clause is negated. This is the case in the following examples, which have in common that the first predicate has realis RS and the second one irrealis. While in (1227), the negative clause provides a consequence of the first clause, in (1228) and (1229) we find adversative coordination. This is rather unusual. Given that the cognitive demand of processing adversative clauses is supposedly higher (cf. Matras 1998:304-305), speakers tend to use a connective to overtly signal the relation.

In (1227), Miguel speculates why he does not hear the singing of frogs at night. Only the second verb is negated and additionally, the uncertainty marker attached to the first verb does not have scope over the second verb.

(1227) *nÿti nimukukena kuina nisama*

   nÿti   ni-muku-kena   kuina ni-sama
   1SG.PRN 1SG-sleep-UNCERT NEG   1SG-hear.IRR

   'maybe I sleep thus I don't hear them (the frogs at night)'

   [mqx-p110826l.622]

(1228) was provided by Juana in an elicitation session.

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17. I do not know what the last sequence *-kuyu* on *nÿmajikukuyu* is, I suppose this was a slip and the speaker either wanted to use an incompletive marker *-kuÿ* or derive a continuous verb with *-CViku*. A third, more improbable option is that she reduplicated the last syllable of the stem for an unknown reason and added the intensifier *-yu*. Incompletive marking is most probable, this is what I propose in the analysis of the word.

(1228)   *niniku kuina nikupunÿkapu*

    ni-niku   kuina ni-kupunÿkapu
    1SG-eat NEG   1SG-be.full.IRR

    'I ate, but I am not full'

<div align="right">[jxx-e150925l-1.015]</div>

(1229) comes from María S. and is about her sister Juana who had been to Concepción to work on her house.

(1229)   *tanaubu echÿu chubiu kuina tateane keuchi faltau plata*

    ti-anau-bu   echÿu chÿ-ubiu kuina ti-a-teane   keuchi faltau plata
    3i-make-MID DEMa 3-house NEG 3i-IRR-finish INS   lack   money

    'she made her house, but didn't finish because of lack of money'

<div align="right">[rxx-e120511l.115]</div>

I want to conclude this section with (1230), an example that does not have a connective, but the second verb carries the additive marker *-uku*, thus providing a strong sign of connectedness of these clauses. In this case, the clauses have different third person subjects but the same verb. The additive marker is not restricted to coordination contexts (see 6.9.2), thus this may still be considered as asyndetic rather than syndetic coordination. There are not many similar sentences in the corpus, so use of the additive marker cannot be considered a major coordination strategy. The sentence was produced by María S. in telling me how all of her siblings dispersed to live in different places except for Miguel and her.

(1230)   *jaja repue nÿtitu nÿpajÿku naka Miyel tipajÿkuku naka*

    jaja repue   nÿti-tu   nÿ-pajÿku naka Miyel   ti-pajÿku-uku naka
    AFM afterwards 1SG.PRN-IAM 1SG-stay here Miguel 3i-stay-ADD   here

    'yes, then I stayed here and Miguel also stayed here'

<div align="right">[rxx-p181101l-2.267]</div>

The following sections deal with cases of coordination in which a connective overtly shows the kind of connection between the two clauses.

8.2.2 Sequential coordination

The connective *te* is inserted between two clauses to express that the events happen in temporal succession, in a sequence. The events of both clauses are always semantically related, they belong to an overarching discourse topic. This means that *te* is usually not chosen, when the topic changes. Juana makes extensive use of this connective, Miguel uses it only rarely.

In (1231) the general discourse topic is the rest of Juana's grandparents on their journey back from Moxos, where they had bought cows. The sentence describes two things the grandparents did, when they rested. The choice of the connective *te* not only signals that both actions belong together, but also that they happened in a certain sequence: first the cows were brought to the enclosure and locked in and only then the grandparents cooked. Irrealis RS in this sentence is due to this utterance reflecting a non-specific repeated ("habitual") event, since the journey took several days, so several

rests were necessary. All other clauses surrounding this example in the original text also have irrealis RS.

(1231) *chiratanÿkanube te tiyÿtikapunube*

    chi-ratanÿka-nube te   ti-yÿtikapu-nube
    3-lock.in.IRR-PL   SEQ 3i-cook.IRR-PL

    'they would lock them (i.e. their cows) in and then they would cook'
                                    [jxx-p151016l-2.058]

(1232) was produced by María S. in an elicitation session. In this case *te* connects two actions by chicken: eating and going. The first verb has realis RS, together with the iamitive marker marking this action as completed (perfective reading), the second verb has irrealis RS, which signals that the action is not completed yet, but the iamitive marker tells us that the chicken are about to go (imperfective reading). The connection of the two events in temporal succession is additionally expressed by the connective *te*.

(1232) *tinijaneutu takÿrajane te tiyunujaneatu*

    ti-ni-jane-u-tu   *takÿra-jane*   *te*   *ti-yunu-jane-a-tu*
    3i-eat-DISTR-REAL-IAM chicken-DISTR SEQ 3i-go-DISTR-IRR-IAM

    'the chicken have eaten and now they go'
                                            [rxx-e181022le]

The next Example (1233) by Juana stems from a description how to make a clay pot. The first step after collecting the loam is grinding, then the pebbles turn up that have to be picked out in order to make a nice and smooth pot.

(1233) *bibikÿkeka maichubaji te banatu nÿkÿikina*

    bi-bikÿkeka   *maichuba-ji te bi-ana-tu*   *nÿkÿiki-ina*
    1PL-select.IRR pebble-COL SEQ 1PL-make.IRR-IAM pot-IRR.NV

    'we have to select the pebbles (from the ground loam) then we can make the pot'
                                          [jmx-d110918ls-1.005]

In (1231) to (1233) the subjects of both coordinate clauses are the same. This is often the case given that both events belong to one discourse topic, but not necessarily so. The events may be connected in other ways than having the same subject, which can be seen in examples (1234) to (1236).

In (1234) the patient is shared, which is the subject of the first, stative intransitive verb and the object of the second, transitive verb. It is not conominated. The second sentence has a first person plural subject. The example comes from one of the descriptions about making the clay pot by Juana. Here she speaks about cooking food in the pot. The sentence is best translated to English by using a subordinate clause including 'when', but it is not subordinate in Paunaka.

(1234) *taima te binikatu*

    ti-a-ima   *te*   *bi-nika-tu*
    3i-IRR-be.cooked SEQ 1PL-eat.IRR-IAM

    'when it was done, we would eat it'

<div align="right">[jxx-d110923l-2.25]</div>

In (1235), the two clauses do not share any participant. The first clause has an environment verb whose subject is the sun, the subject of the second verb is the lazybones, who also acts as a subject of all other surrounding sentences and can thus be said to be topical (in terms of both information structure and larger discourse organisation). RS marking is the opposite of (1232), the combination of irrealis and iamitive on the first verb shows that it has an imperfective reading, while the second verb with realis RS and iamitive has a perfective reading. The sentence was produced by Miguel in telling the story about the lazybones, who did not do anything else than swinging in his liana hammock the whole day, before going home.

(1235) *tibÿkupatuji sache te tiyunupunukutuji timukupuji*

    ti-bÿkupa-tu-ji   *sache te*   *ti-yunu-punuku-tu-ji* *ti-muku-pu-ji*
    3i-enter.IRR-IAM-RPRT sun   SEQ 3i-go-REG-IAM-RPRT 3i-sleep-DLOC-RPRT

    'at sunset (lit.: the sun was entering) he went home to sleep, it is said'
<div align="right">[mox-n110920l.043]</div>

(1236) from María C. includes three clauses, they are coordinated by *te*. The first and the second have the same subject, the corn, which is introduced by an NP in the first clause and conominated by a demonstrative in the second one. The third clause has a different subject, the speaker herself who is affected by the imminent shortage of corn, being already worried that soon she could not drink chicha anymore. The third clause does not share any participant with the other two, but is nonetheless semantically connected by the relation between corn and chicha, because chicha is made of corn.

(1236) *kakumÿnÿ amukemÿnÿ te tibukapu echÿu te kuinabu nea aumue*

    kaku-mÿnÿ *amuke-mÿnÿ* *te*   *ti-buka-pu*   *echÿu* *te*   *kuina-bu*
    exist-DIM   corn-DIM   SEQ 3i-finish.IRR-MID DEMb SEQ NEG-DSC

     nÿ-ea   *aumue*
     1SG-drink.IRR chicha

    'there is little corn and when it will be finished, then I cannot drink chicha anymore'
<div align="right">[ump-p110815sf.693]</div>

As for the question to which of the clauses the connective *te* belongs, there is no definite answer. There may be a short pause after *te* and a drop in pitch, which suggests it belongs to the first clause, however, it also occurs after a short pause and then rather seems to be attached to the second one or there may be no pause at all and no other hint in intonation that would point into one or the other direction. *Te* occasionally combines with *i* 'and', and we find both, *te* preceding *i* as in (1237) and *te* following *i* as in (1238).

In (1237) there is a short pause after *te*, the next clause starts with *i*.[18] The example comes from Juana's account about how her sister María S. was once attacked by a snake or water spirit.

(1237)　*metu chikubiu te i chima nauku chimuji echÿu chikuye chichÿti ÿneyae*

metu	*chi-kub-i-u*	*te*	*i*	*chi-ima*	*nauku*	*chi-imu-ji*
already	3-bathe-SUBORD-REAL	SEQ	and	3-husband	there	3-see-RPRT

echÿu	*chi-kuye*	*chi-chÿti*	*ÿne-yae*
DEMb	3-be.like.this	3-head	water-LOC

'she finished bathing and then her husband there saw something like a head in the water, it is said'

[jxx-p120515l-2.154-155]

In (1238) from Miguel, the connectives *i* and *te* introduce the second clause after a burst of laughter. The example comes from the story about the fox and the jaguar and at this point of the story, the vulture has let the fox escape. The jaguar is angry with the vulture and wants to eat him. The vulture can convince the jaguar to pluck him except for the wings and throw him up with the promise to return from up there and fall right into his mouth. Instead of this, the vulture defecates into the jaguar's mouth and escapes.

(1238)　*tisukuejikuji chinabakÿyae i te tibÿbÿkutuji echÿu sÿmÿ tiyunu*

ti-suku-e-jiku-ji	*chi-naba-kÿ-yae*	*i*	*te*
3i-defecate-?-LIM1-RPRT	3-mouth.inside-CLF:bounded-LOC	and	SEQ

ti-bÿbÿku-tu-ji	*echÿu*	*sÿmÿ*	*ti-yunu*
3i-fly-IAM-RPRT	DEMb	vulture	3i-go

'he shat into his open mouth, it is said, and then the vulture flew off, it is said, and went (i.e. escaped), it is said'

[jmx-n120429ls-x5.209-211]

If there is a whole sequence of more than two clauses, *te* can occur on the last one only, like in (1239), in which María S. describes how the tortoise lays its eggs. I am not sure why she changes from realis to irrealis RS here.

(1239)　*tisuku kipÿ, tisekumÿnÿ epenue tisuka nechÿu, cheneikachÿ, chetunÿka echÿpune, depue tisuka nechÿu, te tiyunu*

ti-suku	*kipÿ*	*ti-seku-mÿnÿ*	*epenue*	*ti-suka*	*nechÿu*
3i-lay.egg	tortoise	3i-dig.hole-DIM	hole	3i-lay.egg.IRR	DEMc

chÿ-eneika-chÿ	*chÿ-etunÿka*	*echÿpune*	*depue*	*ti-suka*
3-leave.IRR-3	3-put.around.IRR	leaf	afterwards	3i-lay.egg.IRR

nechÿu	*te*	*ti-yunu*
DEMc	SEQ	3i-go

'the tortoise lays eggs, it digs a little hole to lay an egg there, it will leave it, it will put leaves around it, after that it will lay an egg there, then it goes'

[rxx-e121128s-1.088]

18. For the combination of the adverb *metu* 'already' with a deranked subordinate verb see 8.6 where I explain this special construction. In short, although the first clause has a deranked verb, it is by no means subordinate to the clause that starts with the connective *i*.

However, the sequential connective can also occur several times if more than two clauses are conjoined like in (1236) above, or in (1240), also produced by María S. in a correction session with Swintha, repeating what she had said in another occasion, but using slightly different wording.

(1240)   *takujibÿ eka te kanainatu chÿi te puero binika*

     ti-a-kujibÿ   eka   te   kana-ina-tu   chÿi te   puero bi-nika
     3i-IRR-have.flower DEMa SEQ this.size-IRR-IAM fruit SEQ can   1PL-eat.IRR

     'it blossoms and once its fruits have this size (showing with hands), we can eat them'

                                                         [rxx-e121126s-3.16]

I want to conclude this section with an example produced by Juana, which, besides having a clause introduced by *te*, shows how nicely Spanish material is integrated into Paunaka speech.[19] It stems from the account about her daughter who went to Spain, but was deported, despite her sister, who already lived in Spain at that time, trying to avoid that. In Juana's opinion, she just arrived at the airport too late.

(1241)   *sinko minutoskuÿ te tibÿbÿkatu labion*

     sinko minutos-kuÿ   te   ti-bÿbÿka-tu   labion
     five   minutes-INCMP SEQ 3i-fly.IRR-IAM plane

     'it was still five minutes until the plane would take off'

                                                        [jxx-p110923l-1.330]

The next section is about the clauses conjoined by *i* 'and'.

8.2.3   Conjunctive coordination

The conjunctive connective *i* 'and' has been borrowed from Spanish *y*. It hardly ever conjoins NPs, although a few examples of NP connection with *i* do occur in the corpus. The connective can conjoin clauses, and I got the impression that it is also often used to introduce a clause after change of discourse topic or turn-taking, but as I have mentioned before, information structure and the general organisation of discourse and conversation is beyond the scope of this work, here I confine my analysis to connection of clauses.

As for the latter, *i* does little more than connect. It can occur at the end of one intonation unit or at the beginning of the second one without any hint in intonation as to which clause it belongs to. The connected clauses can have the same subject or different ones. The predicates of both clauses are fully inflected. A few examples follow, in (1242) and (1243) the subjects of both clauses are identical, in (1244) the subjects of the two coordinated clauses are different.

(1242) was produced by Clara to tell us how she prepared a fish.

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19. In this example *sinko minutos* (from *cinco minutos)* includes the Spanish plural marker *-s* on the noun, but it takes the incompletive marker form Paunaka. *Labion* can be considered a loan from *el avión* 'the plane', possibly *la avión,* with feminine gender in local Spanish.

(1242)   *betuku jurunuyae i biyÿbapaku*

　　bi-etuku jurunu-yae i　bi-yÿbapaku
　　1PL-put oven-LOC　and 1PL-grind

　　'we put it (the fish) into the oven and grind it'

[cux-c120414ls-2.158]

(1243) is from the story about the lazybones and describes what the lazybones does in the woods instead of making his field, the work he is supposed to do.

(1243)   *tebibikujiku kujipiyae i tikusabenunuiku chisabenu*

　　ti-ebibiku-jiku kujipi-yae　i　ti-kusabenu-nuiku　chi-sabenu
　　3i-swing-LIM1 liana.sp-LOC and 3i-play.flute-CONT 3-flute

　　'he only swung on the liana and was playing his flute'

[mox-n110920l.048-049]

In (1244), Miguel speaks about the past, the passage in his account from which the example is taken is about the time when debt bondage was forbidden and indigenous people were finally free, the sentence is about the unfair treatment of indigenous people prior to this. Note that the non-verbal predicate of the first clause irregularly takes a third person suffix here.

(1244)   *chamayÿchi trabakuyunubechÿ i kuina chisiupuchanube eka patron*

　　chama-yÿchi trabaku-yu-nube-chÿ i　kuina chi-siupucha-nube eka　patrun
　　much-LIM2　work-INTS-PL-3　　and NEG 3-pay.IRR-PL　　DEMa patrón

　　'they worked a lot and the *patrón* didn't pay them'

[mxx-p110825l.042]

There is hardly ever any ellipsis (or gapping) of predicates in the second of the conjoined clauses, which may be due to the fact that speakers seldom use the same predicate in two conjoined clauses. But even if this is the case, the predicate is rather repeated than omitted. Two sentences follow to exemplify this. While in (1245) both clauses have the same predicate but different subjects, in (1246) the predicates and the subjects of both clauses are identical.

(1245) is about Juana's daughter in Spain and her husband who both worked and thus had trouble to look after their child.

(1245)   *chima trabaku i nijinepÿi trabaku*

　　chÿ-ima　　trabaku i　ni-jinepÿi　　trabaku
　　3-husband　work　and 1SG-daughter work

　　'her husband worked and my daughter worked'

[jxx-p110923l-1.359]

(1246) is from Miguel's account about how Santa Rita was founded and grew and finally also got a chapel and a rectory.

(1246)   *entonses tanaunube echÿu kapiya i repue tanaunube echÿu punachÿ, parokia*

entonses	*ti-anau-nube*	*echÿu*	kapiya	*i*	*repue*	*ti-anau-nube*	*echÿu*
thus	3i-make-PL	DEMb	chapel	and	afterwards	3i-make-PL	DEMb

punachÿ	*parokia*
other	rectory

'thus they made the chapel and afterwards they made the other one, the rectory'

<div align="right">[mxx-p110825l.131]</div>

A few cases of gapping are found in Miguel's telling of the frog story. One of them is given below. It refers to the picture towards the end of the book, in which the boy leans over the log and the dog is standing on it.

(1247)   *tijipuikutuji chÿneyae echÿu yÿkÿke i echÿuku*

ti-jipuiku-tu-ji	*chÿ-ine-yae*	*echÿu*	*yÿkÿke*	*i*	*echÿu-uku*
3i-jump-IAM-RPRT	3-on.top-LOC	DEMb	tree	and	DEMb-ADD

'it (the dog) has jumped on top of the log, it is said, and he (the boy), too'

<div align="right">[mtx-a110906l.207-210]</div>

Finally, the last example I want to present here has several conjoined clauses, most of them connected to each other with *i*, but we also find the sequential connective *te* in combination with *i*, *te* occurs at the end of one intonation unit, *i* introduces the next one. The last two predicates present a case of a serial verb construction (see 8.3.3.1), although strictly speaking, the last predicate *pretau* 'borrow, lend' is not a verb, it is borrowed from Spanish and integrated into Paunaka as a non-verbal predicate (see 7.2.9). The sentence is about Juana's grandson. She raised him since his parents had to work.

(1248)   *tijÿku i netuku xhikuera i tichunatu te i tiyunu kuarterayae pretau chiserbisione premilitar*

ti-jÿku	*i*	*nÿ-etuku*	*xhikuera*	*i*	*ti-ichuna-tu*	*te*	*i*	*ti-yunu*
3i-grow	and	1SG-put	school	and	3i-be.capable-IAM	SEQ	and	3i-go

kuartera-yae	*pretau*	*chi-serbisio-ne*	*premilitar*
military.base-LOC	lend	3-service-POSSD	pre-military

'he grew and I put him into school and once he had acquired knowledge, then he went to the military base to do pre-military service'

<div align="right">[jxx-p110923l-1.173-178]</div>

In the following section, the use of the much rarer connective *o* 'or' is described.

8.2.4   Disjunctive coordination

The disjunctive connective *o* 'or' has been borrowed from Spanish, which has an identical disjunctive conjunction. In Paunaka, however, it is sometimes also pronounced *a*. In contrast to clauses conjoined by *i* 'and' (see 8.2.3), there is usually ellipsis of constituents in the second of the clauses connected by *o* 'or'. Some examples follow.

The context of (1249) was Juan C. communicating his wish for educational material for Paunaka, containing drawings of different animals of the region together with their names in Paunaka.

(1249) *entonses kakuina chija naka anÿke o naka chÿupekÿye*

entonses	*kaku-ina*	*chi-ija*	*naka*	*anÿke*	*o*	*naka*	*chÿ-upekÿ-yae*
thus	exist-IRR.NV	3-name	here	up	or	here	3-place.under-LOC

'thus its name (of the animal) may be up here (on the page) or here under it (i.e. under the drawing)'

[mqx-p110826l.663]

(1250) comes from an elicitation session on expression of locative relations. I asked Miguel and Alejo to play a game with two identical sets of wooden toys. Miguel had to arrange his set of toys in the way Alejo arranged it without looking at it, just by asking him questions.

(1250) *¿juchubu kaku echÿu ubiae, tÿbaneyu eka yÿkÿke o mÿbanejiku?*

juchubu	*kaku*	*echÿu*	*ubiae*	*ti-ÿbane-yu*	*eka*	*yÿkÿke*	*o*	*mÿbane-jiku*
where	exist	DEMb	house	3i-be.far-INTS	DEMa	tree	or	close-LIM

'where is the house, far from the tree or close to it?'

[mtx-e110915ls.57]

(1249) and (1250) both have a non-verbal predicate, the copula *kaku*. The following examples have verbal predicates.

Prior to the sentence in (1251), Juana had expressed that she wanted Miguel to visit her again (he had been there the day before), because she could not remember the name of a bird, thus she hoped that either he would know it or she would remember it in his presence.

(1251) *echÿu chichupa o nÿtikena*

echÿu	*chi-chupa*	*o*	*nÿti-kena*
DEMb	3-know.IRR	or	1SG.PRN-UNCERT

'either he would know it or maybe I would'

[jxx-p120430l-1.094]

(1252) is a question that Clara directed to Swintha and me, when we visited her and María C. We were a bit tired, because we had already been to Santa Rita that day.

(1252) *¿tose etupupunubu o kupeitu?*

tose	*e-tupupunubu*	*o*	*kupei-tu*
noon	2PL-arrive.back	or	afternoon-IAM

'did you arrive back (from Santa Rita) at noon or in the afternoon?'

[cux-c120414ls-2.332]

The connective *o* is also often used in self-correction after a false start, to correct the use of a word etc. This is the case in (1253) and (1254).

(1253) is the answer Clara gave Swintha who asked how to translate 'have a head-ache' to Paunaka. Swintha used an infinitive in Spanish (*doler la cabeza*). There is no infinitive in Paunaka, and the phrase is first translated by Clara with a sentence containing a third person subject. However, she then found it more appropriate to use a translation with first person reference and thus corrected herself, signaling this correction by the use of *o*.

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(1253) *tikuti chichÿti, o tikuti nÿchÿti*

    ti-kuti   chi-chÿti o ti-kuti nÿ-chÿti
    3i-hurt 3-head   or 3i-hurt 1SG-head

    'his head aches or my head aches'

<div align="right">[cux-c120414ls-1.007-008]</div>

In (1254), Miguel corrects a false start. Apparently, he first wanted to say something that applied to all pupils in his former class, back in the old days, when he went to school. Thus he used the first person plural prefix *bi-*, but corrected himself with a hesitation mark and *o* to tell me something about a single third person referent (though an indefinite one). He reports that his teacher used to whip the child who did not know what they were supposed to have learned, and if several did not know, all children were punished.

(1254) *kue bi- ee o punachÿ echÿu sesejinube uu tumuyubunube testaikechunubetu*

    kue bi-   ee o punachÿ echÿu sesejinube uu   tumuyubu-nube
    if   1PL- er or other   DEMb children   INTJ all-PL
      ti-estaikechu-nube-tu
      3i-whip.all-PL-IAM

    'if we – er – or another one of the children [didn't know] uh he whipped them all'

<div align="right">[mxx-p181027l-1.077]</div>

Disjunction is not very frequent in the corpus unlike adversative coordination with the connective *pero* 'but', which is the topic of the next section.

8.2.5 Adversative coordination

In adversative coordination, Paunaka speakers use the connective *pero* 'but', which is borrowed from Spanish. It encodes contrast and/or the fact that something is contrary to the expectation of speaker or hearer. *Pero* often occurs at the beginning of an intonation unit in order to connect it to the previous discourse, and is in those cases probably best reflected by the English word 'however', but *pero* is also found in clause combining in its narrower sense. Some examples follow.

In (1255), Juana tells me that she would like to travel to Europe once, but does not dare to. The adversative meaning is not only conveyed by use of the connective, but also by the frustrative marker on the predicate in the first clause.

(1255) *nisachuini niyuna pero nipiku*

    ni-sachu-ini   ni-yuna   pero ni-piku
    1SG-want-FRUST 1SG-go.IRR but 1SG-be.afraid

    'I would like to go, but I am afraid'

<div align="right">[jxx-p110923l-1.403]</div>

The context of the following example is María S. telling me that when she still lived more remote to the village, her chicken got lost, because other people stole them. In contrast, in Santa Rita, chicken do not get lost, or better said they do, but the reason being herself killing them.

(1256) *tijekupubu pero nÿti nikupaka, ninika*

    ti-jekupu-bu pero nÿti   ni-kupaka   ni-nika
    3i-lose-MID but 1SG.PRN 1SG-kill.IRR 1SG-eat.IRR

    'they do get lost, but (since) I may kill them and eat them'

<div align="right">[rxx-e120511l.184-185]</div>

Prior to (1257), María C. and Clara had claimed that they did not have anybody to talk with in Paunaka. According to María C., Clara's daughters are not capable of learning it.

(1257) *kaku pijinejinube pero kuina puero chitanube*

    kaku pi-jine-ji-nube   pero kuina puero chi-ita-nube
    exist 2SG-daughter-COL-PL but NEG can   3-master.IRR-PL

    'you have daughters, but they can't figure it out (to speak Paunaka)'

<div align="right">[cux-c120414ls-2.265]</div>

(1258) was produced by Miguel when telling the story of the fox and the jaguarundi. The fox has just met the jaguarundi and wants to go and steal some chicken with him. They find strong chicha instead of chicken and decide to get drunk.

(1258) *pero tibÿkupunube kuina takÿraina pero chimukunubeji echÿu barerekiji tijapÿkubu isipau*

    pero ti-bÿkupu-nube kuina takÿra-ina   pero chi-imu-uku-nube-ji echÿu
    but 3i-enter-PL   NEG chicken-IRR.NV but 3-see-ADD-PL-RPRT DEMb

       barereki-ji ti-japÿku-bu isipau
       pot-RPRT 3i-fill-MID   strong.chicha

    'however, when they went in(to the house), there were no chicken, but they also saw a pot filled with strong chicha'

<div align="right">[jmx-n120429ls-x5.325-328]</div>

In the older recordings by Riester, there is not a single occurrence of *pero*. Instead of that, the connective *masa* 'lest' seems to be used in adversative coordination. *Masa* is also used nowadays by the speakers I worked with, but exclusively in apprehensional clauses (see 8.3.1.5) and warnings (see 7.3.4).[20] One example of *masa* in adversative coordination follows. It was probably elicited by Riester.

(1259) *ukuine niyunu kimenukÿyae nisemaikaini mukiankaini tÿpi nikineina nubiuyae masa kuina nitupa*

    ukuine   ni-yunu kimenu-kÿ-yae   ni-semaika-ini
    yesterday 1SG-go woods-CLF:bounded-LOC 1SG-search.IRR-FRUST

       mukianka-ini tÿpi ni-kene-ina   nÿ-ubiu-yae   masa kuina
       animal-FRUST OBL eat-NMLZ-IRR.NV 1SG-house-LOC but NEG

       ni-tupa
       1SG-find.IRR

    'yesterday I went to the woods and looked for animals (in vain) to eat at home, but I didn't find any'

<div align="right">[nxx-a630101g-1.62]</div>

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20. In Riester's recordings *masa* also occurs once in an apprehensional clause.

There is only one minor type of coordination left, consecutive coordination, which is described in the following section.

8.2.6   Consecutive coordination

Consecutive clauses are similar to causal clauses (see 8.3.1.3) in that both encode a cause and a consequence. Nonetheless, while causal clauses are considered to be a subclass of adverbial, i.e. subordinate clauses, consecutive clauses are asserted and should thus be considered a case of coordination (cf. Cristofaro 2003:38).

Consecutive clauses are often construed with the connectives *nechikue* 'therefore' and *entonses* 'thus', however, these are mostly used to connect an utterance to the previous discourse rather than to connect two clauses. The connectives often present the consequence of what has been expressed by a text unit larger than one clause, as a kind of summary and signal that this discourse unit comes to an end. They usually introduce a new intonation unit, sometimes preceded by a pause, and this would then be a hint that the clause with the connective is independent from a previous one.

However, in the examples presented in this section, both clauses show a relatively high degree of connection by belonging to one intonation unit, so that we can assume that the connectives are used for clause combining here.

(1260) is from a little tale told by Miguel about the ants. According to this tale, the ants are happy when a boy is born, because he goes on trips, and when he eats his travel supplies, little crumbs fall down and can be eaten by the ants. On the other hand, the trees are sad when a boy is born, because once he has grown up, he will fell trees to make his field.

(1260)   *tipakajane echÿu yÿkÿkejane nechikueji tichÿnumi*

        ti-paka-jane   *echÿu* *yÿkÿke-jane* *nechikue-ji*   *ti-chÿnumi*
        3i-die.IRR-DISTR DEMb tree-DISTR   therefore-RPRT 3i-be.sad

        'the trees will die, therefore they are sad, it is said'

                                      [mxx-n120423lsf-X.30]

In (1261) Juana cites her grandmother explaining her husband that what he sees is a spirit not a real woman and this is the reason for her behaviour.

(1261)   *"es ke seunube echÿu ue nechikue tisachu tumapi"*

        es ke   *seunube* *echÿu* *ue*   *nechikue*   *ti-sachu*
        it is the case that woman   DEMb water.spirit therefore 3i-want

          ti-uma-pi
          3i-take.IRR-2SG

        '"it's because the woman is the spirit of the water, that's why she wants to take you"'

                                        [jxx-p151016l-2.203]

In (1262), Miguel deduces that a little wooden toy that I had brought to do some elicitation on locative expressions must be female, since it wears a dress. The main clause and the consequence clause are uttered in one intonation unit.

(1262) *chimÿu tÿnai entonses apimiyapÿimÿnÿ*

chi-mÿu   ti-ÿnai   entonses apimiyapÿi-mÿnÿ
3-clothes 3i-be.long thus   girl-DIM

'its garment is long, so it is a girl'

<div align="right">[mox-e110914l-1.049]</div>

(1263) is from the same little tale as (1260) above and directly precedes it. Here, Miguel explains what happens when the boy has grown up.

(1263) *chejepuine echÿu aitubuchepÿi tijÿkatu, tiyunaji tebitaka chisaneina entonses chikeuchi echÿu yubuti chisatÿku yÿkÿkejane*

chejepuine echÿu aitubuchepÿi ti-jÿka-tu   ti-yuna-ji   ti-ebitaka
because   DEMb boy   3i-grow.IRR-IAM 3i-go.IRR-RPRT 3i-clear.IRR
chi-sane-ina   entonses chi-keuchi echÿu yubuti chi-satÿku yÿkÿke-jane
3-field-IRR.NV   thus   3-INS   DEMb axe   3-cut   tree-DISTR

'because once the boy has grown up, he will go and clear his future field, it is said, thus with an axe he fells the trees'

<div align="right">[mxx-n120423lsf-X.27-29]</div>

With this example, I complete the discussion of coordination. In the following sections, cases of subordination in clause combining and complex clause formation are presented.

8.3   Adverbial relations

According to Cristofaro (2003:155), one event is in an adverbial relation to another one if it describes the circumstances of the latter. These circumstances are often expressed by a clause, which may be embedded into the main clause or show greater or lesser independency. They may, however, also be encoded by derivational affixes (Lehmann 1988:192). Since this chapter is about complex *clauses*, adverbial relations encoded by verbal morphology are not within its scope.

Three general patterns can be observed in Paunaka, each of them showing a different degree of integration of the predicate encoding the adverbial relation into the main clause. First, the adverbial predicate can be part of a separate clause which is asyndetically or syndetically juxtaposed to the main clause and takes a balanced predicate. There is no doubt that we are dealing with two clauses in this case, a main clause, and an adverbial clause (AC). I call these constructions asyndetic and syndetic subordination, respectively. Asyndetic subordination is the most covert means of expressing a subordinate relation, structurally, there is no difference to asyndetic coordination (see 8.2.1). Syndetic subordination offers the most elaborate means to encode which semantic type of adverbial relation is expressed by the AC by making use of different connective words.

The second possibility to encode an adverbial relation is by a deranked predicate that loses some of its verbal properties. It is more closely integrated into the main clause in this case, i.e. it is embedded. The highest degree of embedding is accomplished when a preposition is placed before the deranked verb thus showing its integration into the main clause as an oblique constituent.

A different kind of integration is found with purpose-of-motion predicates, both marked (motion-cum-purpose construction) and unmarked (serial verb construction). The purpose verb can be argued to be a verbal goal argument of the motion verb, thus the whole construction is multi-verbal but monoclausal. Consequently, the question arises whether we can still speak of the purpose predicate and its arguments belonging to an adverbial *clause*. I leave this issue to be solved by others. In any case, this is the highest degree of integration we find in Paunaka, although unlike in deranking, the predicates maintain their verbal properties.

Of the semantic types of adverbial relations listed by Cristofaro (2003:156), the following are expressed in complex adverbial clauses in Paunaka: temporal overlap, condition, cause, purpose. Temporal anteriority and posteriority (i.e. before- and after-relations) are not commonly expressed by ACs. Instead of this, clauses marked for temporal sequence are used, which is analysed as a case of coordination (see 8.2.2).[21] The different semantic types have different encoding possibilities, which are given in Table 8.3.

Table 8.3: Semantic types of adverbial clauses

Type of relation	Construction type	Comment
Temporal overlap	asyndetic subordination	
	syndetic subordination	
	deranking	
Condition	asyndetic subordination	counterfactuals with
	syndetic subordination	frustrative marker
Cause	asyndetic subordination	
	syndetic subordination	
	deranking	with or without preposition
Purpose (non-motion)	asyndetic subordination	
	syndetic subordination	
	deranking	with or without preposition
Apprehensional	syndetic subordination	
Purpose of motion	serial verb construction	
	motion-cum-purpose construction	

The remainder of this section is roughly organised by the degree of integration of the AC, evolving on a continuum from most independent to most dependent: all constructions in 8.3.1 have balanced verbs, the ones with deranked verbs are presented in 8.3.2 and monoclausal multi-verb constructions are described in 8.3.3. ACs are given in square brackets throughout this section.

8.3.1 Adverbial clauses with balanced verbs

The adverbial clauses (ACs) described in this section are connected to their main clauses at clause level, they are thus the ones that show least dependency on an-

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21. There are a few cases in the corpus of clauses expressing temporal anteriority and posteriority. They all make use of Spanish connectives, but since they occur very infrequently, I assume their use is not conventionalised (yet).

other clause. This is even truer for those clauses that are asyndetically juxtaposed: they could also appear completely independently. In clauses that are syndetically juxtaposed, there is a connective to overtly show the kind of relationship towards the other clause, but apart from the connective itself, there is no dependency marking. ACs with balanced verbs thus have exactly the same syntactic structure as coordinate clauses, both clauses can only be distinguished by functional or pragmatic factors. The structure of a complex sentence consisting of a main clause and a juxtaposed adverbial clause is illustrated in Figure 8.8.

[[MC] [AC]]
[[MC] [co AC]]
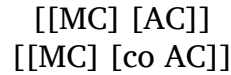
Figure 8.8: Sentence structure of juxtaposed adverbial clauses

The connectives that are used in syndetically juxtaposed ACs are summarised in Table 8.4. In addition to the ones listed there, speakers sometimes also use other connectives from Spanish, however, given their low frequency, they are neglected here. ACs with a connective usually follow the main clause, with an exception being those introduced with *kue* 'if, when', which can either precede or follow it. Purpose clauses stick out since the connective word used is a preposition. Since this preposition can be combined with balanced verbs, we can assume that it is developing a parallel function as a connective in clause combining.

Table 8.4: Connectives in adverbial clauses

Connective	Translation	Clause type
che(je)puine	because	cause
kue	if	condition
	when	temporal overlap
masa	lest	apprehension
porke	because	cause
tÿpi	OBL (preposition 'for')	purpose

The remainder of this section is structured as follows: in 8.3.1.1 some clauses encoding adverbial relations without the use of a connective are presented. 8.3.1.2 is about temporal and conditional clauses with the connective *kue*, causal clauses with *che(je)puine* and *porke* are described in 8.3.1.3, purpose clauses with *tÿpi* in 8.3.1.4, and finally apprehensional clauses with *masa* are found in 8.3.1.5.

8.3.1.1 Asyndetic subordination

In 8.2.1, I have shown that clauses can be coordinated by simply juxtaposing them. The same holds for adverbial, i.e. semantically subordinate, relations. A clause that represents a cause, purpose or temporal precondition for another, main clause can be juxtaposed to it, without any specific linking device. In some cases, TAME markers on the predicates of both clauses suggest a certain interpretation, but this is not always the case. We often find asyndetic juxtaposition if the events overlap in time or are separated by a short time interval, i.e. in "when-relations" (Cristofaro 2003:159). The AC

provides the temporal setting for the main clause in this case (cf. Cristofaro 2003:155). A few examples of temporal-overlap clauses follow.

