# A grammar of Cushillococha Ticuna

Amalia Skilton

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Amalia Skilton

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# 1 Introduction

This book describes the phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics of the Ticuna language for an academic audience. Ticuna is a language isolate spoken by approximately 60,000 people in the northwestern part of the Amazon Basin. This grammar is about the variety of Ticuna spoken in the town of Cushillococha, Peru and surrounding areas.

In this chapter, I first provide background information about the Ticuna language and people (§1.1) and review previous literature on the language (§1.2). I then describe the language ecology and language contact situation (§1.3) and the timeline and participants in my research (§1.4). This chapter is adapted from chapters 1 and 2 of Skilton (2019) and from Skilton (2021c).

Ethnographic information that is not directly related to language is important as context for the rest of this work. However, in order to keep this chapter focused on language, my short ethnography of Cushillococha appears in Chapter 2.

## 1.1 Language background

This section presents general information about the number of speakers of Ticuna; the location of Ticuna territory; dialect variation; preferred names of the people and language; and the language's status as an isolate.

### 1.1.1 Number of speakers

Ticuna is spoken by 38,680 (Eberhard et al. 2023) to 72,553 (Faço Soares 2021) people living in the northwestern part of the Amazon Basin. The true number of speakers is more likely to be at the high end of this range than at the low end, as the Ethnologue population estimate is based on national censuses which tend to undercount indigenous people.

In most Ticuna communities in Peru and Brazil, Ticuna is the main language of daily life and continues to be acquired by almost all children. For example, during my fieldwork with children between 2018 and 2023 in Cushillococha, at least 90% of children in the town learned Ticuna as an L1 and used it as their

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dominant language (§1.3). However, the language is not learned by children in most communities in Colombia (Santos Angarita 2004).

Regardless of the exact number of speakers, Ticuna is clearly among the most widely spoken languages of the Amazon Basin (in which most Indigenous languages currently have <1,000 speakers). It is also the single most widely spoken indigenous language of Brazil. According to the results of the 2022 Brazilian census, 11% of all Brazilians who speak an Indigenous language speak Ticuna (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística 2022).

### 1.1.2 Location

Current Ticuna territory is along the course of the Amazon River in the region of Loreto, Peru; the department of Amazonas, Colombia; and the state of Amazonas, Brazil.[1] This region is known in Peru as the *Bajo Amazonas* 'Lower Amazon,' which is the term that I use. It overlaps to a large extent with the people's traditional territory. For example, oral traditions state that the Ticuna people were created at a location within the contemporary territory in Colombia.

Ticuna political leaders in Cushillococha state that there are approximately 160 predominantly Ticuna towns across Peru, Brazil, and Colombia. Not all of these towns are the same size. Instead, most of the Ticuna population in Peru and Brazil is concentrated into large towns of 1,000 to 8,000 people. For example, Cushillococha has about 5,000 people. In terms of the population distribution among countries, roughly 75% of Ticuna people live in Brazil, 15% in Peru and 10% in Colombia. Most (if not all) Ticuna towns have some form of Indigenous land title, as discussed further for Cushillococha in Chapter 2.1.

The map in Figure 1.1 shows the location of the current Ticuna territory within northern South America. The two yellow circles mark the east and west extremes of Ticuna settlement along the Amazon River – the town of Cushillococha, Peru (site of this study) at the west, and the mouth of the river Jutai, in Brazil, at the east. The yellow line between the two circles follows the course of the Amazon. Most large Ticuna towns, including Cushillococha, are located either very close to, or actually on, the main course of the Amazon. The most urbanized area within this region is the metropolitan area formed by the neighboring cities of Leticia, Colombia and Tabatinga, Brazil, with combined population of ~150,000.

[1] The Amazon River is known in Peru and Colombia as the *Amazonas* and in Brazil as the *Solimões*.

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Figure 1.1: The Ticuna region within northern South America (base map via Google Earth)

### 1.1.3 Dialect variation

Based on segmental sound changes, varieties of Ticuna can be divided into three groups: eastern, western, and inland (Santos Angarita 2004, Montes Rodriguez 2004a). Eastern and western varieties are spoken on the main course of the Amazon – western ones predominantly in Peru, and eastern ones in Brazil. Based on my own observations of communication between speakers of eastern and western varieties, these two groups are completely mutually intelligible. Differences appear to be limited to a modest number of sound changes and lexical items.

Inland varieties of Ticuna, in contrast, are spoken in the interfluvial area between the Amazon and Putumayo rivers, which is located entirely in Colombia. Santos Angarita (2004: 10, 27), who is a native-speaker linguist from an eastern dialect area, suggests that inland varieties are not completely mutually intelligible with the eastern and western groups.

### 1.1.4 Endonyms

The name 'Ticuna' is not a lexical word of the language or any currently spoken Indigenous language of the region. When speaking in Spanish, Cushillococha people use this name for both their people and their language. When speaking in the language, they usually refer to the people as *ti³¹ku³na¹* (the phonological adaptation of the name) but the language as *ta³¹=ga¹* (1.INCL=language), which simply means 'our language.'

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I have never heard or recorded any other proper names being used for the group or language in Peru. Some Peruvian government text circulating in Cushillococha uses the word *du1ĩ3ʔĩ4gɨ4* as a proper name for the group. This is a common noun meaning 'people'; Cushillococha nos do not use it as an endonym. Additionally, people belonging to this group in Colombia and Brazil frequently use the term <Magüta> (*magɨta* in the orthography of this work) as an endonym (see e.g., Faço Soares 2021). Cushillococha nos never use this term for themselves, and only some people recognize it. Therefore, throughout this work I use the term *Ticuna* for both the people and the language. I spell the name in the English text with <c> rather than <k> because this spelling is preferred by my consultants.

### 1.1.5 Classification

Genetically, Ticuna is either an isolate or the only surviving member of a very small family. The only language with a plausible genetic relationship to it is Yurí, a language variety which is no longer spoken (Carvalho 2009). Yurí was documented only in brief wordlists collected by nineteenth-century adventurers (see e.g. Martius 1867: 268-272). While the transcriptions in these wordlists are difficult to interpret, they show a number of obvious cognates, including in basic vocabulary such as body part terms, with modern Ticuna. Based on these cognates, Carvalho (2009) suggests that Yurí was a sister language to Ticuna. I find this plausible, but – given the small volume and low quality of data on Yurí – also find it plausible that Yurí was simply a variety of Ticuna (that would have been intelligible to contemporary Ticuna speakers). Finally, Seifart & Echeverri (2014) suggest that the language of the Carabayo people, a group living in voluntary isolation in southern Colombia, may be related to Ticuna and Yurí.

## 1.2 Previous literature on the language

The linguistic literature on Ticuna is small and focuses mainly on phonology. Besides myself, five authors or teams have conducted research in depth with the language. In chronological order, these are Lambert and Doris Anderson; Maria Emilia Montes Rodriguez; Marilia Facó Soares; Abel Antonio Santos Angarita; and Denis Bertet. Additionally, several anthropologists have written ethnographies of the group.

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### 1.2.1 Literature by Lambert and Doris Anderson

Lambert and Doris Anderson are SIL missionaries from the United States. They first visited Cushillococha in 1952, lived there for decades in the second half of the 20th century, and returned to live in Cushillococha for several months per year from 2017 to 2023.

The Andersons spent the majority of their time on efforts to promote Protestant Christianity, literacy, formal education, and biomedical health care. As part of this activity, they contributed to the foundation of several churches, the establishment of the Cushillococha school, and the training of many bilingual schoolteachers. They also published four major descriptive works about the language: an article on tone contrasts (Anderson 1959); an article on syntax (Anderson 1966); a textbook for English-speaking missionaries learning Ticuna (Anderson 1962); and a Ticuna-Spanish/Spanish-Ticuna dictionary (Anderson & Anderson 2017).

As well as writing these works, the Andersons translated many Spanish-language educational, religious, and health materials into Ticuna for use in churches and schools. Additionally, in 1984 the Andersons published a translation of the complete New Testament into Ticuna. This translation is widely read in Cushillococha and the adjacent Ticuna areas in Brazil. It has been issued in several editions; I have referred mainly to Anderson & Anderson (2010). In 2017, the Andersons also published a translation of the complete Old Testament. Large numbers of Ticuna people, mostly from Cushillococha, were involved in the creation and revision of these materials, most prominently Leonardo Witancort Gómez (deceased 2026). The Andersons' 1959 and 1966 articles, as well as the 1962 textbook, are written in English. The dictionary, educational, and health materials are bilingual Spanish/Ticuna, and the religious materials are mostly monolingual Ticuna.

Evaluating the Andersons' linguistic works against data which I have collected with contemporary Cushillococha speakers, it is clear that their publications contain very accurate phonetic transcriptions. However, neither author had any substantial training in linguistics, and this is evident in the publications. They are essentially wordlists, offering little phonological or morphological analysis beyond statements of the phonemic inventory.

### 1.2.2 Literature by Maria Emilia Montes Rodriguez

Montes Rodriguez is an academic linguist from Colombia. Her works are based primarily on fieldwork in the town of San Martín de Amacayacu, Colombia in the 1990s. Her main contributions are a description of the phonology focusing on tone, submitted as her dissertation (Montes Rodriguez 1995); a roughly 100-page sketch of the phonology and morphology, part of which is a summary of

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the dissertation (Montes Rodriguez 2004b); and an article that offers highlights of the sketch and some findings about dialectology (Montes Rodriguez 2004a). While Montes Rodriguez has also written some articles in English, these works are in Spanish.

For Montes Rodriguez, and all other authors besides the Andersons, I am unable to evaluate the quality of publications because I do not have data about the varieties which they studied.

### 1.2.3 Literature by Marilia Facó Soares

Soares is an academic linguist from Brazil; her works are based on fieldwork with speakers from several different towns in the Brazilian Ticuna region. Her works focus on syntax and include a dissertation (Soares 1986) and book (Soares 2000) which discusses basic syntactic issues using Government and Binding theory. Soares has also published journal articles on word order (Soares 1992) and tense (Soares 2017). Her student Fernando Carvalho has published articles on phonetics based on work with speakers from near the town of Benjamin Constant, Brazil (Carvalho 2010, 2012). Soares and Carvalho's works are written in Brazilian Portuguese.

### 1.2.4 Literature by Abel Antonio Santos Angarita

Abel Antonio Santos Angarita (Wãchiaũkü rü Goekü) is a native speaker of Ticuna from the town of Arara, Colombia. After working for many years as a bilingual teacher and with the Colombian Ministry of Education, he became an academic linguist and anthropologist, completing a master's thesis on dialect variation (Santos Angarita 2004) and a PhD dissertation on language socialization (Santos Angarita 2022) at the Universidad Nacional de Colombia – Sede Amazonas. Santos has published several other articles on anthropological topics, including conceptions of the body (Santos Angarita 2013). All of these works are in Spanish.

About 20 Ticuna-Portuguese bilingual teachers from Brazil have completed professional master's degrees at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, and prepared master's theses as part of this program (e.g., Ferreira 2025, Florentino 2025). Additionally, Tikuna (2021) completed a research-oriented master's thesis at the State University of Campinas. The master's theses are in Portuguese and generally focus on language contact, language and literacy development, and the use of Ticuna as a medium of instruction. Although these are extremely valuable works, I do not cite them here because they contain relatively little information about morphology and syntax.

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### 1.2.5 Literature by Denis Bertet

Denis Bertet is a French academic linguist. He conducted fieldwork in San Martín de Amacayacu, Colombia, beginning in 2016. He completed a doctoral thesis at the Université de Lyon (Bertet 2020) and subsequently published articles on tone (Bertet 2021) and noun class (Bertet 2022).

Bertet discussed the analyses reported in his dissertation and articles with me at the time when he developed them. As I discuss in more detail in Chapters 3 and 4 and in Skilton (2023b), Bertet's phonological analysis misses a variety of generalizations about both the Amacayacu variety (given his own data) and the Cushillococha variety. Due to substantive differences in the morphology of the two varieties, I do not compare Bertet's and my morphological analyses.

### 1.2.6 My own work

I am an academic linguist originally from the United States and have conducted fieldwork in Cushillococha since 2015. My positionality and research history are discussed in more detail in Chapter 1.4. I have written extensively about the semantics and pragmatics of demonstratives in the Cushillococha variety, beginning with my dissertation at Berkeley (Skilton 2019) and continuing in Skilton (2021b), Skilton & Peeters (2021), Skilton (2024). Although I am still actively studying demonstratives, I do not discuss them in any detail in this book; readers are referred to my other publications. For academic audiences, I have also written about the language's tone and stress phonology (Skilton 2023b), differential case marking (Skilton & Obert 2022), the mass-count distinction (Skilton 2021a), and child language acquisition (Skilton 2023a). I write academic works exclusively in English. I have also written or edited a variety of community language materials, which use Spanish as the matrix language (Chapter 1.4).

### 1.2.7 Ethnographies

There are a number of anthropologists who have worked with Ticuna people and written ethnographic publications. Most of these works contain little information about language. Nimuendajú 1952 was the first ethnography of the group. It has a wide scope and contains relatively more language data than other ethnographies. Later ethnographies are mostly focused on religion (e.g., Goulard 2009). In addition to ethnographies, several books of Ticuna traditional narratives/oral histories which are not intended exclusively for community use have been published in Colombia. The most recent and longest is a book of traditional narratives with facing Spanish translations (Goulard et al. 2016).

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## 1.3 Language ecology of Cushillococha

Most of the Indigenous languages of Loreto and the Bajo Amazonas are severely endangered. Ticuna, on the other hand, is not.

### 1.3.1 Ticuna as the main community language

At present, effectively everyone in Cushillococha speaks Ticuna as their first and dominant language. It is learned at home by at least 90% of children, and is the main language spoken in all domains of life, including church, school, marketing, and government.

People who move to Cushillococha as adults need to learn Ticuna in order to function. They generally have an excellent passive understanding within a few years of residence, although they rarely speak in it. In homes where one parent is Ticuna and the other is not (which are common), the Ticuna parent and the children will generally speak primarily in Ticuna and the other parent will speak exclusively in Spanish. Children who grow up in Cushillococha but speak primarily Spanish at home (e.g., because both of their parents are non-Indigenous) learn Ticuna from their classmates at school and generally speak it very well by age 8 to 10. Because of this dynamic, and the need for in-migrants to learn, a significant number of people in Cushillococha speak or understand Ticuna but are not part of the ethnic group.

In contrats, the use of Ticuna in writing is not very common. Since the 1960s, the language has been the medium of instruction in Cushillococha's public schools, and when asked, a large majority of adults will say that they know how to read and write it. Outside of primary school, however, almost all reading and writing is done in Spanish or Portuguese. The exception is that many adults regularly read the Ticuna translation of the New Testament (Anderson and Anderson 1984).

While literacy is not a common domain of use for Ticuna, *media* and electronic communication are. As discussed in §2.2, people watch, listen to, and create audio and video communications in Ticuna on a regular basis. These include both communications to each other, and media (e.g., Ticuna-language popular music) that is distributed online and available to anyone with an internet connection.

All of the above applies to people who live *in* Cushillococha. Ticuna families living in the multi-ethnic town of Caballococha (8km from Cushillococha), or in diaspora in larger cities, do experience language shift toward Spanish. Children of these families usually have a passive understanding of Ticuna, but do not speak it. Language shift has also occurred in some settlements that are inside the

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land title of Cushillococha, but outside the urban core. For example, most people who live at Ma1wɨ5tɨ4ĩ1 (a place with about 10 houses, equidistant between Cushillococha and Caballococha) are Ticuna, but speak primarily Spanish. Migration, rather than language shift in place, is probably the main threat to Ticuna language vitality in Cushillococha.

### 1.3.2 Contact with Spanish and Portuguese

Most Cushillococha adults have some knowledge of Spanish, the national language of Peru. Essentially all teenage boys and men speak enough Spanish to hold a conversation, though they do not all speak it well enough to talk about complex, unfamiliar, or abstract topics.

Teenage girls and women have a larger range of knowledge of Spanish. In my experience, roughly 10% of women do not speak or understand Spanish at all, 30% have passive knowledge only, and 60% have active knowledge sufficient to hold conversations about at least some topics (but again, not necessarily sufficient to talk about complex, unfamiliar, or abstract topics). Age is not necessarily correlated with Spanish knowledge – I could not really socialize with other women of my own age (I was born in 1992) until I could speak Ticuna.

Children up to about age 8 generally do not speak or understand any Spanish unless they have a non-Ticuna family member. During the period of my child language studies (§1.4), between 2019 and 2023, about one-third of children under five showed some evidence of exposure or knowledge of Spanish. Older school-age children's knowledge directly correlates with their age. Spanish is taught in school beginning in grade 3 (age 8-9) and becomes the primary medium of instruction in the first year of secondary school (age 12-13).

People who have lived or traveled extensively in Brazil speak Brazilian Portuguese in addition to Ticuna and Spanish. A few people who migrated from Brazil as adults speak Brazilian Portuguese, but *not* Spanish.

### 1.3.3 Contact with other Indigenous languages

From the historical record and the evidence of loanwords (Chapter 3.6), Ticuna has been in contact with several Tupí-Guaraní languages, including Nheengatú/Língua Geral, Omagua, and Kokama, and with at least one variety of Quechua. However, there is not significant contact with Tupí-Guaraní or Quechua speakers today.