(1264) is from a description by Juana how to use a clay pot for cooking. Irrealis RS is due to the explaining/habitual character of the text.

(1264) [*taima*] *petupaika apuke*

       ti-a-ima   *pi-etupaika*   *apuke*
       3i-IRR-be.cooked 2SG-put.down.IRR down

       'when it (the food) is done, we can put it down (from the fire)'

                                                 [jxx-d110923l-3.5]

Another sentence that expresses a when-relation without any overt marking is (1265), in which Juana talks about her brother José and the problems he has because of living remote from the village of Santa Rita.

(1265) [*pasaupu uneku*] *tiyununube chumeikunube chipeu eka takÿra*

       pasau-pu   *uneku* *ti-yunu-nube* *chÿ-umeiku-nube* *chi-peu*   *eka*   *takÿra*
       pass-DLOC   town   3i-go-PL   3-steal-PL   3-animal DEMa chicken

       'when he goes to the town, they (people from Santa Rita) go and steal his chicken'

                                                 [jxx-p120515l-2.254]

(1266) was offered by María S. as an answer to the question whether she smoked. Like in the examples above, no connective is involved and the relation between the clauses is only understood from the context.

(1266) *nijibÿku* [*niyunu asaneti*]

       ni-jibÿku   *ni-yunu* *asaneti*
       1SG-smoke 1SG-go field

       'I smoke, when I go to the field'

                                               [rxx-e120511l.390]

The incompletive marker is often used if the events expressed by the clauses have past reference. In that case -*kuÿ* indicates that a certain state held at that time but does not hold anymore, and thus it sets the ground for the clause that follows. The clauses are otherwise completely unmarked for their relation to each other and -*kuÿ* can also occur in contexts that do not involve subordination. In (1267), María C. makes a statement about her consumption of alcohol in former times (she was known for enjoying life, when she was younger): the state of being a girl or young woman holds in relation to the predicate of the main clause.

(1267) [*bane pimiyakuÿne*] *neu*

       bane *pimiya-kuÿ-ne*   *nÿ-eu*
       REM   girl-INCMP-1SG 1SG-drink

       'long ago, when I was still a young woman, I drank'

                                              [cux-c120414ls-1.031]

A similar possibility is offered by continuous marking on one of the verbs. In this case, one event is marked as ongoing at the time another event which has to be telic and punctual, occurs. There are not many examples in the corpus of the use of the continuous maker in such a way, but one is given in (1268), where in Juana's story the fugitive criminal has just arrived at his wife's house to eat and is then arrested by the police (or soldiers).

(1268) *tinikukuikuji* [*kapunukunube suntabunube*]

  ti-niku-kuiku-ji   *kapunu-uku-nube* *suntabu-nube*
  3i-eat-CONT-RPRT come-ADD-PL   soldier-PL

  'he was eating, it is said, when the soldiers came, too (or: while he was eating, the soldiers came, too)'

  [jxx-p120430l-2.151]

Not only temporal relations can be expressed without overt linking. The following examples show causal (1269) and purposive (1270) clauses that are asyndetically juxtaposed to their main clauses.

In (1269), the second clause provides the reason for the statement made in the main clause, the boy crying. This sentence was produced by Miguel, when looking at the pictures of the frog story and it refers to the picture on which the dog jumps against the tree and the boy holds his nose being bitten by a small rodent.

(1269) *entonses tiyuiyukubutu eka aitubuchepÿimÿnÿ* [*tipiku*]

  entonses *ti-iyuyuiku-bu-tu* *eka*   *aitubuchepÿi-mÿnÿ* *ti-piku*
  thus   3i-cry-MID-IAM   DEMa boy-DIM   3i-be.afraid

  'so the boy is crying, (because) he is afraid'

  [mox-a110920l-2.083]

The following Example (1270) consists of several clauses, the part that I want to discuss here is underlined. These are the two clauses that express "look for wood" and "make a small board" (which are both in a complement relation to an utterance predicate, but this is of no concern at the moment). The second of these clauses encodes the purpose for the first one without being overtly marked for this relation. The example comes from Miguel's description of how he learned to read, write and calculate and it cites his teacher who gave Miguel instructions how to obtain a board to write on.

(1270) "*pikechuchÿji echÿu pia* tisemaika echÿu yÿkÿke [*tana taurapachumÿnÿ*] *i nebu pisuikia*", *tikechu*

  pi-kechu-chÿ-ji *echÿu* *pi-a*   *ti-semaika* *echÿu* *yÿkÿke* *ti-ana*
  2SG-say-3-IMP DEMb 2SG-father 3i-search.IRR DEMb wood   3i-make.IRR

  taurapachu-mÿnÿ *i*   *nebu* *pi-suik-i-a*   *ti-kechu*
  board-DIM   and 3OBL.TOP.PRN 2SG-write-SUBORD-IRR 3i-say

  '"tell your father to look for wood to make a small board and on that one you can write", he said'

  [mxx-p181027l-1.022]

I want to emphasise again that the adverbial nature of linking between the clauses in the examples of this section is based on purely pragmatic factors and thus the translations into English with a connective may be a bit misleading. It would certainly be

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possible to translate most of the examples into English by using coordinated clauses, too. In the following sections, I will present examples in which the subordinate relationship of one event towards another is expressed overtly by using a connective that tells us about the exact nature of the relationship.

8.3.1.2 Temporal overlap and conditional clauses

Like many other languages (cf. Cristofaro 2003:161), Paunaka encodes conditional and temporal-overlap relations by using the same connective, *kue* 'if, when'. A certain possibility to distinguish between temporal and conditional is offered by RS marking of both clauses. According to Cristofaro (2003:160), in conditional linking, both events are presented as non-factual. Thus we can deduce that conversely, if both clauses have realis predicates, we are dealing with a temporal relation. However, this is rare in Paunaka, there are only a few examples of all-realis temporal sentences. All of them express non-singular i.e. repeated or repeatable events. It is more common to find combinations of clauses, in which the main clause predicate has realis RS and the predicate of the clause introduced by *kue* has irrealis RS, thus only the conditional clause is presented as non-factual. This goes against the generalisation by Cristofaro (2003:160-161). Consequently, if both clauses have irrealis predicates, this is due to reasons that have nothing to do with the conditional relation, e.g. future reference or negation.

I will first show two examples with realis predicates in both clauses, (1271) – (1273). Then I turn to the examples with irrealis predicates in both clauses (1274) – (1276) and the ones in which the RS of both clauses differs (1277) – (1280). In the end of this section, counterfactual conditionals will be presented (1281) – (1283); they are additionally marked by taking the frustrative marker. A peculiarity of all clauses introduced by *kue* is that they can either precede or follow the main clause.

(1271) encodes a habitual event with present time reference. It is an answer to the question whether María S. smoked. Actually, it was a repetition of (1266) above, where the two predicates were asyndetically juxtaposed, and was produced to confirm what she had been saying before.

(1271)   *nijibÿku* [*kue niyunu asaneti*]

    ni-jibÿku   *kue* *ni-yunu* *asaneti*
    1SG-smoke if   1SG-go field

    'I smoke, when I go to the field'

                                     [rxx-e120511l.391]

The next example also encodes repeated events. It was produced by María S. when we were sitting in her yard and suddenly some piglets turned up grunting and wanted to suckle.

(1272)   [*kue tisabaikÿupunujane*] *tibiyujaneutu*

    kue *ti-sabai-kÿupunu-jane*   *ti-biyu-jane-u-tu*
    if   3i-shout-AM.CONC.CIS-DISTR 3i-be.thirsty-DISTR-REAL-IAM

    'when they come grunting, they are thirsty'

                                      [rmx-e150922l.157]

Finally, (1273) comes from Juana telling me about the production of a pot in former times. Actually, it is rather exceptional that she uses realis predicates here, because past habitual events are often encoded by use of irrealis. However, there are some inconsistencies in the relation of past habitual events and irrealis encoding anyway (see 6.5.2.1) and in this specific case, the surrounding sentences also have realis RS. Note that in addition to having *kue* in the antecedent clause, the consequent clause takes the coordinating sequential connective *te* (see 8.2.2).

(1273) [*kue timÿrakimÿnÿtu*] *te beimachu*

    kue ti-mÿra-ki-mÿnÿ-tu   *te*   *bi-eimachu*
    if   3i-dry-CLF:spherical-DIM-IAM SEQ 1PL-cook.until.done

    'when it had dried, then we fired it'

                                              [jxx-d110923l-2.21]

The following examples have irrealis predicates in both clauses, the antecedent and the consequent.

The conditional clause in (1274) describes what Juana's daughter would do in the improbable but possible case that her mother visited her in Spain. The event in the consequent clause has a (possible) singular occurrence – contrary to the examples presented above that represent repeated actions –, and it has future reference. All predicates thus have irrealis RS in this case

(1274) [*kue pibÿsÿa, mimi,*] *nipabentecha nubiu, te biyunupunatu nauku*

    kue pi-bÿsÿa   *mimi ni-pabentecha nÿ-ubiu*   *te*   *bi-yunupuna-tu*
    if   2SG-come.IRR mum 1SG-sell.IRR   1SG-house SEQ 1PL-go.back.IRR-IAM
    nauku
    there

    'if you come, mum, I will sell my house, and then we go back there'
                                              [jxx-p110923l-1.432]

(1275) is from the account by Miguel about how he learned to read and to calculate. He did not like the maths lessons in school, thus he was told that this could have negative consequences. (He finally learned to calculate, but only later, when he was a young man already.) Irrealis is due to negation here.

(1275) [*kue kuina pichupa echÿu matematika*]*, kuina pueroina pana echÿu kuenta*

    kue kuina pi-chupa   *echÿu matematika*   *kuina puero-ina pi-ana*
    if   NEG 2SG-know.IRR DEMb mathematics NEG can-IRR   2SG-make.IRR
    echÿu kuenta
    DEMb bill

    'if you don't know mathematics, you cannot make bills'
                                              [mxx-p181027l-1.106]

The next example was produced by María S. with the specific purpose to be presented to other people in this work, this is why she uses third person markers in reference to herself. A singular future event is expressed here, the finishing of one specific hammock María S. was weaving at that time. Interpretation must be temporal here, it cannot be conditional, since there is no doubt that she would actually finish her hammock.

(1276) [*kue cheanekatu yumaji*] *chipabentecha*

      kue chÿ-eaneka-tu   yumaji   chi-pabentecha
      if   3-finish.IRR-IAM hammock 3-sell.IRR

      'when she has finished the hammock, she will sell it'

                                                  [rxx-e181022le]

The following examples all have irrealis in the antecedent clause and realis in the consequent clause. Like (1271) – (1273) above, the events encoded in the sentence are non-singular, repeated/repeatable. I am not entirely sure what sets these examples apart from the ones with all-realis predicates. Possibly, the realisation of the event in the antecedent is less certain than in the examples above.

(1277) was produced by Juana telling me about a spirit that takes away the washed clothes by blowing them away. With the sentence, Juana sets the scene, describing the place where they wash, a hollow in a rock, which can only be used for this specific purpose after rainfalls.

(1277) *i tejapÿku ÿne* [*kue tikeba*] *tejapÿku ÿne*

      i   ti-japÿku ÿne   kue ti-keba   ti-japÿku ÿne
      and 3i-fill   water if   3i-rain.IRR 3i-fill   water

      'the water fills it there, when/if it rains, the water fills it'

                                                  [jxx-p151020l-2]

In (1278), Juana speaks about pain in her breast.

(1278) [*kue kapunuina tisÿeipu*] *max tikuti*

      kue kapunu-ina   tisÿeipu   max ti-kuti
      if   come-IRR.NV south.wind more 3i-hurt

      'when/if south wind comes, it hurts more'

                                                  [jxx-p120430l-1.326]

The following example comes from a little tale by Miguel that explains why ants are happy and trees are sad when a boy is born.

(1279) *eka kusiyÿ tiyayaumiji* [*kue kakuina apuke eka aitubuchepÿimÿnÿ*]

      eka   kusiyÿ ti-yayaumi-ji   kue kaku-ina   apuke eka
      DEMa ant   3i-be.happy-RPRT if   exist-IRR.NV down DEMa
        aitubuchepÿi-mÿnÿ
        boy-DIM

      'the ant is happy, it is said, when/if a boy is born'

                                              [mxx-n120423lsf-X.12]

(1280) was produced by María S. in a correction session.

(1280) [*kue kakuina nÿtÿmuane*] *niyÿseikumÿnÿ arusu-muke*

      kue kaku-ina   nÿ-tÿmua-ne   ni-yÿseiku-mÿnÿ arusu-muke
      if   exist-IRR.NV 1SG-money-POSSD 1SG-buy-DIM   rice-seed

      'when/if I have money, I buy peeled rice'

                                               [rxx-e121128s-3.28]

In counterfactual conditional clauses, all predicates have irrealis RS due to the non-factuality of these clauses. In addition, the frustrative or a related marker is attached to at least one of the predicates, i.e. it can show up in the antecedent clause, in the consequent clause or in both clauses. There are only a few counterfactual conditional sentences in the corpus.[22]

In (1281), the predicate in the consequent clause has the frustrative marker. The sentence comes from María S. telling the story about the two men who meet the devil in order to explain me why one of the man did not want to follow the devil in the end of the story, when the devil has taken his friend with him.

(1281) *aa tenikukaini* [*kue cheibanea*]

      aa   ti-niku-uka-ini   *kue chÿ-eibanea*
      INTJ 3i-eat-ADD.IRR-FRUST if   3-pursue.IRR

      'ah, he would eat him as well if he pursued him'

                                                  [rxx-n1205111-2.63-64]

In (1282), the antecedent bears the optative marker (which is composed of the intensifier *-yu* and the frustrative *-ini*, see 6.8.3.1). This sentence was elicited from Miguel.

(1282) [*kue nanayuini pario aumue ukuine*] *tanÿmakena nekichapi*

      kue nÿ-ana-yuini   *pario aumue ukuine   tanÿma-kena*
      if   1SG-make.IRR-OPT1 some   chicha yesterday now-UNCERT
         nÿ-ekicha-pi
         1SG-invite.IRR-2SG

      'if I had only made some chicha yesterday, I could invite you now'

                                                    [mxx-e160811sd.438]

Finally in (1283), we find the frustrative marker on the predicates of both clauses. I requested this sentence from María S. as a translation of a corresponding Spanish one. I wanted to tell her that I would buy her hammock (instead of a hammock made by another woman in Santa Rita) if I stayed long enough for her to be able to finish it. Since she had only begun weaving, it was clear that I would travel back to Germany before she could finish it.

(1283) *niyÿseikaini* [*kue nÿtiukukuineini*]

      ni-yÿseika-ini   *kue nÿti-uku-kuÿ-ina-ini*
      1SG-buy.IRR-FRUST if   1SG.PRN-PRN.LOC-INCMP-IRR.NV-FRUST

      'I would buy it if I were still here'

                                               [rxx-e181022le]

8.3.1.3 Causal clauses

Sometimes two events are in a relation of cause and consequence, thus one event is a prerequisite to the other. This can be expressed either by marking one event as a cause

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22. There are more counterfactual clauses, but they are not necessarily linked to another clause in the specific way conditional sentences are construed, i.e. with an antecedent and a consequent clause.

of another one (in a causal clause) or by marking one event as a consequence of the other (in a consecutive clause). Following Cristofaro (2003:38), the latter is defined as a case of coordination and described in 8.2.6. This section is about causal clauses only.

The causal clause can be introduced by the connective *che(je)puine* 'because'. This connective is used by Miguel and María S. and it also appears in the recordings by Riester. The verb of a causal clause introduced by *che(je)puine* is always balanced and its RS is not restricted. The causal clause always follows the main clause, however, it can also introduce a separate intonation unit, in which case the cause may be less tightly connected to the previous clause, but rather to the larger context.

(1284) is an excerpt from the description of the frog story told by Miguel. He describes the picture on which the dog and the boy lean in the window, with the dog's head being stuck in the glass of the frog.

(1284) *tipikutu eka aitubuchepÿimÿnÿ* [*chejepuinekena tubÿu chichÿti eka chipeu kabe naka*]

ti-piku-tu	*eka*	*aitubuchepÿi-mÿnÿ*	*chejepuine-kena*	*ti-ubÿu*
3i-be.afraid-IAM	DEMa	boy-DIM	because-UNCERT	3i-get.stuck

chi-chÿti	*eka*	*chi-peu*	*kabe*	*naka*
3-head	DEMa	3-animal	dog	here

'the boy is afraid, maybe because the head of his dog is stuck here'

[mox-a110920l-2.056-057]

In (1285), María S. answers my question whether she had a friend, when she was a child. She negates and offers the reason: she could not have a friend, because her family lived remote, quite far away from other people, so there was little contact to other people.

(1285) *kuina niamigane* [*chepuine tÿbane bubiu, nauku chukuyae Kose*]

kuina	*ni-amiga-ne*	*chepuine*	*ti-ÿbane*	*bi-ubiu*	*nauku*	*chi-chuku-yae*
NEG	1SG-friend-POSSD	because	3i-be.far	1PL-house	there	3-side-LOC

Kose
José

'I didn't have a friend, because our house was remote, there close to José('s house)'

[rxx-p181101l-2.115]

(1286) is from the same context as (1270) above. Miguel had told me that when he was a child, people in Concepción would not sell paper to indigenous people, so in order to be able to write things down in school, pupils in Altavista used wooden boards. Miguel evaluates this as a good thing, because in contrast to paper, a wooden board is easily re-usable.

(1286) *bueno pero michaubiyu nÿtÿpi echÿu taurapechumÿnÿ [chejepuine eka kuina tibukapu]*

bueno pero micha-u-bi-yu   nÿ-tÿpi   echÿu taurapechu-mÿnÿ chejepuine
well   but   good-?-1PL-INTS   1SG-OBL   DEMb board-DIM   because

   eka   kuina   ti-buka-pu
   DEMa   NEG   3i-finish.IRR-MID

'well, but for me the small board was good, because that one doesn't finish'
[mxx-p181027l-1.032-033]

(1287) seems to be an almost tautological statement by María S. and refers to the lack of knowledge about the dates of feast days in former times, when the families used to live more dispersed. The reason for this was the incapability of her family, i.e. they could not know which day was a feast day, because they did not have the means to recognise it, which could be a calendar or simply social interaction with other people if they had lived in a village.

(1287) *kuina bichupa [chepuine kuina baichunabane]*

kuina   bi-chupa   chepuine kuina bi-a-ichuna-bane
NEG   1PL-know.IRR   because   NEG   1PL-IRR-be.capable-REM

'we didn't know it (which day was a feast day), because we were not capable in the old times'
[rxx-p181101l-2.016]

Finally, (1288) was elicited from María S. in the same context as (1283) above and it refers to me not being able to buy a hammock from her, because I would leave Bolivia before she could finish it.

(1288) *kuina puero niyÿseika [chepuine niyunupunupuna nepukie]*

kuina puero ni-yÿseika   chepuine ni-yunupunu-puna   nÿ-epukie
NEG   can   1SG-buy.IRR   because 1SG-go.back-AM.PRIOR.IRR 1SG-homeland

'I can't buy it, because I will go back to my country'
[rxx-e181022le]

Juana, Clara and María C. do not seem to use *che(je)puine*, instead they resort to the Spanish causal conjunction *porke* (Spanish: *porque* 'because'). The latter is also used by Miguel occasionally. (319) was produced by Juana, when I asked her which of the frogs on the picture in the end of frog story she liked best. She chose one and gave an explanation, why she did not prefer the other:

(1289) *eka punachÿ kuina pueroina micha [porke mutemenayu i max chepitÿjiku chijabu]*

eka   punachÿ kuina puero-ina   micha porke   mutemena-yu i   max
DEMa other   NEG   can-IRR.NV good   because big-INTS   and   more

   chepitÿjiku chi-jabu
   small   3-leg

'the other one cannot (jump) well, because it is very big and its legs are shorter'
[jxx-a120516l-a.529-531]

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(1290) comes from Miguel who stated that he was happy that the taxi driver who had brought us to San Miguelito was sitting with us and joining the talk.

(1290) *chikuye pero nÿtiuku niyayaumi* [*porke kaku eka bipiji naka*]

    chi-kuye   *pero* *nÿti-uku*   *ni-yayaumi*   *porke*   *kaku* *eka*
    3-be.like.this but 1SG.PRN-ADD 1SG-be.happy because exist DEMa
       bi-piji   *naka*
       1PL-sibling here

    'it is like this, but I am also happy, because our brother is here'
                                         [mty-p110906l.208-209]

Finally, the last example in this section comes from Clara, who was chatting with María C. and told her about her plans to teach her daughters some Paunaka since they were interested in learning it.

(1291) *nisachu nimeisumeikanube nijinepÿinube* [*porke tisachu tichujikanube*]

    ni-sachu   *ni-meisumeika-nube* *ni-jinepÿi-nube*   *porke*   *ti-sachu*
    1SG-want 1SG-teach.IRR-PL   1SG-daughter-PL because 3i-want
       ti-chujika-nube
       3i-speak.IRR-PL

    'I want to teach it to my daughters, because they want to speak it'
                                         [cux-c120414ls-2.323-324]

8.3.1.4 Purpose clauses

In purpose clause linking, one event "(the main one) is performed with the goal of obtaining the realization of another one (the dependent one)" (Cristofaro 2003:157). Purpose clauses always follow the main clause. They can be introduced by *tÿpi*, which is not strictly speaking a connective, but a preposition that is used with obliques (see 4.4.2). However, the predicate following *tÿpi* in purpose clauses can be balanced, and thus should be described in this section. Purpose clauses with *tÿpi* and balanced predicates are typical for Juana, but occasionally also found with other speakers. We can thus state that the preposition is developing a parallel function as connective. This parallels what we find with Spanish *para* 'for', although in Spanish purpose clauses, the verb has to be an infinitive. In Paunaka, purpose clauses construed with a deranked verb can also additionally be marked by *tÿpi,* those clauses are described in 8.3.2.2.

The predicate of a purpose clause usually has irrealis RS. It is not necessary that both clauses have the same subject, but there need to be some involvement "at least in that there is an element of will on [the main clause performer's] part towards such realization" (Cristofaro 2003:157). The subjects of the main and the purpose verb may thus be the same or different. Actually, in most examples I found, they are different, see (1292) – (1294).

A motion predicate is never combined with a purpose clause introduced by *tÿpi,* speakers either use a serial verb or a motion-cum-purpose construction to encode these notions (see 8.3.3).

(1292) comes from Juana's account about how they made the reservoir in Santa Rita. The men prepared the ground by felling trees, the women cooked for them.

(1292)   *i biti metu biyÿtikatu nÿkÿiki* [*tÿpi chinikanube*]

     i   biti   metu   bi-yÿtika-tu   nÿkÿiki tÿpi   chi-nika-nube
     and 1PL.PRN already 1PL-set.on.fire-IAM pot   OBL 3-eat.IRR-PL

     'and we already set the pots onto fire for them to eat it'

                                                             [jxx-p120515l-2.185-186]

From the same passage is (1293), in which Juana describes that the men were supplied with chicha.

(1293)   *i eka kaku chijinepÿinube chiyenu te, tumunube aumue* [*tÿpi teanube nauku*]

     i   eka   kaku chi-jinepÿi-nube chi-yenu te   ti-umu-nube aumue tÿpi
     and DEMa exist 3-daughter-PL 3-wife   SEQ 3i-take-PL   chicha SEQ

        ti-ea-nube   nauku
        3i-drink.IRR-PL   there

     'and the ones who had daughters or a wife, they brought them chicha to drink there'

                                                             [jxx-p120515l-2.182-184]

In (1294), where Juana explains that she will give her daughter a post-pregnancy treatment: tie her belly to shrink it.

(1294)   *nÿrÿtÿkabÿti chikÿ nijinepÿi* [*tÿpi chirataka micha*]

     nÿ-rÿtÿka-bÿti chi-kÿ   ni-jinepÿi   tÿpi   chi-rataka   micha
     1SG-tie-PRSP 3-CLF:bounded 1SG-daughter OBL 3-press.IRR good

     'I'm just going to tie my daughter's belly so that it presses her well'

                                                              [jxx-e120430l-2.1-2]

In (1295) the subjects are identical. The jar is the subject of the copula *kaku* as well as of the middle verb *tetukapu* 'it is filled'. The example also comes from Juana, when she told me about the beautiful pottery they have in Cotoca, a city close to Santa Cruz and a popular destination for excursions.

(1295)   *kaku yÿpijanemÿnÿ michananaji* [*tÿpi tetukapu ÿne*]*, tisÿeimumÿnÿ*

     kaku   yÿpi-jane-mÿnÿ   michana-na-ji   tÿpi   ti-etuka-pu   ÿne
     exist jar-DISTR-DIM   nice-REP-COL   OBL 3i-put.IRR-MID water

        ti-sÿei-umu-mÿnÿ
        3i-be.cold-CLF:liquid-DIM

     'there are beautiful jars for being filled with water, the water stays cold'

                                                             [jxx-p120430l-2.594-596]

(1296) is a negative purpose clause with *tÿpi* produced by Juana describing the preparation of a medicine against cough to my colleague Lena.

(1296)   *bea* [*tÿpi kuina bijÿchikapu yutina*]

     bi-ea   tÿpi kuina bi-jÿchikapu   yuti-ina
     1SG-drink.IRR OBL NEG   1PL-cough.IRR night-IRR.NV

     'we drink it so that we won't cough at night'

                                                                  [jxx-e191021e-2]

Combination of *tÿpi* with a negative clause like in the previous example is exceptional. Usually, apprehensional clauses take a different connective, *masa* 'lest'. Apprehensional clauses are much rarer than purpose clauses. They are described in the following section.

8.3.1.5 Apprehensional clauses

Like purpose clauses, apprehensional clauses also encode a kind of purpose, but negatively, i.e. the event expressed in the main clause is carried out to prevent the one in the adverbial clause. This type of clauses has also been called "avertive clauses" (e.g. Schmidtke-Bode 2009), but in following Kuteva et al. (2019) I reserve the term "avertive" for a modality marker with the meaning 'almost' (see 6.8.3.1) and use the term "apprehensional" for those clauses describing "an undesirable verb situation which is to be avoided" (Kuteva et al. 2019:863). Apprehensional clauses are introduced by *masa* 'lest' and their predicates always have irrealis RS. Apprehensional clauses are rare in the corpus, but three examples shall be given here nonetheless.

The context of (1297) is as follows: together with Juana, we had just found María S., who was making adobe bricks at a place in the woods. This place is a bit off the village, and we had been walking through the shrubbery, before we met her there (when walking back to the village, María S. showed us a better way). María S. is making a joke about herself deliberately hiding from us in this place.[23]

(1297)   *nÿjechika tukiu naka* [*masa etupanÿ*]

    nÿ-jechika   tukiu naka masa e-tupa-nÿ
    1SG-hide.IRR from here lest 2PL-find.IRR-1SG

    'I wanted to hide from here lest you find me'

<div align="right">[jrx-c151001fls-8.12]</div>

In (1298), Juana describes what her grandmother did to prevent her grandfather being enchanted by the female spirit of the water, at night, when they had physically already escaped her.

(1298)   *chakiyeku chibuÿye* [*masa chabikÿka*]

    chÿ-akiyeku chi-buÿ-yae masa chÿ-abikÿka
    3-rub   3-hand-LOC lest 3-grab.IRR

    'she rubbed it (the tobacco) on his hand lest she could grab him'
<div align="right">[jxx-p151016l-2.207-208]</div>

Finally, (1299) also comes from Juana. It was produced to exemplify the use of an expression that I had requested from her, 'water a plant'.

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23. Remarkable in this example is that *naka* 'here' apparently does not refer to the place of her current position, but to the village, where she lives. In closely related Baure, the word *ne'* 'here' can also refer to places quite far away from the current position of the speaker as long as she feels familiar with this place (Admiraal 2016:252-254). This possibly also holds for Paunaka. Alternatively, *tukiu* refers to another source which is not expressed and *naka* to the momentary location of the speaker.

(1299) *puchuneka ÿne* [*masa tepaka*]

> *pi-uchu-ne-ka*   *ÿne*   *masa*   *ti-paka*
> 2SG-pour.liquid-top-TH1.IRR water lest   3i-die

'water them (lit.: pour water on top) lest they die'

[jxx-e151020l-1]

All ACs presented so far have balanced verbs. That a clause is in an adverbial relation to another one can also be signaled by deranking. This is the topic of the following section.

8.3.2 Adverbial relations expressed by deranking

ACs can be built on deranked verbs (see 8.1.4). An AC with a deranked verb cannot occur on its own,[24] it is thus more closely integrated into the main clause, i.e. embedded in it, without being an argument of the main clause. This is illustrated in Figure 8.9.

[MC [AC]]

Figure 8.9: Clause structure of adverbial clauses with a deranked verb

Integration into the main clause becomes most apparent if a preposition is placed in front of the deranked verb, thus marking it as an oblique constituent of the main clause. However, this is only occasionally found with verbs encoding purpose and even less frequent with those encoding causal relations. If no preposition is placed before the deranked verb, the semantic type of relation towards the main clause is as unmarked as in asyndetically juxtaposed ACs (see 8.3.1.1) and can only be deduced from the context.

ACs with deranked verbs usually follow the main clause with a few exceptions. Deranked verbs can index objects and these objects can be conominated. Conomination of subjects is exceptional though a few examples of this are found as well.

I will proceed as in the previous section and first illustrate the use of embedded clauses unmarked for their semantic connection to the main clause in 8.3.2.1 and then describe the ones that combine with a preposition in 8.3.2.2, thus explicitly encoding the type of relation.

8.3.2.1 Adverbial clauses with bare deranked verbs

In ACs with "bare" deranked verbs, the deranked verb tells us that we are dealing with a subordinate relation, however there is no information about the semantics of this relation, i.e. the exact nature of this relation has to be deduced from the context. We can then identify purpose, causal and temporal relations, but there is sometimes a certain ambiguity involved. The deranked verb can have realis or irrealis RS for reasons that lie outside of the construction type and it can have the same or a different subject than the main clause predicate. I will first consider some examples in which both predicates have the same subject and then discuss the ones with different subjects. Towards the end of the section, a few cases in which the deranked verb precedes the main clause predicate are presented, and finally, some cases in which the information provided by the subordinate verb doubles what is expressed on the main clause verb.

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24. But see 8.6 for monoclausal constructions with deranked verbs.

In (1300), the main clause tells us about the existence of an entity, the walking cane, and the subordinate clause provides information about the purpose of this walking cane. The sentence comes from Juana telling me about her encounter with two old ladies in Candelaria, it is a description of one of the ladies.

(1300)   *kaku chibastunemÿnetu, mhm,* [*chiyuikiumÿnÿ*]

     kaku   chi-bastun-ne-mÿnÿ-tu   *mhm   chi-yuik-i-u-mÿnÿ*
     exist   3-walking.cane-POSSD-DIM-IAM   INTJ   3-walk-SUBORD-REAL-DIM

     'she already had a cane, mhm, for walking'

                                    [jxx-p120515l-1.220-221]

(1301) has a similar structure as (1300) above. The main clause tells about an action of a participant, the AC describes the reason of this action. It is from Miguel's description of the frog story to José, more precisely, it provides a description of the picture in which the boy has climbed the rock.

(1301)   *ja tipuna naka eka aitubuchepÿi* [*chipikiuchi eka chumurkuku*]

     ja   ti-puna   naka   eka   aitubuchepÿi   chi-pik-i-u-chi
     INTJ   3i-go.up.IRR   here   DEMa   boy   3-be.afraid-SUBORD-REAL-3
      eka   chumurkuku
      DEMa   tropical.screech.owl

     'aa, he is going to climb up here being afraid of the owl'

                                      [mox-a110920l-2.120-122]

In (1302), Juana quite amusedly comments about her dog that made a howling-barking sound when it scratched itself. In this example, the main clause verb is marked as continuous, however, when Juana repeated the sentence for me just a moment later, she used a non-continuous verb form, the rest of the sentence being identical. The deranked verb either encodes the reason for barking or it simply expresses a temporal relation.

(1302)   *timajaikukuiku* [*chibujakiubu*]

     ti-majaiku-kuiku   chi-bujak-i-u-bu
     3i-bark-CONT   3-scratch-SUBORD-REAL-MID

     'it barks scratching itself'

                                      [jxx-p120430l-1.479]

In (1303) and (1304), the subjects differ, however the singular agent of the main clause is also understood to be part of the plural subject of the deranked verb.

(1303) is another example form Miguel telling the frog story, however in another occasion than (1301) above.[25] He describes the picture on which the beehive lies on the ground after the dog has jumped against the tree. The deranked verb describes the purpose of the main clause verb in this case.

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25. Miguel told the story once to Alejo and once to José. In general, I use more examples from the second time he told the story in this work, because, already knowing what would happen, he told it more fluently and self-confidently.

(1303)   *chibӱtupaiku echӱukena* [*chinikianube ipitiumu*]

chi-bӱtupaiku echӱu-kena   chi-nik-i-a-nube   ipiti-umu
3-make.fall   DEMb-UNCERT 3-eat-SUBORD-IRR-PL bee-CLF:liquid

'it seems that it makes it fall so that they can eat honey'

[mtx-a110906l.093]

(1304) was produced by Juana who was telling about the old times before there was the reservoir in Santa Rita and they had to walk far to get water.

(1304)   *tӱbaneyu ӱne tikuti nimupeki* [*bejikiumӱnӱ ӱne*]

ti-ӱbane-yu   ӱne   ti-kuti   ni-mupeki bi-ejik-i-u-mӱnӱ
3i-be.far-INTS water 3i-hurt   1SG-knee   1PL-take.away-SUBORD-REAL-DIM
    ӱne
    water

'the water was very far away, my knee hurt, when we fetched water'

[jxx-p120515l-2.005]

(1305) and (1306) have different subjects in main and subordinate clauses, however, the subject of the deranked verb is always affected by the event expressed by the main clause verb. Note that in (1306), the subordinate clause precedes the main clause, a few more examples of that will follow below.

In (1305), there is a weather verb with a third person subject, and the deranked verb has a first person subject, i.e. Miguel, who gives the reason for him waiting for rain here.

(1305)   *repentekena tikeba pario* [*nebukia*]

repente-kena   ti-keba   pario ni-ebuk-i-a
maybe-UNCERT   3i-rain.IRR some 1SG-sow-SUBORD-IRR

'maybe it rains a bit for me to sow'

[mqx-p110826l.616]

(1306) has two third person subjects, however one is singular and the other plural, and they refer to completely different participants. The subject of the deranked verb is the dog, the subject of the main clause verb is the wasps. This is one of the few examples in which the clause with the deranked verb precedes the main clause. The sentence describes the same situation as (1303) above, but comes from the second occasion in which Miguel told the frog story.

(1306)   [*chibӱbӱtupaikiuchӱtu eka chubiu jane*] *tibӱbӱkujanetu*

chi-bӱbӱtupaik-i-u-chӱ-tu   eka   chӱ-ubiu jane ti-bӱbӱku-jane-tu
3-make.fall-SUBORD-REAL-3-IAM DEMa 3-house bee 3i-fly-DISTR-IAM

'it (the dog) having made the wasps' nest fall, they (the wasps) fly'

[mox-a110920l-2.080]

Like (1306), (1307) also has its subordinate clause preposed to the main clause. The subject of the deranked verb, *piesta* 'feast day' is conominated here, which is very rare. The sentence stems from María S. telling me about her childhood and the lack

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of knowledge they had in the old days. I am not sure why María S. uses a reportive marker on the main clause verb here, either it is quotative here – this is what I propose by the translation given – or it is used as a hearsay marker, the latter would suggest that María S. does not remember their sudden departure to town on a feast day herself and was only told by somebody else (maybe one of her older siblings).

(1307)   [*kuyena chitupuniubu piesta*] *repenteyÿchi biyunupatuji uneku*

> *kuyena*   *chi-tupun-i-u-bu*   *piesta*   *repente-yÿchi*
> like.this 3-reach-SUBORD-REAL-MID feast.day suddenly-LIM2
>
> *bi-yunupa-tu-ji*   *uneku*
> 1PL-go.to-IAM-RPRT town

'so when a feast day came, only that same day we said we would go to town'
[rxx-p181101l-2.017]

(1308) is another example in which the deranked verb precedes the main clause. Actually, in this case the deranked verb is repeated as the start of a new utterance. In the previous utterance, this same subordinate verb was produced as a complement of a non-verbal predicate borrowed from Spanish. The sentence was produced by Miguel in telling the story about the fox and the jaguar and is about ongoing digging of the jaguar looking for the fox who has long escaped. The repeated verb of the main clause, *-teku* is atelic and encodes digging, the verb of the adverbial clause *-seku* is telic with the meaning 'dig a hole'.