Both historically and today, Ticuna speakers in the area around Cushillococha are also in contact with speakers of Bora (Boran) and Yagua (Peba-Yaguan). A

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number of Bora and Yagua people have married into the community, with a range of language proficiency (both these languages are experiencing shift toward Spanish). There are also a few people who come from, or whose parents came from, more distant parts of Amazonia – speakers of Yaneshá (Arawak), Shawi (Cahuapana), and Awajún (also known as Aguaruna; Chicham). To my knowledge, non-Ticuna Indigenous people never use or transmit their languages in the community. Their children speak exclusively Ticuna and Spanish.

## 1.4 Timeline, methods, and participants in this research

### 1.4.1 Timeline of research

In 2014, while doing fieldwork with speakers of Máíhĩki (Tukanoan) in a location approximately 500km from the Bajo Amazonas, I had a chance encounter with some Ticuna people from Cushillococha. I had no previous relationship with the group, but this raised my interest in visiting the town. I traveled to Cushillococha for the first time in 2015.

Between the 2015 trip and 2026, I spent about 18 months (74 weeks) in the Cushillococha area over 10 total trips. The dates, duration, and focus of these trips is shown in Table 1.1. Due to the COVID pandemic, I did not collect any data from October 2019 to March 2022.

Table 1.1: In-person field trips, dates, and topics

| Year | Trip duration | Topics |
|---|---|---|
| 2015 | 7 weeks | Fundamental language description (phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon) |
| 2016 | 10 weeks | Fundamental language description |
| 2017 | 17 weeks | Fundamental language description; demonstrative system |
| 2018 | 12 weeks | Demonstratives |
| 2019 | 10 weeks | First language acquisition |
| 2022 | 4 weeks | First language acquisition |
| 2022 | 2 weeks | First language acquisition; Conversation |
| 2023 | 4 weeks | First language acquisition; Demonstratives |
| 2024 | 4 weeks | Demonstratives; fundamental language description |
| 2025 | 4 weeks | Demonstratives; fundamental language description |

As indicated in the table, during the first six months of my fieldwork (2015 – 2017), I focused on documenting the language's phonology, morphology, and

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syntax. I also collected some conversational data and learned to speak Ticuna myself at an intermediate level. Some materials from this phase are cited here; they consist mostly of elicitation and texts. Over the next six months (2017 – 2018), I focused on documenting the language's demonstrative system using elicitation, locality description interviews (as defined in Skilton 2024, psycholinguistic experiments, and recordings of naturally occurring conversations (i.e., conversations between people in their homes which would have taken place in a similar form if I was not there). I use many examples from this phase here, especially from the locality description interviews.

The third phase of the work (2019 – 2025) focused on documenting first language acquisition and conversations between adults. I also conducted more psycholinguistic experiments about demonstratives. In 2019, 2022, and 2023, I did not do any elicitation. Instead, I spent all of my fieldwork time recording interactions between caregivers and children, recording conversations between caregivers (without the children present), transcribing these recordings, and piloting additional psycholinguistic experiments. In 2024 and 2025, I returned to conducting some elicitation as part of the preparation of this book, but this was a small proportion of my total fieldwork time compared to transcription and completion of more psycholinguistic experiments. Many examples from this book are sourced from the first language acquisition and conversational materials.

Prior to 2022, I conducted all of my fieldwork in person in the Cushillococha-Caballococha area. However, in August of 2022, I also began working remotely with an anonymous Ticuna speaker living in Lima. This person, who is discussed in more detail in §1.4.3.1, worked 10 hours per week year-round from August 2022 to the time of this writing (May 2026).

In terms of research location, due to security issues in the Caballococha-Cushillococha area, I lived for the entire fieldwork period, except for three weeks in 2016, in Caballococha. In 2015 – 2022, I lived in accommodations rented to me inside the Catholic mission. In 2023 – 2025, I lived in the home of Betsabe Guerrero Witancort and Sótil Suárez González (two Ticuna teachers), which is located in a predominantly Ticuna neighborhood of Caballococha. Depending on the year of the trip, I worked in Cushillococha three to five days a week, and in the Ticuna neighborhood in Caballococha one to three days a week. I also attended a Ticuna-speaking church in Cushillococha every Sunday beginning in 2016.

I used different languages as my main language of communication during the different field trips. During the 2015 and 2016 fieldwork, I did not speak Ticuna well enough to hold a conversation, and therefore I spoke Spanish with everyone. Spanish is not my native language, although I have spoken it as a second

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language for many years. By the middle of my 2017 fieldwork, I could speak Ticuna reasonably well and therefore told some of my consultants and friends that I no longer wanted to speak Spanish with them. This led to rapid improvement in my speaking and understanding ability. In 2018 and subsequent years, I spoke Ticuna most of the time, although I still spoke Spanish to non-Ticuna people in Caballococha and to a few people who did not want to speak to me in Ticuna.

### 1.4.2 Community agreements

I consulted with local Ticuna education leaders and political leaders about project objectives in all three phases. They have always supported the project, with two conditions: (1) I must learn and speak Ticuna as much as possible, and (2) I must financially support community projects that are not funded or are underfunded by the state. I complied with the first expectation by focusing a large proportion of my first six months on learning, as discussed above, and I complied with the second by earmarking portions of my grants for the relevant projects through all three project phases.

Many of my research participants, as well as many of my friends who have not formally participated in the work, are or have been Ticuna-medium primary school teachers. I often discussed language teaching and literacy with teachers, but they mostly did not want me to participate in creating pedagogical materials. Here, it should be noted that between approximately 1954 and 1980, most pedagogical materials for the Cushillococha school were created by Doris and Lambert Anderson, two American SIL missionaries. Doris Anderson still gave input on some school materials as late as 2017. Teachers and education authorities were – with reason – ambivalent about continuing to have non-Ticuna people influence the curriculum. They were more comfortable with me writing materials which were not student-facing. Therefore, I began writing a pedagogical grammar of Ticuna in Spanish, intended for teachers, in 2024. This work is still in progress.

### 1.4.3 Participants

This work is based on a subset of the materials which I recorded – elicitation, semi-structured activities such as monolingual interviews, monologic texts, and recordings of naturally occurring conversations and child-caregiver interaction. It does not incorporate any of the results of psycholinguistic experiments.

At least 131 people appear in the materials used in this work. They fall into four categories: the primary language consultants and transcribers (three people); par-

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ticipants in recordings of child-caregiver interaction (at least 104 people); participants in recordings of conversation between adults (at least 19 people, excluding those who also participated in other tasks); and participants in semi-structured activities (five people).

A large proportion of the recordings document informal household interactions. These intrinsically have a fluid participation structure, and also often include many speakers who cannot be identified because they are off camera. Therefore, it is often difficult to count the precise number of people on a recording. The count of 131 participants is a minimum, and the total number of contributors to recordings is probably closer to 200-230 (about 5% of the population of Cushillococha).

#### 1.4.3.1 Language consultants and transcribers

This book reflects, more than anything else, the work of three primary participants: Ángel Bittancourt Serra, Lilia Witancort Guerrero, and the anonymous transcriber mentioned in §1.4.1.

Ángel Bittancourt Serra was the primary transcriber from 2016 to 2019, and in the spring and summer of 2022. He was born in 1950, learned Spanish in late childhood, and states that he speaks Spanish more often than Ticuna (because he lives in Caballococha and rarely visits Cushillococha). Ángel collaborated with me in creating transcriptions and Spanish translations for most conversational data and child language data collected in 2017 and 2019. He was also responsible for most transcription of data from semi-structured events. In terms of method, Ángel was extremely skilled at re-speaking audio and translating it into idiomatic Spanish, but he was not comfortable writing. Therefore, he contributed to transcription by respeaking and orally translating audio while I annotated in ELAN.

The anonymous Lima-based transcriber joined the project in August 2022 and became a key part of the research over the next several years. She is also a sequential bilingual and states that she speaks Spanish more often than Ticuna (although she seems to continue speaking Ticuna at home sometimes, as I have observed that her children understand it). I initially worked with her synchronously over video conference on transcription of child-caregiver interaction recordings, having her re-speak and translate in the same way as in-person transcribers. After the anonymous transcriber became familiar with this process, I also trained her to transcribe and translate recordings independently in ELAN. Between 2022 and 2025, she then independently transcribed all of the 2022 and 2023 first language acquisition recordings and conversational recordings. The

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anonymous transcriber also often made grammatical comments on materials and occasionally participated in elicitation.

Lilia Witancort Guerrero was a key participant in elicitation throughout the project. Lilia was born in 1975, learned Spanish around age 12, and states that she speaks Ticuna more often than Spanish. (Although she lives in Caballococha, she travels to Cushillococha most days.) Her greatest contributions were in 2016–2018, when she contributed a vast amount of data to fundamental language description, and in 2024 and 2025, when we worked together extensively on checking data and creating new examples for this book.

Lilia previously worked as an interpreter and translator with Doris Anderson, and with various official bodies, such as the local prosecutor's office. She received her entire education in Ticuna, has taught Ticuna grammar to adults in religious education, and is married to a bilingual teacher who speaks a different language (Bora). Because of these experiences, Lilia has an exceptional level of metalinguistic knowledge and awareness. Her comments, which I have frequently quoted, demonstrate this expertise. She is the daughter of the late Leonardo Witancort Gómez, who at various times was the mayor of Cushillococha, a prominent teacher, and a key consultant to the Andersons. Ángel is her father's half-brother.[2]

Other language consultants who worked regularly on transcription or elicitation included Deoclesio Guerrero Gómez (2015–2017), the late Ling Cándido Serra (2015–2016), Katia Lucero Salate Cándido (2015, 2018), Marcelo Farías Cándido (2015–2016), Sotil Suárez González (2016–2018), Yaneth Cándido Guerrero (2017–2018), and UHI, who chose not to disclose her name (2017). Deoclesio Guerrero Gómez, who was born in 1942, was the oldest consultant; Katia Salate Cándido, who was born in 1997, was the youngest. All of the consultants were sequential bilinguals, except for UHI, who is a simultaneous bilingual.

Lilia and the other language consultants were responsible for most conventional monologic texts recorded in the project. Four of the language consultants also participated in semi-structured tasks, such as locality description interviews, as well as in elicitation. Five additional people participated in semi-structured tasks, but not in any other data collection. They were Nicasio Witancort Gómez, Walter Witancort Gómez, Ortensia Guerrero Coello, Lucinda Gómez Cordero, and the late Magdalena Moreno Guerrero. These people were all born between approximately 1940 and 1961. The senior women, Ortensia, Lucinda, and Magdalena, all stated that they understood, but did not really speak, Spanish. The other participants in the semi-structured tasks were all sequential bilinguals.

[2] Angel, Leonardo, and Nicasio's last names have different spellings because they obtained identity documents at different times.

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#### 1.4.3.2 Participants in child-caregiver interaction

The recordings of child-caregiver interaction include at least 115 unique people. These recordings were made in four separate years – 2018, 2019, 2022, and 2023. The 2018 work was a pilot project with 20 children born between 2013 and 2017. It was conducted mainly to evaluate the feasibility of recording children, and none of the data is included here.

2019 was the main project year for recordings of child-caregiver interaction. During this year, I created a cross-sectional sample of child language by recording 45 children aged one to four years as described in §1.4.4.2. When I was able to return to Cushillococha post-COVID, I re-recorded 39 of the children from 2019 – in some cases, more than once each – and three additional children. When children were re-recorded, they were aged five to seven years.

The annotated parts of the recordings of child-caregiver interaction include 55 unique target children and 49 unique caregivers. This is a total of 104 people, but nearly all recordings also include the children's siblings (not enrolled in the study), other relatives, and neighbors. These non-target participants are challenging to identify because, even while speaking on the recording, they are frequently off-camera or are only on camera for a short time. Additionally, less than half of the total recording time of child-caregiver interaction has been transcribed. With the non-target participants and the non-transcribed time, the total number of unique people who appear on the child-caregiver interaction recordings is at least 200.

#### 1.4.3.3 Participants in recordings of conversation

The materials include 18 recordings of non-staged conversations between adults that have at least five minutes transcribed. On these recordings, there are at least 47 unique adults who speak (I include the proviso 'at least' because of the same issues with identifying speakers discussed in §1.4.3.2).

I recruited people to participate in conversation recordings from the same households that participated in the child language studies. As a result, most conversational participants also appear on recordings of child-caregiver interaction. However, about 19 people appear only on the recordings of conversation.

Most adult participants in recordings of conversation and child-caregiver interaction are women born between 1980 and 2000. I do not have data on these participants' language exposure or history. However, when participants actually use Spanish on the recordings, it is usually limited to inserting individual lexical words. Less than 5% of turns were labeled as entirely in Spanish.

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### 1.4.4 Methods

To collect the data presented here, I used elicitation interviews (§1.4.4.1), recordings of naturally occurring events (§1.4.4.2), and recording of texts and semi-structured activities (§1.4.4.3). As well as using these methods to collect inter-subjectively available data, I also engaged in participant observation and took notes on overheard speech.

#### 1.4.4.1 Elicitation

I used a variety of elicitation techniques, including translation tasks, act-out tasks, acceptability judgments in context, and truth value judgments in contexts. Most of the elicited data in this book comes from translation or acceptability judgment tasks.

Elicitation is the only technique which allows the researcher to probe contexts do not regularly appear in observational data. At the same time, elicitation also has significant disadvantages. For example, my language consultants sometimes rejected structures that were attested or accepted ones that, based on other data, are probably degraded. I controlled for false positives and negatives by checking elicited data with multiple consultants. There were several years where I worked with only Lilia on elicitation. At these times, I checked data by asking her for multiple data points in each relevant context.

#### 1.4.4.2 Recordings of conversations and child-caregiver interaction

A large proportion of data in this book comes from recordings of naturally occurring events – by which I mean events that would have occurred in similar form if I had not been present – and recordings of child/child-directed language.

Most of the naturally occurring events that I recorded were maximally informal conversations between adults – that is, conversations where all participants knew one another well, taking place in the participants' homes. Examples of maximally informal conversations include: a father and son chatting while they process wild cane to make arrows, briefly joined by female relatives (20180622); a group of 6–10 closely related adults chatting while waiting for a meal to be ready (20180628); and a group of 3–5 adults with parent-child and in-law relations chatting on a social visit (20170527). I also recorded some naturally occurring events other than maximally informal conversations, such as congregations conducting Christian church services (e.g., Ana's Sermon).

Informal conversations were recorded using unattended video cameras, according to the following procedure. I made an appointment with a household,

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arrived at their house at the agreed time, set up the video recording equipment in the kitchen (or another place where people were engaged in an extended activity), and attached body-worn microphones to 2-3 key participants who had previously provided informed consent and agreed to stay for the entire recording period. I told speakers that they could say or do whatever they liked as long as they stayed in the room with the cameras, then I left. I stayed away for 30 to 60 minutes, returning for a minute or two every 15 minutes to check that the equipment was working correctly. Therefore, I am not present in most of the video recordings.

The recordings of child and child-directed language are described in detail in Skilton (2023a). They included multiple recording types, but the data cited here is all from the same recording type, free play. Free play recordings were made with exactly the same procedures as recordings of informal conversation, except that the key participants were always a child and their primary caregiver (or in some cases, multiple related children and caregivers).

#### 1.4.4.3 Recordings of semi-structured activities and texts

Some data in this work also comes from recordings of staged speech events. These include six locality description interviews; three descriptions of built spaces such as houses and yards; two staged conversations; and a few dozen classic texts, i.e. monologic procedural and narrative discourses.

The locality descriptions and built space descriptions are video-recorded interviews between me and one consultant, conducted in Ticuna only. In the locality description interviews, I ask the consultant questions about how their locality (the Cushillococha/Caballococha region in general, and the area surrounding the house where they personally live) has changed over time, what it is like now, and how it might change in the future. In the built space decriptions, I am in a yard or construction site with a consultant who is acknowledged as an owner of that space. I ask the consultant questions about the history, current ownership, and plans for the space. This material was originally recorded to study demonstratives and deictic gesture.

The staged conversations are two video-recorded interviews between Ángel Bittancort Serra and one other speaker per conversation. Before each staged conversation, I gave Angel a question and asked him to discuss that question with the interviewee. One of the staged conversations is a built space description interview between Ángel and his classificatory aunt, the late Magdalena Moreno Guerrero. The other one is a conversation with Nicasio Witancort Gómez, Án-

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gel's half-brother, about Nicasio's recent trip to the town of Maturá, Amazonas, Brazil.

The classic texts are audio-recorded discourses where the speaker is addressing me. They include procedural texts, traditional narratives/folktales, personal and oral history narratives, responses to targeted construction storyboards, responses to questions posed by me (e.g. 'What will happen this rainy season' or 'How should young men behave'), and vernacular definitions of content words.

#### 1.4.4.4 Recording standards

Elicitation and semi-structured activities were audio-recorded in WAV format with a Zoom H4N device sampling at 44.1 kHz. Depending on the level of environmental noise and the purpose of the recording, the Zoom H4N was attached to either an ATH-M30 lapel microphone or a Shure SM10 headworn microphone. Video recordings were made using Sony PJR540, Canon XA30, and Panasonic HK series video cameras. The Canon XA30 camera was connected to a Rode NT4 stereo microphone on a mic stand. Only single-camera setups were used for elicitation and semi-structured events.