(1308)   [*chisekiuchituji*] *chitekuji chitekuji*

> *chi-sek-i-u-chi-tu-ji*   *chi-teku-ji*   *chi-teku-ji*
> 3-dig.hole-SUBORD-3-IAM-RPRT 3-dig-RPRT 3-dig-RPRT

'digging the hole, it is said, he dug and dug, it is said'
[jmx-n120429ls-x5.163]

The last two examples I want to present here are somehow peculiar. Both were produced by Juana and in both cases, the main clause predicate is a stative verb with a concurrent associated motion marker. The deranked verb also expresses motion and thus seems to be unnecessary. It is not clear to me, why Juana decided to use a deranked verb in those cases. It is possibly the case that the associated motion markers are on the way to losing their semantic content, that they are not enough (anymore) to express the motion component all by themselves. An adverbial clause expressing motion is thus added to ensure that the addressee gets that part. It might be the case that the presence of non-speakers, i.e. the members of the PDP team, has an influence, on this abundantly clear wording, however, I did not get the feeling that Juana in general takes much care about their lack of knowledge once she has delved into the stories she tells.

In (1309) Juana first uses a verb with the concurrent associated motion marker, combines it with a deranked verb encoding motion, and then uses a third verb, balanced again, which also takes the associated motion marker. With this sentence, she tells me how she arrived at her brother's funeral, sad and all by herself. Actually, she produced a very similar sentence again a moment later, but then used a balanced verb juxtaposed to the one with the associated motion marker. The latter sentence is given in (1310) for comparison. Both options seem to be possible.

(1309) *nipÿsisikÿumÿnÿ* [*niyuniu*] *nimumukukukÿu*

       ni-pÿsisi-kÿu-mÿnÿ   *ni-yun-i-u*   *ni-imumuku-kukÿu*
       1SG-be.alone-AM.CONC.TR-DIM 1SG-go-SUBORD-REAL 1SG-look-AM.CONC.TR

       'I went alone, me going, I went looking around'

                                                         [jxx-p120430l-2.248]

(1310) *nipÿsisikÿu niyunu*

       ni-pÿsisi-kÿu   *ni-yunu*
       1SG-be.alone-AM.CONC.TR 1SG-go

       'I went all by myself'

                                                        [jxx-p120430l-2.250]

(1311) is very similar to (1309) in that there is a stative verb with the concurrent motion marker followed by a subordinate verb encoding motion. This example stems from the story about the fox and the jaguar. After the jaguar did not succeed in eating the vulture for punishment, because the latter let the fox escape, he has to move on, still being hungry.

(1311) *tikunipapakÿu* [*chiyuniu*]

       ti-kunipa-pakÿu   *chi-yun-i-u*
       3i-be.hungry-AM.CONC.TR 3-go-SUBORD-REAL

       'hungry he went'

                                                 [jmx-n120429ls-x5.222]

I will come back to these examples in 8.6.

8.3.2.2 Deranked verbs combined with prepositions

Deranked verbs can be combined with the prepositions *tÿpi* 'OBL' and *-keuchi* 'INS'. This is the most overt signal of loss of verbal properties of the deranked verb and its embedding into the main clause as an oblique. However, the use of a preposition together with a deranked verb is rather rare in general and as for *-keuchi*, this is only found in the speech of María S. It is possible that the use of prepositions together with the deranked verbs is influenced by Spanish, where the prepositions *para* (purpose) and *por* (reason) are used together with a non-finite or subjunctive verb in order to express purpose and causal relations. However, in the case of *tÿpi* the use as an overt marker for purpose clauses now extends to balanced verbs, too, see 8.3.1.4 (and also Danielsen & Terhart 2015a:142-143).

I will start with a few purpose clauses that contain both *tÿpi* and a deranked verb and then turn to causal clauses with *-keuchi*.

(1312), like (1307) in the previous section, is one of the few examples in which the subject of a deranked verb is conominated. The context of this sentence is Miguel speaking about a job he did in the past. Apparently, he wanted to explain the function of the railway sleepers he made by using a subordinate clause.

(1312) *banau echÿu durmientejane* [*tÿpi chiyuikiu echÿu tren*]

   bi-anau   echÿu durmiente-jane tÿpi chi-yuik-i-u   echÿu tren
   1PL-make DEMb sleeper-DISTR   OBL 3-walk-SUBORD-REAL DEMb train

   'we made sleepers for the train to move'

                                                             [mxx-p181027l-1.129]

   In (1313), Juana first uses the preposition together with the noun *makina* 'machine, tool' and then with a clause that explains what the tool is good for, i.e. sowing rice and corn. The tool she speaks about eases sowing by making little holes in the ground and inserting the kernels. It was brought to Concepción and sold there by a lady from Germany and her husband.

(1313) *i tÿpi echÿu makina kapunu* [*tÿpi bebukia arusu bebukia amuke*]

   i   tÿpi echÿu makina   kapunu tÿpi bi-ebuk-i-a   arusu
   and OBL DEMb machine   come   OBL 1PL-sow-SUBORD-IRR rice

   bi-ebuk-i-a   amuke
   1PL-sow-SUBORD-IRR corn

   'and for this tool, she came, (the tool) for us to sow rice and sow corn'

                                                             [jxx-p120515l-2.040]

   (1314) is also about the function of a tool, with the function being expressed by a clause with a deranked verb introduced by *tÿpi*. It was produced by Clara as an answer to Swintha's question about how a spindle is called in Paunaka.

(1314) *echÿu turnu* [*tÿpi bijÿkia*]

   echÿu turnu   tÿpi bi-ijÿk-i-a
   DEMb spindle OBL 1PL-weave-SUBORD-IRR

   'it is (called) *turnu*, (used) for weaving'

                                                             [cux-120410ls.189-190]

   The two examples found in the corpus in which the instrumental and causal preposition *-keuchi* is used together with a deranked verb are given below. In both of them, the preposition takes a third person marker, thus it does not agree with the subject of the deranked verb, which is a first person plural in (1315) and a first person singular in (1316). Instead this third person marker seems to index the clause.

   In (1315), the preposition is clearly used to encode a cause, we all know that we can get ill by smoking. The whole clause is itself construed as a cause clause by the use of the connective *ch(je)puine* 'because' (see 8.3.1.3) and represents an afterthought to the previous one, in which María evaluated the fact that I had stopped smoking as good.

(1315) *chepuine bikutiu* [*chikeuchi bijibÿkia*]

   chepuine bi-kutiu   chi-keuchi bi-jibÿk-i-a
   because 1PL-be.ill 3-INS   1PL-smoke-SUBORD-IRR

   'because we get ill by smoking'

                                                             [rxx-e120511l.384]

In (1316), it seems that *-keuchi* rather introduces a purpose clause like *tÿpi* does, but possibly María S. wanted to encode the reason for making and selling her hammock as a cause rather than a purpose, this is what I try to convey with the translation given. More data is needed here in order to analyse and evaluate the use of *-keuchi* together with a deranked verb. The sentence was produced when I wanted to elicit a question, but got the answer to the question instead.

(1316)   *micha, nana yumaji depue nipabentecha* [*chikeuchi niyÿseikia amuke arusu*]

     | *micha* | *nÿ-ana* | *yumaji* | *depue* | *ni-pabentecha* | *chi-keuchi* |
     good | 1SG-make.IRR | hammock | afterwards | 1SG-sell.IRR | 3-INS |

     ni-yÿseik-i-a   *amuke*   *arusu*
     1SG-buy-SUBORD-IRR   corn   rice

     'I am fine, I will make my hammock and afterwards I will sell it, because I want to buy corn and rice'

                                                      [rxx-e181022le]

The use of a deranked verb together with a preposition is the most explicit sign of integration of the subordinate clause into the main clause. The next section is also about integrating strategies, however, on another level. In the cases discussed below, one verb is combined with another verb, both form a close nexus and the result is a single clause with the subordinate verb expressing a goal argument.

8.3.3   Adverbial relations encoded by integrating strategies

Paunaka has two multi-verb constructions that encode purpose relations, the serial verb construction (SVC) and a construction I call motion-cum-purpose construction in this grammar (MCPC). Both are used to set an event (i.e. the one encoding purpose) in relation to a motion event. The difference between the two constructions is that the non-motion verb in a MCPC is marked for this relation, while it is unmarked in a SVC.

Consider the following Examples (1317) and (1318). In (1317) we have a MCPC, the dislocative marker *-pu* on the second predicate shows that it is related to the motion predicate. In (1318) a similar event is expressed, but in this case, the second verb is completely unmarked.

(1317) was produced by María S. when telling me what she did that day. (1318) was elicited from Juana.

(1317)   *niyunu nisane* [*nisupu*]

     ni-yunu   *ni-sane*   *ni-isu-pu*
     1SG-go   1SG-field   1SG-weed-DLOC

     'I went to my field to weed'

                                                     [rxx-e120511l.033]

(1318)   *piyuna nauku* [*pisua*]

     pi-yuna   *nauku*   *pi-isua*
     2SG-go.IRR   there   2SG-weed.IRR

     'you go there to weed'

                                                     [jxx-e191021e-2]

The motion verbs in both of these constructions show a high degree of integration with another verb. They cannot be negated separately, and it can thus be claimed that the constructions consist of a single clause, not two separate ones. I will come back to this later in this section.

The serial verb construction is marginally used to encode simultaneous events, but the main function of both constructions is to express motion and purpose of this motion. Purpose of motion shows a certain analogy to nominal or adverbial expression of a goal. This is because by metonymical extension an action can come to stand for the location where it is carried out (Schmidtke-Bode 2009:98).

Compare Examples (1319) and (1320). In the first example the goal is expressed by a noun which takes the locative marker *-yae*, in the second, the goal is a verb marked with the dislocative suffix *-pa* (with irrealis RS).[26] An NP or adverb expressing the goal can also co-occur with a verb expressing the purpose as has been shown in (1317) and (1318) above.

(1319) *niyuna nisaneyae*

       ni-yuna   *ni-sane-yae*
       1SG-go.IRR 1SG-field-LOC

       'I will go to my field'

                                                        [jxx-n101013s-1.652]

(1320) *niyuna* [*nimuikupa*]

       ni-yuna   *ni-muiku-pa*
       1SG-go.IRR 1SG-dance-DLOC.IRR

       'I will go to dance'

                                                         [rxx-e181022le]

As for the expression of simultaneous events in the SVC, there is only one specific verb series which is used at least by several, possibly by all speakers. In that case, the verb *-yunu* 'go' combines with *-eiku* 'follow' to indicate that the subject accompanies somebody else ('go along with'). As is the case with those serial verbs encoding purpose of motion, this case of simultaneous event expression can be argued to encode a kind of goal, though not at a fixed location: the goal is the other person who is also moving.

We can thus argue that just like complement clauses are clausal expressions of an object of a verb, in the SVC and MCPC, a clause expresses the oblique (goal) argument of a motion verb. Since purpose has been traditionally defined as an *adverbial* relation, purpose-of-motion constructions shall be discussed in this section, not as a special form of complement clause.

Let us have a look at the characteristics of both constructions. As for the term "serial verb construction", it has been applied to a wide array of multi-verb clauses, which has led to a certain ambiguity about which constructions constitute SVCs and which ones should be classified differently. In the spirit of Aikhenvald (2006b, 2011, 2018), the term is used to describe a technique to combine predicates that share at least one argument without morphosyntactically marking the relation between those predicates. According to this author, the construction encodes a single event and is monoclausal. As I have already stated in 8.2, I do not have the means to check whether something

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26. The noun expressing the goal can also be unmarked like in (1317) above.

is conceived as a single event or as multiple events, so I will not further pursue this issue here. As for monoclausality, this also holds for complement clauses in Paunaka, and indeed, we find complement clauses among the ones that are defined as SVCs in the aforementioned publications.

A relatively narrow definition of SVC that deliberately excludes complement clauses and some other constructions has been proposed by Haspelmath (2016:296): "A serial verb construction is a monoclausal construction consisting of multiple independent verbs with no element linking them and with no predicate–argument relation between the verbs." Since I have just stated that the purpose clause can be defined as a clausal argument of the motion verb expressing the goal, the definition would possibly also exclude what I am just trying to define as a SVC here. However, if we replace "argument" by "core argument", the definition works well for the purpose of this work.[27] It should be mentioned though that the examples given by both Aikhenvald (2006b, 2018) as well as Haspelmath (2016) to illustrate SVCs often closely resemble the ones I have analysed as including asyndetic coordination or asyndetic subordination (see 8.2.1 and 8.3.1.1 respectively), because I propose that they consist of two clauses.

A crucial point of the definition of the SVC is its being monoclausal – and this also holds for the MCPC of Paunaka. A test for monoclausality that is cross-linguistically applicable, is scope of negation and place of the negator, i.e. "there is only one way to form the negation, usually with scope over all the verbs" (Haspelmath 2016:299).

An example to illustrate the scope of negation over both predicates in a SVC is given in (1321). The negative particle *kuina* precedes the motion verb *-yunu*, and since this verb is negated, the verb encoding the purpose of the motion is negated, too. The sentence cannot be understood as 'she did not go to the airport, (but) she took her'. In order to construe such a meaning, two clauses would be necessary, clearly separated from each other by having at least different intonation contours, by the use of a connective or by repetition of *kuina* uttered with falling intonation and preceding the second predicate.[28]

The example comes from Juana in telling me how her daughter was deported from Spain for not having a valid visa. In Juana's eyes, her other daughter could have prevented this.

(1321)   *kuina tiyuna la pistayae* [*chibea*]

     kuina ti-yuna   la pista-yae chi-bea
     NEG   3i-go.IRR airport-LOC 3-take.away.IRR

     'she didn't go to the airport to get her out'

                                         [jxx-p110923l-1.296]

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27. The predicate–argument point of this definition is tricky in this case, because the complement clause cannot be defined as a proper argument of the complement-taking verb either. Thus the definition does not rule out that complement clauses are SVCs in Paunaka. There are, however, some other features in which Paunaka's complement clauses deviate from what has been proposed to constitute complementation SVCs, see 8.4.

28. We have three clauses in this latter case; the first one is a negated independent one, the second one consists of the negator only and the third one is the positive clause that expresses some sort of contrast with the latter two being combined into a complex clause by asyndetic subordination, i.e. the the structure of such negative assertion corresponding to (1321) would be [*kuina tiyuna la pistayae*] [[*kuina*] [*chibea*]] 'she did not go to the airport. No, she will/can get her out', where irrealis of the last predicate may be due to future reference or possibility, but not due to negation. See Footnote 16 in 8.2.1 for a real example of this linking strategy.

In (1322) a negative MCPC is shown. As in (1321) above, scope of the negator is over both predicates, the sentence cannot be read as 'we don't go on to the reservoir anymore, but we fetch water', a different construction would be used in that case. Actually, Juana did express a similar kind of contrast in two sentences that immediately followed in her report. They are given in (1323). This, although making use of material from Spanish (*pa* is an abbreviation of *para* 'for', *si* comes from *sí* 'yes'), is a normal way to construe a contrast.[29]

(1322) *teje kuina biyunukabu atajauyae* [*bepa ÿne*]

    te-ja?   *kuina* *bi-yunu-uka-bu*   *atajau-yae*
    SEQ-EMPH1? NEG   1PL-go-ADD.IRR-DSC reservoir-LOC

    bi-be-pa   *ÿne*
    1PL-take.away-DLOC.IRR water

    'thus we don't go to the reservoir anymore either to fetch water'
                                          [jxx-p120515l-2.218]

(1323) [*pa bemusuika*] *si nauku bemusuikia i* [*tÿpi eka bea*] *eka nechÿujikutu*

    pa *bi-emusuika*   *si*   *nauku* *bi-emusuik-i-a*   *i*   *tÿpi* *eka*
    for 1PL-wash.IRR yes there 1PL-wash-SUBORD-IRR and OBL DEMa

    bi-ea   *eka*   *nechÿu-jiku-tu*
    1PL-drink.IRR DEMa DEMc-LIM1-IAM

    'in order to wash, yes, there we wash and for drinking, this is just there (i.e. a water tank close to the rectory) now'
                                         [jxx-p120515l-2.219-220]

Both the SVC and the MCPC are exclusively used with motion verbs as first verbs, predominantly -*yunu* 'go', marginally also with others. If the purpose of a non-motion event is to be expressed, a different construction has to be chosen.

Consider (1324) which has two purpose expressions, one is a MCPC and the other one a purpose clause that relates to the second (i.e. non-motion) verb of the MCPC. The purpose verb of the motion verb is marked by the irrealis dislocative marker -*pa*, the other purpose verbs are deranked. The first part of the sentence, i.e. the motion and purpose-of-motion part, was elicited, however, the non-motion purposive part was added to the sentence by María S. herself.

(1324) *niyunu asaneti* [*nibÿkepaikupa*] [*nebukia amuke nebukia arusu*]

    ni-yunu *asaneti* *ni-bÿkepaiku-pa*   *nÿ-ebuk-i-a*   *amuke*
    1SG-go   field   1SG-clean.up.field-DLOC 1SG-sow-SUBORD-IRR corn

    nÿ-ebuk-i-a   *arusu*
    1SG-sow-SUBORD-IRR rice

    'I went to my field to clean up the residues after fire clearing in order to sow corn and sow rice'
                                             [rxx-e181020le]

In both constructions, the motion verb and the purpose verb necessarily have the same subject. If the purpose verb has a different subject, a different construction has

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29. For the use of a deranked verb following an adverb see 8.6.

to be used. I have actually only found one example of this, which was elicited from Miguel and is given in (1325). He chose a deranked verb to encode the purpose part.

(1325) *nÿti niyuna* [*chimukiachÿ*]

    nÿti   *ni-yuna*   *chi-muk-i-a-chÿ*
    1SG.PRN 1SG-go.IRR 3-sleep-SUBORD-IRR-3

    'I go so that he can sleep'

<div align="right">[mxx-e160811sd.311-312]</div>

Other features shared by the constructions are that both verbs are fully inflected, i.e. they take person and RS marking. In the case of SVC, the second verb looks exactly like an independent verb, in a MCPC the dislocative marker inflects for RS. If the motion verb has realis RS, the second verb may have realis or irrealis RS.[30] If the motion verb has irrealis RS, the purpose verb necessarily also has irrealis RS. The motion verb always precedes the purpose verb. In most cases, the motion verb and the purpose verb are contiguous (cf. Aikhenvald 2006a:37), but a noun or adverb expressing the goal can be placed between the two verbs. Only in MCPCs, a conominated subject can also interrupt the sequence of the two verbs. As has been mentioned above, only the SVC can marginally also be used to express simultaneous motion.

SVCs and MCPCs are largely interchangeable, they offer distinct means to express the same thing. They may also be combined. This is the case in the following Examples (1326) and (1327).

In (1326), there are two independent sentences that were uttered in a sequence (with a pause and laughter between them indicated by the use of the semicolon). First, María S. makes use of a SVC, the second sentence has a MCPC. Both refer to her pig that had been in her yard before, but at some point had suddenly disappeared. It is the answer about my question where the pig had gone.

(1326) *tiyunu* [*tisemaiku yÿtie atajauyae*]; *tiyunu* [*tiyumachuikupu*]

    ti-yunu *ti-semaiku* *yÿtie* *atajau-yae* *ti-yunu* *ti-yumachuiku-pu*
    3i-go   3i-search food reservoir-LOC 3i-go   3i-root-DLOC

    'it went to look for food at the reservoir; it went to root'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181024l]</div>

In (1327) two purpose verbs of a motion predicate are coordinated, however, the first one, *tinikupajane* 'they eat', has a dislocative marker, the second one, *teajane* 'they drink', is unmarked. For lack of data, I cannot say whether this is a general pattern in coordination of purpose verbs in this kind of construction. The sentence refers to Juana's ducklings.

(1327) *tiyunujane kosinayae* [*tinikupajane teajane ÿne*]

    ti-yunu-jane *kosina-yae* *ti-niku-pa-jane*   *ti-ea-jane*   *ÿne*
    3i-go-DISTR kitchen-LOC 3i-eat-DLOC.IRR-DISTR 3i-drink.IRR-DISTR water

    'they go into the kitchen to eat and drink water'

<div align="right">[jxx-e150925l-1.116]</div>

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30. This is actually against the prediction by Aikhenvald (2018:3), who claims that RS usually has scope over both verbs of a SVC.

The characteristics of both constructions are summarised and contrasted in Table 8.5.

Table 8.5: Characteristics of serial verb construction and motion-cum-purpose construction in comparison

Feature	SVC	MCPC
monoclausal	✓	✓
dependency marking		✓
V1 = motion verb	✓	✓
V2 encodes purpose	✓	✓
V2 may encode simultaneous action/accompaniment	✓	
same subject	✓	✓
RS of V2 same as V1 or IRR	✓	✓
goal between V1 and V2	✓	✓
subject between V1 and V2		✓

There is a tendency that the action encoded by the purpose predicate in a MCPC is carried out in a specific place. The connection between action and place is non-accidental. The place does not need to be expressed overtly, it may be understood from the context or it may be conventionalised that a specific action is carried out in a specific place. The MCPC is thus often used with actions that are done habitually, that belong to everyday-life of the speakers. There is no such tendency in serial verb constructions.

For an illustration of the difference between the serial verb construction and the motion-cum-purpose construction, consider (1328) and (1329). Both examples are taken from the story about the cowherd whose cows are taken away by the *pÿsi*, the spirit of the hill. In the SVC of (1328), the spirit asks the cowherd whether he wants to go and see his cows, the place, although it has been expressed in the previous sentence, is unimportant at first. However, when the cowherd has accepted the offer, in the invitation to actually go and see the cows, motion is necessarily directed towards a specific place, although this place is not overtly expressed in the MCPC of (1329).

(1328) *¿pisachu piyuna [pimuajane]?*

   pi-sachu   pi-yuna   pi-imua-jane
   2SG-want 2SG-go.IRR 2SG-see.IRR-DISTR

   'do you want to go and see them?'

                                                    [mxx-n1510171-1.35]

(1329) *"¡jaje biyuna [bimupajane echÿu bakajane]!" tikechuji*

   jaje   bi-yuna   bi-imu-pa-jane   echÿu baka-jane   ti-kechu-ji
   HORT 1PL-go.IRR 1PL-see-DLOC.IRR-DISTR DEMb cow-DISTR 3i-say-RPRT

   '"let's go and see the cows!" he said, it is said'

                                                    [mxx-n1510171-1.38]

A similar contrast becomes apparent in the following two examples where (1330) is a SVC and (1331) a MCPC. The first of them was produced by Juana, when she and

Miguel were telling the story about the fox and the jaguarundi. It is the beginning of this story after Miguel has completed another episode in which the fox and the jaguar interact. Juana sets the scene by stating that the fox went on from one place and was in search for chicken. This search is not carried out in a specific place, thus a serial verb construction is most appropriate.

(1330) *tiyunukutu* [*tisemaika takÿra*] *kupisaÿrÿ*

       ti-yunuku-tu   *ti-semaika takÿra*   *kupisaÿrÿ*
       3i-go.on-IAM   3i-search   chicken fox

       'the fox went on in order to look for chicken'

                                                        [jmx-n120429ls-x5.300]

(1331) was produced by Miguel after he had taken the turn from Juana, since she did not remember how the story went on. This example represents direct speech of the fox who addresses the jaguarundi. In this case, the fox has made out a specific place to look for chicken, which is first encoded rather vaguely by *nauku* 'there', but then expressed more specifically in the following juxtaposed clause which can be analysed as being coordinated to the first one expressing the purpose (thus both clauses together express the purpose of the motion predicate and the whole motion-cum-purpose construction is complement of the verb *-sachu* 'want').[31] Since there is a specific place where the search is carried out, a motion-cum-purpose construction is used.[32]

(1331) *"nisachu biyuna* [*bisemaikupa takÿra nauku bibÿkupa chubiaeyae*]*"*

       ni-sachu   *bi-yuna*   *bi-semaiku-pa*   *takÿra*   *nauku bi-bÿkupa*
       1SG-want   1PL-go.IRR   1PL-search-DLOC.IRR   chicken   there   1PL-enter.IRR
        chÿ-ubiae-yae
        3-house-LOC

       '"I want us to go to look for chicken there and go into the house"'

                                                         [jmx-n120429ls-x5.321]

The choice of one or the other construction may also partly depend on the purpose predicate, I have noticed that the verb *-musuiku* 'wash' is more often used in a SVC, the verb *-isu* 'weed' is usually construed as purpose verb in a MCPC, although we can assume that both describe an action that is done habitually in a specific place. This does not mean that the other construction is not possible or never used.

Backed with this definition and description of general characteristics of the two constructions, the following sections will provide a few more examples of both. I will proceed here as in the previous sections, from less to more overt marking of the adverbial relation between the two verbs. In 8.3.3.1, some examples including serial verbs will be given. Among them are the ones that encode purpose as well as the ones that encode simultaneous action. 8.3.3.2 shows some more examples of the MCPC.

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31. The whole sentence is thus composed as follows:
[*nisachu* [*biyuna* [[*bisemaikupa takÿra nauku*] [*bibÿkupa chubiaeyae*]]]]
32. Note that although the second predicate of the purpose clause, *bibÿkupa* 'we enter', also ends in *-pa,* this cannot be claimed to overtly indicate the connection to the motion predicate, because the dislocative marker is lexicalised on this verb, see 6.6.4.

8.3.3.1 The serial verb construction

The characteristics of the serial verb construction have been described in detail in 8.3.3 above. Figure 8.10 provides a short summary.

A serial verb construction (SVC)...

- is a monoclausal construction

- in which a motion verb, usually *-yunu* 'go', is combined with a second verb that either encodes purpose of motion or marginally a simultaneous action

- both verbs are fully inflected and unmarked for dependency

- they necessarily have the same subject

- the RS of the second verb is either irrealis or equal to the RS of the motion verb

- only an adverb or a noun referring to the goal of a motion verb can interrupt the sequence of motion verb and second verb

Figure 8.10: Characteristics of the SVC

I will first give some examples of SVCs used to express purpose of motion. In the end of this section, I provide information about a second type of SVC, which encodes simultaneous motion. For most speakers, this is restricted to one verb in second position, i.e. *-eiku* 'follow'. Only Juana uses SVCs to encode simultaneous motion at least with a second verb *-umu* 'take'. Finally, I will discuss a few cases of possible SVCs with motion verbs other than *-yunu* 'go' in first position.

In most cases that a SVC is used, the subject is topical or at least accessible, so that it needs not to be conominated, but there are a few cases with conominated subjects, too. In this case, the subject either precedes the motion verb as in (1332) or it follows the whole SVC with its objects, as has been shown in (1330). In (1332) both verbs have realis RS. It is taken from the creation story as told by Juana.

(1332) *Maria Eva tiyunu* [*tiyejiku ucheti*]

    Maria Eva ti-yunu ti-yejiku   ucheti
    María Eva 3i-go   3i-tear.out chili

    'María Eva went to harvest chili'

                                           [jxx-n101013s-1.383]

In contrast, in (1333) the second verb of the SVC has irrealis RS. There is a third verb juxtaposed, *bipÿrupune* 'we roasted leaves', which again has realis RS and can be considered a separate clause asyndetically juxtaposed to the SVC. This sentence was produced by María S. in telling me about her past. It is about leaves of a wild plant that they collected and ate.

(1333) *biyunu* [*biyejikamÿnÿ*] *bipÿrupune*

    bi-yunu bi-yejika-mÿnÿ   bi-pÿru-pune
    1PL-go   1PL-tear.out.IRR-DIM 1PL-burn-leaf

    'we went to harvest and roasted the leaves'

                                         [rxx-p181101l-2.223]

(1334) is a sentence elicited from Juana, which has future reference, thus both predicates of the SVC have irrealis RS. Like in (1333) above, there is a second clause, this time preceding the SVC.

(1334) *nÿbÿsÿupupunuka naka te niyunatu [nemusuika]*

    nÿ-bÿsÿu-pupunuka naka te   ni-yuna-tu   nÿ-emusuika
    1SG-come-REG.IRR here SEQ 1SG-go.IRR-IAM 1SG-wash.IRR

    'when I come back here, then I go to wash'

                                                              [jxx-e190210s-01]

(1335) is an example with negation. The negative particle precedes the verbs and has scope over both of them. This sentence was elicited from Juana and is highly complex. Besides the first clause including the SVC, the second one has a (double) complement construction. As can be seen, the complement verbs are also completely unmarked and thus the two constructions, SVC and complementation look very similar (see 8.4.1 for more information about complement clauses).

(1335) *kuina niyuna [nichujijikabu], kuina nisacha nisamanube chichujijikabunube*

    kuina ni-yuna   ni-chujijika-bu   kuina ni-sacha   ni-sama-nube
    NEG   1SG-go.IRR 1SG-talk.IRR-DSC NEG   1SG-want.IRR 1SG-hear.IRR-PL

       chi-chujijika-bu-nube
       3-talk.IRR-DSC-PL

    'I don't go to have a conversation anymore, I don't want to hear them talking anymore'

                                                               [jxx-e190210s-01]

A request or command can also contain a SVC, as in (1336), in which Miguel reports what his daughter told him that day, when he came to Santa Rita.

(1336) *"¡piyuna [piririka echÿu kampana]!"*

    pi-yuna   pi-ririka   echÿu kampana
    2SG-go.IRR 2SG-knock.IRR DEMb bell

    '"go ring the bell!"'

                                                      [mxx-n101017s-2.075-076]

Up to here, all examples in this section had contiguous verbs, i.e. the verbs were adjacent with no constituents between them. An example with non-contiguous serial verb is given in (1337), the adverb *nauku* 'there' is placed between the two verbs in this case. This sentence was elicited from María S.

(1337) *niyuna nauku [niyÿseichanube]*

    ni-yuna   nauku ni-yÿseicha-nube
    1SG-go.IRR there 1SG-greet.IRR-PL

    'I will go there to greet them'

                                                      [rxx-e181022le]

In all examples presented above, the non-motion verb encodes purpose of motion. In addition to this, there is one specific SVC in which the actions are realised simultaneously. In this case *-yunu* is combined with *-eiku* 'follow, go behind'. The two verbs often, but not always, form one phonological word, with only one primary stress (on the first syllable of the second grammatical word) and no pause in-between. They have a comitative reading in most cases, which is derived from the combination of the verbs' semantics: 'go somewhere following someone' can be interpreted as 'go somewhere with someone'. A comitative reading of *-eiku* is not possible, when no motion is implied, instead the preposition *-ajechubu* is used in those cases (see 4.4.4).[33]

(1338) was elicited from María S. The verbs have a first person singular subject. The second person object of *-eiku* is indexed on this verb. As in the case of purpose-of-motion SVCs, there is no sign of dependency on none of the two verbs.

(1338)   *ukuine niyunu* [*neikubi*]

　　　　ukuine　　　*ni-yunu*　*nÿ-eiku-bi*
　　　　yesterday　1SG-go　1SG-follow-2SG

　　　　'yesterday I went with you'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181031l-1]</div>

All non-elicited examples have third person subjects and objects. One of them is (1339), which was produced by Juana when telling me the story about her sister's life.

(1339)   *i nipiji tiyunumÿnÿ* [*cheiku chima*]

　　　　i　　*ni-piji*　　　*ti-yunu-mÿnÿ*　*chÿ-eiku*　*chi-ima*
　　　　and　1SG-sibling　3i-go-DIM　　　3-follow　3-husband

　　　　'and my poor sister went with her husband'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-2.063]</div>

As is the case with all serial verbs, in negation, the negative particle only occurs once, has scope over both verbs and precedes the motion verb. This can be seen in (1340), which comes from the story told by María S. about the two men who meet the devil in the woods. While one man speaks with the devil and is finally taken away to be eaten, the other one hides in a tree, does not go with the devil and can escape in the end.

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33. As for the requirement of independent usage of the verbs in a SVC, *-eiku* alone is very rare, and it seems to begin to grammaticalise into a preposition with the meaning 'along'. Consider Example (i), where *-eiku* does not agree in person with the verb, but with the noun. This sentence was produced by Juana, when describing the search for water in former times.

(i) *cheiku chÿkÿ biseku epenue*

　　chÿ-eiku　*chÿkÿ*　*bi-seku*　　　*epenue*
　　3-along?　arroyo　1PL-dig.hole　hole

　　'along the arroyo we dug a hole'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120515l-2.011]</div>

The related continuous verb *-eikukuiku* 'chase, follow' is much more frequent though. A second related verb, *-eibaneu* 'pursue, follow, track', is equally rare.

(1340) *nechikue kuina tiyuna [cheika], tikupuiku tikutijikupunu chubiuyae*

   nechikue   kuina   ti-yuna   chÿ-eika   ti-kupuiku   ti-kutijikupunu
   therefore   NEG   3i-go.IRR   3-follow.IRR 3i-go.down   3i-flee.back
      chÿ-ubiu-yae
      3-house-LOC

   'that's why he didn't go with him, he climbed down (the tree) and fled back
   to his home'
                                                                [rxx-n120511l-2.67]

There are few examples of this type of SVC in the corpus, but they are found with
various speakers. A construction which I have only found with Juana is the occasional
combination of the verb *-umu* 'take' with *-yunu* to encode the simultaneous actions of
somebody moving to a place taking along an item or another person. As is the case with
the SVCs including *-eiku,* use of *-umu* also expresses accompaniment, but in a rather
passive way. Two examples are given below.

(1341) comes from Juana's account about her sister's life. It is her sister who is
brought to the hospital by one of her sons.

(1341) *chakachu chÿenu tiyunu [chumu hospitalyae]*

   chÿ-akachu chÿ-enu   ti-yunu chÿ-umu hospital-yae
   3-lift   3-mother 3i-go   3-take   hospital-LOC

   'he lifted his mother and went taking her to the hospital'
                                                                [jxx-p110923l-1.460]

(1342) was produced by Juana, when telling us what to do with the loam she
collected close to Santa Rita in order to make a clay pot.

(1342) *biyuna [buma bubiuyae]*

   bi-yuna   bi-uma   bi-ubiu-yae
   1PL-go.IRR 1PL-take.IRR 1PL-house-LOC

   'we go taking it home'
                                                                [jmx-d110918ls-2.04]

Approaching the end of this section, I want to have a look at SVCs with motion
predicates other than *-yunu*. In general, other motion verbs do not usually enter into
a SVC, but a few examples were found that look very similar to the ones presented up
to here.

First of all, if the imperative motion particle *nabi* 'go!' is combined with another
verb, this is usually unmarked. However, since *nabi* is not a verb, this does by definition
not count as a serial *verb* construction. One example shall be given nonetheless. It was
elicited from Juana.

(1343) *¡nabi pemusuika!*

   nabi pi-emusuika
   go!   2SG-wash.IRR

   'go and wash!'
                                                                [jxx-e190210s-01]

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In (1344), the verb *-bÿsÿu* is used in combination with another verbal predicate, in (1345), the verb *-tupunubu* 'arrive' combines with a non-verbal predicate borrowed from Spanish, so this latter example does not strictly count as a serial *verb* construction either. In both cases, there is no morphosyntactic marking of dependency.

(1344) was produced by María C. when I first met her and tried to explain why I came to Santa Rita.

(1344) *pibÿsÿu naka [pisamaiku paunaka]*

        pi-bÿsÿu   naka pi-semaiku paunaka
        2SG-come here 2SG-search Paunaka

        'you came here in search for Paunaka'

                                        [uxx-p110825l.028]

(1345) comes from Juana, when she told me that Evo Morales would come to visit Concepción.

(1345) *jaa titupunapu tajaitu [nauburauna koliseo nauku]*

        jaa ti-tupunapu   tajaitu   nauburau-ina   koliseo   nauku
        AFM 3i-arrive.IRR tomorrow inaugurate-IRR.NV multi-purpose.hall there

        'yes, he will come tomorrow to inaugurate the multi-purpose hall'

                                          [jxx-p150920l.013]

Finally, in (1346) we have the verb *-muku* 'sleep' with the subsequent motion marker *-nÿmu* in combination with *-eiku* 'follow' as a second verb. It was produced by Juana, when I asked her about the verb form *-mukunÿmu* 'sleep and go?' that she had used in a recording some days before. The subsequent motion marker is not productive in current Paunaka (see 6.6.3). If the motion part of the verb with the AM marker becomes obscure, it does not make much sense to interpret *-eiku* as encoding an activity anymore ('they slept following the way'), and what is left is a locative interpretation. Sentences like that may have initiated the ongoing development of *-eiku* into a preposition (see Footnote 33 above).

(1346) *timukunÿmunube [cheiku chenekÿ]*

        ti-muku-nÿmu-nube   chÿ-eiku chenekÿ
        3i-sleep-AM.SUBS?-PL 3-follow way

        'they slept along the way' (i.e 'they slept and went following the way')
                                      [jxx-p151016l-2.007]

In the following section, a few more examples of the motion-cum-purpose construction shall be given.

8.3.3.2   The motion-cum-purpose construction

Since the motion-cum-purpose construction has already been described in detail in 8.3.3 above, Figure 8.11 only provides a short summary of its characteristics. The dislocative suffix, which is used as a dependency marker in this construction, is described in 6.6.4.

A few examples follow. First of all, consider (1347): the motion verb *-yunu* 'go' comes first and the verb encoding the purpose follows. It takes the dislocative marker,

A motion-cum-purpose construction (MCPC)...

- is a monoclausal construction

- in which a motion predicate, usually *-yunu* 'go', is combined with a verb that encodes purpose of motion

- the dislocative marker is suffixed on the purpose verb as an overt dependency marker

- both verbs are fully inflected for person and they necessarily have the same subject

- both verbs are fully inflected for RS, however the place of RS marking on the dependent verb is the dislocative marker

- the RS of the second verb is either irrealis or equal to the RS of the motion verb

- an adverb or a noun referring to the goal of a motion verb or a noun or pronoun conominating the subject can interrupt the sequence of motion predicate and purpose verb

Figure 8.11: Characteristics of the MCPC

which is attached to the complete verb stem. RS is encoded on the dislocative marker, it is necessarily irrealis in this case since the motion verb also has irrealis RS. The example stems from one of the first recordings Swintha made with Juana, who produced this sentence to teach Swintha some words.

(1347)   *biyuna* [*bepuikupa*]

   bi-yuna   bi-epuiku-pa
   1PL-go.IRR 1PL-fish-DLOC.IRR

   'we are going to fish'

                                                [jxx-e081025s-1.158]

In the following example, we also have two verbs with irrealis RS. It comes from the story about the lazy man told by Miguel. Since the lazybones does not make a field to nurture his family, in the end he cuts off his limbs to give them food, pretending they were *cusi* palm fruits. With (1348) the lazy man invites his son to go to the woods to look for the presumed *cusi* fruits.

(1348)   *"biyuna* [*bisemaikupa eka kÿsi*]*"*

   bi-yuna   bi-semaiku-pa   eka   kÿsi
   1PL-go.IRR 1PL-search-DLOC.IRR DEMa cusi

   '"we go to look for *cusi* palm fruit"'

                                                [mox-n110920l.085]

Like in other purposive constructions, the predicate expressing the purpose usually takes irrealis RS, but may take realis sometimes if the whole event has been realised, which is the case in (1349).

In Example (1349), we have two realis predicates and a subject that is placed between the motion and the purpose verb. This sentence was elicited from María S.

(1349) *tiyunu nÿuchiku* [*tiyÿseikupu baka Monkoxÿyae*]

    ti-yunu nÿ-uchiku   *ti-yÿseiku-pu baka Monkoxÿ-yae*
    3i-go   1SG-grandfather 3i-buy-DLOC cow Moxos-LOC

    'my grandfather went to buy cows in Moxos'

                                            [rxx-e181020le]

The subject can also follow the whole construction. This is the case in (1350), which was also elicited from María S.

(1350) *tiyunu* [*temusuikupu*] *netine*

    ti-yunu ti-emusuiku-pu nÿ-etine
    3i-go   3i-wash-DLOC 1SG-sister

    'my sister went to wash'

                                           [rxx-e181018le-a]

An example, in which the RS of the motion verb is realis, but the purpose verb takes irrealis RS was elicited from Miguel:

(1351) *ukuine niyunu* [*nisemaikupa juchubu nanaia nisaneina*]

    ukuine   ni-yunu ni-semaiku-pa   *juchubu nÿ-ana-i-a*
    yesterday 1SG-go 1SG-search-DLOC.IRR where 1SG-make-SUBORD-IRR

      ni-sane-ina
      1SG-field-IRR.NV

    'yesterday I went to look for somewhere to make my future field'

                                      [mxx-e160811sd.152]

As is the case with the SVC (see 8.3.3.1 above), the MCPC also sometimes builds on motion predicates other than *-yunu*. It is sometimes found with the imperative particle *nabi* 'go!', marginally also with the causative verb *-bÿcheiku* 'send s.o., make s.o. do', but never with cislocative predicates.

One example with *nabi* entering into a MCPC is given below. It was elicited from Juana. A few more examples with the MCPC can be found in section 6.6.4.

(1352) *¡nabi* [*piyÿseikupa kanela*]*! kuina kakuina*

    nabi pi-yÿseiku-pa   *kanela*   *kuina kaku-ina*
    go! 2SG-buy-DLOC.IRR cinnamon NEG exist-IRR.NV

    'go and buy cinnamon! There is none'

                                        [jxx-e191021e-2]

8.3.3.3   Associated motion verbs combined with motion verbs

As has been described in 6.6, Paunaka has a number of associated motion (AM) markers that are attached to a verb to state that the event happens before, after or simultaneous with motion. This would be a prime example of an even more integrating strategy:

encoding adverbial relations by verbal derivation, thus decreasing syntactic and increasing morphological complexity.[34]

A verb with an AM marker alone does already express an event including motion, however, there are cases in which the verb with the AM marker is nonetheless combined with a motion verb. Two examples in which the speaker chose a deranked form for this motion verb have already been given as Examples (1309) and (1311) in 8.3.2.1, the first was contrasted with (1310), which has a verb marked for concurrent motion juxtaposed to a motion verb. There are a few more examples in the corpus, where verbs marked for AM combine with motion predicates, resulting in (almost?) tautological statements.

In (1353), the verb with the concurrent cislocative AM marker is surrounded by the non-verbal predicate *kapunu*. This sentence was elicited from María S.

(1353) *kapunu tibÿbÿkukukÿupunu kapunu*

        kapunu   *ti-bÿbÿku-kukÿupunu*   *kapunu*
        come   3i-fly-AM.CONC.CIS   come

        'it comes, flying it comes, it comes'

<div align="right">[rmx-e150922l.062]</div>

A similar example is (1354), which can be analysed as including a temporal clause juxtaposed to a main clause. This main clause has a verb with a translocative concurrent AM marker combined with the motion verb *-yunu*. The information conveyed doubles. The sentence was produced by Juana when telling me about the past.

(1354) *biyuna asaneti bichujikukukÿu biyunu asaneti*

        bi-yuna   *asaneti* *bi-chujiku-kukÿu*   *bi-yunu* *asaneti*
        1PL-go.IRR field   1PL-speak-AM.CONC.TR 1PL-go field

        'when we went to the field, going talking we went to the field'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120515l-1.168]</div>

I want to emphasise that not every verb with an AM marker is combined with a motion predicate. In many cases, the AM marker alone conveys the motion part of the meaning. However, it seems to be frequent cross-linguistically that motion verbs combine with verbs taking an AM marker (Rose 2015a:128). It is well possible that the two possibilities, i.e. motion verbs combined with verbs taking AM markers and verbs taking AM markers alone, have different functions in discourse. This remains a topic for further studies.

The following section is about complement relations.

8.4 Complement relations

From a semantic-functional view, in a complement relation one event entails that there is reference to another one (Cristofaro 2003:95). If complementation is defined as a syntactic relation, it is the "syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate" (Noonan 2007:52).

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34. The AM markers are actually analysed as an inflectional device in this grammar, yet relatively close to derivation, see Section 6.6.

The question arises whether the complement clause (CC) can be analysed as an argument of a predicate in Paunaka. The most typical instances of CCs are not marked for dependency. They cannot they be indexed on the matrix verb nor be substituted by a pronoun.

One example is given in (1355). Both, the complement-taking verb and the complement verb are fully inflected for person and RS, the complement verb could occur independently in exactly this way.

In this sentence from the story about the two men and the devil, Miguel quotes what the devil says.

(1355) *"nisachu [nÿnika]"*

     ni-sachu   nÿ-nika
     1SG-want 1SG-eat.IRR

     '"I want to eat"'

<div align="right">[mxx-n101017s-1.035]</div>

If the clause is not an argument of the matrix verb, there is no complement clause at all according to the definition by Dixon (2006). Instead of this, he speaks of "complementation strategies". For reasons of convenience, I will nonetheless continue to speak of complement clauses and use the abbreviation CC in reference to the complement predicate and its arguments and modifiers.

One complementation strategy described by Dixon (2006:34-35) and Noonan (2007:87-92) is the serial verb construction (SVC). As has been stated in 8.3.3, a crucial feature in the definition of SVCs is that they are monoclausal. A test for monoclausality is negation and, indeed, a CC cannot be treated as a syntactically independent clause, because it lacks independent negatability. The matrix clause and the CC can only be negated together, the negative particle is placed before the complement-taking verb and has scope over both predicates, which can be seen in (1356). There is no other way to negate the CC alone. Complementation is thus achieved by an asyndetic integrating strategy in Paunaka (see 8.1.1).

In Example (1356), Juana reports what she said to her daughter. She did not want to eat for being sad about the death of her sister.

(1356) *kuina nisacha [ninika]*

     kuina ni-sacha   ni-nika
     NEG   1SG-want.IRR 1SG-eat.IRR

     'I don't want to eat'

<div align="right">[jxx-p120430l-2.239]</div>

However, two other features claimed to be decisive for SVCs in complementation contexts do not hold for Paunaka. First of all, it is not necessary in all types of complementation that the two verbs involved have the same subject unlike what has been suggested by Dixon (2006:34). Consider (1357), in which Juana speaks about her daughter who lived in Argentina by that time.

(1357) *nisachu ṯumane Buenos Aires*

    ni-sachu   ti-uma-ne   Buenos Aires
    1SG-want   3i-take.IRR-1SG Buenos Aires

    'I want her to take me to Buenos Aires'

[jxx-e120516l-1.023]

Second, in contrast to what has been proposed by Aikhenvald (2018:3) for SVCs in general, the CC can be left unexpressed if reference is sufficiently clear, e.g. in an answer to a question like in the question-answer pair in (1358). This is an example where Swintha had a question to Miguel that was translated to Paunaka by Juana on her request. It is about a photo she had taken of him.

(1358) a. *¿pisachu tipunakapi echÿu chÿbutune?*

    pi-sachu   ti-punaka-pi   echÿu chÿ-butu-ne
    2SG-want   3i-give.IRR-2SG DEMb 3-photo-POSSD

    'do you want her to give you her photo?'

    b. *ja, nÿsachu*

    ja   nÿ-sachu
    AFM 1SG-want

    'yes, I want'

[jmx-e090727s.039-040]

Besides serialisation, Noonan (2007:87) mentions another possible construction type for CCs that are no arguments, i.e. the paratactic construction, in which the CC is syntactically independent from the MC. However, this construction is ruled out, because, as has been shown above, the predicates are not independently negatable. Thus the question how to syntactically classify the CC in Paunaka remains open for the time being.

Up to this point, only sentences with the most frequent complement taking verb *-sachu* 'want' have been considered. Paunaka has a small number of verbs that take unmarked clausal complements like the ones shown in (1355) – (1357). Among those verbs are some secondary verbs, i.e. verbs that only take clausal complements, and some primary verbs, those that can also take objects expressed by a person index on the verb and/or an NP (cf. Dixon 2006:9). Some complement-taking verbs with different subject CCs index the shared argument as an object, others do not. Although dependency is not overtly marked, the fact that the complement verb is dependent on the matrix verb can be deduced from its restrictions on RS marking: Some complement-taking verbs only take same-RS complements, others only irrealis complements. Only reported speech CCs stick out here, since their RS is not predetermined.

In some special cases, verbs that usually take unmarked CCs can also take CCs with a deranked verb. This is probably bound to some extraordinary circumstances that are not inherent in the relation between the complement-taking verb and its CC. For some verbs, there seems to be a certain variability though. They can take both balanced and deranked verbs in their CCs. This may be bound to the sparse occurrence of these verbs in general. There are also some verbs that, if they occur with a clausal complement at all, only allow a CC with a deranked verb. Finally, I have also found a few cases in which a CC with a balanced verb is introduced by a demonstrative.

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The remainder of this section is organised as follows. I first show some more examples of unmarked CCs in 8.4.1. Section 8.4.2 is dedicated to the discussion of cases in which CCs with deranked verbs show up. Finally, 8.4.3 takes a look at CCs that take the demonstrative *eka* as a complementiser.

Throughout this section, CCs are given in square brackets. If an argument that is shared by the complement-taking predicate and the complement predicate is conominated, it occurs outside the square brackets, i.e. as if belonging primarily to the main clause. This is motivated by a similar analysis of English CCs in which the subject of the CC is encoded as an object of the complement-taking verb (e.g. *I hear <u>him</u>* [*singing*].) For Paunaka, however, this is an arbitrary decision, there is nothing on the NP that would point towards it belonging to either of the two clauses.

8.4.1 Unmarked complement clauses

The predicates that generally take unmarked CCs are summarised in Table 8.6. It is probably not an exhaustive listing, there may be more which simply do not occur very often. All predicates in this table have been found with unmarked CCs at least three times in the corpus. They belong to different semantic classes and have different properties of how they combine with a CC.

Table 8.6: Predicates that take unmarked CCs

Category	Predicate	Translation	SUBJ of CC	CC arg. index on MC	Restriction on RS of CC
desiderative	*-sachu*	want	SS & DS	no	IRR
	-sumachu	want, like	SS & DS	no	IRR
knowledge &	*-(i)chuna*	know, be capable	SS	no	as in MC
ability	*puero*	can, be able	SS	no	as in MC
manipulative	*-bÿche(i)ku*	send, order	DS	S/A	IRR
perception	*-samu*	hear	DS	S/A	IRR
utterance	*-kechu*	say, tell	SS & DS	S/A	no

Only *-sachu* 'want', *-bÿche(i)ku* 'send, order' and the non-verbal *puero* 'can' can be considered secondary predicates. The others are able to take nominal objects, too.

Both, *-(i)chuna* 'know, be capable' and *puero* 'can' only take CCs with same subjects, while *-bÿche(i)ku* 'send, order' and *-samu* 'hear' always have CCs with different subjects. These latter ones also index an argument of the CC as their object, namely the S or A of the CC. The CCs of the desiderative verbs *-sachu* 'want' and *-sumachu* 'want, like' predominantly have coreferential subjects, but can also have a different subject. As for *-kechu* 'say', it can take CCs with both coreferential and different subjects, in the latter case, the subject of the CC can be indexed on the verb as its object.

Most complement-taking predicates restrict the RS of the predicate in the CC, but in a different way. The verbs *-sachu* 'want', *-sumachu* 'want, like', *-bÿche(i)ku* 'send, order' and also *puero* 'can' necessarily take irrealis CCs, *-(i)chuna* 'know, be capable' and *-samu* 'hear' demand the CC to have equal RS. The verb *-kechu* 'say' sticks out here, since it does not place any restriction on the RS of the CC.

The following sections illustrate the use of CCs. I proceed by semantic category of the complement-taking predicates, because the predicates belonging to one category

share several of their features in complementation as can be seen in Table 8.6. Most frequently, we find CCs of desideratives. They are explained in 8.4.1.1. CCs of all other categories are much rarer, nonetheless some generalisations on CCs of knowledge and ability predicates are drawn in 8.4.1.2, CCs of the manipulative verb *-bÿche(i)ku* are illustrated in 8.4.1.3, 8.4.1.4 shows the use of the perception verb *-samu* 'hear' with CCs, and finally, 8.4.1.5 is about CCs of the utterance verb *-kechu* 'say'.

8.4.1.1 Desiderative verbs

There are two desiderative verbs that take CCs, *-sachu* 'want' and *-sumachu* or *-sumechu* 'want, like'. The first of them, *-sachu*, only takes clausal complements and is more frequent. The other one can also take nominal objects. When taking CCs, the verbs can be used largely interchangeably, *-sumachu* also expresses liking, but more so, when the object is not a clause. On the other hand, *-sachu* occasionally also states that something is imminent. This use is also found with the corresponding desiderative verb *querer* in local Spanish.[35] (1359) is one example of the use of *-sachu* to express imminence. I will then proceed with examples that show the desiderative use of *-sachu* and *-sumachu*.

(1359) was produced by Clara when the sky got grey and it got windy.

(1359) *tisachutu* [*tikeba*]

 ti-sachu-tu *ti-keba*
 3i-want-IAM 3i-rain.IRR

 'it wants to rain now, i.e. it is about to rain'

                   [cux-120410ls.253]

As can be seen in (1359) above and also in the following two Examples (1360) and (1361), as well as in the rest of the examples in this section, the RS of the complement clause is always irrealis, even if the complement-taking verb has realis RS.

In Example (1360), Isidro describes a picture of a puzzle with a boy and a squirrel.

(1360) *tisachutu* [*timuka*]

 ti-sachu-tu *ti-muka*
 3i-want-IAM 3i-sleep.IRR

 'he wants to sleep now'

                   [dxx-d120416s.086]

In (1361), Miguel explains to Juan C. what the plans and aims of the PDP team are in working with the Paunaka people. The CC is part of a cleft construction in this case, see 8.5.4 for further information.

(1361) *chibu echÿu tisumachunube* [*tisuikanube*]

 chibu   *echÿu* *ti-sumachu-nube* *ti-suika-nube*
 3TOP.PRN DEMb 3i-want-PL   3i-write.IRR-PL

 'this is what they want to write'

                   [mqx-p110826l.688]

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35. Kuteva et al. (2019:860) call this kind of use of a desiderative verb "proximative".

The subjects of CC and main clause were identical in the previous three examples. The following two examples illustrate the use of *-sachu* with CCs with different subjects.

The main clause in (1362) has a third person singular subject marked on the verb by the prefix *ti-*, the CC has a second person singular subject expressed by the prefix *pi-* on the complement verb. The subject of the complement verb is not indexed on the desiderative verb as an object, which would be the suffix *-bi* in that case. The sentence was produced by Juana, when I visited her at her house in Santa Cruz and received a call from my husband who had accompanied me to Bolivia in 2011.

(1362)   *tisachutu* [*piyunupuna*]

    ti-sachu-tu   *pi-yunupuna*
    3i-want-IAM 2SG-go.back.IRR

    'now he wants you to go back'

                                                       [jxx-e110923l-2.032]

In (1363), the desiderative verb has a first person singular subject, while the CC has a weather verb that takes a third person subject. There is another subordinate clause with a deranked verb that provides the reason for the wish expressed in the CC, see 8.3.2.1 for this kind of adverbial clause. With (1363), José explains why he is happy to hear thundering.

(1363)   *nÿsachutu* [*tikeba*] *nebukia kÿjÿpimÿnÿ*

    nÿ-sachu-tu   *ti-keba*   *nÿ-ebuk-i-a*   *kÿjÿpi-mÿnÿ*
    1SG-want-IAM 3i-rain.IRR 1SG-sow-SUBORD-IRR manioc-DIM

    'I want that it rains now, so that I can plant my manioc seedlings'
                                                       [mox-c110926s-1.208]

Objects are indexed on complement verbs, just like they are indexed on independent verbs (see 6.4). In (1364), the complement verb has a first person object as indicated by the suffix *-ne*. The example stems from Juana reporting what her grandfather said, when he was hassled by a spirit at night on his journey home from Moxos.

(1364)   "*tisachu* [*tumane*]"

    ti-sachu *ti-uma-ne*
    3i-want 3i-take.IRR-1SG

    '"she wants to take me"'

                                                       [jxx-p151016l-2.217]

In (1365), the complement verb takes the prefix *chÿ-* to signal that there is a third person object, which is non-human in this case, referring to a Juana's own death which she had mentioned before. She expresses her anger about her daughter not visiting her.

(1365)   *kuina nisacha* [*chichupa*]

    kuina *ni-sacha*   *chi-chupa*
    NEG   1SG-want.IRR 3-know.IRR

    'I don't want her to know it (i.e. if I die)'

                                                       [jxx-p120430l-1.319]

If the object is conominated, it always follows the complement verb. One case of this is (1366). The transitive verb of the CC takes the third person prefix *chÿ-* to indicate that there is a third person object and this object is additionally expressed by an NP which follows the verb.

The sentence is the conclusion of Juana's telling how problematic it was for her daughter in Spain to work and care for her child during working hours. The desiderative verb has a frustrative marker, because the whole attempt of her daughter to bring her sister to Spain as a nanny failed.

(1366)   *nechukue tisachuini* [*chuma chipiji*]

   nechukue ti-sachu-ini   chÿ-uma   chi-piji
   therefore 3i-want-FRUST 3-take.IRR 3-sibling

   'that's why she would have liked to take her sister'

   [jxx-p110923l-1.374]

An example with a conominated object in a CC taken by *-sumachu* is (1367). In this case, the CC is part of an antecedent in an unmarked conditional construction (see 8.3.1.1). The object NP *bijie semiya* 'pututu with grain' follows the verb *binika*. Actually, it may seem that the second noun *semiya* rather belongs to the consequent clause for semantic reasons, but intonation suggested that it was part of the object NP of the CC. This sentence was produced by María C. to explain us what a grinding bowl is used for. *Pututu* is a soup with corn.

(1367)   *bisumachamÿnÿ* [*binika bijie semiya*] *ayÿbaka nechÿu*

   bi-sumacha-mÿnÿ   bi-nika   bijie   semiya a-yÿbaka   nechÿu
   1PL-want.IRR-DIM 1PL-eat.IRR pututu grain   2PL-grind.IRR DEMc

   'if we want to eat *pututu* with grain, you can grind it there'

   [cux-c120414ls-2.217]

In (1368), the verb *-mesumeiku* 'teach' is used ditransitively. The teacher and the one who is taught are indexed on the verb, which is what we normally find with this verb, however the theme that is taught is usually understood from the context or expressed in another clause. In this case, a sentence elicited form Miguel, the theme is expressed by an NP and placed after the complement verb.

(1368)   *nÿsumachuyu* [*pimesumeikanÿ echÿu petea*]

   nÿ-sumachu-yu pi-mesumeika-nÿ echÿu pi-etea
   1SG-want-INTS 2SG-teach-1SG   DEMb 2SG-language

   'I really want you to teach me your language'

   [mxx-e090728s-3.055]

Obliques and adverbs also follow the complement verb, like the locative marked noun *yÿkÿyae* 'on(to) fire' in (1369), in which Juana tells me what she wants to do with her clay pot, when it is ready.

(1369)   *i despues nisumecha* [*netuka yÿkÿyae*] *niyÿtikapu*

i   despues   ni-sumacha   nÿ-etuka   yÿkÿ-yae ni-yÿtikapu
and afterwards 1SG-want.IRR 1SG-put.IRR fire-LOC 1SG-cook.IRR

'and after that I want to put it on fire in order to cook'

[jxx-d110923l-4.14]

The next example has an adverb following the complement verb. It is from a story about the clever fox tricking the naive jaguar. The sentence in (1370) is what the fox spitefully says to the jaguar who drowns in a pond in the end, as reported by Juana. Frustrative is due to failure of the jaguar's attempt to eat the fox.

(1370)   *"pimua, pisachuini* [*pinikanÿ uchuineini*]*, tanÿma te pipakatu tanÿma", tikechu*

pi-imua   pi-sachu-ini   pi-nika-nÿ   uchuine-ini   tanÿma te
2SG-see.IRR 2SG-want-FRUST 2SG-eat.IRR-1SG just.now-FRUST now   SEQ

   pi-paka-tu   tanÿma ti-kechu
   2SG-die.IRR-IAM now   3i-say

'"you see, you just wanted to eat me, and now, you will die now", he said'

[jmx-n120429ls-x5.279]

Subjects are only seldom conominated in CCs, because speakers usually construe their talk in a way that the subject of a CC is topical so that a subject index is sufficient. A few cases of conominated subjects are found nonetheless and in this case, the subject NP usually follows the complement verb but may also precede it. In (1371) and (1372) the subject NP follows the complement verb. In (1373) and (1374), the conominal subject precedes the desiderative verb for emphasis.

(1371) comes from Miguel describing the frog story and refers to the picture on which the dog jumps against the tree with the beehive.

(1371)   *i naka tisachutu* [*tjipuka*] *echÿu kabe*

i   naka ti-sachu-tu   ti-jipuka   echÿu kabe
and here 3i-want-IAM 3i-jump.IRR DEMb dog

'and here the dog wants to (i.e. is about to) jump'

[mtx-a110906l.091]

(1372) was produced by Juana in telling me how her sister once had an encounter with a snake or water spirit in the reservoir of Santa Rita.

(1372)   *mÿbanejikuji tÿpi Maria tisachutÿini* [*chinijabaka*] *kechue*

mÿbanejiku-ji tÿpi Maria ti-sachu-tÿini   chi-nijabaka kechue
close-RPRT   OBL María 3i-want-AVERT 3-bite.IRR   snake

'being close to María, the snake almost wanted to bite her, it is said'

[jxx-p120515l-2.161]

In (1373), the subject expression introduces a new participant into discourse whom I do not know so that quite a long expression is necessary, which is placed prominently in the first position of the sentence to make sure I do not miss whom Juana is talking about. She states that a relative of hers does not want to travel to Europe.

(1373) *echÿu nikumadrene nauku Concecion, komadre Nacha, kuina tisacha* [*tiyuna*]
       tÿbaneyu

       echÿu   ni-kumadre-ne   nauku   Concecion   komadre   Nacha   kuina
       DEMb   1SG-fellow-POSSD   there   Concepción   fellow   Nacha   NEG

         ti-sacha   ti-yuna   ti-ÿbane-yu
         3i-want.IRR   3i-go.IRR   3i-be.far-INTS

       'my fellow there in Concepción, fellow Nacha, doesn't want to go, because it
       is very far'

                                                              [jxx-p120430l-1.175]

In (1374) placement of the demonstrative before the desiderative verb is for con-
trastive focus. The sentence refers to two frogs Juana points at on one of the last pic-
tures in the frog story.

(1374) *eka titibubuikubu i eka tisachu* [*tijipuka*]

       eka   ti-tibubuiku-bu   i   eka   ti-sachu   ti-jipuka
       DEMa   3i-sit-MID   and   DEMa   3i-want   3i-jump.IRR

       'this one is sitting and this one wants to (i.e. is about to) jump'
                                                              [jxx-a120516l-a.521-522]

I have found but two examples in the corpus in which the subject of the desidera-
tive verb is placed between the complement-taking and the complement verb. In both
examples, complement-taking and complement verbs have different subjects.

(1375) was elicited from Juana. It is the only example in the corpus in which the
desiderative and the complement verb have two different third person subjects. Both
subjects are conominated and the NPs follow their respective verb. The context of this
sentence is that we were sitting in Juana's yard and making a recording, when her cat
and her dog began fighting about a bone.

(1375) *kuina tisacha eka kabe* [*tinika eka michi*]

       kuina ti-sacha   eka   kabe ti-nika   eka   michi
       NEG   3i-want.IRR   DEMa dog   3i-eat.IRR   DEMa   cat

       'the dog doesn't want the cat to eat it'

                                                              [jxx-e120430l-4.18]

(1376) comes from Miguel. The whole sentence was produced with relatively long
pauses between the desiderative verb, the subject and the rest of the sentence, which
is possibly due to its strange, non-preferred structure. It was directed to Juan C. with
the aim to introduce me to him and explain what I wanted. *Donya* (Span. *doña*) is a
respectful form of address in Spanish, which is used a lot in the region.

(1376) *tisachu donya Lena* [*pichujika pario chikuyenakena pubupaikiu naka*], ...

       ti-sachu donya Lena pi-chujika   pario chikuyena-kena
       3i-want   HON   Lena 2SG-speak.IRR some   how-UNCERT

         pi-ubupaik-i-u   naka
         2SG-be.born-SUBORD-REAL here

       'doña Lena wants you to speak a bit about how you were born here, ...'
                                                              [mqx-p110826l.004-007]

8.4.1.2 Knowledge and ability predicates

The complement-taking predicates presented in this section are *-(i)chuna* 'know, be capable, be able' and *puero* 'can, be able'.[36] Both occur more often in negative clauses than in positive ones and both have certain peculiarities when combining with a CC as will become apparent in the following discussion. They have in common that they can only take a CC if the subject is coreferential. That they are combined with a CC at all may be ultimately due to Spanish influence. This is quite obvious for *puero*, which is borrowed from the Spanish modal verb *poder* 'can'.

The verb *-(i)chuna* means 'know, be capable, be able' in the sense of having acquired a capacity by doing something regularly or having done something before. Being morphologically intransitive and stative, this verb should not be able to take any objects, neither nominal nor clausal, but we find both in addition to it being used intransitively. I thus suspect that it underwent semantic shift, possibly due to an analogy to a Spanish or possibly Bésɨro verb. It still inflects like a stative verb though, with the irrealis marker being prefixed to the verb stem. Like the desiderative verbs (see 8.4.1.1 above), it always takes the third person marker *ti-* if the subject is a third person, and never *chÿ-*. The RS of the CC always has to match the one of *-(i)chuna*.

One example of a negative clause with *-(i)chuna* is (1377). The knowledge verb takes a prefix to mark irrealis and the complement verb also has irrealis RS. The sentence comes from María S. who helped me wording what I wanted to say. Talking about tobacco leaves she was drying, I wanted to tell her that I do not smoke, but did not know the word for 'smoke'. The sentence in (1377) was the second one that came to her mind, she first used *puero* 'can' as a complement-taking predicate (see (1386) below), but found *-(i)chuna* more appropriate and thus corrected herself.

(1377)   *kuina paichuna* [*pijibÿka*]

   kuina   pi-a-ichuna   pi-jibÿka
   NEG   2SG-IRR-be.capable   2SG-smoke.IRR

   'you are not capable of smoking' (in the sense of: you have never tried smoking or you don't have the habit of smoking)
   [rxx-e120511l.381]

If the CC has a conominated object, it follows the complement verb, as in (1378), in which María C. expresses what she believes to be the reason of me buying bread made by a German lady who lived in Concepción at that time.

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36. There are two more knowledge verbs that are probably related to *-(i)chuna, -chupu* 'know (a fact)' and *-chupuiku* 'know or get to know (a person)'. The first of them *-chupu* was found taking a CC a few times, but mostly occurred in elicitation after a researcher had started a sentence with this verb herself. Regarding *-chupuiku,* there is one non-elicited example in the corpus with a CC. It is given in (i). María S. states here that going to town was not part of her daily life when she was a child. Today, it is fairly normal that people from Santa Rita regularly visit Concepción because of better possibilities of transportation.

(i) *kuina bichupuika* [*biyuna uneku*]

   kuina   bi-chupuika   bi-yuna   uneku
   NEG   1PL-know.IRR   1PL-go.IRR town

   'going to town was unknown to us'
   [rxx-p181101l-2.164]

   In the remainder of this section, both verbs will be ignored due to lack of (further) convincing examples to prove their ability of taking clausal complements.

(1378) *kuina achuna* [*enika eka pan de aroj*]

    kuina e-a-chuna   *e-nika*   *eka*   *pan de aroj*
    NEG   2PL-IRR-be.capable 2PL-eat.IRR DEMa rice bread

    'you are not capable of eating rice bread' (in the sense of: you don't have the
    habit of eating it, you don't know how good it is)
                                          [uxx-e120427l.128]

Another example with an object following the complement verb is (1379), in which two CCs are coordinated. This sentence is a statement by Juana, when she described how to make a clay pot and contrasted her knowledge to that of the young women today.

(1379) *kuina taichunanube* [*tananube nÿkÿiki tananube yÿpi*]

    kuina ti-a-ichuna-nube   *ti-ana-nube*   *nÿkÿiki ti-ana-nube*   *yÿpi*
    NEG   3i-IRR-be.capable-PL 3i-make.IRR-PL pot   3i-make.IRR-PL jar

    'they don't know how to make pots and how to make jars'
                                          [jxx-p120430l-2.549]

The object of the complement-taking verb can also be a relative clause as in (1380) (see 8.5.2 for this kind of relative clause). This is a positive sentence with *-(i)chuna*, the verb thus has realis RS and the complement verb consequently has realis RS, too. The sentence comes from Juana and refers to Tiburcio, a deceased relative of hers who was a very good story-teller never forgetting any stories.

(1380) *nenayu tichuna* [*tisuiku eka tumuyubu chikuetea*]

    nena-yu ti-ichuna   *ti-suiku eka*   *tumuyubu chi-kuetea*
    like-INTS 3i-be.capable 3i-write DEMa all   3-tell

    'it seemed as if he could write down everything he narrated'
                                         [jmx-n120429ls-x5.042]

In all examples I found that have a conominated subject, this subject precedes the knowledge verb.

(1381) has a first person singular pronoun preceding the negated knowledge verb. This sentence was triggered by me asking Juana for the word for 'swim'. She told me the word and gave several examples how to use it, then she stated that she cannot swim in (1381).

(1381) *nÿti kuina naichuna* [*nabueji*]

    nÿti   *kuina nÿ-a-ichuna*   *nÿ-a-ubueji*
    1SG.PRN NEG   1SG-IRR-be.capable 1SG-IRR-swim

    'I can't swim'

                                          [jxx-a120516l-a.561]

In (1382) the third person subject is conominated by the demonstrative *eka*. It was a translation by Juana of what she and Miguel had just discussed in Spanish that it would be good if somebody came to write down their language, because the speakers cannot do that themselves.

(1382) *michayu, jimu eka tichuna [tisuiku]*

    micha-yu   jimu eka   ti-ichuna   ti-suiku
    good-INTS MIR DEMa 3i-be.capable 3-write

    'this is very good, you see, that one knows to write'

                                           [jmx-e090727s.028]

I have only found two examples in which a conominated subject is a noun, in both cases this noun precedes the knowledge verb.
(1383) was elicited from Juana.

(1383) *nijinepÿi taichunatu [tisuika], profesuruina uchu*

    ni-jinepÿi   ti-a-ichuna-tu   ti-suika   profesuru-ina   uchu
    1SG-daughter 3i-IRR-be.capable 3i-write.IRR teacher-IRR.NV UNCERT.FUT

    'when my daughter will know how to write, some day she will be a teacher'

                                           [jxx-p150920l.068]

(1384) was produced by Juana in the speech she gave at the workshop on Paunaka in 2011. The CC is part of another CC of the desiderative verb *-sachu* 'want', but a non-canonical one, compare to the examples given in 8.4.1.1 above. It is probably influenced by the way she would have phrased it in Spanish (*más bien quisiera que sea así que...*).

(1384) *mas bien nisachumÿnÿini [eka chakuyena eka nÿuchikupÿimÿnÿ taichuna [tichujika eka betea]]*

    mas bien ni-sachu-mÿnÿ-ini   eka   chakuyena eka
    rather   1SG-want-DIM-FRUST DEMa like.this.IRR DEMa

    nÿ-uchikupÿi-mÿnÿ   ti-a-ichuna   ti-chujika   eka   bi-etea
    1SG-grandchild-DIM   3i-IRR-be.capable 3i-speak.IRR DEMa 1PL-language

    'I would rather like it to be that way that my grandson knows to speak our language'

                                           [jxx-x110916.24-25]

Besides *-(i)chuna*, there is also *puero* 'can', from the Spanish modal verb *poder* borrowed into Paunaka as a non-verbal predicate possibly via Bésɨro, which has a noun *puerux* 'ability'. Since Paunaka does not have modal verbs like Spanish, I opt for an analysis as a complement-taking predicate. *Puero* itself is remarkable, because unlike other non-verbal predicates borrowed from Spanish, it does not inflect for person and it does not obligatorily take an irrealis marker if it is combined with a CC and irrealis is already marked on the complement predicate (see 7.2.9). There is, however, nothing special about the CC: it is a clause with a balanced predicate that is juxtaposed to the matrix clause.

Puero is mostly found in negative clauses. This is probably bound to the semantic parameters encoded by irrealis RS in Paunaka (see 6.5): ability is among the things encoded by irrealis as well as negation. If an ability is negated, there are two parameters that trigger irrealis marking. Other languages may use a doubly irrealis construction in this case, Paunaka makes use of a borrowed predicate that encodes ability. Both parameters, negation and ability, are thus overtly expressed. There are also a few cases, where we find *puero* being used in positive sentences, an indication that this word is

beginning to take over the function of marking ability from irrealis RS, at least in part. The verb in the CC is still irrealis in a positive sentence. I will start with a few negative sentences and show the positive ones afterwards.

In both (1385) and (1386), *puero* is not inflected for irrealis despite being negated. The complement verbs are irrealis though.

In (1385), Juana makes a statement about her ill son-in-law.

(1385) *kuina puero* [*tiyuika*]

       kuina puero ti-yuika
       NEG   can   3i-walk.IRR

       'he cannot walk'

<div align="right">[jxx-p110923l-1.048]</div>

(1386) is what María S. first said in helping me to express that I do not smoke, before she decided to use the verb *-(i)chuna* instead, see Example (1377) above.