Recordings of conversation and child-caregiver interaction were generally made using a dual-camera setup. Participants were simultaneously recorded on two cameras (Canon XA30 and either Sony PJR540 or Panasonic HK) placed at opposing angles – one facing the child participant(s), the other facing the caregiver. To record audio, each focal participant (i.e., child and caregiver, or the 2-3 participants who had agreed to stay for the entire recording) wore an Olympus VP10 audio recorder clipped to their clothing. The Olympus recorders wrote to WAV format and sampled at their maximum rate of 22.05 kHz. I used as many Olympus recorders and generated as many audio tracks as there were focal participants (up to 4). In addition to the Olympus recorder tracks, audio was also recorded via a Rode NT4 microphone attached to the XA30 video camera and via the internal microphone of the other camera.

Dual-camera video was necessary for recordings of conversation and child-caregiver interaction because the participants, especially the children, were highly mobile. This made it impossible to keep all participants consistently in frame with a single camera. Likewise, multiple redundant audio channels were necessary because, due to the layout of Cushillococha, most recording environments were adjacent to a busy road.

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### 1.4.5 Total corpus size

As described in Skilton (2021c), and in the years since that paper, I have recorded approximately 1,500 hours of Ticuna language materials. However, this figure includes many data sources that I did not use for this book, such as daylong audio recordings of children and recordings of psycholinguistic experiments.

Looking first to elicitation, monologic texts, and semi-structured activities, I recorded and used for this work approximately 600 hours of audio (some sessions were also video-recorded). I took about 1,100 pages of fieldnotes on elicitation; elicitation sessions were not otherwise transcribed. Aside from the fieldnotes, I transcribed in ELAN about 13 hours of texts and semi-structured activities from this part of the collection. All recordings, transcriptions, and scanned fieldnotes of these activity types are available in California Language Archive Collection 2015-06.

Turning to child-caregiver interaction and conversation, I recorded about 149 hours of video, of which the great majority is child-caregiver interaction. Within these materials, the transcription team (consisting of myself, the anonymous transcriber, and previously Ángel Bittancourt Serra) has transcribed about 29 hours of child-caregiver interaction and about 11 hours of conversation between adults. This took approximately nine years (2017–2025) of at least one team member, either me or the anonymous transcriber, focusing 20-25% of all working hours for the entire year on transcription of the corpus.

The total volume of transcription used in this work is roughly 53 hours. About 21 hours of the transcribed recordings have been morphologically parsed in FieldWorks Language Explorer. These recordings, which are listed in Appendix XX, consist primarily of free play between children and their caregivers (7.5 hours), conversations between adults (7 hours), and semi-structured activities (4 hours). When I cite counts or other frequency figures in this work, they are calculated only over the morphologically parsed corpus. However, I use examples from both parsed and unparsed corpus materials.

Double-check recording and transcription time calculations. Create Appendix XX with list of parsed texts

### 1.4.6 Approach to language description

I take the theoretical position that the main goal of linguistic analysis is to account for speakers' use of language in actual communication, that is, in events that would take place in a similar form if the research had not occurred. People use language primarily in dyadic and multiparty conversations. Therefore, the

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overarching goal of this grammar (especially the syntax and semantics sections) is to explain the language structures that regularly occur in conversation. Whenever I can illustrate a structure with conversational data, I do. Elicitation, interviews, texts, and other semi-structured events are also important data sources, but do not have this analytical priority.

While the highest priority goal is to understand what people actually say, it is also important (and not in conflict) to understand what *can* be said. Thus, I also describe some structures that do not occur in conversations, or that occur very rarely. For example, remote-past nominal tense markers are extremely infrequent in conversation, but I still describe them in Chapter 15 because of the theoretical importance of the topic of propositional nominal tense. I also often use elicited, interview, or monologic data as a source of negative grammaticality judgments; to provide minimally different pairs of examples; or for clarity, for instance in situations where all conversational examples of a structure are highly elliptical.

Discussion of phonology in this work makes various assumptions which are shared by most current formal theoretical frameworks. For example, I assume a distinction between lexical and postlexical phonology, and I assume that phonological processes can be ordered. Likewise, my discussion of syntax and semantics incorporates various ideas – for example, the distinction between unaccusative and unergative verbs, and the idea that modals are quantificational – which are shared by most contemporary formal theories. However, in order to make this work accessible to readers from a variety of theoretical backgrounds, I do not use any formal notation (such as trees or logical symbols).

On a somewhat different note, when I describe discourse markers, dependencies between turns, and so on, I assume various fundamental ideas of Conversation Analysis. These include the idea of stancetaking and the concept that turns have preferred responses with which they form adjacency pairs. In line with my decision not to use formalisms, I do not use the full Jefferson transcription system for conversational examples. However, I do use some conventions from this system, such as hyphens for disfluency (§1.5.2).

## 1.5 Format of examples and citations

### 1.5.1 Orthography

Transcription in this work uses the IPA, except if I am citing an example written in practical orthography by another author.

I choose to use the IPA rather than a practical orthography because there are at least four different orthographies for Ticuna circulating in the countries where

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it is spoken, and at least two orthographies being used in Cushillococha proper. I do not wish to endorse one of the practical orthographies over another. There is also the analytical problem that tone is crucial in this work and is mostly not represented in the practical orthographies.

Table 1.2 gives the equivalences between the IPA, the practical orthographies most commonly used in Peru and Colombia, and the practical orthography most comonly used in Brazil, for all sounds present in native-vocabulary words. Tone 5 is marked with an acute accent in the practical orthography, but no other tones are marked.

### 1.5.2 Example style

All examples in this book have four lines. The first line is a phonetic transcription in IPA. This line also includes some Jefferson (2004)-style conversions for representing informal talk. For example, hyphens represent a speaker being interrupted or interrupting themselves to reformulate, and empty parentheses represent speech that cannot be heard or cannot be understood.

After the first line, the second line of each example separates the morphemes and shows each morpheme in its underlying phonological form. For verbs that undergo grammatical tone alternations, this means that I undo the tone alternations and show the underlying tone of the verb. The third line individually glosses the morphemes, using Leipzig glossing conventions and the additional conventions given in the List of Abbreviations. In the second and third lines, I use the character - to separate affixes and = to separate clitics or inalienably possessed nouns.

The fourth line of each example is an English sentence gloss. The English sentence glosses are mine and are based on what I know about the truth and felicity conditions of the sentence and my general knowledge of the language. Where I have Spanish glosses by consultants, I also take them into account in formulating the English sentence gloss. However, Spanish glosses are not included in this work because not all examples have one. The gloss line ends with the citation.

### 1.5.3 Citation style

All recordings, transcriptions, and fieldnotes cited in this work have been archived in the California Language Archive and are publicly available in Collection 2015-06 (elicitation and texts) or Collection 2018-20 (conversations). Citations point to these corpora. I use different citation styles for elicited examples vs. all other example types.

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Table 1.2: IPA vs. primary practical orthographies used in Peru/Colombia and Brazil

| IPA | Peru/Colombia | Brazil | Note* |
|---|---|---|---|
| p | p | p | |
| t | t | t | |
| tʃ | ch | tch | |
| k | q, c | q, c | <q> _{e, i} but <c> elsewhere |
| ʔ | x | ’ | epenthetic [ʔ] between final verb proclitic and vowel-initial verb root is usually written in Peru, but not Brazil or Colombia |
| b | b | b | |
| d | d | d | |
| ɟ | y | y | |
| g | g | g | |
| m | m | m | |
| n | n | n | |
| ɲ | ñ | nh | |
| ŋ | ng | ng | + nasal vowel following |
| ʎ | ng | ng | + oral vowel following |
| ʍ | cu | cu | |
| w | w | w | |
| ɾ | r | r | |
| a | a | a | |
| e | e | e | |
| i | i | i | |
| o | o | o | |
| u | u | u | |
| ɨ | ü | ü | |
| ã | ã | ã | nasality marked with tilde above vowel |
| a̱1 | a̱ | a̱ | tone 1̱ marked by underlining vowel |
| ta̱2 | t̲a | – | tone 2̱ occasionally marked in Peru by underlining onset of syllable |
| a5 | á | á | tone 5 occasionally marked with acute accent |
| 1, 2, 3, 4, 31, 43, 51 | – | – | other tones not marked |

*: Notes apply to all countries unless otherwise indicated.