(1386) *kuina puero* [*pijibÿka*]

       kuina puero pi-jibÿka
       NEG   can   2SG-smoke.IRR

       'you can't smoke'

<div align="right">[rxx-e120511l.379]</div>

In the following two examples, irrealis is also marked on *puero*. (1387) was produced by María S. in an elicitation session.

(1387) *kuina tiyuna, kuina pueroina* [*tiyuna asaneti*]

       kuina ti-yuna   kuina puero-ina   ti-yuna   asaneti
       NEG   3i-go.IRR NEG   can-IRR.NV 3i-go.IRR field

       'he (an old man) doesn't go (there), he cannot go to his field'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181022le]</div>

In (1388), Miguel completed a sentence I started to make about my 15-months-old daughter, whom we were watching.[37]

(1388) *kuina pueroina* [*tiyuika*] *tipÿsisikapu*

       kuina puero-ina   ti-yuika   ti-pÿsisikapu
       NEG   can-IRR.NV 3i-walk.IRR 3i-be.alone.IRR

       'she cannot walk on her own'

<div align="right">[mxx-e110820ls.008]</div>

Among the positive sentences with *puero* is (1389), which is from the same situation as (1388) above. Although the sentence is not negated, the complement verb has irrealis RS.

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37. Actually, I am not totally sure about the placement of the right square bracket here. It depends on whether one analyses the verb *tipÿsisikapu* 'she is alone' or 'she does it alone' to modify the complement verb or the whole sentence. I decided for an analysis in which it modifies the whole sentence, but the other option would work as well, I believe.

(1389)   *puero* [*tiyuika*] *chÿjatÿtÿika eka punachÿ*

       puero ti-yuika   chÿ-jatÿtÿika eka   punachÿ
       can   3i-walk.IRR 3-pull.IRR   DEMa other

       'she can walk if another person pulls her (i.e. holds her hand)'
                                                  [mxx-e110820ls.012]

Another positive sentence with an irrealis complement verb is (1390). In this example, the object of the complement verb is preposed to *puero*, which is highly unusual. Paunaka allows OV structures if the O shall be emphasised (see 7.1.4), but we do not normally find this in complementation (i.e. O[VV]).

The sentence comes from Juana, who earns her money by selling food. However, since she has never learnt to calculate, she sometimes does not know how much change she has to give. Only small amounts of money are easy to handle for her.

(1390)   [*echÿu chepitÿjikumÿnÿyÿÿchi*] *puero* [*nipabenteika*]

       echÿu chepitÿ-jiku-mÿnÿ-yÿchi puero ni-pabenteika
       DEMb small-LIM1-DIM-LIM2   can   1SG-sell.IRR

       'only small things, I can sell'
                                                  [jxx-e110923l-2.150]

I want to conclude with Example (1391), which also shows the use of *puero* in a positive sentence. It comes from María S. and the context is that I wanted to elicit some locative expressions, so I asked to translate the sentence 'the chicken sits on the chair', which amused Miguel and María S., because, as María S. rightly objected, chicken cannot sit. I thus tried again with 'step on' instead of 'sit'. This works better as she states:

(1391)   *aa puero* [*chikupachajiku nechÿu*] *kuina titibua*

       aa   puero chi-kupacha-jiku   nechÿu kuina ti-tibua
       INTJ can   3-step.on.IRR-LIM1 DEMc NEG 3i-sit.down.IRR

       'ah, it can only step on it, but it cannot sit down'
                                                  [rmx-e150922l.129]

8.4.1.3   The manipulative verb *-bÿche(i)ku*

Manipulative predicates have been defined as such predicates that "express a relation between an agent or a situation which functions as a cause, an affectee, and a resulting situation. The affectee must be a participant in the resulting situation" (Noonan 2007:136).

There is one manipulative predicate in Paunaka, *-bÿche(i)ku* 'send, order'. The RS of the complement predicate is always irrealis, regardless of whether the situation described by the complement predicate has been realised by the time that the sentence is produced.

One of the very few non-elicited examples with this verb is (1392). It shows that unlike with desiderative verbs (see 8.4.1.1) the conominated subject of the CC follows the complement-taking verb. This is due to the fact that it is construed as its proper object, as will become apparent in the examples below, where we find indexes on the

verb.[38] The affectee is also construed as the subject of the CC, the complement verb thus takes the person prefix *ti-*. Note that the second verb in this sentence, *tipÿsisiku* 'be alone' has realis RS, thus it probably belongs to the main clause, not to the CC, which has irrealis RS. I do not know why it does not take the middle voice marker in this case, it usually does.

The sentence was produced by Clara, who was sitting with us chatting. Clara earns her money by baking bread. Her daughter, apparently, when she went to school, had told Clara to ask her other daughter to help her making the bread. That was before we arrived and consequently her daughter was doing all the work alone now. Clara found it funny and at the same time felt a bit guilty about making her daughter do all the work alone.[39]

(1392) *nibÿchekutu nijinepÿi tipÿsisiku* [*tiyÿbajika kÿjÿÿpi*]

ni-bÿcheku-tu   ni-jinepÿi   ti-pÿsisiku   ti-yÿbajika   kÿjÿÿpi
1SG-order-IAM 1SG-daughter 3i-be.alone 3i-grind.IRR manioc

'I ordered my daughter to grind the manioc all by herself'

[cux-120410ls.223]

A similar example is (1393). The shared conominated argument, which is the object of the manipulative verb and subject of the complement verb, is placed after the manipulative verb. This sentence was elicited from Juana.

(1393) ¡*pibÿchekaji kabe* [*chinijabaka echÿu tumei*]*!*

pi-bÿcheka-ji   kabe chi-nijabaka echÿu ti-umei
2SG-order-IMP dog 3-bite.IRR   DEMb 3i-steal

'give the dog the command to bite the thief!'

[jxx-e191021e-2]

In (1394), the shared argument is not conominated, but it is encoded as the object of the manipulative verb by use of the third person prefix *chÿ-*, which is used for specific 3 > 3 relationships. This example was elicited from María S. Irrealis of the manipulative verb is probably due this sentence being elicited without any context.

(1394) *chibÿchekatu* [*tikutikapu*]

chi-bÿcheka-tu   ti-kutikapu
3-order.IRR-IAM 3i-run.IRR

'(s)he makes him run'

[rxx-e141230s.123]

(1395) shows two things. First, the shared first person singular argument is indexed on the matrix verb as an object. And second, if movement is implied in the order, the dislocative marker (see 6.6.4) can be attached to the complement verb. This shows how closely related this type of CC is to a motion-cum-purpose construction, which has been

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38. It is unclear whether the verb *-bÿche(i)ku* can occur without a CC since almost all examples are elicited translations of Spanish sentences. They were formulated in such a way that they necessarily take a CC. This should be investigated further.
39. The daughter grinds manioc to bake rice bread, which is made with a dough of manioc and rice and often gets a cheese topping.

analysed to encode an adverbial relation (see 8.3.3.2). The example was elicited from Miguel.

(1395) *nijinepÿi tibÿchekunÿ* [*niyÿseikupa chÿeche*]

     ni-jinepÿi   *ti-bÿcheku-nÿ* *ni-yÿseiku-pa*   *chÿeche*
     1SG-daughter 3i-order-1SG 1SG-buy-DLOC.IRR meat

     'my daughter sent me to buy meat'

                                                     [mxx-e160811sd.291]

A similar example was elicited from Juana, she preferred a CC containing a complete motion-cum-purpose expression including the motion verb *-yunu*. Note that the motion verb has realis RS in this case. This may be a mistake or a sign that we deal with two coordinated clauses here rather than with a CC: I sent her and she went to buy cinnamon. This issue cannot be resolved at the moment for lack of data.

(1396) *nÿbÿcheku* [*tiyunu tiyÿseikupa eka kanela*]

     nÿ-bÿcheku *ti-yunu* *ti-yÿseiku-pa*   *eka*   *kanela*
     1SG-order 3i-go   3i-buy-DLOC.IRR DEMa cinnamon

     'I made her go to buy cinnamon'

                                                     [jxx-e191021e-2]

8.4.1.4 The perception verb *-samu*

Perception verbs do not often take CCs as arguments, I have only found a few examples with the verb *-samu* 'hear'. According to Noonan (2007:143), in perception complementation "semantically it is the entire event, not the argument coded as the matrix direct object, that is perceived." It is difficult to determine whether a person perceives an entire event or primarily one participant in that event if there are no formal linguistic means to express the difference. If the shared argument of the main clause and the CC is conominated, the CC has exactly the same structure as an unmarked relative clause (see 8.5.1).

This can be seen in Example (1397): first comes the complement-taking verb, its object directly follows it, then comes a clause which could be either a CC or a relative clause modifying the object.

The sentence is from Juana's narration about the journey of her grandparents from Moxos. Her grandfather has had an unpleasant encounter with a water spirit at night and hardly slept, so that the singing of the partridge in the very early morning is a relief for him.

(1397) *chisamutu mukÿkÿi* [*tiyutu*]

     chi-samu-tu *mukÿkÿi*   *ti-iyu-tu*
     3-hear-IAM partridge 3i-cry-IAM

     'he already heard the partridge singing' (or: 'he already heard the partridge that sang')

                                                      [jxx-p151016l-2.212]

If the object is not conominated, a difference to relative clauses is notable.

Consider (1398), in which the complement-taking perception verb is itself a complement of a desiderative verb, but this is not of concern at the moment. Let us consider the perception verb and its complement. The object of -*samu* 'hear' is indexed by the plural marker -*nube* and the CC directly follows.

The sentence was elicited from Juana.

(1398) *kuina nisacha* [*nisamanube* [*chichujijikabunube*]]

    kuina ni-sacha   *ni-sama-nube*   *chi-chujijika-bu-nube*
    NEG   1SG-want.IRR   1SG-hear.IRR-PL 3-talk.IRR-MID-PL

    'I don't want to hear them talking'

[jxx-e190210s-01]

A headless relative clause on the other hand is usually introduced by a demonstrative, see 8.5.2. Thus (1399) is analysed as containing a headless relative clause not a CC, with the relative clause being underlined.[40]

(1399) comes from a story told by Miguel about two men who meet the devil in the woods. The devil approaches the men shouting.

(1399) *chisamunube* <u>*echÿu tiyÿbuiku*</u> *kimenukÿ*

    chi-samu-nube echÿu ti-yÿbuiku kimenu-kÿ
    3-hear-PL   DEM   3i-shout   woods-CLF:bounded

    'they heard the one who shouts in the woods'

[mxx-n101017s-1.020]

For lack of a demonstrative preceding the clause, (1400) can then again be analysed as a CC, but a word of caution is necessary here: many weather and environment concepts are expressed by verbs in Paunaka. These verbs can be integrated into a clause like nouns if they are construed as a headless relative clause. However, if such a weather or environment verb is more often construed as a nominal constituent of a sentence (be that an argument or an adjunct) than as a predicate, use of the demonstrative can become optional and the verb may ultimately turn into a noun. This is what has happened with *tijai* 'day', actually meaning 'it is light', see 8.5.1. The verb *tiramuku* 'it thunders' in this example was also translated to Spanish with a noun by José.

This sentence was produced by Miguel, when he and Swintha once visited José and a thunderstorm was approaching.

(1400) *bisamukutu* [*tiramuku*]

    bi-samu-uku-tu   *ti-ramuku*
    1PL-hear-ADD-IAM 3i-thunder

    'we already hear it thunder, too'

[mox-c110926s-1.176]

This is an exhaustive listing of all cases of -*samu* being combined with an unmarked clause in the corpus, so that it is not possible to come up with a good conclusion about the difference between CCs of perception verbs and relative clauses modifying the object of a perception verb or in the case of a headless relative clause becoming the object itself.

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40. Note that the plural marker on the verb belongs to the subject in this case, not to the object as in (1398) above.

8.4.1.5 The utterance verb *-kechu*

The verb *-kechu* 'say' can take a CC to report what others have said, i.e. in indirect speech. This is not very common in Paunaka, speakers clearly prefer to cite directly what others said, i.e. in direct speech. They may also express that something is reported by using the hearsay/reportive marker *-ji* (see 6.8.3.3). Indirect speech, however, occurs from time to time.

CCs of *-kechu* are different from all other CCs in that their RS is not predetermined by the construction, but depends on its realisation in relation to the point in time of the original utterance, i.e. the one that is cited. Thus we have irrealis RS in (1401), because at the time Swintha made her statement, the event had not been realised.

The example comes from Miguel. He just talked for the sake of the recording, narrating what he was thinking about, this is why he uses third person markers to refer to Swintha, who was accompanying him. The sentence is about Swintha's return to Germany.

(1401) *tiyunupunuka Alemania te pero tikechu* [*tibÿsÿupupunuka punachinakena kuje o punachina anyo*]

  ti-yunu-punuka Alemania te pero ti-kechu ti-bÿsÿu-pupunuka
  3i-go-REG.IRR Germany SEQ but 3i-say 3i-come-REG.IRR

   punachÿ-ina-kena kuje o punachÿ-ina anyo
   other-IRR.NV-UNCERT month or other-IRR.NV year

  'she will go back to Germany, but she said that she would come back, maybe the other month or the other year'
                     [mxx-d110813s-2.049-050]

That use of RS depends on the point in time the original utterance was made becomes more clear in (1402). Juana speaks about the past here, the reported event has long been realised by the time she produced the sentence, but not by the time the reported utterance was made. In the meeting she talks about, people of Santa Rita should discuss a proposal of a lady who came to the region, a proposal that they make pasture for her in exchange for her taking charge of construction of the reservoir.

(1402) *i tikechunube* [*tananube reunion*]

  i ti-kechu-nube ti-ana-nube reunion
  and 3i-say-PL 3i-make-PL meeting

  'and she told them to make a meeting'
                     [jxx-p120515l-2.077]

In the following example, realis RS is used in the CC, which contains another CC, because the statement held at the time the original utterance was made. The frustrative marker is placed on the verb due to Juana's evaluation of her daughters wish to be unrealisable. Juana simply does not want what her daughter wants: accompany her to Europe. Irrealis RS of verb in the second CC is due to its own complement-taking verb, desiderative *-sachu* (see 8.4.1.1 above).

(1403)   *nijinepÿi tikechu ukuinebu* [*tisachuini* [*tumane*]]

    ni-jinepÿi   *ti-kechu ukuinebu*   *ti-sachu-ini*   *ti-uma-ne*
    1SG-daughter   3i-say   some.time.ago   3i-want-FRUST   3i-take.IRR-1SG

    'some time ago my daughter said that she wants to take me'

                                             [jxx-e120430l-4.44-45]

(1404) has indirect speech inside a direct quotation. The example comes from Miguel telling me about his experience in school. His teacher is the one who is cited by using direct speech and in this direct speech Miguel is requested to tell something to his father, namely that he helps him obtain the things he needs in school. The utterance verb *-kechu* inside the quoted speech has a third person suffix, which we also find on speech verbs introducing direct speech. This suffix marks the verb as ditransitive, we can thus deduce that the CC can theoretically be indexed on the verb as an argument,[41] but this is by no means obligatory as can be seen in all other examples given in this section.

(1404)   *"pikechuchÿji echÿu pia* [*tisemaika echÿu yÿkÿke tana taurapachumÿnÿ*] *i nebu pisuikia", tikechu*

    pi-kechu-chÿ-ji echÿu pi-a   *ti-semaika*   *echÿu yÿkÿke ti-ana*
    2SG-say-3-IMP DEMb 2SG-father   3i-search.IRR DEMb wood   3i-make.IRR

      taurapachu-mÿnÿ i   *nebu*   *pi-suik-i-a*   *ti-kechu*
      board-DIM   and 3OBL.TOP.PRN 2SG-write-SUBORD-IRR 3i-say

    '"tell your father to look for wood to make a small board and on that one you can write", he said'

                                               [mxx-p181027l-1.022]

8.4.2   Complement clauses with deranked verbs

In addition to unmarked CCs, there are a number of sentences in the corpus that have clausal complements with a deranked verb. The reasons for this may be different. First of all, if a verb that usually takes an unmarked CC is combined with a deranked verb, there may be something unusual involved in the relation between both verbs. In the examples I found in the corpus, this was usually a greater amount of force or control on the subject of the complement verb by the subject of the complement-taking verb. However, many of the examples come from elicitation, so it is not clear how natural this overt marking of the subordinate relation is in general.

    Consider (1405), in which the complement verb is *-niku*. This verb can mean both 'eat' and 'feed, give food', and it might be this ambiguity that led Miguel use a subordinate verb to signal that the interpretation cannot be straightforward ('I don't want you to eat it'), but that there is some force implied. Note also that the subordinate verb irregularly takes realis RS.

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41. It is a unclear though whether the adressee or the clause is indexed by *-chÿ*, see discussion in 6.4.2.2.

(1405)　*kuina nisacha* [*pinikiuchÿ*]

　　kuina　ni-sacha　　pi-nik-i-u-chÿ
　　NEG　1SG-want.IRR　2SG-feed-SUBORD-REAL-3

　　'I don't want you to make him eat'

<div align="right">[mxx-e090728s-3.007]</div>

(1406), another example elicited from Miguel, has a perception verb, *-mumuku* 'look, watch' combined with a CC containing a deranked verb.[42] In this case, the perception verb does not express mere perception, but rather has the overtone that the subject of the matrix predicate takes care that the subject of the complement verb fulfils the task of reading.

(1406)　*nimumuka* [*chichujimeikia*]

　　ni-mumuka　　chi-chujimeik-i-a
　　1SG-watch.IRR　3-read-SUBORD-IRR

　　'I take care of her reading'

<div align="right">[mxx-e120415ls.149]</div>

A similar example is (1407), elicited from María S. The sentence has two CCs, the first one is unmarked, the second one has a deranked verb. The second one implies force, the first person subject was not simply spoken to, but ordered to sleep against her will.

(1407)　¡*kuinaini nisacha* [*nÿmuka*] *piti pikechunÿ* [*nimukia*]!

　　kuina-ini　　ni-sacha　　　nÿ-muka　piti　　pi-kechu-nÿ
　　NEG-FRUST　1SG-want.IRR　1SG-sleep　2SG.PRN　2SG-say-1SG

　　　ni-muk-i-a
　　　1SG-sleep-SUBORD-IRR

　　'I didn't want to sleep, you told me to sleep!'

<div align="right">[rxx-e181024l]</div>

One non-elicited sentence that contains *-kechu* 'say' together with a CC containing a deranked verb is (1408). It is also analysed as including an order. The sentence stems from Miguel's description of the frog story and was produced when he was looking at the picture on which the boy and the dog look over a log and finally meet the frog again. It is not clear to me, why he uses the instrumental preposition *chikeuchi*, maybe because the log, or tree/wood as he calls it, is not upright but lying in the water.

(1408)　*tikechuchÿjiku* [*chipunaikiu chikeuchi yÿkÿke*]

　　ti-kechu-chÿ-jiku　chi-punaik-i-u　　　　chi-keuchi　yÿkÿke
　　3i-say-3-LIM1　　3-go.up-SUBORD-REAL　3-INS　　　tree

　　'he only told him to go up on the tree'

<div align="right">[mox-a110920l-2.176-179]</div>

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42. Actually this verb, as well as any other verb of sight, does not occur with an unmarked CC in the corpus, but given the fact that *-samu* 'hear' does take unmarked CCs, I consider it realistic that verbs of sight can theoretically take unmarked CCs, too.

Note, however, that some of the examples with an unmarked CC of the same utterance verb can also be read as encoding an order rather than mere report, see 8.4.1.5. It is also possible that some verbs allow a certain variation in taking a CC with a balanced or a deranked verb.[43]

There may also be some variation between speakers. For example, in elicitation on causative relations, Miguel often but not always chose a deranked verb in combination with the manipulative verb *-bÿche(i)ku* like in (1409) and (1410). Note that the deranked verb in Example (1410) exceptionally takes the third person prefix *ti-* (see 8.1.4). For examples with balanced verbs in the CC see 8.4.1.3.

(1409) *nibÿchekubi* [*pupuniachÿ nichechapÿi tukiu nauku terminal*]

    ni-bÿcheku-bi   pi-upun-i-a-chÿ   ni-chechapÿi tukiu nauku
    1SG-order-2SG 2SG-bring-SUBORD-IRR-3 1SG-son   from there

        terminal
        bus.station

    'I sent you to pick up my son at the bus station'

                             [mxx-e160811sd.301-302]

(1410) *nibÿcheku nichechapÿi* [*tupuniapi*]

    ni-bÿcheku ni-chechapÿi ti-upun-i-a-pi
    1SG-order   1SG-son   3i-bring-SUBORD-IRR-2SG

    'I sent my son to pick you up'

                                  [mxx-e160811sd.307]

In a short check about the verb *-muyayachu* 'be slow, do slowly', which had just popped up in elicitation, María S. combined the verb first with a deranked verb as in (1411), and two minutes later with a balanced verb, see (1412). It is unclear whether one or the other construction is more frequent, because there is not enough data.

(1411) *nimuyayachutu* [*ninikia*]

    ni-muyayachu-tu   ni-nik-i-a
    1SG-do.slowly-IAM 1SG-eat-SUBORD-IRR

    'I eat slowly'

                                  [rmx-e150922l.086]

(1412) *nimuyayachu* [*niyÿtikapu*]

    ni-muyayachu ni-yÿtikapu
    1SG-do.slowly 1SG-cook.IRR

    'I cook slowly'

                                  [rmx-e150922l.091]

It is unclear at the moment what exactly triggers the use of a deranked verb if a balanced verb is possible too.

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43. This seems to be the case in Baure, where the verb in a CC can either be balanced or occur as a participle, often without any difference in meaning (Danielsen 2007:424).

There are, however, some verbs that only take CCs with deranked verbs. We can assume that these verbs usually do not take clausal complements at all and in the rare cases that there is a demand to combine them with a clause, choosing a deranked verb with its more nominal characteristics is the most adequate solution. Possibly every transitive verb can take a deranked one as an object, I will only present two examples with verbs that could be assumed to take CCs due to their semantics.

The verb *-itu* 'master, manage, cope with, learn' encodes knowledge and ability, but unlike other verbs of this category (see 8.4.1.2 above) does not usually combine with a clause. In the rare cases it does, the complement verb has to be deranked, like in (1413). Note that *-itu* is very rarely used in general. The context of the following example is as follows: Clara had stated that she wants to teach her daughter Paunaka, because the latter wants to learn it. Clara is sure that she can learn it quickly if she wants to. Note that the subordinate verb also takes the third person prefix *ti-* here.

(1413) *kue tisacha* [*tichujika*]*, un ratoyÿchi chita* [*tichujikia*]

    kue ti-sacha   ti-chujika   un rato-yÿchi   chÿ-ita   ti-chujik-i-a
    if   3i-want.IRR 3i-speak.IRR in a while-LIM2 3-master.IRR 3i-speak-SUBOR-IRR

    'if she wants to speak, she can quickly learn to speak'

                                         [cux-c120414ls-2.327]

Another verb that combines with a CC containing a deranked verb is *-buku* 'finish'. This verb can take a conominal NP in O function, but usually does not take clausal complements. One exception is (1414), which is an elicited sentence about making a hammock. Knotting refers to the technique of weaving, the women finish their hammocks by knotting the wefts for adornment.

(1414) *nakayenetu nÿbuka* [*nipikeikiu*]

    nakayenetu nÿ-buka   ni-pikeik-i-u
    almost   1SG-finish.IRR 1SG-knot-SUBORD-REAL

    'I have almost finished my knotting (of the hammock)'

                                             [rxx-e181022le]

8.4.3   The use of *eka* as a complementiser

There are a few cases in which the demonstrative *eka* seems to be used as a complementiser in CCs containing balanced predicates. Not every case in which we find *eka* between a complement-taking predicate and a CC is necessarily a complementiser though, the demonstrative is also used as a filler in hesitation. All of the examples presented in this section were selected, because they do not show signs of hesitation, like repeated starts, pauses, use of the question word *¿chija?* (which is also used as a filler in hesitation), so it is relatively certain that *eka* really functions as a complementiser there.

It may be the case that use of a complementiser is due to influence of Spanish, but comparison with the most closely related languages reveals that in Trinitario, an article optionally introduces unmarked CCs (Rose 2014a:91), while in Baure an article or a demonstrative can introduce CCs with a participle, although this is not obligatory

(Danielsen 2007:424).[44] This does not exclude the possibility that the use of an article or demonstrative in these languages is also due to influence of Spanish, but then again, it is striking that all three languages use a determiner rather than anything else. In Spanish, the complementiser *que* is identical to the relative pronoun and to the question word for 'what'.[45]

In (1415), both the matrix and the complement verb have a first person subject and the complement verb is intransitive so that there is no argument in the sentence to which *eka* could refer. Therefore the demonstrative must be analysed as a complementiser belonging to the CC. The sentence is from the story about the fox and the jaguarundi as narrated by Miguel. It is an utterance of the drunken fox.

(1415) *"nÿsachutu [eka nakusunine]"*

  nÿ-sachu-tu   eka   nÿ-a-kusunine
  1SG-want-IAM   DEMa 1SG-IRR-sing

  '"I want to sing now"'

  [jmx-n120429ls-x5.380]

The case is less clear in all other examples since they have third person arguments that the demonstrative could theoretically refer to.

Consider (1416), which was elicited from Miguel. The complement verb has a third person subject, so the demonstrative could be analysed to conominate this subject. However, if we compare to the other CCs of desiderative verbs, we find that subject NPs never precede the verb in a CC (see 8.4.1.1), so that this must be a case of *eka* being used as a complementiser, too. In addition, if this was a subject in preverbal position, i.e. in a position reserved for arguments with special discourse status, it would be emphasised by intonation, but the opposite is the case. This is also true for the rest of the examples.

(1416) *kuina nÿsumacha [eka takutiu]*

  kuina nÿ-sumacha   eka   ti-a-kutiu
  NEG   1SG-want.IRR DEMa 3i-IRR-be.ill

  'I don't want him to get ill'

  [mxx-e090728s-3.013]

(1417) was produced by Clara and directed to María C., who is a bit hard of hearing, in order to tell her that me and Swintha already knew that her husband had passed away.

(1417) *tisamuikunube [eka tepaku eka pima]*

  ti-samuiku-nube eka   ti-paku eka   pi-ima
  3i-listen-PL   DEMa 3i-die DEMa 2SG-husband

  'they heard that your husband is dead'

  [cux-120410ls.096]

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44. In addition, Baure makes use of the multifunctional connective *apo* as a complementiser (Danielsen 2007:393).

45. Note, however, that a demonstrative may be used in relative clauses as well in Paunaka, especially in headless relative clauses. We find predominantly *echÿu* there, but *eka* is also used sometimes, see 8.5.

In (1418), Juana actually had some trouble with wording, but the last part, the CC including the demonstrative was uttered without hesitation. The sentence expresses what she believed to be the reason for Federico going to Miguel's daughter's house, which I had just been telling her before.

(1418)   *pensau* [*eka chayuraucha*]

   pensau eka   chÿ-ayuraucha
   think   DEMa 3-help.IRR

   'he thought he could help him'

[jxx-e120516l-1.094]

CCs introduced by a demonstrative resemble headless relative clauses a lot. It is then only through context and possibly due to the semantics of the main clause verb that both can be distinguished. Relative clauses are the topic of the next section.

8.5   Relative relations

A relative clause (RC) "provides some kind of specification about a participant" of the main clause with the aim of identifying this participant (Cristofaro 2003:195).

Paunaka uses different means to express this kind of specification. This depends partly on whether the RC is headed or headless and partly on the role the relativised item has in the RC.

A headed RC is one which relates to an NP in the main clause. Most of these headed RCs are completely unmarked in Paunaka, i.e. they are asyndetically juxtaposed to the NP they modify. The modified NP is usually the last constituent in the main clause. The case being like this, an RC is formally not distinguishable from an asyndetically coordinated clause (see 8.2.1). It is only a matter of semantic relation between the two clauses: if one clause modifies the NP to which it is juxtaposed, it can be analysed as an RC, if no modification is involved, we rather deal with coordination (or possibly with unmarked subordination including an adverbial relation).

Headless RCs are those, in which no NP conominates an argument of the main clause – remember that Paunaka uses person indexes to encode arguments of a verb and that co-occurrence of NPs is optional. In this case, the RC becomes the conominal itself. In contrast to headed RCs, headless RCs are usually introduced by a demonstrative, predominantly *echÿu* 'DEMb', but also *eka* 'DEMa'. These demonstratives act as relative pronouns.[46] The predicate of the RC is balanced, i.e. there is no sign of dependency on the predicate itself.

These two types of RCs just described can be considered the major ones. They have in common that they build on a balanced verb and primarily apply to relativisation of S and O arguments whose role in the main clause is also S or O. For the sake of simplicity, roles in stative non-verbal predications are subsumed under the label S here. The role A is much rarer in both main and relative clause. The common argument may also function as a possessor in the main clause, but not in the RC. I have not found any example in which it has the role of an oblique, but this may be coincidence.

In addition to the RCs with balanced verbs, there is a third type of RC which is also relatively frequent and builds on a deranked verb. This type is majorly found with

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46. See 8.5.2 for an argumentation why I consider the demonstrative to belong to the RC and not to the main clause.

relativisation of obliques, but also with objects. Inside the main clause, the relativised item can have the same roles as the other kinds of RCs, additionally oblique roles are found.

The roles of the relativised item in the main clause and in the RC are summarised in Figure 8.12, where the first two types are subsumed under one, because they are similar as to which roles are accessible to relativisation.

	Function in MC	Function in RC
RC with balanced verb	S, O, A, POSS	S, O, A
RC with deranked verb	S, O, A, POSS, X	O, X

Figure 8.12: Roles of the relativised item in the main clause and the RCs, considering only the two major types of constructions

The correspondence between type of predicate used and role of the relativised item in the RC is in line with the relative deranking hierarchy in Figure 8.13, which claims that deranked verbs rather occur on the right-hand side of the hierarchy.

A, S > O > Indirect Object, Oblique

Figure 8.13: Relative Deranking Hierarchy after Cristofaro (2003:203)

I proceed as in the previous sections and first describe the most unmarked RCs in 8.5.1. They are usually headed, but a few examples of unmarked headless RCs have been found as well. In 8.5.2 those RCs introduced by a demonstrative are presented. Most of them are headless, but some headed ones have also shown up in the corpus. RCs with deranked predicates are described in 8.5.3. Subsequently, a discussion on cleft constructions in 8.5.4 completes this section. All RCs are given in square brackets in this section.

8.5.1 Unmarked relative clauses

RCs can be completely unmarked in Paunaka, a characteristic it shares with Mojeño (cf. Olza Zubiri et al. 2004:596-597; Rose 2014a:92). By unmarked I refer to the fact that there is no syntactic or morphological hint at all that sets these clauses apart from independent clauses, however, the RC and the main clause are uttered in one intonation unit. This has been argued to be "an early form of embedding" (Givón 2012:6). Unmarked RCs are usually headed, the head noun is the last constituent of the main clause and the RC follows. All RCs given in this section could thus alternatively also be analysed as asyndetically coordinated clauses, but semantically they encode a relative relation, i.e. they help identifying a participant by providing some specification about this participant (Cristofaro 2003:195). However, there are cases in which it is not clear whether a juxtaposed clause is meant to provide specification or to develop the storyline. I will come back to these cases later in this section. I have not found any example in which an unmarked RC was independently negated, but cases of individual negation of marked RCs occur (see 8.5.2 below). It might be the case that negation demands a more explicit strategy of RC marking.

To start with, consider (1419). The head noun *jimu* 'fish' is the object of the main clause and its last constituent. The RC follows. It only consists of one verb *tiyÿbapakubu*

'it is ground'.[47] The relativised noun is the subject of this verb, the verb ascribes a property to it, the property of being ground. Possible reference is thus restricted to ground fish.

The sentence was produced by Clara, when asked what she did with fish after grinding them. Note that the middle marker on the verb for 'cook' is missing here for an unknown reason.

(1419)   O$_{MC}$/S$_{RC}$
biyÿtiku echÿu jimu [*tiyÿbapakubu*]

bi-yÿtiku   echÿu jimu ti-yÿbapaku-bu
1PL-set.on.fire DEMb   fish 3i-grind-MID

'we cook the ground fish'

[cux-c120414ls-2.168]

In (1419), the relativised noun is the object of the main clause and the subject of the RC. This is indicated by the index "O$_{MC}$/S$_{RC}$" above the Paunaka sentence, the letter with the MC subscript stands for its role in the main clause, the letter with RC subscript for its role in the RC. The relativised noun is not repeated in the RC nor is there any resumptive pronoun or other independent word relating to it. We can thus state that Paunaka uses a gapping strategy in RCs as far as one can speak of a "gap" at all in relation to a language that indexes its arguments on the verb. The verb in the RC is fully inflected for its arguments and for RS.

Backed with this description of the general characteristics of the unmarked RC, we can have a look at some more examples. An analysis favouring an RC over a coordinated clause is relatively clear whenever the clause ascribes some property to the head noun. Paunaka has few adjectives, and many properties are expressed by stative verbs that are juxtaposed to the noun they modify, thus in an RC. (1420) and (1421) are two examples of this. RCs containing stative verbs are often best translated by an adjective.

In (1420) the stative verb *timÿuji* 'a soft mass is wet' modifies the head noun *bimÿu* 'our clothes'.[48] The sentence comes from Juana telling the story about her grandparents' journey to Moxos. On their way back, they have to cross an arroyo after rainfalls and get wet, so they have to change clothes as Juana's grandmother prompts her husband:

(1420)   O$_{MC}$/S$_{RC}$
"*kampiaubina bimÿu* [*timÿuji*]"

kampiau-bi-ina   bi-mÿu   ti-mÿu-ji
change-1PL-IRR.NV   1PL-clothes   3i-be.wet-CLF:soft.mass

"'let's change the wet clothes'"

[jxx-p151016l-2.128]

In (1421) the RC ascribes the property of being lazy to its head noun, the man. Miguel asks his brother José here whether he also knows the story about the lazy man.

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47. This notionally transitive verb is construed as intransitive by the middle marker in this case. The agent is defocused and the patient becomes the subject of the anticausative middle verb (see 6.7).
48. The fact that noun and verb have a homophonuous stem *-mÿu* is a co-incidence.

(1421) O_{MC}/S_{RC}
¿pitiuku pichupauku echÿu jente [tipÿkubai]?

piti-uku	*pi-chupa-uku*	*echÿu*	*jente*	*ti-pÿkubai*
2SG.PRN-ADD	2SG-know.IRR-ADD	DEMb	man	3i-be.lazy

'do you know the [one about] the lazy man, too?'

[mox-n110920l.001]

The question words *chija* 'what, who' and *juchubu* 'where' in their function as in-definite pronouns (see 4.1.4) are also usually followed by an unmarked RC.[49] (1422) is from Juana's telling of the frog story and verbalises her assumption why the boy and the dog look behind the log in the end of the book.

(1422) S_{MC}/O_{RC}
kakukena chija [echÿu kabemÿnÿ tisÿikutu]

kaku-kena	*chija*	*echÿu*	*kabe-mÿnÿ*	*ti-sÿiku-tu*
exist-UNCERT	what	DEMb	dog-DIM	3i-smell-IAM

'there might be something that the dog has smelled'

[jxx-a120516l-a.409]

In (1423), Juana speaks about her grandchild.

(1423) O_{MC}/X_{RC}
... te tisemaikatu juchubu [trabakuina]

te	*ti-semaika-tu*	*juchubu*	*trabaku-ina*
SEQ	3i-search.IRR-IAM	where	work-IRR.NV

'... then he will look for where to work'

[jxx-p110923l-1.193]

The RC of (1423) has a non-verbal predicate borrowed from Spanish as a predicate. The RC of the following Example (1424) builds on a nominal predicate. This is the beginning of the story about the enchanted man told by Miguel.

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49. I have also found one example in which it seems that *chija* 'what, who' is not the head but the relativiser, this being connected to the fact that there is another word *punaina* 'other (thing)' that can be postulated to be the head of the RC. Due to lack of (more) data, this type will be neglected here. The sentence comes from the account by María S. about the past.

(i) S_{MC}/O_{RC}
kuina punaina [chija binika], chibu biniku

kuina	*puna-ina*	*chija*	*bi-nika*	*chibu*	*bi-niku*
NEG	other-IRR	what	1PL-eat.IRR	3TOP.PRN	1PL-eat

'there was nothing else that we could eat, this, we ate'

[rxx-p181101l-2.247]

(1424) S_{MC}/S_{RC}

kakubaneji chÿnachÿ jente [bakeronu]

kaku-bane-ji	*chÿnachÿ*	*jente*	*bakeronu*
exist-REM-RPRT	one	man	cowherd

'once upon a time there was a man who was a cowherd, it is said'

[mxx-n151017l-1.01]

Whenever the verb in the RC does not describe a property *per se*, it is much harder to distinguish relativisation from coordination. If the event described by the juxtaposed clause is prior to the one in the first clause, there is a great chance that the clause is produced to provide a specification of a participant of the other clause.