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#### 1.5.3.1 Elicitation citation style

In the body of the text, examples from all types of elicitation are cited by the consultant who provided them, followed by the year, number, and page of the field notebook where they appear. The consultant's name is abbreviated. Thus the citation 'LWG: 2018.1.47' means that the item comes from consultant LWG (Lilia Witancort Guerrero), recorded in notebook one of year 2018, page 47. Please see CLA 2015-06.XX and 2015-06.XX for indexes which can be used to locate full consultant names, scanned fieldnotes pages, and recordings based on this citation style.

add final accession numbers for index folders

Many examples from elicitation bear the acceptability judgment symbols ✓, #, ?, and *, which can be placed either before a sentence (scoping over the entire sentence) or before a word (scoping over that word). The symbol ✓ means that the sentence or word in its scope is acceptable in the context given. The symbol ? means that the sentence or word is questionably acceptable (e.g. that it is accepted by some consultants and rejected by others, or that consultants report a judgment that the sentence is acceptable but odd). The symbol # means that the sentence or word is well-formed, but unacceptable for semantic or pragmatic reasons. The symbol * means that a sentence is unacceptable for morphological or syntactic reasons.

#### 1.5.3.2 Citation style for other recording types

Examples which are not from elicitation are cited by the consultant's name (if they chose to give it) and the CLA reference for the original recording. In some examples from conversations, I cannot tell who is speaking on the recording, for instance because they are off-camera. These are cited as 'speaker unknown.'

this draft does not have the CLA references for all recordings – instead, they are identified by alphabetical codes. for conversations the codes have the form Participant1Initials-Participant2Initials(-Participant3Initials), for texts they are acronyms of the title

In recordings of child-caregiver interaction, I am not able to disclose the children's names under my institutional ethics protocol. I also cannot give the names of the children's primary caregivers, as this would identify the children. Therefore, examples from child-caregiver recordings by the year of recording, the child's participant number, the recording type (almost always free play), and an identifier for the adult speaker. This identifier is 'Caregiver,' a kin relationship (if the speaker is not the target caregiver on the recording), or 'speaker unknown.'

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I only cite examples from child-caregiver interaction which were produced by adults or adolescents.

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# 2 Ethnography of Cushillococha

I conducted all of the research for this book with Ticuna speakers born and raised in the town of Cushillococha, Peru.

Cushillococha is a good example of a place which is, at the same time, distinctively Indigenous and fairly highly integrated into Peruvian national culture. There are not many descriptions of places like this in Amazonia, even though the same dynamic is fairly commonplace in descriptions of (for example) contemporary Andean and Mesoamerican societies.

In this chapter, I therefore provide a basic ethnographic description of Cushillococha, including the geography of the town and its region (§2.1); the town's economy, infrastructure, and technology (§2.2); the basics of kinship and social organization (§2.3); and religion (§2.4).

Most of my consultants were happy to attach their names to linguistic examples and texts, but I did not discuss with them whether I could describe their agricultural practices, kinship relations, clan membership, and so on while attaching their names. Therefore, in this chapter only, I write in terms of 'Cushillococha nos' or 'Cushillococha/Ticuna people,' rather than using specific people's names. In the rest of this work, I revert to using names.

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## 2.1 Geography and physical environment

### 2.1.1 Geography and population of Cushillococha

Cushillococha is located in the district and province of Mariscal Ramón Castilla (part of Loreto region, Peru). It neighbors a lake of the same name, which is adjacent to the main course of the Amazon River. Both the town and the lake are known in Ticuna as *Kɨ³ʔʧi³tu¹* (a morphologically opaque proper name). Under Peruvian law, Cushillococha is categorized as a *Comunidad Nativa*, meaning an Indigenous community where all land title is held in common and private land ownership is not allowed. According to unofficial estimates provided to me by Ministry of Health personnel, the population of Cushillococha and its adjacent

communities was approximately 5,000 as of July 2025.[1]

### 2.1.2 Neighborhoods and landmarks within Cushillococha

Cushillococha is laid out along a road connecting it to the adjacent town of Caballococha, as shown in Figure 2.1. This road is paved, measures about 8km, and closely follows the shore of the Cushillococha lake.




Figure 2.1: Satellite image of Caballococha and Cushillococha

The dense residential area of Cushillococha, where most houses are located, begins around the point where the creek *Pi3we1ti4i1* (a proper name) flows inland from the lake. The residential core crosses *Mai3ju5ti4i1* 'Panoan Creek' and continues for about 400 meters for a total length of about 2km. Outside the residential area, the town is neighbored by water, forest, and agricultural fields (which are in cleared areas of the forest).

Within the residential core, most houses are located either directly on the main Cushillococha-Caballococha road, or on short (<200m) paved streets which have been built perpendicular to it on the inland side. However, there are a few streets (mostly paved) which have been built either traveling inland from the main road or parallel to it. Inland streets and houses are generally much newer than development along the main road. Streets (in contrast to other landmarks, such as creeks) are always named in Spanish. Figure 2.2 provides a closer-up view of the residential core showing this layout, with the main road displayed in yellow and inland roads shown in purple.

[1]This population estimate is for the entire area served by the Cushillococha health clinic, which includes the entire Cushillococha land title and some communities outside the land-titled area.




Figure 2.2: Satellite image of Cushillococha

The main road terminates at the town plaza, which is paved and includes most civic buildings other than the school. Facilities in the plaza include the town hall, the health clinic, the paved sports field, several market stalls, the SIL missionaries' former home (now occupied by other missionaries), and one of the churches. On the far side of the main plaza from most of the houses, *Mai3ɟu5ti4ĩ1* 'Panoan Creek' flows inland. The creek is crossed by a bridge, with more houses on the opposite side of the bridge from the plaza. The area across the *Mai3ɟu5ti4ĩ1* bridge is known as Santa Clara and is fairly separate from the rest of Cushillococha, both administratively and in terms of social connections. Many other neighborhoods within the town also have their own names. For example, most people who worked closely with me live in Miraflores, the area immediately east of the crossing of Pi3we1ti4ĩ1, or in Calle Anderson, the area east of Miraflores.

As demonstrated by Figure 2.2, the built-up area of Cushillococha is dense. There is usually less than 20 meters of space between houses, especially in the area within 1km of the plaza. This reflects that electricity, running water, and other public services are only available within a relatively small area of the land title (beginning 100-200m before the crossing of Pi3we1ti4ĩ1). People do live outside of this area – for example, there is a group of about 10 houses at the crossing of *Ma1wi5ti4ĩ1* 'Guan Creek,' located about 4km from the center of Cushillococha on the Cushillococha-Caballococha road. However, even in the areas where water and electricity are not limiting factors, houses (of unrelated families) are usually built well under 100m from each other.

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### 2.1.3 Geography and population of the region

As shown in Figure 2.1, Cushillococha directly adjoins the multi-ethnic town of Caballococha, which is the capital of the district and province of Mariscal Ramón Castilla. Caballococha, like Cushillococha, is located on a lake of the same name, adjacent to the main course of the Amazon River. The town and its lake are known in Ticuna as *Ko³we⁴na²* (which is also an unanalyzable proper name). Caballococha has a population of roughly 15,000, about three times the size of Cushillococha. The people living in Caballococha are ethnically diverse. They include non-Indigenous people born in the area, Indigenous and non-Indigenous migrants from the Andean highlands, and Ticuna and other Indigenous Amazonian people (for example, Yagua and Bora people). The predominant language in Caballococha is Spanish, though the variety of Spanish spoken there is somewhat influenced by Brazilian Portuguese. One can also hear many other languages spoken in Caballococha, including (in rough order of frequency) Ticuna, highland and lowland Quechua, and Brazilian Portuguese.

As previously mentioned, Cushillococha and Caballococha are connected by an 8km paved road with development along the entire course of the road, including homes, businesses, agricultural fields, and cattle pasture. Many Cushillococha people travel this road every day to work, market agricultural produce, or attend school in Caballococha, and many Caballococha people travel it to buy produce in Cushillococha. As a result, the economic and geographic connection between the towns is so strong that Cushillococha can be thought of as a kind of suburb of Caballococha. Many Ticuna towns are very close to multiethnic towns and cities and maintain this kind of relationship. For example, in Colombia, the Ticuna community of Los Lagos adjoins the city of Leticia, and in Brazil, the Ticuna town of Umariaçu adjoins the city of Tabatinga.

There is very significant traffic between Cushillococha and the Ticuna region in Brazil. Many people living in Cushillococha were born in Brazil or have a parent who was. As a result, almost everyone has a nuclear family member living in Brazil, most often in the town of Umariaçu, Amazonas. Other destinations where Cushillococha people often travel within northwestern Amazonia include the twin cities of Leticia, Colombia and Tabatinga, Brazil (located 70km downriver); and the city of Iquitos, Peru (located 400km upriver).

Outside the region, it is common for young people to emigrate to Lima and Pucallpa, Peru and Manaus, Brazil for work and education. International emigration to Brazil (and less often, Colombia) is feasible because many people have Brazilian or Colombian nationality.

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### 2.1.4 Climate

Cushillococha and the Bajo Amazonas in general are located within a few degrees of the equator. Therefore, most temperature variation occurs over the course of the day, not over the course of the year. The climate is hot and humid. Cooler temperatures (65-80F) occur at night (6pm-6am year round), in the final two hours of daylight between 4-6pm, and in the first two hours of daylight between 6-8am. Hotter temperatures (80-90F, but feeling much hotter due to near-100% humidity) occur between 8am and approximately 4pm. People therefore try to do most of their physical work between 5am and the early afternoon. Socializing takes place primarily between 4 and 6pm, rather than at night, even though there has been electric light for decades.

The year is divided into a rainy season (*mu1kɨ3*) and dry season (*tau1ne3kɨ3*; this term also means 'year'). During the rainy season between approximately November and April, the waters of the Amazon River, lakes, and rivers rise significantly. This makes travel to some areas much faster, as small or shallow streams rise and become passable in boats. At the same time, the rainy season makes travel by land, and to areas that people would normally access by land (such as the center of Caballococha), very difficult or impossible. Heavy rainy seasons can also lead to flooding of homes, as well as the destruction of crops which are located too close to bodies of water, or in excessively low-lying areas.

During the dry season from May to October, rainfall decreases. The waters of the Amazon River and of lakes drop dramatically, to the point that some households (and entire cities, e.g. Leticia) must use separate ports in the dry and wet season. Drinking water supplies in cisterns and wells can also run dry at this time of year, with the result that Cushillocochanos must instead fetch water from the lake (and people who do not live on lakes must buy water). By August, the extended dry weather makes old fields very dry and flammable. This month and September are therefore the main times for burning slash-and-burn fields and doing other heavy agricultural work. I have not heard people use any native-vocabulary terms for months or seasons which are more specific than *mu1kɨ3* 'wet season' or *tau1ne3kɨ3* 'dry season'; descriptions or Spanish month names are used instead.

## 2.2 Economy and technology

Many people who have never visited Amazonia assume that Indigenous Amazonians – especially those who continue to speak Indigenous languages – are not exposed to Western technology, do not participate in the cash economy, and live

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isolated from other populations. As I demonstrate in the following sections, none of this is true about Cushillococha.

### 2.2.1 Agriculture

Cushillococha is a basically agricultural town. Almost all households engage in small-scale slash-and-burn agriculture, with two to three total agricultural plantings. The agricultural holdings of a household usually consist of one or two main slash-and-burn field(s) – located between 90 minutes and three hours walking distance from the house – and another, much smaller set of crops planted around or immediately behind the house. The main fields are always planted with the primary crops, which are bitter manioc and plantains. In the smaller kitchen garden located near houses, people typically plant fruit trees and other non-staple crops. Lines of fruit trees are also sometimes used to demarcate the line between families' properties in town. Non-staple crops include oranges, limes, açaí, *ta31ʔɨ3* (Sp. *caimito, Pouteria caimito*), *pa4ma4* (Sp. *guaba, Inga* spp.), *te5ma4* (Sp. *aguaje, Mauritia flexuosa*), copoaçú (*Theobroma* sp.), araçá (*Eugenia* sp.), pineapples, papayas, coconuts, and watermelons.

Agriculture is mostly not mechanized – people have chainsaws, weed whackers, and sometimes machines for applying pesticide, but usually no other power tools. It may or may not be possible to travel to and from fields by boat or motorcycle, depending on the season and the field's location. When this is not possible, people carry produce back to town or market on their backs.

#### 2.2.1.1 Specific crops

Bitter manioc is virtually always processed into *u3i1* (Spanish *fariña*; Portuguese *farinha*) a ground and toasted manioc product which keeps indefinitely. All families have and use their own equipment for processing fariña. When bitter manioc is not processed into fariña, it is processed into tapioca starch instead. Tapioca can be used to make casabe (manioc bread) or can be eaten as-is. In contrast to other groups of the upper and middle Amazon, Cushillococha people never eat plain cooked manioc. They do occasionally plant sweet manioc, but this is used exclusively for making manioc beer. A few people (mostly elders) also know how to make a manioc beer-like drink called *pai3ɟa3wa3ru5* from bitter manioc. This is served only a few times a year at festive occasions.

Excess produce is marketed in Caballococha or (in the case of fariña) in Leticia/Tabatinga, and marketing produce is a very common source of cash income. People of all ages and genders work on growing food, making fariña and tapioca,

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and marketing produce. Some crops are grown exclusively for sale. For example, cacao is not a traditional crop and is not very productive for subsistence, but it is heavily promoted by agricultural development authorities. As a result, some families have become involved in growing it for sale. Cacao and other cash crops are planted in their own fields and worked mainly by men.

#### 2.2.1.2 Animal agriculture

In line with other Amazonian groups, there is not a strong tradition of raising animals for food, but today most Cushillococha people do raise chickens. Feeding and taking care of chickens is primarily women's work. Eggs and chicken meat are normally eaten by the household, not sold. A small number of families raise other domestic birds, such as ducks or turkeys, and one or two comparatively wealthy families raise cows on a pasture along the Cushillococha-Caballococha road. The cows and birds can be the property of either men or women. Other people in the region practice more animal agriculture – raising pigs or goats, aquaculture, etc. – but no one in Cushillococha participates in this. Most households also have dogs; a few have cats; and a few more have other pets which have been captured wild or bought (often macaws or small monkeys).

Foods that are bought with cash, rather than raised or fished by the household or family, are also a part of everyone's diet. The most common purchased foods are rice, noodles, commercially produced chicken, soda, and local produce or fish (normally bought in the Caballococha market, not the very small one in Cushillococha). The more a household works for wages, the more the members of the household eat purchased foods. However, even people who very rarely work for wages still eat some purchased food, which they might buy with cash from marketing produce or might be gifted by relatives. Likewise, even people who have intensive wage-labor jobs still eat some *non*-purchased food, e.g. from kitchen gardens.

### 2.2.2 Wild-gathering and fishing

Wild-gathering plants is also an important economic activity. Wild-gathered plants are used mostly for medicines and manufacturing objects, rather than for food (although people do sometimes wild-gather the fruit of palms and *pa4ma4* trees for food). Economically important wild-gathered plants include *na3ʔĩ5* (Sp. *chambira*, *Astrocaryum chambira*), which is used for weaving hammocks; *de4ʔpe1* (Sp. *guaruma*, *Cecropia obtusifolia*), which is used for weaving baskets and strainers; *de4ʔne1* or wild cane, which is used for making arrows for fishing; and *ko3tu1* (Sp. *caraná*), which is used for thatch.

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Only women make hammocks, baskets, strainers, and other woven items, such as fans. Gathering the plants for these products seems to be mainly (if not only) women's work. Some women know elaborate, artistic weaving techniques for baskets and strainers, and products made with these techniques can be sold for significant prices. Only men work on the manufacture of arrows and thatch, although thatch is no longer very popular as a roofing material. Like plant agriculture, wild-gathered plants and the products made from them contribute both to subsistence and to cash income.

Fishing is the main source of non-purchased protein foods. Cushillococha people fish with a hook and line, with nets, and with spears and arrows. Certain species of fish can also be hand-gathered from hollows. Men, women, and children all fish with a hook and line. Only men are responsible for fishing with nets, spears, and arrows, and as far as I have heard, only children hand-gather fish. Besides these methods, people are also familiar with the use of fish poison, but they do not describe using it today (because it is legally prohibited, and also because there are not many bodies of water that are suitable for it around Cushillococha). Fish are both eaten and sold for cash, either in the market or to unrelated people in Cushillococha. Due to the depletion of game populations, hunting is not a common activity.

### 2.2.3 Wage labor and the market economy

Wage labor is also an important part of the economy. Most households have at least one member who sometimes or usually works for wages. Common wage labor jobs include working as a farmhand on large farms owned by non-Indigenous people; teaching school; working for other government programs; driving taxis on the Cushillococha-Caballococha road; and construction.

Both men and women work for wages, but it is more common for men, and certain jobs (e.g., driving taxis) are done only by men. The only job exclusive to women is working in the town's public preschools. Professions which are dominated by women in other areas of the world, such as nursing and teaching primary school, are gender-balanced or predominantly male in Cushillococha.

Many younger people (especially younger men) leave the community seasonally, or leave for a few years and then return, in order to work in Lima and other urban centers. These people do not usually leave to work in a specific profession, and rarely discuss their experience on returning. Most of the earnings made by emigrants appear to be spent on building and expanding houses – or making other large purchases, such as motorcycles – rather than on daily expenses.