This is the case in (1425). At the moment Juana produced this sentence, the topic of her story was the journey back home of her grandparents who had been in Moxos to buy cows and in this sentence, she describes what her grandparents did when they rested. The juxtaposed clause refers back to a prior point in the timeline, her grandparents' stay in Moxos. After this short switch to the prior time point, Juana continues describing the activities of their grandparents during their rest. We can thus deduce that the juxtaposed clause was uttered with the solely aim to specify how and where a noun of the other clause, *charke* 'dried meat', was obtained. It thus fits the general semantic profile of an RC and is best analysed as such.[50]

(1425) O_{MC}/O_{RC}

tinikukuikunubeji chitapikinenube i charki [chipunakinube nauku tukiu Monko-rÿye]

ti-niku-kuiku-nube-ji	*chi-tapiki-ne-nube*	*i*	*charki*
3i-eat-CONT-PL-RPRT	3-travel.supplies-POSSD-PL	and	dried.meat

chi-punak-inu-nube	*nauku*	*tukiu*	*Monkoxÿ-yae*
3-give-BEN-PL	there	from	Moxos-LOC

'they were eating their travel supplies, it is said, and dried meat that they had given to them in Moxos'

[jxx-p151016l-2.174]

Similar switches to a point in time prior to the actual timeline of the discourse are found in (1426) and (1427), both examples also stem from Juana.

In (1426), she tells me about a bird whose name she just remembered.

(1426) S_{MC}/O_{RC}

i kaku echÿu pisemÿnÿ [nimumuku uchuine]

i	*kaku*	*echÿu*	*pise-mÿnÿ*	*ni-imumuku*	*uchuine*
and	exist	DEMb	bird-DIM	1SG-look	just.now

'and there is this bird that I have just watched'

[jxx-p120430l-1.100]

(1427) is from a description by Juana of how she makes a clay pot. The structure of the main clause is not entirely clear, it either misses a predicate that expresses possession or otherwise the personal pronoun is somehow misplaced here or possibly

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50. Note that there is haplology in the verb of the RC, so that the two morphemes *-inu* 'BEN' and *-nube* 'PL' are fused into *inube*.

best understood as a dislocated constituent in a relatively loose relation to the rest of the clause. In any case, the bringing of the loam precedes its presence at her house in Santa Cruz.

(1427) O_{MC} or S_{MC}?/O_{RC}
         nÿti nauku nubiuyae echÿu muteji [nupunu tukiu nauku]

         nÿti   nauku nÿ-ubiu-yae   echÿu muteji nÿ-upunu tukiu nauku
         1SG.PRN there 1SG-house-LOC DEMb loam   1SG-bring from there

         'there in my house, I (have) the loam that I brought from there'
                                                              [jxx-d110923l-1.01]

If there is no such switch to a prior point in time, a juxtaposed clause can often be analysed as either an RC or an independent coordinated clause.

Consider (1428), which is the first sentence from the story about two men who meet the devil in the woods as told by Miguel. The characters of the story, two men, are introduced with the non-verbal existential copula *kaku*, the following clause provides information about what they do, i.e. they go hunting. It is not a specification of their character nor does it refer back to something the two men had done before. The opposite is true, the fact that they go hunting is important for the development of the story. On the other hand, since this is the first sentence in the story, it might well be the case that the second clause is produced to delimit the set of possible referents by specifying what the two men do, thus setting the scene for everything that follows.

The index of the syntactic roles in main and relative clause and the use of square brackets indicate the structure of the sentence if it is analysed as an RC. There are two translations though, one with an RC and the other one with a coordinated clause.

(1428) S_{MC}/S_{RC}
         kakubaneji ruschÿnubeji jente [tiyununube tichubikupunube]

         kaku-bane-ji   ruschÿ-nube-ji jente ti-yunu-nube ti-chubiku-pu-nube
         exist-REM-RPRT two-PL-RPRT   man   3i-go-PL   3i-stroll-DLOC-PL

         'once upon a time, there were two men who went hunting (lit.: strolling around), it is said'
         or: 'once upon a time, there were two men, it is said, and they went hunting'
                                                              [mxx-n101017s-1.014]

Considering the indexes of the syntactic roles I have provided in the examples above, we notice that there is a lot of relativisation out of S and O positions and that the relativised noun mostly either functions as the S or O of the RC. In general, S and O seem to be more common in relativisation in nominative-accusative languages than A (Cristofaro 2003:199). I have found one example though, given here as (1429), in which the relativised noun is the A of the main clause. Two coordinated RCs follow, the relativised noun has the role of S in the first one and the A role in the second one, which is a complement clause, i.e. has an object that is a clause.

The sentence, which is abbreviated here to only show the relevant details, comes from the speech Miguel gave at the workshop on Paunaka in 2011.

(1429) A_{MC}/S_{RC}, A_{RC}

...titukanube eka beteapunuku eka bipijijinube [*kakunube naka, kuina chichu-panube tichujikanube*]

ti-itu-uka-nube   eka   bi-etea-punuku   eka   bi-piji-ji-nube
3i-master-ADD.IRR-PL DEMa 1PL-language-REG DEMa 1PL-sibling-COL-PL

  kaku-nube naka kuina chi-chupa-nube ti-chujika-nube
  exist-PL   here NEG 3-know.IRR-PL 3i-speak.IRR-PL

'... our siblings, who are here and who do not know to speak, will also learn our language again'

[mxx-x110917.18]

As for the position of the RC, it is always postnominal. In the examples given up to this point, it also always followed the complete main clause. I have only found one example, in which the RC does not follow the complete main clause. This example was elicited from Juana and is given in (1430). The RC directly follows its head noun here and is as unmarked as all other RCs given in this section.

(1430) S_{MC}/S_{RC}
eka nipeu kabe [*tipakutu*] *timajaiku tÿbane*

eka   ni-peu   kabe ti-paku-tu ti-majaiku ti-ÿbane
DEMa 1SG-animal dog 3i-die-IAM 3i-bark   3i-be.far

'my dog that already died, used to bark'

[jxx-a110923l.07]

The strategy of using completely unmarked RCs is bound to the occurrence of a head noun in the main clause in general, but a few exceptions exist, where we have an unmarked headless RC. First of all, there is a small group of stative verbs that are seldom used predicatively in main clauses, they are rather integrated into clauses by means of a headless RC. Among them are *tijai* 'day' (*ti-jai* 3i-be.light), *tisÿeipu* 'south wind; windy, cold, cloudy weather coming from the south' (*ti-sÿei-pu* 3i-be.cold-DLOC), *tijapÿ* 'collared peccary' (*ti-japÿ* 3i-fill), *tikubiku* 'owner of a house' (*ti-ku-ubiku?* 3i-ATTR-reside?), *tikupeuchÿ* 'owner of animals' (*ti-ku-peu-chÿ* 3i-ATTR-animal-3), *tikuyaechÿ* 'owner' (*ti-ku-yae-chÿ* 3i-ATTR-GRN-3), and a few more that are not decomposable anymore like *tujubeiku* 'wind'. Actually, every "noun" that begins with /t/ is suspicious to have originated from a stative verb in an RC. Normally, headless RCs are introduced by a demonstrative, see 8.5.2, however some of these RCs have become so conventionalised as "noun phrases without nouns" (cf. Dryer 2004) that the demonstrative may also be dropped, like in (1431). In this example the RC is construed as the possessor of its head noun, i.e. it has a possessor role in the main clause. The possessor is postponed in this case, it usually directly follows the possessed. The recording was made in May, and María S. and I were talking about coldness in Bolivia and in Germany. I told her that I didn't like the cold, and she replied:

(1431) POSS_{MC}/S_{RC}
chitiempone tanÿma [*tisÿeipu*]

chi-tiempo-ne   tanÿma ti-sÿei-pu
3-time-POSSD   now   3i-be.cold-DLOC

'it is its season now, of the south wind'

[rxx-e120511l.293]

Finally, the last example I want to present in this section goes even further in that it does not include a verb that belongs to the usual suspects that have been listed above. In this case, lack of a demonstrative may be due to indefiniteness of the relativised item. It is an exceptional case though.

The sentence was produced by Clara, who replied to María C.'s question about who died. María C. obviously had not realised that we were talking about a dead dried piranha Swintha had found at the lakeside of the big reservoir in Concepción.

(1432) O$_{MC}$/S$_{RC}$
ÿmu tipaku, nauku chimunube [*tepakutu*]

ÿmu	*ti-paku*	*nauku*	*chi-imu-nube*	*ti-paku-tu*
piranha	3i-die	there	3-see-PL	3i-die-IAM

'the PIRANHA died, they saw a dead one there'

[cux-c120414ls-1.236]

In the following section more examples of headless RCs are shown. They are usually marked by taking a demonstrative.

8.5.2 Relative clauses introduced by demonstratives

Relative clauses can be introduced by the demonstratives *eka* or *echÿu* (see 4.1.3), with *echÿu* being more frequent. This is sometimes found with headed RCs like in (1433) and (1434), but most often, RCs introduced by a demonstrative are headless. The verb is usually completely unmarked (but see 8.5.3), however, the use of a demonstrative can itself be considered a hint that the verb has some nominal properties, reflecting "at least a partial conversion to nominal type" (Andrews 2007:232). The relativised item can have the syntactic roles of S, O and also A in the RC, but A roles are rare. As for the function of the RC inside the main clause, S and O roles have been found. In drawing an analogy to headed RCs, I suspect that it is also possible that the RC is the A of its main clause, but this remains to be proved.

The demonstrative belongs to the RC, not to the main clause (in which case it could be interpreted as the head of the following RC). This becomes clear, when considering the following example of a headed RC introduced by a demonstrative. It comes from the story about the cowherd who is enchanted by the spirit of the hill. The first part is an equative clause (see 7.2.1) in which the topic pronoun *chibu* and the NP *eka bakajane* 'the cows' are equated. The equative clause is complete with these two constituents, there is no slot for another argument either, so the demonstrative that follows the NP must belong to the RC.

(1433) S$_{MC}$/O$_{RC}$
chibu eka bakajane [*eka pisemaiku*]

chibu	*eka*	*baka-jane*	*eka*	*pi-semaiku*
3TOP.PRN	DEMa	cow-DISTR	DEMa	2SG-search

'these are the cows that you were looking for'

[mxx-n151017l-1.44]

Another example with a headed RC introduced by a demonstrative is (1434). The main clause has a VO structure here and the RC is juxtaposed to specify which kind of

machine Juana is talking about in her account about how the water reservoir in Santa Rita was made. An engineer had come and brought the big machine.

(1434) O_{MC}/S_{RC}
chupunu echÿu makina [*echÿu tikurumejikujiku*]

chÿ-upunu   echÿu makina   echÿu ti-kurumejiku-jiku
3-bring   DEMb   machine DEMb   3i-pierce-LIM1

'he brought the machine that only drills'

[jxx-p120515l-2.215]

Headless RCs are regularly introduced by a demonstrative. They constitute an NP without a noun and thus can be analysed as conominal arguments themselves.

(1435) comes from the story about the lazy man told by Miguel. Once it is established that the story is about a lazybones, a relative clause with a stative verb ascribing the characteristic of being lazy to him is sufficient to refer to the main character of the story. No head is needed, the RC stands for the head itself.

(1435) S_{MC}/S_{RC}
i punachÿ tijai takumurauchujitu [*echÿu tipÿkubai*]

i   punachÿ tijai ti-akumurauchu-ji-tu   echÿu ti-pÿkubai
and   other   day 3i-accomodate-RPRT-IAM   DEMb   3i-be.lazy

'and the next day the lazybones prepared (i.e. he packed some things to take with him)'

[mox-n110920l.082]

Another example with a stative verb is (1436). In this case, the headless RC with the verb *tikipÿpa* 'it is white' stands for white hair. The sentence was produced by Juana, when explaining me the effects that palm fruit oil has on their hair.

(1436) S_{MC}/S_{RC}
i tejekupubu [*echÿu tikipÿpa*]

i   ti-jekupu-bu echÿu ti-kipÿpa
and   3i-lose-MID   DEMb   3i-be.white

'and the white ones vanish'

[jxx-d181102l.32]

The verb in the headless RC does not need to be stative. (1437) has an active transitive verb and the role of the relativised item in the RC is O in this case. This sentence was elicited, so there is not much context.

(1437) O_{MC}/O_{RC}
numa [*eka niyÿseiku*]

nÿ-uma   eka   ni-yÿseiku
1SG-take.IRR   DEMa   1SG-buy

'I take what I bought'

[jxx-e191021e-2]

Headless RCs, like any other argument (see 7.1.4), usually follow the verb, but they can also precede it. This is much more common for headless RCs than for the headed ones.

The RC in (1438) has an intransitive active verb and it precedes the main clause verb. It comes from the story about the two men who meet the devil in the woods as told by Miguel. The one who arrives shouting is none other than the devil.

(1438) S$_{RC}$/S$_{MC}$
[*echÿu tiyÿbuikÿupunu*] *titupunubutu*

echÿu   ti-yÿbui-kÿupunu   ti-tupunubu-tu
DEMb   3i-shout-AM.CONC.CIS   3i-arrive-IAM

'the one who came shouting arrived now'

[mxx-n101017s-1.032]

In (1439), the relativised item is the O of the RC. This example was elicited from María S. and is about eating unripe fruit.

(1439) O$_{RC}$/S$_{MC}$
[*echÿu pinika*] *kuinakuÿ, nÿmayu tisachu tayu*

echÿu   pi-nika   kuina-kuÿ   nÿmayu   ti-sachu   ti-a-yu
DEMb   2SG-eat.IRR   NEG-INCMP   just   3i-want   3i-IRR-be.ripe

'the one you want to eat is not [ripe] yet, it is just about to get ripe'

[rxx-e181022le]

In (1440), the relativised item is the S of the RC and the RC constitutes the object of the main clause. Note that there is a classifier on the verb in the RC. This classifier, *-ji* 'CLF:soft.mass', gives a hint about the identity of the relativised item, the clothes that have got wet.[51] However, unlike in other languages (cf. Epps 2012), the classifier cannot be analysed as the head of the RC since classifiers always attach at word level, not at clause level in Paunaka, i.e. its presence on the verb in the RC is solely due to requirements of the verb not of the construction.

(1440) S$_{RC}$/O$_{MC}$
[*echÿu timÿuji*] *aparte chetukunube*

echÿu   ti-mÿu-ji   aparte   chÿ-etuku-nube
DEMb   3i-be.wet-CLF:soft.mass   aside   3-put-PL

'the wet things (i.e. clothes), they put aside'

[jxx-p151016l-2.132]

(1441) is an example in which the relativised item is the A of the RC. Miguel speaks about the teacher he had at school here. He is one of the very few Paunaka speakers who can read and write. It was his own decision to go to school back in those days, when he lived with his family in Altavista. Physical punishment was not unusual at that time.

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51. See also (1420) above, which the speaker had uttered shortly before, where the head noun is *bimÿu* 'our clothes'.

(1441) A_{RC}/O_{MC}

[*echÿu chichupu echÿu chitareane*] *kuina cheistaka*

echÿu	*chi-chupu*	*echÿu*	*chi-tarea-ne*	*kuina*	*chÿ-eistaka*
DEMb	3-know	DEMb	3-excercise-POSSD	NEG	3-whip

'he did not whip the one who knew his schoolwork'

[mxx-p181027l-1.076]

RCs introduced by a demonstrative can be individually negated. This is true for the headed ones as well as for the headless ones as can be seen in the following two examples.

(1442) is an equative clause in which one entity consisting of the head *chÿnajiku* 'the only thing' and its RC is equated to another entity.

The sentence was produced by Miguel who told me about his experience in school.

(1442) S_{MC}/O_{RC}

chÿnajiku [*echÿu kuina nisumacha nechÿu*] *matematica*

chÿna-jiku	*echÿu*	*kuina*	*ni-sumacha*	*nechÿu*	*matematica*
one-LIM1	DEMb	NEG	1SG-like.IRR	DEMc	mathematics

'the only thing that I didn't like there was maths'

[mxx-p181027l-1.090]

In (1443), the RC stands on its own, it was produced by Juana for disambiguation between the different daughters of Miguel.

(1443) S_{RC}

jaa, [*echÿu kuina taimubÿkemÿnÿ*]

jaa	*echÿu*	*kuina*	*ti-a-imubÿke-mÿnÿ*
AFM	DEMb	NEG	3i-IRR-see.well-DIM

'yes, the one who is blind (i.e. cannot see well)'

[jxx-p120430l-1.087]

In all of the examples above, the relativised items have S, O or A roles in the RCs. I have also found one example, given here as (1444), in which it is an oblique (in both the MC and the RC). However, this was uttered with some hesitation by Juana, with *te* being a marker of hesitation here rather than a connective for a subsequent event. She speaks about a place her grandparents reach on their journey back from Moxos. If I understood her right, the rubber workers' going to this place long preceded the arrival of the grandparents, any other interpretation of the context would be odd. In addition, *te* is surrounded by pauses and forms its own intonation unit.[52] If the relativised entity is an oblique of the RC, speakers seem to prefer a deranked verb (but see the discussion in 8.5.3). In any case, Juana speaks about a place to which her grandparents arrived on their journey back home from Moxos.

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52. For the sake of better readability, I have usually deleted all hesitation marks and false starts from the examples in this grammar. I maintain it here, because this example is somehow exceptional for encoding oblique function and not being fully integrated in the intonational contour of the main clause.

(1444) X_{MC}/X_{RC}

titupunubunube – te – [eka komerunube tiyununubetu]

ti-tupunubu-nube	*te*	*eka*	*komeru-nube*	*ti-yunu-nube-tu*
3i-arrive-PL	SEQ	DEMa	rubber.worker-PL	3i-go-PL-IAM

'they arrived – er – to where the rubber workers had gone'

[jxx-p151016l-2.255-256]

Unmarked headed RCs and headless RCs introduced by a demonstrative are the most common types of RCs found in Paunaka. The following sections are dedicated to less common types: a very rare type of RC is introduced by a question word, while RCs with deranked verbs are .

8.5.3 Relative clauses with deranked verbs

Some RCs are construed with a deranked verb (see 8.1). This is most typically found with RCs in which the relativised item is an oblique (X), but occasionally also with objects. Most RCs with deranked verbs are actually part of cleft constructions, in this section some examples which do not contain clefts are discussed. For clefts containing RCs with deranked verbs see 8.5.4.

(1445) is the result of Miguel and Juana looking for an expression for 'hostel' that does not contain a Spanish loan. Swintha had asked for a sentence to tell them that she would go back to her hostel. A pause occurred between the adverb *nauku* and the subordinate verb, marked by a comma in the example. It is thus not entirely clear whether *nauku* can be analysed as the head of the RC or whether the RC should be analysed as headless and simply added to the main clause as an alternative, more explicit expression for the place. In any case, the relativised item has locative function in the RC.

(1445) X_{MC}/X_{RC}

niyunupunatu nauku, [nÿmukiu yuti]

ni-yunupuna-tu	*nauku*	*nÿ-muk-i-u*	*yuti*
1SG-go.back.IRR-IAM	there	1SG-sleep-SUBORD-REAL	night

'now I'll go back there, where I slept at night'

[jmx-e090727s.381s]

The next example comes from elicitation of body parts. Asked for the ear, María S. first gives the noun *nÿchukape* 'my ear',[53] then she explains the function of the body part with a deranked verb, which can be interpreted as a headless RC with the role of the relativised item being that of an instrumental, and finally repeats the noun. All of these three words constitute different intonation units, signaled by use of the comma in (1446), so that we can claim that the RC is not part of the main clause but in apposition to it.

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53. Actually, this is the outer part of the ear, the pinna, which is made explicit by use of the classifier *-pe* 'CLF:flat'. The noun can also be used without the classifier: *-chuka* 'ear, pinna'. There are some hints that the distinction between outer body part/organ and inner body part/sense may have been more meaningful at some time in the past (cf. Danielsen & Terhart subm)

(1446) X_{RC}
nÿchukape, [nisamuikiu], nÿchukape

nÿ-chuka-pe   ni-samuik-i-u   nÿ-chuka-pe
1SG-ear-CLF:flat 1SG-listen-SUBORD-REAL 1SG-ear-CLF:flat

'my ear, what I listen with, my ear'

[rxx-e121128s-4x.078-079]

The RC in (1447), in addition to having a deranked verb, is introduced by a demonstrative. The relativised item is a locative oblique in the RC, the RC is a possessor in the main clause. The example comes from elicitation and was produced by Miguel.

(1447) POSS_{MC}/X_{RC}
chija [eka nitibuia]

chi-ija   eka   ni-tibu-i-a
3-name DEMa 1SG-sit.down-SUBORD-IRR

'it is the name of where I can sit down'

[rmx-e150922l.126]

An example with a negated RC is (1448), which comes from Miguel telling the story about the cowherd and the spirit of the hill. The negative particle directly precedes the deranked verb and has only scope over the RC, not over the main clause.

(1448) S_{MC}/X_{RC}
pero nechÿuji estansiayae kakuji chÿnachÿ kurichi [kuina tijbÿkiapu echÿu ÿne]

pero nechÿu-ji   estansia-yae kaku-ji   chÿnachÿ kurichi kuina
but   DEMc-RPRT   manor-LOC   exist-RPT one   pond   NEG

   ti-jibÿk-i-a-pu   echÿu ÿne
   3i-smoke-SUBORD-IRR-MID DEMb water

'but there, it is said, on the manor, it is said, there was a pond where the water never dried (i.e. evaporated)'

[mxx-n151017l-1.06-07]

Sometimes a deranked verb also occurs, when the relativised item has other functions than oblique or more precisely is an object. This is the case in (1449). It is not entirely clear to me what triggers the use of deranked verbs in these sentences. It is possible that for relativisation of objects in headless RCs, both strategies can be used, either with a demonstrative and a balanced verb or a deranked verb.

Consider (1449), which is an elicited example with a ditransitive verb. The sentence, which was elicited from Juana, was produced with some hesitation, apparently the speaker had problems in choosing a word that would match the Spanish *regalo* 'present, gift'.

(1449) O_{MC}/O_{RC}
numa eka [nipunakiachÿ eka mimi]

nÿ-uma   eka   ni-punak-i-a-chÿ   eka   mimi
1SG-take.IRR DEMa 1SG-give-SUBORD-IRR-3 DEMa mum

'I'm going to take what I will give to mum'

[jxx-e191021ls-2]

A second example of an RC with a deranked verb in which the relativised item has the role of O is (1450). It comes from Miguel's story about the man and the spirit of the hill and is a citation of what the spirit says to the man.

(1450) S$_{MC}$/O$_{RC}$
tikechuchÿji: "kaku naka nubiuye kaku naka [echÿu pisemaikiuchi] echÿu bakajane kaku"

ti-kechu-chÿ-ji	*kaku*	*naka*	*nÿ-ubiu-yae*	*kaku*	*naka*	*echÿu*
3i-say-3-RPRT	exist	here	1SG-house-LOC	exist	here	DEMb

pi-semaik-i-u-chi	*echÿu*	*baka-jane*	*kaku*
2SG-search-SUBORD-REAL-3	DEMb	cow-DISTR	exist

'he said to him, it is said: "they are here in my house, here is what you are looking for, the cows, they are there"'

Finally, there are also some cases where it is not clear whether we better analyse them as RCs or as adverbial clauses (see 8.3.2). The following example could either be analysed as an adverbial clause expressing purpose or as a headed relative clause expressing an oblique. In case that we decide to analyse it as an RC, the head noun has the role of S in the main clause, and of an instrumental oblique in the RC. The example comes from Juana's description of how to make a clay pot. Apparently, she had forgotten to collect a special stone in order to polish the pot.

(1451) S$_{MC}$/X$_{RC}$
paltau echÿu mai [biyeneukiachÿ]

paltau	*echÿu*	*mai*	*bi-yeneuk-i-a-chÿ*
lack	DEMb	stone	1PL-polish-SUBORD-IRR-3

'a stone with which we can polish it was missing'
or: 'a stone was missing in order to polish it'

[jxx-d110923l-1.08-09]

8.5.4 Cleft constructions

A cleft construction is usually defined as "a complex sentence structure consisting of a matrix clause headed by a copula and a relative or relative-like clause whose relativized argument is coindexed with the predicative argument of the copula. Taken together, the matrix and the relative express a logically simple proposition, which can also be expressed in the form of a single clause without a change in truth conditions" (Lambrecht 2001b:467).

This definition is problematic for Paunaka insofar as the clauses analysed here as clefts do not contain a copula.[54] They could thus only be defined as clefts by a broad definition, such as the one proposed by Palancar & Vanhove (2020:1) that clefts are "biclausal focus constructions". This is also in line with what Lambrecht (2001b:463) identifies as the primary, defining property of clefts, that they express "a single proposition via bi-clausal syntax".

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54. The copula *kaku* is used to express location at a place or existence (in contrast to non-existence, which is usually expressed without copula), but it is not used to link non-verbal predicates of other kinds to their subjects (see 7.2).

As for their bi-clausal status, let us consider one example: (1452) is from an account of María S. about her childhood. The family lived of subsistence farming, but food was sometimes scarce, so their mother also harvested leaves of wild plants that were mashed together with peanuts and then cooked in a stew.

(1452) *nÿenubane* [*echÿu chiyejiku*]

   nÿ-enu-bane   echÿu   chi-yejiku
   1SG-mother-REM   DEMb   3-tear.out

   'it was my late mother who tore them out (i.e. harvested the leaves of a plant)'
   [rxx-p181101l-2.241]

The verbal predicate of the RC is *chiyejiku* 'she tears them out'. If this sentence was a monoclausal one, the verb would have to be analysed as the predicate of the main clause, but in that case there would be two arguments preceding it: *nÿenubane* 'my late mother' and the demonstrative *echÿu*. Paunaka, however, has only one preverbal slot (see 7.1). SVO order is relatively frequent, OVS is (almost) absent and SOV is not allowed at all, and we must therefore assume that sentences like (1452) consist of two clauses, the matrix clause which only contains one noun in this case and a juxtaposed RC consisting of a demonstrative and a balanced verb, a pattern we usually find in headless RCs in which the relativised item has the role of S,O or A (see 8.5.2).

Clefts are often believed to be associated with focus, but Delin & Oberlander (2005:5) reject this, since the positions of given and new information in the cleft are not fixed (depending on the type of cleft). Looking at clefts in context, they identify four distinctive features of clefts: "uniqueness, stativising, presupposition, and separate information structure" (Delin & Oberlander 2005:1). All of these discourse features hold for the Paunaka cleft construction, as will be discussed below.

The cleft construction can be analysed as a subcategory of equative or proper-inclusion clauses in Paunaka (see 7.2.1), the difference being that instead of a noun they take an RC as predicate and this predicate usually follows rather than precedes the subject. It is thus clearly a stative construction. Uniqueness is also given, since the clefted constituent is interpreted to be the only one to which the predication of the RC applies. Thus, in (1452) above, it is only the mother who harvested the leaves. In (1453), the uniqueness is even expressed lexically. The example is about fish. Swintha had found a dried piranha at the shore of the big water reservoir of Concepción, and she showed it to Clara and María C., wondering which kind of piranha that was, since there are different classes of piranhas. However, Clara first claimed with (1453) that there was only one class of piranhas. (María C. subsequently corrected her and explained us that there are indeed different classes of piranha, which have different colours.)

(1453) *porke echÿu chinajiku* [*echÿu tinijabaijane micha*]

   porke   echÿu china-jiku echÿu ti-nijabai-jane micha
   because DEMb   one-LIM1 DEMb   3i-bite-DISTR   good

   'because it is only these ones that bite hard'
   [cux-c120414ls-2.070]

The order of clefted constituent and RC can also be reverse, but this is very rare. One example is (1454), which was produced by Miguel when talking with Juan C. about the past. The clefted constituent is used to identify their teacher, mother Trinidad.

(1454) [*echÿu timesumeikubane naka turno unekuyae*] *madre Trinidad, chibu*

echÿu ti-mesumeiku-bane naka turno uneku-yae madre Trinidad   chibu
DEMb 3i-teach-REM   here shift town-LOC Mother Trinidad 3TOP.PRN

'the one who taught that school year here in town was Mother Trinidad, it was her'

[mqx-p110826l.241-24]

Presupposition in cleft clauses is about the predication of the RC being factitive, i.e. in (1453) it is presupposed that there are some fish that bite well, in (1452), there is someone who harvests leaves and in (1454) there is someone who taught in school.

As for the "separate information structure", Delin & Oberlander (2005:8) propose that clefts always encode some new information, but never encode all new information. Their function then is "to make special and specific links with the preceding discourse."

Just like in English it-clefts, the clefted constituent in Paunaka can encode old or new information. (1452) and (1453) both are examples of "topic clause clefts", in which the clefted constituent encodes the new information. In (1454), what is new is rather the relation between the given information in the clefted constituent and the juxtaposed NP, which also denotes a known participant. This is an example of a "comment cleft clause" (cf. Delin & Oberlander 2005:9). I will present some more examples of comment clause clefts below, in which the information in the clefted constituent is given. In this type of clefts, Paunaka speakers often make use of the topic pronoun *chibu*.[55] Just like in (1454), the new information is the relation of the given participant with a predication whose content may also be given or may be new. One example is (1455), which is about the scarcity of food.[56] María C. had just listed names of different fruits and vegetables that they grow, this is what *chibu* refers to.

(1455) *chibu* [*echÿu binika*]*, kuina chÿecheina*

chibu   echÿu bi-nika   kuina chÿeche-ina
3TOP.PRN DEMb 1PL-eat.IRR NEG   meat-IRR.NV

'this is what we can eat, there is no meat'

[uxx-p110825l.197]

Like in (1455), the clefted constituent in these "*chibu* cleft constructions" is typically the object of the relative clause, but there are also a few examples in which it is the subject like in (1456). In this example, Miguel states that another linguist (me) would write about their language. The recording was made a few days before I actually arrived in Bolivia to work with the Paunaka speakers for the first time. Swintha and Federico had already told Miguel about my impending arrival, and he spread the news to María C.

(1456) *chibu* [*echÿu tisuikatu echÿu betea paunaka*]

chibu   echÿu ti-suika-tu   echÿu bi-etea   paunaka
3TOP.PRN DEMb 3i-write.IRR-IAM DEMb 1PL-language Paunaka

'it is her who will write our language Paunaka'

[ump-p110815sf.116]

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55. The topic pronoun *chibu* shows up in different kinds of constructions that all have to do with distinct information structure, it is not limited to marking topic. See 4.1.2 for more information.
56. A dish without meat is not a good dish in rural lowland Bolivia in general.

Similar sentences can also be construed with deranked verbs. This is the case if the relativised item has the role of an oblique in the RC. Just like the clefts built on RCs with balanced verbs, all of the examples that follow can be analysed as a kind of equative clauses in which two obliques are equated. The deranked verb is preceded by a demonstrative, so the sentence seems to exhibit the same bi-clausal structure as a cleft construction with a balanced verb. Another analogy is that just like the topic pronoun *chibu*, the oblique topic pronoun *nebu* can introduce these sentences.

This is the case in (1457), which comes from Juana. With this sentence, she provides the conclusion of Miguel's story about the fox tricking the jaguar by making him believe that the reflection of the moon in the water was a big piece of cheese. The naive jaguar jumps into the water with a stone tied on his hands and consequently dies. In connection with *nebu*, a deranked verb is used and in addition, this RC is also introduced by the demonstrative *eka*.

(1457) *i nebu* [*eka chÿpakiu isini*]

i   nebu   eka   chÿ-pak-i-u   isini
and   3OBL.TOP.PRN   DEMa   3-die-SUBORD-REAL   jaguar

'and this is how the jaguar died'

[jmx-n120429ls-x5.265]

(1458) is an example in which two places are equated, the place the boy climbs and the place on the deer's head. This sentence comes from Miguel in telling the frog story to José. It was produced with some hesitation, though. As is (1457) above, the deranked verb is introduced by a demonstrative.

(1458) *pero* [*eka chipuniu naka*] *chichÿtiyae echÿu cierbo*

eka   chi-pun-i-u   naka chi-chÿti-yae echÿu cierbo
DEMa   3-go.up-SUBORD-REAL   here 3-head-LOC   DEMb deer

'but where he climbs here is on the head of the deer'

(mox-a110920l-2 124)

There are some examples though which are similar to the ones just presented but lack a demonstrative. One example including *nebu* is given in (1459) and one without *nebu* in (1460).

In (1459), Juana explains that they used clay pots for cooking in the old times.

(1459) *banau echÿu muteji nÿkÿiki, nebu* [*biyÿtikiapu*]

bi-anau   echÿu muteji nÿkÿiki nebu
1PL-make   DEMb loam   pot   3OBL.TOP.PRN

  bi-yÿtik-i-a-pu
  1PL-set.on.fire-SUBORD-IRR-MID

'we made clay pots, this is what we could cook with'

[jxx-d110923l-2.20]

(1460) is similar to (1458) in that two places are equated, the place inside the hammock and the place where the subject sleeps best. This example was elicited from María S.

(1460) *yumajikÿye* [*maj mejor nÿmukiu*]

    yumaji-kÿ-yae   *maj mejor*   *nÿ-muk-i-u*
    hammock-CLF:bounded-LOC   best   1SG-sleep-SUBORD-REAL

    'in the hammock is where I best sleep'

<div align="right">[rmx-e150922l.118]</div>

If we consider examples like (1459) and (1460), where there is no demonstrative to clearly separate the RC from its matrix clause, it becomes questionable whether we are still dealing with a bi-clausal structure at all. What they have in common with clefts is the equation of two items one of which contains a verb. (1457) and (1458) could be analysed as clefts in analogy to the examples presented in the beginning of this section. (1459) and (1460) could then be analysed as clefts due to their similarity to (1457) and (1458), but it should be clear that we are moving away from what is a canonical cleft construction in Paunaka. There are constructions with deranked verbs that even move a little further towards monoclausality. I claim that they are indeed monoclausal. This is the topic of the next section.

8.6 Deranked verbs in monoclausal constructions

In the construction described in this section, an adverb, a quantifier or a noun that has oblique function in the clause precedes a deranked verb. There is no other verb in the clause. This construction is mainly used to shift focus from the predicate to the adverbial expression.

Consider (1461), in which the locative adverb *naka* 'here' precedes the verb marked by the subordinate suffix *-i*. It comes from the account by María S. about how she grew up.

(1461) *naka nÿjÿkiu*

    naka   *nÿ-jÿk-i-u*
    here   1SG-grow-SUBORD-REAL

    'here I grew up' (i.e. here was my growing up)

<div align="right">[rxx-p181101l-2.007]</div>

This construction very much resembles clefts with deranked verbs that contain the oblique pronoun or a locative-marked noun (see Examples (1457) – (1460) in 8.5.4 above). The difference is that the examples in this section have preposed adverbs instead of the oblique topic pronoun or substantives not marked as obliques (e.g. by the locative marker *-yae*) and there is no demonstrative before the deranked verb so that the hint that we are dealing with a bi-clausal structure is missing. As I have stated before, this is a continuum, the examples presented towards the end of the last chapter already showed tendencies towards monoclausality and it is finally a matter of a decision where to draw the line.

Why do we have a deranked verb in a sentence like (1461) above? This has to do with information structure and with the kind of predication intended by the speaker. This construction has the same identifying features as cleft constructions: "uniqueness, stativising, presupposition, and separate information structure" (Delin & Oberlander 2005:1). The aspect of stativising is particularly interesting.

Prototypically, predication in a sentence is achieved by a verb, and verbs prototypically denote processes (cf. Cristofaro 2003:259). By predicating one process after another a piece of discourse develops in time and space. However, sometimes predication is not meant to be about a process, but rather about properties or characteristics of this process. In this case, just like in subordination, "verb forms are not used in their prototypical cognitive or discourse function" (Cristofaro 2003:257). This is where deranked verbs come into play.

Deranked verbs have both verbal and nominal properties, they are considerably less finite than the verb forms we find in "normal" declarative sentences (see 8.1.4). Nouns are more time-stable than verbs (Payne 1997:33), i.e. they are less dynamic, and they are cognitively processed as a whole rather than sequentially (Cristofaro 2003:259), just like the deranked verbs in the construction here. The process per se loses prominence in the predication, the relation between one entity and the process is what predication is about. The process encoded by the deranked verb is thus not perceived dynamically but statively, the development of discourse is stopped for a little while. The construction is then best analysed as a special form of equative clause, in which a circumstance is related to a process as a whole.

A locative adverb is often combined with a deranked verb to relate a place to a sequence in the life cycle, i.e. to process that is mostly of a longer duration and in any case meaningful for the development of the individual being. Two more examples are given below.

(1462) is a statement by Miguel about the place of birth of Alejo and Polonia.

(1462) *naukubane ubupaikiu apuke*

> *nauku-bane e-ubupaik-i-u*   *apuke*
> there-REM   2PL-be.born-SUBORD-REAL   ground

'there you were born'

[mty-p110906l.035]

(1463) is also from Miguel and refers to the 1950s, when people first came to settle in Santa Rita. Miguel actually moved away later and only came back after 20 years or so, but the period of his first stay was of a certain duration and meaningful.

(1463) *nebutu naka bipajÿkiu pero kuinauku eka ÿneina bitÿpi*

> *nebu-tu*   *naka bi-pajÿk-i-u*   *pero kuina-uku eka*
> 3OBL.TOP.PRN-IAM   here   1PL-stay-SUBORD-REAL   but   NEG-ADD   DEMa
>   *ÿne-ina*   *bi-tÿpi*
>   water-IRR.NV   1PL-OBL

'from that point on we stayed here, but there was no water for us either'

[mxx-p110825l.060]

(1464) is a statement by María S. about my daughter who was with me when I first came to work with Paunaka in 2011. The non-dynamic construal of this sentence encodes that my daughter not only walked around in Bolivia, but actually learnt to walk on her own, an important step in her development.

(1464) *naka chiyuikiumÿne chijinepÿi Elena*

naka chi-yuik-i-u-mÿnÿ   *chi-jinepÿi Elena*
here 3-walk-SUBORD-REAL-DIM 3-daughter Lena

'Lena's daughter learnt to walk here' (i.e. here was the walking of Lena's
daughter)

[rxx-e121128s-1.069]

If such kind of prolonged duration and meaningfulness of a place is not implied,
i.e. the relation between the participant and the location is less meaningful, more co-
incidental or shorter, no deranked verb is used. The adverb usually follows the verb
in this case, but can also sometimes precede it like in (1465), which is given here for
comparison.

Several factors distinguish this example from the ones given above. First of all,
since the example comes from the description of the frog story, *naka* refers to a picture
here, i.e. has a much more delimited reference than in the previous examples. Second,
the fact that the boy is lying on the bed may be meaningful for the particular story
or not, it is in any case nothing that supposedly has great influence on his life. If the
speaker had wanted to express that this was the place, where the boy habitually lies,
or that the boy was disabled so that he could not move away from this place, he would
probably have chosen a deranked verb as in the previous examples, but the predication
would have changed from describing a process he was identifying on the picture to a
predication about a place.

(1465) *naka tibebeikumÿnÿ eka aitubuchepÿimÿnÿ*

naka ti-bebeiku-mÿnÿ eka   aitubuchepÿi-mÿnÿ
here 3i-lie-DIM   DEMa boy-DIM

'here the boy is lying (on the bed)'

[mox-a110920l-2.034]

It is not only locative adverbs that can be used together with a deranked verb to
construe a specific kind of predication. The iamitive adverb *metu* 'already, ready' can
be used in a similar fashion. Together with a finite verb, the adverb expresses either
that something is ongoing like in (1466) or over like in (1467). It can be analysed
as a modifier in these cases that provides some extra information about the processes
encoded by the verbs.

(1466) is a judgement about my competence in speaking Paunaka.

(1466) *kuina micha pero metu pichujikutu*

kuina micha pero metu   pi-chujiku-tu
NEG   good   but   already 2SG-speak-IAM

'(you) don't do it well, but you already speak'

[mrx-c120509l.068]

(1467) comes from Juana's narration about how some of her siblings died. In this
case, it refers to her brother Cristóbal, who died suddenly and unexpectedly. Juana
wanted to attend the funeral, but arrived late.

(1467)   *nitupunubu nauku, metu chimakunubetu*

     ni-tupunubu nauku metu   chi-maku-nube-tu
     1SG-arrive   there already 3-bury-PL-IAM

     'when I arrived there, they had already buried him'

                                              [jxx-p120430l-2.461]

When *metu* is combined with a deranked verb, the status of the process is what the predication is about. In the examples I have found it only encodes notions of finished processes not of ongoing ones. This is a direct consequence of the process being construed as a stative whole rather than a dynamic process. Two examples follow.
    (1468) was elicited from María S.

(1468)   *metu ninikiu, depue bichujijikubu*

     metu   ni-nik-i-u   depue   bi-chujijiku-bu
     already 1SG-eat-SUBORD-REAL afterwards 1PL-talk-MID

     'I finished eating (i.e. my eating was over), afterwards we talked'

                                                  [rxx-e181020le]

In (1469), Juana asks María whether she and her family had finished making a number of adobe bricks.

(1469)   *¿pero metu anaiu echÿu?*

     pero metu   e-ana-i-u   echÿu
     but already 2PL-make-SUBORD-REAL DEMb

     'but have you finished doing this?'

                                            [jrx-c151001fls-9.69]

It is not only adverbs that can be combined with a deranked verb, but also nouns. In a corresponding declarative sentence, they would usually have the syntactic roles of obliques, but occasionally also of objects. Speakers usually translate these sentences to Spanish by use of a construction with a fronted or sometimes with a left-dislocated constituent. As for the position preceding the verb, Paunaka shares this feature with fronting and left dislocation. Remember that the position preceding the verb is associated with special discourse status in Paunaka, but placing a constituent in this position does not necessarily entail that a deranked verb is used (see 7.1.4). Left dislocation is "motivated by the need to talk about (topic) or assert (focus) a referent which entertains a low degree of cognitive accessibility in the mind of the addressee" (Westbury 2016:40),[57] and this is also true for the Paunaka construction. However, by using a deranked verb, the speakers additionally construe the predication as stative, and this stativeness adds to the effect of emphasising the preposed constituent by de-emphasising the process.
    Consider (1470), which comes from the account of her grandparents' journey to Moxos by Juana. She had just started to tell the story, then she interrupted the storyline to produce this sentence, pronouncing it with a high pitch, which additionally set it apart from the previous utterance. By doing so she emphasised that her grandparents

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57. Note that the approach by Westbury (2016) towards left dislocation is different from others (e.g. Lambrecht 2001a) in that it explicitly does not restrict left dislocation to the function of topicalisation, but also recognises a focusing function.

did all of the journey by foot. This kind of sentence has the same effect left dislocation has in other languages, it "causes a disruption in the processing of the discourse" (Westbury 2016:39).

(1470) *¡epuke chiyuikiunube!*

  epuke   chi-yuik-i-u-nube
  ground 3-walk-SUBORD-REAL-PL

  'by foot (i.e. on ground) they went!'

<div align="right">[jxx-p151016l-2.022]</div>

After the utterance in (1470), some disruption of the story followed, because I was asking for the difference between the forms *epuke* and *apuke* 'down, ground' (there is none according to Juana, it is just free variation). Juana then took up the storyline again by repeating the proposition of (1470), but this time with the oblique noun following the verb, which is thus not deranked, see (1471).

(1471) *tiyuikunube epuke*

  ti-yuiku-nube epuke
  3i-walk-PL   ground

  'they went by foot'

<div align="right">[jxx-p151016l-2.028]</div>

Another example with a preposed locative expression is (1472), which comes from Miguel telling the story about the cowherd and the spirit of the hill. Here it is emphasised that the cowherd went far to look for the cows of his *patrón*, until the other side of the pond or lake without finding them.

(1472) ... *punachÿ chÿakenechÿu kurichi chisemaikiujanechi bakajane*

  punachÿ   chÿ-akene-chÿu   kurichi   chi-semaik-i-u-jane-chi
  other   3-non.vis.side-DEMb   pond   3-search-SUBORD-REAL-DISTR-3
    baka-jane
    COW-DISTR

  '... on the other side of the pond he searched for the cows'
<div align="right">[mxx-n151017l-1.15]</div>

In the following example a temporal expression is preposed to a deranked verb. A few days after she first told the story about her grandparents, Juana told it again prompted by questions about some words that I had not understood. This time, she emphasised another aspect of the exhausting journey, the duration. The structure is the same as in (1470) and (1472) above: first comes the oblique, then the deranked verb follows, in this case accompanied by another oblique that modifies it.

(1473) *chinachÿkena kuje chiyuikiunube epuke*

  chinachÿ-kena kuje   chi-yuik-i-u-nube   epuke
  one-UNCERT   moon 3-walk-SUBORD-REAL-PL ground

  'it was probably one month that they went by foot'

<div align="right">[jxx-e150925l-1.196]</div>

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(1474) comes from Miguel's story about the cowherd. He looks for his cows in the woods, but only finds their tracks. Note that the nominal modifier of the noun takes an associated motion marker here.

(1474) *pero echÿu chibujane tropakÿu chiyuïkiujane*

pero echÿu chÿ-ibu-jane tropa-kÿu   chi-yuïk-i-u-jane
but   DEMb 3-foot-DISTR pack-AM.CONC.TR 3-walk-SUBORD-REAL-DISTR

'but their feet (i.e. footprints) walk in pack'

[mxx-n151017l-1.19]

If we consider (1474) with the associated motion marker on the nominal modifier, a suffix that usually attaches to verbs, the clauses that were analysed as encoding adverbial relations are not far. One of them is repeated here as (1475) (from (1311) in 8.3.2.1, and consider also (1309) as well as (1302), which do not have associated motion markers but are otherwise very similar).

(1475) *tikunipapakÿu chiyuniu*

ti-kunipa-pakÿu   chi-yun-i-u
3i-be.hungry-AM.CONC.TR 3-go-SUBORD-REAL

'hungry he went going'

[jmx-n120429ls-x5.222]

Here we have a bi-clausal structure again, with two verbal predicates, the finite one preceding the deranked one. This is where the circle closes. What almost all constructions with a deranked verb have in common is that something preceding the deranked verb is highlighted as if to signal: keep in mind what preceded me, this is (the) important information in this sentence. A thorough analysis of information structure may help to learn more about the omnipresent versatile marker *-i*, but this is a topic for future work.

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Appendices

A Texts

A.1 Text 1: Story of the cowherd

This story was told by Miguel on the 17th of October 2015 and in parts corrected together with him later on. The recording and transcription are archived under the name mxx-n151017l-1. The recording also contains a Spanish version of the story.

It is about a cowherd. There is a draught and he loses the cows of his *patrón*. After searching for them desperately, the spirit of the hill appears to him and tells him that he has taken the cows (because he felt pity with the thin cows, but this was only told in the Spanish version). Subsequently, the man moves with his family to the spirit's place inside the hill. After some time, they decide to give the cows to the people of a neighbouring village. The villagers help driving the cows, but the cowherd's family remains invisible to them. The villagers promise to use the suet of the cows to make candles for the virgin.

1. *kakubaneji chÿnachÿ jente bakeronu*

   kaku-bane-ji   chÿnachÿ jente bakeronu
   exist-REM-RPRT one   man   cowherd

   'once upon a time, there was a man who was a cowherd, it is said'

2. *chikuirauchuji echÿu bakajane chipeujane chipatrune*

   chi-kuirauchu-ji echÿu baka-jane chi-peu-jane   chi-patrun-ne
   3-care.for-RPRT   DEMb cow-DISTR 3-animal-DISTR 3-patrón-POSSD

   'he looked for the cows, it is said, (which were) the animals of his *patrón*'

3. *trabakukuikuji pasau, ¿kuyenakena?, pero pasau tiempotu trabakuyÿchi*

   trabaku-kuiku-ji   pasau kuyena-kena   pero pasau tiempo-tu trabaku-yÿchi
   work-CONT-RPRT pass   how-UNCERT but   pass   time-IAM work-LIM2

   'while he was working, it is said (time) passed, how much may it have been? but time passed by and he only worked'

4. *titupunubutu eka sekía kuinaji chinikatu kuinakena mÿijinatu chinikajane eka bakajane*

   ti-tupunubu-tu eka   sekía   kuina-ji chi-nika-tu   kuina-kena
   3i-arrive-IAM DEMa draught NEG-RPRT 3-feed.IRR-IAM NEG-UNCERT

     mÿiji-ina-tu   chi-nika-jane   eka   baka-jane
     grass-IRR.NV-IAM 3-feed.IRR-DISTR DEMa cow-DISTR

   'a draught came, he could not feed them, it is said, supposedly there was no grass anymore to feed the cows'

5. *tiyuikunubetu kimenukÿyae*

   ti-yuiku-nube-tu   kimenu-kÿ-yae
   3i-walk-PL-IAM   woods-CLF:bounded-LOC

   'they walked in the woods'

6. *pero nechÿuji estansiayae kakuji chÿnachÿ kurichi kuina tijibÿkiapu echÿu ÿne*

   pero nechÿu-ji   estansia-yae kaku-ji   chÿnachÿ kurichi kuina
   but   DEMc-RPRT manor-LOC exist-RPT one   pond   NEG

     ti-jibÿk-i-a-pu   echÿu ÿne
     3i-smoke-SUBORD-IRR-MID DEMb water

   'but there, it is said, on the manor, it is said, there was a pond where the water never dried (i.e. evaporated)'

7. *entonses echÿu bakeronuji, pasauji treschÿ tijainube tiyunu chisemaikunube echÿu bakajane*

   entonses   echÿu   bakeronu-ji   pasau-ji   treschÿ tijai-nube   ti-yunu
   thus   DEMb cowherd-RPRT pass-RPRT three   day-PL   3i-go

     chi-semaiku-nube echÿu baka-jane
     3-search-PL   DEMb cow-DISTR

   'so the cowherd, three days passed, it is said, and he went and searched for the cows'

8. *i kuina chÿtupa*

   i   kuina chÿ-tupa
   and NEG   3-find.IRR

   'and he didn't find them'

9. *titupajane pero kaku echÿu chibu chikuinejane tiyununube titupunubunube nechÿu kurichiyae*

   ti-tupa-jane   pero kaku echÿu chÿ-ibu chi-kuine-jane   ti-yunu-nube
   3i-find.IRR-DISTR but   exist DEMb 3-foot 3-footprint-DISTR 3i-go-PL

     ti-tupunubu-nube nechÿu kurichi-yae
     3-arrive-PL   DEMc pond-LOC

   'he (did not) find them, but there were footprints, they went and arrived at the pond'

10. *nebujikutu echÿu chibujane eka bakajane, tijekupuji*

     nebu-jiku-tu   echÿu chÿ-ibu-jane eka   baka-jane ti-jekupu-ji
     3OBL.TOP.PRN-LIM1-IAM DEMb 3-foot-DISTR DEMa cow-DISTR 3i-lose-RPRT

     'only up to there were the feet of the cows, they vanished, it is said'

11. *tibÿkupukenajanena nechÿu ÿneumuyae*

ti-bÿkupu-kena-jane-na   nechÿu   ÿne-umu-yae
3i-enter-UNCERT-DISTR-? DEMc   water-CLF:liquid-LOC

'apparently they had entered in the water'

12. *i echÿu bakeronutu te chisemaikiuchÿji, punachÿ chÿakenechÿu kurichi chisemaikiujanechi bakajane*

i   echÿu bakeronu-tu   te   chi-semaik-i-u-chÿ-ji   punachÿ
and   DEMb   cowherd-IAM   SEQ 3-search-SUBORD-REAL-3-RPRT   other
   chÿ-akene-chÿu   kurichi chi-semaik-i-u-jane-chi   baka-jane
   3-non.vis.side-DEMb pond   3-search-SUBORD-REAL-DISTR-3 cow-DISTR

'and the cowherd then in looking for them, it is said, on the other side of the pond he searched for the cows'

13. *repentekena pasaujane echÿu kurichi, pero kuinaji chitupa echÿu chibujane*

repente-kena   pasau-jane echÿu kurichi pero kuina-ji   chi-tupa   echÿu
maybe-UNCERT pass-DISTR DEMb pond   but NEG-RPRT 3-find.IRR DEMb
   chÿ-ibu-jane
   3-foot-DISTR

'in case that they had passed the pond, but he did not find their feet, it is said'

14. *tichÿnumituji pasau trestu tijainube chikechuchÿji chiyenu:*

ti-chÿnumi-tu-ji   pasau tres-tu   tijai-nube chi-kechu-chÿ-ji chi-yenu:
3i-be.sad-IAM-RPRT pass three-IAM day-PL   3-say-3-RPRT   3-wife

'he was sad, when three days had passed, he said to his wife, it is said:'

15. *"kuina nitupa echÿu bakajane, ¿juchubukena chiyunujane?*

kuina ni-tupa   echÿu baka-jane juchubu-kena   chi-yunu-jane
NEG   1SG-find.IRR DEMb cow-DISTR where-UNCERT 3-go-DISTR

'"I don't find the cows, where may they have gone?'

16. *pero echÿu chibujane tropakÿu chiyuikiujane*

pero echÿu chÿ-ibu-jane tropa-kÿu   chi-yuik-i-u-jane
but   DEMb 3-foot-DISTR pack-AM.CONC.TR 3-walk-SUBORD-REAL-DISTR

'but their feet walk in pack'

17. *pero titupunubu echÿu kurichiyae nebujiku titupunubutu, kuina pasaujaneina*

    pero ti-tupunubu echÿu kurichi-yae nebu-jiku   ti-tupunubu-tu kuina
    but 3i-arrive   DEMb pond-LOC 3OBL.TOP.PRN-LIM1 3-arrive-IAM NEG

      pasau-jane-ina
      pass-DISTR-IRR.NV

    'but they arrive at the pond, they arrive only there, they do not pass"'

18. *chÿkechuchÿji echÿu chiyenu*

    chÿ-kechu-chÿ-ji echÿu chi-yenu
    3-say-3-RPRT   DEMb 3-wife

    'he said to his wife, it is said'

19. *"takujemukena echÿu bipatrune kue kuina etupa echÿu bakajane"*

    ti-a-kujemu-kena   echÿu bi-patrun-ne   kue kuina e-tupa
    3i-IRR-be.angry-UNCERT DEMb 1PL-patrón-POSSD if   NEG   2PL-find.IRR

      echÿu baka-jane
      DEMb cow-DISTR

    '"our *patrón* will probably be angry, if you don't find the cows"'

20. *tikechuchÿ chiyenu*

    ti-kechu-chÿ chi-yenu
    3i-say-3   3-wife

    'his wife said'

21. *punachÿ tijai tiyunupunukuji*

    punachÿ tijai ti-yunu-punuku-ji
    other   day 3i-go-REG-RPRT

    'the other day, he went again, it is said'

22. *kabaritoji tusetu tikutiyu sache tichemumuikubuji chiupekÿye echÿu ame*

    kabarito-ji tuse-tu ti-kuti-yu   sache ti-chemumuiku-bu-ji chi-upekÿ-yae
    exactly-RPRT noon-IAM 3i-hurt-INTS sun   3i-stand-MID-RPRT 3-place.under-LOC

      echÿu ame
      DEMb motacú

    'exactly at noon, it is said, when the sun was very strong, he stood under a *motacú* palm, it is said'

23. *reskansaujiku repenteyÿchiji titabipaiku echÿu pÿsi*

   reskansau-jiku repente-yÿchi-ji   ti-tabipaiku echÿu pÿsi
   rest-LIM1   suddenly-LIM2-RPRT 3i-appear   DEMa spirit.of.hill

   'he just rested, when all of a sudden the spirit of the hill appeared'

24. *pÿsi chija bitÿpi echÿu tikubiunube naka chiyikikeyae, pÿsi echÿu mupÿinube*

   pÿsi chi-ija   bi-tÿpi   echÿu ti-ku-ubiu-nube   naka chiyikike-yae pÿsi echÿu
   pÿsi 3-name 1PL-OBL DEMb 3i-ATTR-house-PL here hill-LOC   pÿsi DEMb
     mupÿinube
     devil

   '*pÿsi* we call the ones who have their houses in the hills (i.e. the owners of the hills), *pÿsi* is the devil'

25. *titabipaikuji chikechuchÿ: "¿chija pichabubuikubu?"*

   ti-tabipaiku-ji   chi-kechu-chÿ chija pi-chabubuiku-bu?
   3i-appear-RPRT 3-say-3   what 2SG-do-MID

   'he appeared, it is said, and said: "what are you doing?"'

26. *chiyÿseichupunu*

   chi-yÿseichu-punu
   3-ask-AM.PRIOR

   'he came and asked him'

27. *"¿michabi?" – "micha"*

   micha-bi   micha
   good-2SG good

   '"how are you?" – "fine"'

28. *"¿chija pichabubuikubu?"*

   chija pi-chabubuiku-bu
   what 2SG-do-MID

   '"what are you doing?"'

29. *"aa, nÿchÿnumi, aa, pensaikunÿ kuina nitupa echÿu bakajane tijekupupuikutu", tikechu*

   aa   nÿ-chÿnumi aa   pensaiku-nÿ kuina ni-tupa   echÿu baka-jane
   INTJ 1SG-be.sad INTJ think-?-1SG NEG 1SG-find.IRR DEMb cow-DISTR
     ti-jekupu-puiku-tu   ti-kechu
     3i-lose-CONT-IAM 3i-say

   '"ah, I am said, ah, I am thinking that I don't find the cows, they are lost", he said'

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30. *"aa, chikuye"*

   aa   chi-kuye
   INTJ 3-be.like.this

   '"ah, that's it"'

31. *tikechuchÿji: "kaku naka nubiuye kaku naka echÿu pisemaikiuchi echÿu bakajane kaku*

   ti-kechu-chÿ-ji kaku naka nÿ-ubiu-yae   kaku naka echÿu
   3i-say-3-RPRT exist here 1SG-house-LOC exist here DEMb

     pi-semaik-i-u-chi   echÿu baka-jane   kaku
      2SG-search-SUBORD-REAL-3 DEMb cow-DISTR exist

   'he said to him, it is said: "they are here in my house, here is what you are looking for, the cows, they are there'

32. *¿pisachu piyuna pimuajane?*

   pi-sachu   pi-yuna   pi-imua-jane
   2SG-want 2SG-go.IRR 2SG-see.IRR-DISTR

   'do you want to go and see them?'

33. *¡jaje!" chikechuchÿji*

   jaje   chi-kechu-chÿ-ji
   HORT 3-say-3-RPRT

   'let's go!" he said to him, it is said'

34. *"¡jaje biyuna bimupajane echÿu bakajane!" tikechuji*

   jaje   bi-yuna   bi-imu-pa-jane   echÿu baka-jane ti-kechu-ji
   HORT 1PL-go.IRR 1PL-see-DLOC.IRR-DISTR DEMb cow-DISTR 3i-say-RPRT

   '"let's go and see the cows!" he said, it is said'

35. *entonses echÿu bakeronuji tikechuji: "¡jajejachÿutu!"*

   entonses echÿu bakeronu-ji   ti-kechu-ji   jaje-ja-chÿu-tu
   thus   DEMb cowherd-RPRT 3i-say-RPRT HORT-EMPH1-DEMb?-IAM

   'so the cowherd said, it is said: "let's go, then!"'

36. *tiyunuji, tiyuiku tiyuikunubeji echÿu ÿneyae repenteyÿchi kakutu punachÿukukena apukeji*

    ti-yunu-ji   ti-yuiku ti-yuiku-nube-ji   echÿu ÿne-yae   repente-yÿchi kaku-tu
    3i-go-RPRT   3i-walk 3i-walk-PL-RPRT DEMb water-LOC suddenly-LIM2 exist-IAM

      punachÿ-uku-kena   apukeji
      other-ADD-UNCERT ground-RPRT

    'he went, it is said, he walked, they walked, it is said, into the water, suddenly there was apparently another world, it is said'

37. *tibÿtupunubetuji chÿyÿkikeyae*

    ti-bÿkupu-nube-tu-ji   chÿyÿkike-yae
    3i-enter-PL-IAM-RPRT hill-LOC

    'they entered the hill, it is said'

38. *nebutukena nebuji chimukiuchÿtuji echÿu bakajane chÿchupuikujane*

    nebu-tu-kena   nebu-ji   chi-imuk-i-u-chÿ-tu-ji
    3OBL.TOP.PRN-IAM-UNCERT 3OBL.TOP.PRN-RPRT 3-see-SUBORD-REAL-3-IAM-RPRT

      echÿu baka-jane   chÿ-chupuiku-jane
      DEMb cow-DISTR 3-know-DISTR

    'it was probably there, it is said, that he saw the cows, he recognised them'

39. *"chibu eka bakajane eka pisemaiku", tikechuchÿji echÿu pÿsi*

    chibu   eka   baka-jane eka   pi-semaiku ti-kechu-chÿ-ji echÿu pÿsi
    3TOP.PRN DEMa cow-DISTR DEMa 2SG-search 3i-say-3-RPRT DEMb spirit.of.hill

    '"these are the cows that you were looking for", the spirit of the hill said to him, it is said'

40. *"aa, chibu eka nisemaiku, eka eka eka", chichupuikiuchÿ echÿu bakajane*

    aa   chibu   eka   ni-semaiku eka   eka   eka   chi-chupuik-i-u-chÿ
    INTJ 3TOP.PRN DEMa 1SG-search DEMa DEMa DEMa 3-know-SUBORD-REAL-3

      echÿu baka-jane
      DEMb cow-DISTR

    '"ah, this is what I was searching, that one, that one, that one", recognising the cows'

41. *chikuyena pensaikui tanÿma*

    chikuyena pensai-kui   tanÿma
    like.this   think-CONT? now

    'now he was thinking'

42. *"tanÿma kuina puero pupuna echÿu bakajane*

    tanÿma kuina puero pi-upuna   echÿu baka-jane
    now   NEG   can   2SG-take.IRR DEMb cow-DISTR

    '"you can't take the cows now'

43. *mas bien pibÿsÿpuna naka pipajÿka", chikechuchÿji*

    mas bien pi-bÿsÿpuna   naka pi-pajÿka   chi-kechu-chÿ-ji
    better   2SG-come.IRR here 2SG-stay.IRR 3-say-3-RPRT

    'you'd better come here and stay", he said to him, it is said'

44. *pensaikituji echÿu bakeronu i repueji ta te chijakuputuji chikechuchi: "bueno, nÿbÿsÿakena"*

    pensai-ki-tu-ji   echÿu bakeronu i   repue-ji   ta te
    think-?-IAM-RPRT DEMb cowherd and afterwards-RPRT ? SEQ
        chi-jakupu-tu-ji   chi-kechu-chi bueno nÿ-bÿsÿa-kena
        3-accept-IAM-RPRT 3-say-3   well 1SG-come.IRR-UNCERT

    'the cowherd thought (about it), it is said, and then he accepted, he said: "well, I may come"'

45. *"bueno, piyunupuna pubiuyae entonses pupuna tumuyubu echÿu pichechajinube, pupuna piyenu*

    bueno pi-yunupuna   pi-ubiu-yae   entonses pi-upuna   tumuyubu echÿu
    well 2SG-go.back.IRR 2SG-house-LOC thus   2SG-bring.IRR all   DEMb
        pi-checha-ji-nube pi-upuna   pi-yenu
        2SG-son-COL-PL 2SG-bring.IRR 2SG-wife

    '"well, go back to your house, so bring all your children, bring your wife'

46. *epajÿkatu naka, kuina sufriubina naka*

    e-pajÿka-tu   naka kuina sufriu-bi-ina   naka
    2PL-stay.IRR-IAM here NEG suffer-1PL-IRR.NV here

    'you can stay here now, we will not suffer here'

47. *kaku mukiankajane kaku nakatu bakajane"*

    kaku mukianka-jane kaku naka-tu   baka-jane
    exist animal-DISTR exist here-IAM cow-DISTR

    'here are animals, the cows are here now"'

48. *bueno, tiyunupunutuji echÿu bakeronu*

   bueno ti-yunupunu-tu-ji   echÿu bakeronu
   well   3i-go.back-IAM-RPRT DEMb   cowherd

   'well, the cowherd went back, it is said'

49. *tibÿchÿupupunukuji naka apukeyae i tiyunupunu chubiuyae titupupunubuji*
   chikechuchituji chiyenu:

   ti-bÿchÿu-pupunuku-ji   naka   apuke-yae   i   ti-yunupunu   chÿ-ubiu-yae
   3i-leave-REG-RPRT   here   ground-LOC   and 3i-go.back   3-house-LOC
     ti-tupupunubu-ji   chi-kechu-chi-tu-ji chi-yenu
     3i-arrive.REG-RPRT   3-say-3-IAM-RPRT   3-wife

   'he left to the ground here again, it is said, and went back to his house, when he arrived back, he said to his wife:'

50. *"nÿtuputu echÿu bakajane"*

   nÿ-tupu-tu   echÿu baka-jane
   1SG-find-IAM   DEMb   cow-DISTR

   '"I have found the cows"'

51. *"¡pituputu!" – "aa, nÿtuputu*

   pi-tupu-tu   aa   nÿ-tupu-tu
   2SG-find-IAM   INTJ 1SG-find-IAM

   '"you have found them!" – "ah, I have found them'

52. *kakujanetu nauku chiyikikeyae" tikechuchÿji*

   kaku-jane-tu   nauku chiyikike-yae ti-kechu-chÿ-ji
   exist-DISTR-IAM there   hill-LOC   3i-say-3-RPRT

   'they are there now, in the hill", he said to her, it is said'

53. *"aiy", chikechituji echÿu chiyenu, "kakutu chiyikikiyae echÿu bakajane kakunubetu*
   nauku"

   aiy chi-ke-chi-tu-ji   echÿu chi-yenu kaku-tu   chiyikiki-yae echÿu baka-jane
   INTJ 3-say-3-IAM-RPRT DEMb   3-wife   exist-IAM   hill-LOC   DEMb   cow-DISTR
     kaku-nube-tu nauku
     exist-PL-IAM   there

   '"aiy", said his wife, "the cows are in the hill now, they are there now"'

54. *"echÿu pÿsi tikechunÿ mas bien biyuna nauku chiyikikiyae*

    echÿu pÿsi   ti-kechu-nÿ mas bien bi-yuna   nauku chiyikiki-yae
    DEMb spirit.of.hill 3i-say-1SG better   1PL-go.IRR there hill-LOC

    '"the spirit of the hill said to me that we'd better go there to the hill'

55. *chikijÿekÿyae bipajÿkatu nauku", tikechu*

    chiki-jÿekÿ-yae bi-pajÿka-tu   nauku ti-kechu
    hill-inside-LOC 1PL-stay.IRR-IAM there 3i-say

    'we can stay there inside of the hill", he said

56. *"¿pisachukena piyuna?"*

    pi-sachu-kena   pi-yuna
    2SG-want-UNCERT 2SG-go.IRR

    '"do you want to go, perhaps?"'

57. *"jajejachÿu" tikechutuji*

    jaje-ja-chÿu"   ti-kechu-tu-ji
    HORT-EMPH1-DEMb? 3i-say-IAM-RPRT

    '"let's go, then", she said, it is said'

58. *komoraunubetuji echÿu chichechajinube tiyununube*

    komorau-nube-tu-ji   echÿu chi-checha-ji-nube ti-yunu-nube
    accomodate-PL-IAM-RPRT DEMb 3-son-COL-PL   3i-go-PL

    'they arranged everything as regards their children and they went'

59. *titupunubunubeji nechÿu kurichiyae, "jaje ÿneneumukÿyae", tikechuchi*

    ti-tupunubu-nube-ji nechÿu kurichi-yae jaje   ÿne-ne-umu-kÿ-yae
    3i-arrive-PL-RPRT DEMc pond-LOC HORT water-REP-CLF:liquid-CLF:bounded-LOC
      ti-kechu-chi
      3i-say-3

    'they arrived there at the pond, "let's go inside the water", he said to her'

60. *tibÿkupunubetuji ÿneumuyae i nebu nechÿukena nuinekÿ chÿtÿpi echÿu pÿsi*

    ti-bÿkupu-nube-tu-ji   ÿne-umu-yae   i   nebu   nechÿu-kena
    3i-enter-PL-IAM-RPRT water-CLF:liquid-LOC and 3OBL.TOP.PRN DEMc-UNCERT
      nuinekÿ chÿ-tÿpi echÿu pÿsi
      door   3-OBL   DEMb spirit.of.hill

    'they went into the water, it is said, and there was probably a door for the spirit of the hill'

61. *repenteyÿchi kakunubetuji chiyikikeyae chiyikijÿekÿyae*

    repente-yÿchi   kaku-nube-tu-ji   chiyikike-yae chiyiki-jÿekÿ-yae
    suddenly-LIM2 exist-PL-IAM-RPRT hill-LOC   hill-inside-LOC

    'suddenly they were in the hill, it is said, inside of the hill'

62. *tipajÿkunubetu*

    ti-pajÿku-nube-tu
    3i-stay-PL-IAM

    'they stayed'

63. *pasauji chÿnachÿtu anyo tikechuchÿji echÿu pÿsi echÿu bakeronu ja:*

    pasau-ji   chÿnachÿ-tu anyo ti-kechu-chÿ-ji echÿu pÿsi   echÿu bakeronu
    pass-RPRT one-IAM   year 3i-say-3-RPRT DEMb spirit.of.hill DEMb cowherd

      ja
      EMPH1?

    'after one year had passed by, it is said, the spirit of the hill said to the cowherd:'

64. *"biyunupuna nauku chubiunubeye echÿu piparientenenube*

    bi-yunupuna   nauku chÿ-ubiu-nube-yae echÿu pi-pariente-ne-nube
    1PL-go.back.IRR there 3-house-PL-LOC   DEMb 2SG-relative-POSSD-PL

    '"we will go back to the houses of your relatives'

65. *kapununubeina sinkonubechina jentenube ayaraunubeina bitÿpi eka bumia eka bakajane*

    kapunu-nube-ina sinko-nube-chi-ina jente-nube ayarau-nube-ina bi-tÿpi   eka
    come-PL-IRR.NV five-PL-3-IRR.NV man-PL   help-PL-IRR.NV 1PL-OBL DEMa

     bi-um-i-a   eka   baka-jane
     1PL-take-SUBORD-IRR DEMa cow-DISTR

    'may five men come to help us take the cows'

66. *tÿpi chinikanube nauku i echÿu sebo tÿpi beraina chitÿpi eka benu" chikechuchÿji*

    tÿpi chi-nika-nube nauku i   echÿu sebo tÿpi bera-ina   chi-tÿpi eka
    OBL 3-eat.IRR-PL there and DEMb suet OBL candle-IR.NV 3-OBL   DEMa

    benu" chi-kechu-chÿ-ji
    virgin 3-say-3-RPRT

    'so that they eat them there and the suet is for candles for the virgin", he said to him, it is said'

67. *tiyunuji echÿu jente bakeronu, tupunuji kompirauchituji sinko jentenube chumuji*

  ti-yunu-ji   echÿu jente bakeronu ti-upunu-ji   kompirau-chi-tu-ji   sinko
  3i-go-RPRT DEMb man cowherd 3i-bring-RPRT share-3-IAM-RPRT five
    jente-nube chÿ-umu-ji
    man-PL   3-take-RPRT

  'the man who was a cowherd went, it is said, he brought five men to share (the workload), it is said, he took them, it is said'

68. *"nakajiku ekichupupuikanÿ", tikechuchÿji, "epuna anÿke*

  naka-jiku e-kichupu-puika-nÿ   ti-kechu-chÿ-ji e-puna   anÿke
  here-LIM1 2PL-wait-CONT.IRR-1SG 3i-say-3-RPRT 2PL-go.up.IRR up

  '"wait for me right here", he said to them, it is said, "go up

69. *echÿu bakajane tikujemujane", tikechuji*

  echÿu baka-jane   ti-kujemu-jane   ti-kechu-ji
  DEMb cow-DISTR 3i-be.angry-DISTR 3i-say-RPRT

  'the cows are wild", he said, it is said'

70. *bueno, tipununubeji anÿke, tikichupupuikunubeji*

  bueno ti-punu-nube-ji anÿke ti-kichupu-puiku-nube-ji
  well   3i-go.up-RPRT up   3i-wait-CONT-PL-RPRT

  'well, they went up, they waited, it is said'

71. *tosetuji chisamunubetuji echÿu tiyÿbuikÿupununubetuji "¡jia jÿa jia jia vamo vamo!" tiyÿbuikÿupununubetuji*

  tose-tu-ji   chi-samu-nube-tu-ji   echÿu ti-yÿbui-kÿupunu-nube-tu-ji
  noon-IAM-RPRT 3-hear-PL-IAM-RPRT DEMb 3i-shout-AM.CONC.CIS-PL-IAM-RPRT
    jia jÿa jia jia vamo vamo ti-yÿbui-kÿupunu-nube-tu-ji
    sound.of.wrangling   3i-shout-AM.CONC.CIS-PL-IAM-RPRT

  'when it turned twelve, it is said, they heard the ones who came shouting "hia hɨa hia hia let's go, let's go!", they came shouting, it is said'

72. *i repue ya tibÿchecheikutuji echÿu bakajane*

  i   repue   ya   ti-bÿchecheiku-tu-ji   echÿu baka-jane
  and afterwards already 3i-come.out.of.water-IAM-RPRT DEMb cow-DISTR

  'and then the cows already came out of the water, it is said'

73. *pero tumuikubutuji tibÿchecheikutuji pero echÿu bakeronunubeji echÿu tiyÿbuikÿupunu kuinaji chimuanube*

pero ti-umuiku-bu-tu-ji   ti-bÿchecheiku-tu-ji   pero echÿu
but   3i-all?-MID-IAM-RPRT 3i-come.out.of.water-IAM-RPRT but   DEMb
  bakeronu-nube-ji   echÿu ti-yÿbui-kÿupunu   kuinaji   chi-imua-nube
  cowherd-PL-RPRT DEMb 3i-shout-AM.CONC.CIS NEG-RPRT   3-see.IRR-PL

'but all of them came out of the water, it is said, but they did not see the cowherds who came shouting, it is said'

74. *titupunubuji chumunubetuji bakajane i tipunubutuji titupunubunube nechÿu chubiunubeyaetuji*

ti-tupunubu-ji   chÿ-umu-nube-tu-ji   baka-jane i   ti-punu-bu-tu-ji
3i-arrive-RPRT 3-take-PL-IAM-RPRT cow-DISTR and 3i-go.up-MID-IAM-RPRT
  ti-tupunubu-nube nechÿu chÿ-ubiu-nube-yae-tu-ji
  3i-arrive-PL   DEMc   3-house-PL-LOC-IAM-RPRT

'they arrived, it is said, they took the cows and went up, they already arrived there at their houses, it is said'

75. *chipresunenube bakajane nechÿu koral*

chi-presu-ne-nube   baka-jane nechÿu koral
3-captive-POSSD-PL cow-DISTR DEMc   enclosure

'they closed the cows in in the enclosure'

76. *entonses tikechunube: "bueno, eka bakajane enika, enikia tumuyubu pero echÿu sebo ana puro berajane chitÿpi eka benu", tikechunubechÿ*

entonses ti-kechu-nube bueno eka   baka-jane e-nika   e-nik-i-a
thus   3i-say-PL   well DEMa cow-DISTR 2PL-eat.IRR 2PL-eat-SUBORD-IRR
  tumuyubu pero echÿu sebo e-ana   puro bera-jane   chi-tÿpi eka
  all   but   DEMb suet 2PL-make.IRR mere candle-DISTR 3-OBL DEMa
  benu   ti-kechu-nube-chÿ
  virgin 3i-say-PL-3

'then he said: "well, you can eat the cows, everything is meant for eating, but with the suet, you shall only make candles for the virgin", he said to them'

77. *"biti biyunupunatu"*

biti   bi-yunupuna-tu
1PL.PRN 1PL-go.back.IRR-IAM

'"we will go back now"'

78. *bueno tiyunupununubetuji*

bueno ti-yunupunu-nube-tu-ji
well   3i-go.back-PL-IAM-RPRT

'well, they went back, it is said'

79. *echÿutu echÿu jentenube nechÿu chubiunubeyaeji tikupaikunubetuji baka chinikianube nena tumuyubuji tijainube*

echÿu-tu   echÿu jente-nube nechÿu chÿ-ubiu-nube-yae-ji   ti-kupaiku-nube-tu-ji
DEMb-IAM DEM man-PL   DEMc 3-house-PL-LOC-RPRT 3i-slaughter-PL-IAM-RPRT
  baka chi-nik-i-a-nube   nena tumuyubu-ji tijai-nube
  cow 3-eat-SUBORD-IRR-PL like all-RPRT   day-PL

'that was it, the men over there in their houses slaughtered cows to eat, it seems every day, it is said'

80. *asta ke chÿbukunubeji repue ya chanaunubetuji echÿu berajane chitÿpi benu, chubiuye bia*

asta ke chÿ-buku-nube-ji repue   ya   chÿ-anau-nube-tu-ji   echÿu
until   3-finish-PL-RPRT afterwards already 3-make-PL-IAM-RPRT DEMb
  bera-jane   chi-tÿpi benu   chÿ-ubiu-yae bia
  candle-DISTR 3-OBL   virgin 3-house-LOC god

'until they finished them, it is said, then they made candles for the virgin in the church, it is said'

81. *chibu echÿuji pasau chitÿpi echÿu bakeronu*

chibu   echÿu-ji   pasau chi-tÿpi echÿu bakeronu
3TOP.PRN DEMb-RPRT pass   3-OBL   DEMb cowherd

'this is what is said to have happened to the cowherd'

A.2 Text 2: Conversation by Juana and María S.

This is an excerpt of a conversation between Juana and María S. on the 1st of October 2015. The recordings (audio and video) and transcription are archived as jrx-c151001fls-9.

María S. was making adobe bricks at a little pond close to Santa Rita, and some relatives of her were fishing. There were several people around, so the conversation switched to Spanish in-between to include them. The Spanish parts of the conversation are left out here.

1. j: *ta mi- te chija*

   ta mi-   te   chija
   ? look? SEQ what

   'look, what is that?'

2. j: *bucheejane*

   buchee-jane
   catfish.sp-DISTR

   'catfish' (*Hoplosternum littorale*)

3. r: *mba nauku te tikusachunube kananaji ineejane*

   mba nauku te   ti-kusachu-nube kana-na-ji   inee-jane
   INTJ there SEQ 3i-angle-PL   this.size-REP-COL wolf.fish

   'well, there, where they fish, the wolf fish are that big (showing size with the hands)'

4. j: *no che*

   no   che
   INTJ

   'no way'

5. j: *i kakukena uepitu kaku kujibÿe ekani eka chi- ja*

   i   kaku-kena   ue-pi-tu   kaku kujibÿe eka-ni
   and exist-UNCERT water.spirit-CLF:long.flexible-IAM exist caiman   DEMa-DEICT
     eka   chi- ja
     DEMa 3-   AFM

   'there may be a spirit now, there are caimans here, the... yes'

6. r: *kaku kujibÿe, si kaku kujibÿekenatu*

   kaku kujibÿe si   kaku kujibÿe-kena-tu
   exist caiman   yes exist caiman-UNCERT-IAM

   'there are caimans, yes, there may be caimans now'

7. j: *temena pue*

   temena pue
   big   well

   'well, big'

8.　r: *nechikue kaku chimukuji*

　nechikue　kaku　chi-mukuji
　therefore　exist　3-nest

　'so they have a nest'

9.　j: *nechikue kaku chimukujitu*

　nechikue　kaku　chi-mukuji-tu
　therefore　exist　3-nest-IAM

　'thus they have a nest now'

10.　j: *pero tijarÿjikapu echÿu*

　pero　ti-jarÿ-ji-ka-pu　　　　　　　　*echÿu*
　but　3i-drag-CLF:soft.mass-TH1.IRR-MID　DEMb

　'but the weed floats'

11.　r: *mba, pero tÿpenu*

　mba　pero　ti-ÿpenu
　INTJ　but　3i-be.deep

　'well, but it is deep'

12.　j: *tÿpenutu ¿pero muteji?*

　t-ÿpenu-tu　　　pero　muteji
　3i-be.deep-IAM　but　loam

　'it is deep, but is it muddy?'

13.　r: *muteji pero tÿpenuku no puedo, tisabeichuiyÿkukukÿa*

　muteji　pero　t-ÿpenu-uku　　　no puedo　ti-sabeichuiyÿku-kukÿa
　loam　but　3i-be.deep-ADD　I can't　3i-be.shallow-AM.CONC.TR.IRR

　'muddy, but also deep, I can't, they only walk in the shallow part near the bank'

14.　j: *aa claro pue bepuikia bikumuyu jajaa*

　aa　　claro pue　bi-epuik-i-a　　　　bi-kumuyu jajaa
　INTJ　obviously　1PL-fish-SUBORD-IRR　1PL-sweat　AFM

　'ah, obviously, fishing, we sweat, yes' (the second verb is acoustically not well intelligible)

15. j: *pero bijatÿjika nenabane Turuxhiyae biyunu nakabi ÿne*

   pero bi-jatÿ-ji-ka   *nena-bane Turuxhi-yae   bi-yunu naka-bi*
   but   1PL-pull-CLF:soft.mass-TH1.IRR like-REM   Altavista-LOC 1PL-go here-1PL
     ÿne
     water

   'but if we throw the weed (to the bank), it is like before in Altavista, when we went, the water was up to here (showing with hands)'

16. j: *tÿpenu*

   ti-ÿpenu
   3i-be.deep

   'it was deep'

17. r: *tÿpenu ÿne*

   t-ÿpenu   ÿne
   3i-be.deep water

   'the water was deep'

18. j: *¿tiyunutu echÿu pisejane?*

   ti-yunu-tu echÿu pise-jane
   3i-go-IAM DEMb bird-DISTR

   'have the birds gone?' (referring to some birds they were watching earlier)

19. j: *kuina tiyunajane*

   kuina ti-yuna-jane
   NEG   3i-go.IRR-DISTR

   'they haven't gone'

20. r: (unintelligable)

21. j: *kena tapakare*

   kena   tapakare
   UNCERT southern.screamer

   'maybe they are southern screamers' (*Chauna torquata*)

22. r: *teijaneukena*

ti-eijaneu-kena
3i-stink-UNCERT

'maybe they stink'

23. j: *¿michanikikena echÿu?*

michaniki-kena   echÿu
delicious-UNCERT DEMb

'do they taste good?'

24. j: *¿binika?*

bi-nika
1PL-eat.IRR

'can we eat them?'

25. r: *kena si, nena chijimemeji*

kena   si   nena chi-jimemeji
UNCERT yes like 3-lung

'maybe yes, it is like lung'

(...) conversation in Spanish

26. j: *aiy michanayu, michanikijane tibÿ- te temenanaji ineejane*

aiy   michana-yu michaniki-jane   tibÿ- te   temena-na-ji inee-jane
INTJ nice-INTS   delicious-DISTR ?   SEQ big-REP-COL wolf.fish-DISTR

'aiy, the big wolf fish are very nice, very delicious'

27. r: *tÿ- temenanaji micha*

tÿ- temena-na-ji micha
?   big-REP-COL good

'they are very big'

28. j: *chÿnajikumÿnÿ biyÿtikapu*

chÿna-jiku-mÿnÿ bi-yÿtikapu
one-LIM-DIM   1PL-cook

'we can cook a single one'

29. r: *mba*

   mba
   INTJ

   'well'

30. j: *tirakueji micha biyÿtie*

   ti-rakueji   *micha* *bi-yÿtie*
   3i-be.full.of.meat good   1PL-food

   'and our food is well-fed with meat'

31. r: *mhm*

   mhm
   INTJ

   'mhm'

32. j: *ruschÿ nana nÿkuaji*

   ruschÿ *nÿ-ana*   *nÿ-kuaji*
   two   1SG-make 1PL-net

   'two I will make, my nets'

33.   r: (unintelligable)

34. j: *¿kenaja tibepitÿtÿpaiku nauku?*

   kena-ja   *ti-bepitÿtÿ-pai-ku*   *nauku*
   UNCERT-EMPH1 3i-collect-CLF:ground-TH1 there

   'what may it be that he is collecting there?'

35. r: *chitÿiku*

   chi-tÿiku
   3-catch

   'he caught it'

  (…) conversation in Spanish

36. j: *no che nanakene nikuaji nÿpuipuna*

   no che *nÿ-ana-kene*   *ni-kuaji* *nÿ-pui-puna*
   INTJ   1SG-make-EMPH2- 1SG-net 1SG-fish-AM.PRIOR

   'why, no, as for me, I make my net and go fishing'

37.   r: *mba*

mba
INTJ

'well'

38.   j: *kuatruchÿ kuaji, aa ¿pitÿka?*

kuatruchÿ kuaji aa   pi-tÿka
four   net   INTJ 2SG-catch.IRR

'four nets, ah, you caught something?'

39.   r: *mba, chikuyekenejeatu*

mba   chi-kuye-kene-ja-tu
INTJ 3-be.like.this-EMPH2-EMPH1-IAM

'well, it could be like that'

40.   r: *bupuna echÿu tipitanÿikukunube tepuikanube*

bi-upuna   echÿu ti-pitanÿi-kuku-nube   ti-epuika-nube
1PL-bring.IRR DEMb   3i-embrace-RCPC-PL   3i-fish.IRR-PL

'let's bring the ones that embrace each other so that they fish'

41.   j: *jaja'a tijarÿjika*

jaja'a ti-jarÿ-ji-ka
AFM   3i-drag-CLF:soft.mass-TH1.IRR

'yes, to drag the weed (out of the water onto the bank)'

   (...) conversation in Spanish

42.   j: *siabikena jimu aiy*

siabi-kena   jimu aiy
pity-UNCERT fish   INTJ

'what a pity for the fish, aiy'

43.   r: *mba kaku jimu naka*

mba   kaku jimu naka
INTJ exist fish   here

'well, there are fish here'

44.   j: *nibÿrupekaini kÿnupe*

     ni-bÿru-pe-ka-ini   *kÿnupe*
     1SG-suck-CLF:flat-TH1.IRR-FRUST fish.sp

     'I would suck the (juice out of the) *cupacá* fish'

45.   r: *asi kuina taÿpenu nauku las kue tipuru- tipurtujaneu ÿbajane*

     asi kuina ti-a-ÿpenu   *nauku las kue ti-puru- ti-purtu-jane-u*   *ÿba-jane*
     SO   NEG   3-IRR-be.deep   there   the   if   3i-put- 3i-put.in-DISTR-REAL   pig-DISTR

     'so, it is not deep there, if the pigs enter'

46.   j: *aja kuina taÿpenuyenu nechÿu*

     aja   *kuina ti-a-ÿpenu-yenu*   *nechÿu*
     INTJ   NEG   3i-IRR-be.deep-DED   DEMc

     'aha, so it must be the case that it is not deep there'

47.   r: *pero kaku kube echÿu ni-* (unintelligable)

     pero kaku kube   *echÿu ni-*
     but   exist   thorn   DEMb   1SG

     'but there are thorns'

48.   j: *entonses chÿneyajiku echÿu*

     entonses chÿ-ne-yae-jiku   *echÿu*
     thus   3-top-LOC-LIM1   DEMb

     'so it (the weed) is only on top (of the water)'

   (…) conversation in Spanish

49.   j: *¿pero metu anaiu echÿu?*

     pero metu   *e-ana-i-u*   *echÿu*
     but   already   2PL-make-SUBORD-REAL   DEMb

     'but have you finished doing this?'

50.   r: *kuina metu, pue kupeitu*

     kuina metu   *pue kupei-tu*
     NEG   already   well   afternoon-IAM

     'it is not finished, well in the afternoon (we continue)'

51. j: *ja, kupeitukenejatu*

    ja   kupei-tu-kene-ja-tu
    AFM afternoon-IAM-EMPH2-EMPH1-IAM

    'ah, in the afternoon'

52. j: *¡jajepupunuku!*

    jaje-pupunuku
    HORT-REG

    'let's go back again!'

53. r: *pajÿkanube tikusachanube*

    pajÿka-nube ti-kusacha-nube
    stay.IRR-PL 3i-angle.IRR-PL

    'they will stay to fish'

54. j: *ja tipajÿku*

    ja   ti-pajÿku
    AFM 3i-stay

    'ah, he stays'

  (...) conversation in Spanish

55. s: *¿chija eka paunaka?*

    chija eka   paunaka
    what DEMa paunaka

    'what is this in Paunaka?'

56. r: *ineejane*

    inee-jane
    wolf.fish-DISTR

    'wolf fish'

57. s: *aa, ineejane, ¿kaku ineejane?*

    aa   inee-jane   kaku inee-jane
    INTJ wolf.fish-DISTR exist wolf.fish-DISTR

    'ah wolf fish, are there wolf fish?'

58. r: *kaku ineejane, si*

   kaku inee-jane   si
   exist wolf.fish-DISTR yes

   'there are wolf fish, yes'

59. s: *temena*

   temena
   big

   'they are big'

60. j: *a buchee naukuni*

   a   buchee nauku-ni
   or   catfish there-DEICT

   'or there are catfish'

61. r: *hm tijipupuku*

   hm   ti-jipupuku
   INTJ   3i-jump

   'hm, they jump'

62. j: *jipupupaijaneu jipupupai-*

   jipupupai-jane-u   jipupupai
   jump-DISTR-REAL   jump

   'they jump and jump'

63. l: *¿chikeuchi eka?*

   chi-keuchi eka
   3-INS   DEMa

   'with this?'

64. r: *ja'a keuchi chÿajinube*

   ja'a   keuchi chÿajinube
   AFM   INS   3-father-COL-PL

   'yes, with (lit.:because of) their father'

65. r: *chikeuchi chikÿku, chechajinube*

    chi-keuchi chi-kÿku checha-ji-nube
    3-INS   3-uncle son-COL-PL

    'with their uncle, of the children'

66. j: *chichechajinube*

    chi-checha-ji-nube
    3-son-COL-PL

    'they are his children'

67. r: *chibu tikusachu*

    chibu   tikusachu
    3TOP.PRN 3i-angle

    'he is the one who is angling'

68. s: *piti kuina pi-*

    piti   kuina pi-
    2SG.PRN NEG   2SG-

    'you don't…'

69. r: *kuina, niyunupunatu nÿbenupuna nikubiakubu*

    kuina ni-yunupuna-tu   nÿ-benu-puna   ni-kubiakubu
    NEG   1SG-go.back.IRR-IAM 1SG-lie.down-AM.PRIOR.IRR 1SG-be.tired

    'no, I will go back now to lie down, I am tired'

  laughing

70. j: *niyunupunatu nikubiakubu*

    ni-yunupuna-tu   ni-kubiakubu
    1SG-go.back.IRR-IAM 1SG-be.tired

    'I will go back now, I am tired'

  (…) conversation in Spanish

71. j: *¡jaje!*

    jaje
    HORT

    'let's go!'

A.3   Text 3: Making a clay pot

This is a description of how to make a clay pot. It was recorded on the 18th of September 2011 somewhere in the woods close to Santa Rita, where Juana and Miguel were digging for loam for Juana to make the pot. When she had collected enough loam, we asked her for a description of the production of the pot. There are several similar recordings with the same topic, but this specific one is archived as jmx-d110918ls-2.

Miguel intervenes once to help Juana out with a word, this intervention is marked with a preposed "m". The remainder of this text was produced by Juana alone. Spanish parts are not glossed, but a translation is provided

1. *buma eka bupukene*

    bi-uma   eka   bi-upukene
    1PL-take.IRR DEMa 1PL-load

    'we take our load'

2. *betuku naka bichÿtiyae i biyunatu*

    bi-etuku naka bi-chÿti-yae   i   bi-yuna-tu
    1PL-put here 1PL-head-LOC and 1PL-go.IRR-IAM

    'we put it here on our head and we can go (now)'

3. *biyuna buma bubiuyae*

    bi-yuna   bi-uma   bi-ubiu-yae
    1PL-go.IRR 1PL-take.IRR 1PL-house-LOC

    'we go taking it home'

4. *te betuka ÿne naka taurayae*

    te   bi-etuka   ÿne   naka taura-yae
    SEQ 1PL-put.IRR water here table-LOC

    'then we put water here on the table'

5. *upujaine bitÿyajikatu chikeuchi yubauke*

    upu-jai-ne   bi-tÿyajika-tu   chi-keuchi yubauke
    other-day-POSSD 1PL-grind.IRR-IAM 3-INS   pestle

    'the next day we can grind it with a pestle'

6. *bitÿyajika te bibeatu eka maikijacha*

    bi-tÿyajika   te   bi-bea-tu   eka   mai-ki-jacha
    1PL-grind.IRR SEQ 1PL-take.away.IRR-IAM DEMa stone-CLF:spherical-?

    'we grind it and then we pick out the pebbles'

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7. *bibikÿka apuke kaku maijane*

    bi-bikÿka   apuke   kaku mai-jane
    1PL-throw.IRR ground exist stone-DISTR

    'we throw them down if there are stones'

8. *i chikuye*

    i   chikuye
    and like.this

    'and that's it'

9. *metuinatu bipapapuichajane*

    metu-ina-tu   bi-papapuicha-jane
    already-IRR.NV-IAM 1PL-make.ball?.IRR-DISTR

    'now we can make the (clay) balls'

10. *bipapapuichajane*

    bi-papapuicha-jane
    1PL-make.ball?.IRR-DISTR

    'we make the balls'

11. *i despues tauramÿnÿ banatu chitikejimÿnÿina*

    i   despues   taura-mÿnÿ bi-ana-tu   chi-tikeji-mÿnÿ-ina
    and afterwards board-DIM 1PL-make.IRR-IAM 3-intestines-DIM-IRR.NV

    'and after that we can make the plaits (lit.: intestines) on a small board'

12. *kana tÿpi tÿpi ee eka ¿cómo cómo te dijera?*

    kana   tÿpi tÿpi ee   eka   cómo cómo te dijera
    this.size OBL OBL INTJ DEMa how how could I tell you

    'of this size in order to, in order to – er – how, how could I tell you?'

13. m: *chitibuia*

    chi-tibu-i-a
    3-sit.down-SUBORD-IRR

    'so that it gets plane'

14. *chitibuia*

    chi-tibu-i-a
    3-sit.down-SUBORD-IRR

    'so that it gets plane'

15. *i nebu tanapu*

    i   nebu   ti-ana-pu
    and 3OBL.TOP.PRN 3i-make.IRR-MID

    'and from this it is made'

16. *i keuchi sipÿ ÿne naka bijatÿkatu anÿke*

    i   keuchi sipÿ   ÿne   naka bi-jatÿka-tu   anÿke
    and INS   shell water here 1PL-pull.IRR-IAM up

    'and with shell and water we pull it up here'

17. *i betukupunuka chitikejimÿnÿ te banaupupunuka*

    i   bi-etuku-punuka chi-tikeji-mÿnÿ   te   bi-anau-pupunuka
    and 1PL-put-REG.IRR   3-intestines-DIM SEQ 1PL-make-REG.IRR

    'and again we put plaits and then we do it again'

18. *te betukatuchi eka chimusunÿkÿina*

    te   bi-etuka-tu-chi   eka   chi-musunÿkÿ-ina
    SEQ 1PL-put.IRR-IAM-3 DEMa 3-lip-IRR.NV

    'then we put this for its handle (lit.: lip) onto it'

19. *chimusunÿkÿina masa nebu eka ¿chija? bakachiachi*

    chi-musunÿkÿ-ina masa nebu   eka   ¿chija? bi-akach-i-a-chi
    3-lip-IRR.NV   lest   3OBL.TOP.PRN DEMa what   1PL-lift-SUBORD-IRR-3

    'what is going to be its handle lest, from which – er – what was it? so that we can lift it'

20. *betukatu*

    bi-etuka-tu
    1PL-put.IRR-IAM

    'we put it now'

21. *tamÿra kaku mai ¿chija? biyaneuka*

   ti-a-mÿra   kaku mai   chija bi-yaneuka
   3i-IRR-be.dry exist stone what 1PL-polish.IRR

   'when it is dry there is a stone – what was it? to polish it with'

22. *¿chija? biyaneuka*

   chija biyaneuka
   what 1PL-polish.IRR

   'what was it? we polish it'

23. *bruñimos adentro y afuera, piedra suave*

   'we polish it from inside and outside, a soft stone'

24. *ee chibu echÿu*

   ee   chibu   echÿu
   INTJ 3TOP.PRN DEMb

   'er – this is it'

25. *¿chija? tajumeyemÿnÿ*

   chija ti-a-jumeye-mÿnÿ
   what 3i-IRR-be.smooth-DIM

   'it gets smooth'

26. *listo eso sería*

   'ready, that's it'

B   Zusammenfassung auf Deutsch

Diese Arbeit ist eine grammatische Beschreibung des Paunaka basierend auf Sprachaufnahmen, die zwischen 2008 und 2020 mit den Sprecherinnen und Sprechern durchgeführt wurden. Es ist die erste tiefgehende und detaillierte Analyse dieser Sprache.

Paunaka gehört zur Arawakfamilie, genauer zum Südarawak. Es wird in der Chiquitania gesprochen, einer Region im östlichen bolivianischen Tiefland. Die Sprache gilt als akut bedroht, da es im Jahr 2022 nur noch acht Sprecherinnen und Sprecher gibt. Alle gehören sie der Großelterngeneration an.

Der Schwerpunkt der Dissertation liegt auf der Morphosyntax des Paunaka, sie liefert jedoch auch eine Beschreibung der grundlegenden phonologischen Strukturen. Die Arbeit gliedert sich in acht Kapitel und einen Anhang.

Das erste Kapitel vermittelt einen generellen Eindruck über die Sprachsituation. Die Sprecherinnen und Sprecher werden kurz vorgestellt. Alle sind trilingual, sie sprechen neben Paunaka auch Spanisch und Bésɨro (Makro-Ge). Niemand von ihnen spricht Paunaka täglich. Einige Charakteristika der Sprache sind typisch für einzelne Personen.

Weiterhin erfolgt eine Einordnung der Sprache in Bezug auf die Sprachfamilie und ihre typologischen Eigenschaften. Paunaka kann als agglutinierende und (poly)synthetische Sprache bezeichnet werden. Derivationsaffixe und Flektionsmarker können sehr lange Wörter erzeugen, auch Prozesse wie Inkorporation von gebundenen Substantiven und Klassifikatoren finden sich im Paunaka. Meist sind die Wortformen jedoch wesentlich simpler.

Außerdem werden im ersten Kapitel frühere Arbeiten zum Paunaka genannt und die Feldforschungssituation sowie der Umgang mit den gewonnenen Daten erläutert. Ein komprimierter Überblick über die Geschichte der Paunakasprecherinnen und -sprecher von der präkolonialen Zeit bis heute rundet die Einleitung ab.

Kapitel 2 widmet sich der Phonologie des Paunaka. Dabei werden zunächst die zwölf Konsonanten und fünf Vokale vorgestellt und mithilfe von Minimalpaaren voneinander abgegrenzt. Die Allophone der verschiedenen Phoneme werden erläutert und die Orthographie, die in dieser Arbeit verwendet wird, wird eingeführt. Weiterhin findet sich in diesem Kapitel eine Beschreibung phonologischer und morphophonologischer Prozesse wie Rhinoglottophilia und Haplologie, Vokalelision und -assimilation an Morphemgrenzen. Mögliche Silbenstrukturen werden vorgestellt und die Zuweisung von Wortakzent wird erklärt.

Das dritte Kapitel liefert eine kurze Charakterisierung der Wortarten, der gebundenen grammatischen Morpheme und Prozesse. Vor allem wird in diesem Kapitel jedoch das Konzept des Klitikons kritisch beleuchtet, einmal im Allgemeinen und zum Anderen spezifisch für das Paunaka. Die Sprache verfügt über viele Marker, die nicht an eine einzige Wortart gebunden sind. Für eine Analyse als Klitika ergeben sich jedoch einige Probleme, sodass in der Konsequenz dieser Begriff und die damit verbundenen Konnotationen in dieser Arbeit nicht zur Anwendung kommen.

Im vierten Kapitel werden die kleineren Wortarten beschrieben. Einige von ihnen, die Pronomen und nominalen Demonstrativa sowie die Adpositionen, können als geschlossen bezeichnet werden, andere sind offener, dazu gehören Adjektive, Numeralia, Quantifikatoren, Adverbien und Konnektoren. In all den letztgenannten Wortarten finden sich Lehnwörter aus dem Spanischen und/oder Bésɨro.

Die verbleibenden Kapitel stellen das Kernstück dieser Arbeit dar.

Kapitel 5 ist dem Nomen gewidmet. Zunächst werden einige Prozesse der Wortbildung charakterisiert, danach wird die Flektion von Nomen beschrieben. Dabei spielt die Alienabilität eine große Rolle; so gliedern sich die Nomen in drei Klassen, je nachdem, wie Besitzmarkierung ausgedrückt wird. Eine Klasse von Nomen wird grundsätzlich an einen Personenmarker, der den Possessor markiert, gebunden. Von einigen dieser Nomen können jedoch freie Lexeme abgeleitet werden. Die zweite Klasse enthält Nomen, die sowohl mit als auch ohne Personenmarker auftreten können. Viele von ihnen benötigen allerdings ein zusätzliches Suffix, wenn ein Possessor spezifiziert werden soll. Die dritte Klasse von Nomen kann nicht direkt besessen werden, dazu gehören zum Beispiel Tiere. Um den Besitz dieser Art von Nomen anzuzeigen wird ein Nomen mit allgemeinerer Semantik als Relationalnomen benötigt.

Im Bereich der Numerusmarkierung unterscheidet Paunaka zwischen menschlichen und nicht-menschlichen Referenten. Das äußert sich zum einen in obligatorischer oder fakultativer Numerusmarkierung, andererseits in der Verwendung von unterschiedlichen Markern. Der Kollektivmarker hat eine Doppelrolle: Er wird zum einen zum Ausdruck einer Masse von nicht-humanen Entitäten gebraucht, tritt andererseits aber auch bei der Pluralisierung von Verwandtschaftstermini auf.

Weiterhin kann am Nomen nominaler Irrealis markiert werden, sowie die Tatsache, dass eine Person verstorben ist. Beide Prozesse ähneln dem bekannteren nominalen Tempus, sind jedoch nicht gleichzusetzen. Außerdem können Nomen einen Diminutivmarker erhalten. Dieser kann auch mit anderen Wortarten auftreten, bezieht sich jedoch meistens auf ein Nomen bzw. einen Referenten, der durch ein Nomen ausgedrückt wird oder ausgedrückt werden könnte. Das Diminutiv kann nicht nur geringe Größe markieren, sondern auch eine ganze Reihe von emotionalen und sozialen Komponenten beinhalten (z. B. Mitleid oder Bescheidenheit).

Kernargumente haben im Paunaka keine Kasusmarkierung, es gibt jedoch einen Lokativmarker mit einer relativ unspezifischen Semantik. Um genauere räumliche Verhältnisse auszudrücken, werden relationale Nomen benötigt, die zur Klasse der obligatorisch besessenen Nomen gerechnet werden können. Das Kapitel schließt mit einer Übersicht über Prozesse innerhalb der NP.

Das sechste Kapitel beschäftigt sich mit dem Verb. Dabei können zwei Arten von Verben unterschieden werden, stative und aktive. Ähnlich wie im vorangehenden Kapitel werden zunächst derivationale Prozesse innerhalb des Verbstammes beschrieben. Am Rand des Verbstamms können darüber hinaus einige Prozesse stattfinden, die die Valenz des Verbs verändern, dafür werden Kausativ-, Benefaktiv- und Reziprokaffixe genutzt.

Anschließend werden die zwei wichtigsten Flexionskategorien beschrieben: Person und Realitätsstatus. Personenmarker können als Indexe bezeichnet werden, da das gleichzeitige Auftreten einer NP mit Subjekt- oder Objektfunktion nicht vonnöten ist. Die Personenmarker für Subjekt und Objekt von erster und zweiter Person sind sich sehr ähnlich und unterscheiden sich vorwiegend durch ihre Position in Bezug auf den Verbstamm: Subjektmarker stehen vor dem Stamm, Objektmarker folgen dem Stamm. Für die dritte Person gibt es zwei unterschiedliche Indexe. Eines davon wird nur gebraucht, wenn sowohl Subjekt als auch Objekt einen Referenten der dritten Person haben. Es gibt jedoch Unterschiede in der Obligatorizität dieses Markers, die mit der Animazität des Objekts zusammenhängen. Genus wird in der dritten Person ebenso wenig unterschieden wie Numerus. Um anzuzeigen, dass das Subjekt oder Objekt einen pluralischen Referenten hat, können die verschiedenen Numerusmarker an das Verb angehängt werden. Hierbei gelten dieselben Einschränkungen wie bei Nomen. Nur einer der Personenmarker der dritten Person kann auch als Suffix, d. h. zur Objekt-

markierung, auftreten und dies nur unter ganz bestimmten Bedingungen, die im Kapitel genauer erläutert werden.

In Bezug auf Realitätsstatus lassen sich die beiden Kategorien Realis und Irrealis unterscheiden, wobei Realis als die unmarkierte Variante angenommen werden kann. Realis bezieht sich auf faktuelle, tatsächlich realisierte Situationen, Irrealis auf nicht-faktuelle. Dies umfasst zum Beispiel futurische Referenz, Negation und verschiedene Arten von Modalität. Die Markierung von Realitätsstatus ist obligatorisch mit jedem Prädikat, Aspekt und Tempus hingegen sind optional. Im aspektuellen Bereich lassen sich verschiedene Marker ausmachen, die auf unterschiedliche Art und Weise mit den Anfangs- und Endpunkten von Situationsgeschehen interagieren. Die Markierung von Tempus beschränkt sich auf entfernte Vergangenheit und entfernte oder unsichere Zukunft.

Eine gänzlich andere Flexionskategorie ist die der assoziierten Bewegung. Dabei kann am Verb ausgedrückt werden, ob vor oder gleichzeitig mit der eigentlichen Verbhandlung eine Bewegung stattfindet. Im Paunaka werden dieselben Marker zum Teil auch mit Bewegungsverben verwendet, wodurch sich eine direktionale Lesart im weiteren Sinne ergibt. Im Bereich der Modalität können verschiedene Arten von unrealisierten Situationen markiert werden, zumeist gegen die Erwartung der handelnden oder einer anderen involvierten Person. Zudem gibt es einen Marker für Unsicherheit, sowie einen der ausdrückt, dass etwas deduziert wurde. Daneben verfügt Paunaka über einen Evidenzialitätsmarker, der Informationen aus zweiter Hand bzw. vom Hörensagen kennzeichnet.

Es gibt kein Passiv, jedoch können transitive und zum Teil auch intransitive Verben in einer Medialform realisiert werden und es gibt einige Medialdeponentia. Das Kapitel schließt mit einer Auflistung verschiedener Fokusmarker.

Die letzten beiden Kapitel beschäftigen sich mit der Syntax. **In Kapitel 7** werden zunächst einfache Sätze behandelt, d. h. unverknüpfte Hauptsätze mit einem einzigen Prädikat. Dabei werden anfangs die verschiedenen möglichen Wortstellungen im Deklarativsatz anhand von Beispielen illustriert. Meist wird höchstens ein Argument durch eine NP ausgedrückt. Diese folgt dem Verb für gewöhnlich, kann aber auch vorangehen. Sind sowohl Subjekt- als auch Objekt-NP vorhanden, so hat der Satz in der Regel eine SVO- oder VOS-Stellung.

Standardnegation wird durch eine freie Partikel ausgedrückt. Das Prädikat wird notwendigerweise als Irrealis realisiert, abgesehen davon ändert sich wenig am Satz.

Non-verbale Prädikation spielt eine große Rolle im Paunaka, und die verschiedenen Möglichkeiten non-verbale Prädikate zu realisieren werden ausführlich erläutert. Dabei sticht die Integration entlehnter Verben aus dem Spanischen als non-verbale Prädikate besonders hervor.

Die Strukturen von Interrogativsätzen sowie von Imperativen und anderen direktiven Sprechakten werden ebenfalls beschrieben. Besonders interessant ist hierbei die Konstruktion von Prohibitivsätzen mit einer speziellen negativen Partikel und Realis-Prädikaten.

Das achte Kapitel widmet sich den komplexen Sätzen und Satzverbindungen. Drei Haupt- und eine marginale Verknüpfungsstrategie konnten dabei identifiziert werden: asyndetische Juxtaposition, syndetische Juxtaposition und *Deranking*, im Paunaka geht letzteres mit dem teilweisen Verlust verbaler Eigenschaften bei gleichzeitigem Gewinn nominaler Eigenschaften einher. Diese Strategien finden sich im größten Teil der komplexen Sätze. Daneben gibt es in einer bestimmten Konstruktion zur Kodierung des Zwecks einer Bewegung noch einen Marker, der als Ausdruck von syntaktischer Ab-

hängigkeit gewertet werden kann. Untypisch für eine Amazonassprache ist, dass Nominalisierung nicht als Mittel zur Subordinierung gebraucht wird.

Nachdem die Strategien erläutert sind, widmet sich der Rest des Kapitels koordinierten und subordinierten Sätzen, wobei besonders vom Ansatz von Cristofaro (2003), der Subordinierung von einer funktional-semantischen Warte aus betrachtet, Gebrauch gemacht wird. Es lassen sich so verschiedene Arten von Adverbialsätzen identifizieren, sowie Komplementrelationen und Relativrelationen. Die Betrachtung letzterer schließt auch eine Analyse von Spaltsatzkonstruktionen im Paunaka ein. Das Kapitel endet mit einer Analyse von *Deranking* im Kontext von nicht-subordinierten Sätzen.

Im Anhang finden sich drei längere glossierte Texte, darunter eine Geschichte, ein Auszug aus einem Gespräch und eine Beschreibung eines Arbeitsablaufes.