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As a rough index of the level of participation of Cushillocochanos in the cash economy, in July 2018 I counted 15 businesses in Cushillococha that were larger than one room of a home. These consisted of 11 general stores, one restaurant, two hair salons, and one motorcycle repair shop. The town also had an occasional market, three evangelical Christian churches, six educational institutions of various levels, a health clinic, a municipal office, and a water treatment and supply plant. These institutions are primarily staffed by local people (men and women), many of whom received their education and training locally. In all of the institutions, Ticuna is the main or sole language of business.

### 2.2.4 Infrastructure and technology

Because of the proximity of Cushillococha to its province's capital, the level of technology available in Cushillococha is higher than in more rural parts of Loreto. Again as of July 2025, there was 24-hour electricity, 4G cell phone service, and water piped directly to houses (although no houses had indoor plumbing – instead, water flowed to a single outdoor tap for each household).

Almost all households had some part of their house that was made from commercially manufactured materials such as concrete, cinderblocks, and corrugated metal. Wealthier families often constructed one part of their home completely from commercial materials, then built a separate kitchen structure using primarily natural materials. Less wealthy families had fewer total structures and used fewer commercial materials – usually only a metal roof. Construction with non-commercial materials used locally produced boards, posts, and thatch.

As of July 2025, the majority of houses had a gas stove, a television, at least one bicycle, and at least one smartphone. Pieces of technology that a minority of households owned included outboard motors, chest freezers, refrigerators, gas ovens, motorcycles, mototaxis (a motorcycle-driven vehicle that can accommodate three adult passengers plus some cargo), radios/stereos, and larger digital devices, such as tablets or laptop computers. All of these items could be the property of either men or women. The only major piece of Western technology that no Cushillococha family owns is a car or truck. This reflects that privately owned cars and trucks are unusual in Loreto and almost unknown in the Caballococha-Cushillococha area. Motorized ground transport is by motorcycle/mototaxi instead.

### 2.2.5 The Internet and media

Many types of cultural production created in urban Latin America and in the United States circulate regularly in Cushillococha. Since most households have

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televisions, they are exposed to Peruvian national television (produced in Lima) and to television productions from other countries that are syndicated in Peru. Via radio and digital devices, people often listen to Spanish-language popular music recorded in urban Latin America and the US. Additionally, there is a flourishing community of artists recording Ticuna-language music and music videos, and these artists' production is extremely popular. As of this writing, Ticuna-language music was recorded almost entirely in Brazil and distributed via video-sharing platforms. Most Ticuna recorded music is influenced by Western popular musical genres, such as gospel/worship and reggaetón,[2] but there is also recorded music which is more traditional in genre.[3]

Most Cushillococha adults have some access to a smartphone or other internet-enabled device, and even adults who do not really speak Spanish have no difficulty using smartphones. People most frequently use smartphones to make phone calls to each other, or to relatives living outside the area. However, people also use smartphones to share pictures on social media pages – most often on Facebook or the Updates feature of WhatsApp – and to access video sharing platforms such as YouTube and TikTok. Using smartphones for activities that involve reading, such as sending text messages, is much less common. If a smartphone user cannot reach someone on a call, they usually record a voice message instead, or send voice messages back and forth in a semi-synchronous chat.

## 2.3 Kinship and social organization

In this section, I describe the system of clan membership and the system of kinship terms currently used in Cushillococha. Then I discuss the care of children (since this is partially defining of kinship) and the related topic of education.

While clan membership is patrilineal, contemporary Cushillococha nos do not organize their residence around clans or patrilines. Instead, residence is strongly matrilocal. This has far-reaching consequences for caregiving, economic cooperation, and the status of women.

### 2.3.1 Clan membership

All Ticuna people belong to a clan (*=kɨ1ɑ̃1*). (The leading equals sign in this term indicates that it is an inalienable noun; see §7.1) Clans are named for birds, other animals, and plants. Each person belongs to the clan of their father. If someone's

[2] See e.g. the work of artist Guildy Blan, https://www.youtube.com/@guildyblantikuna198.
[3] For example, https://www.youtube.com/@DjuenaTikuna-canal.

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father is not Ticuna, then they are still considered to be Ticuna, but they – and all of their descendants in the male line – belong to the *wo3ka1* 'cow' clan.

In older ethnographies such as Nimuendajú (1952), clans are described as being divided into two moieties (bird clans vs. all others). Also according to these sources, and newer sources such as Santos Angarita (2022), clans are exogamous. I have never heard any discussion of moiety in Cushillococha, and I have also never heard discussion of clans in the context of marriage today. However, people's Spanish surnames (which correlate strongly with clan) suggest that clan exogamy is still practiced. People sometimes use clans to calculate classificatory kinship relations, especially to people in generations above ego. For example, all men who belong to ego's father-in-law's clan and generation can be described as *ʧau1=ti̵4* 'my father-in-law,' and all men who belong to ego's father's clan and are significantly older than him can be described as *ʧo31ri̵3 o̱1ʔi5* 'my grandfather.'

Each clan is associated with conventional attributes of the animal or plant which symbolizes it (e.g., the attribute of the *wo3ka1* 'cow' clan is that cows raise the tail when they run). When describing their own or another person's clan, people will sometimes use these attributes instead of, or in addition to, the name of the clan. In previous times, elders note that people also painted their faces and practiced other bodily adornment which represented their clans.

Most clan-related discussion that I have recorded is directed to children and identifies the child's own clan and its attributes. This is usually *not* the same as the speaker's clan and attributes, because clans are patrilineal, but children interact mostly with people who are matrilineally related to them (see §2.3.4). A few people use clan names as reference terms, in a similar way to their use of personal names or Spanish surnames.

### 2.3.2 Kinship terms

The Ticuna kinship system as used in contemporary Cushillococha makes a relatively large number of distinctions at ego's generation, ego's children's generation, and ego's parents' generation. However, at generations above ego's parents, it distinguishes only by the gender of the relative, and at generations below ego's children, it does not make any distinctions at all. There are also no relative age distinctions, no distinctions in the gender of the ego/propositus, and no difference between reference and address terms. There are no formal avoidance relationships, either.

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#### 2.3.2.1 Consanguineal kin terms

Within ego's parents' generation, ego's mother is *ma3ma5* and ego's father is *pa3pa5*, both borrowings from Spanish. There are also historic native-vocabulary terms *=e3* 'mother' and *=na4tɨ3* 'father,' but these terms are very rarely used today as kin terms.[4] Ego's mother's sister is only ever known by the Spanish borrowing *ti3a1*,[5] but ego's mother's brother can be called either *ti3u1* or the older borrowing *tu3tɨ5* (from Omagua). Ego's father's brother is usually also *ti3u1*, but can be called *=ne1pɨ2*. Ego's father's sister may be *ti3a1* or *ku43tɨ4kɨ3*.

There are only two terms for kin in the generation above ego's parents. *Q̰1ʔi5* 'grandfather' denotes all male kin above the parents' generation (FF, MF, FFB, FMB, MFB, MMB, FFF, MFF, FMF, MMF, and so on). *No31ʔẽ5* 'grandmother' denotes all female kin above the parents' generation (MM, FM, FFZ, FMZ, MFZ, MMZ, MMM, FMM, MFM, FFM, and so on). These terms are also used as generic person terms 'old wo/man,' and as honorific titles for any elder or respected person, even if they are the same age as the speaker or younger.

In ego's own generation, ego's brother is *=e3ne2ẽ3*, and sister is *=e3ɟq̰1*. Both of these terms can also be used in generic respectful address of an unrelated person of similar age to the speaker or younger than them. In the generation of ego's children, ego's own daughter is *=a3kɨ1* and ego's own son is *=ne3*. All other consanguineal kin below ego's generation are collapsed into a single term regardless of generation and gender, *=ta4a2*. This term includes all of ego's sibling's descendants (BD, BS, ZD, ZS, BDD, ZDD, ZDS, etc.) and all of ego's own descendants below the generation of ego's own children (DD, DDD, DS, DSS, SD, SS, SDD, etc).

The terms *=e3ne2ẽ3* 'brother' and *=e3ɟq̰1* 'sister' also refer to parallel cousins (the children of mother's sister and father's brother). To distinguish between parallel cousins and siblings, people sometimes use appositive expressions like (1).

(1) *tʃau1e3ɟq̰1 i4 ti3a1a3kɨ1*
tʃau1=e3ɟq̰1 i4 ti3a1=a3kɨ1
1SG=sister DET MZ=daughter
'my sister who is my MZ's daughter, i.e. my parallel cousin' [WhatsApp message from anonymous research assistant, May 22, 2026]

[4] They are still used in religious contexts, especially 'father' in the term *ta31na4tɨ3* 'Our Father,' a title of the Christian God.

[5] Up to about the 1950s, some men had two wives. People whose fathers had two wives referred to the mother's co-wife as *ti3a1* (even if they were not sisters).

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When asked about cross-cousin terms (MBCh, FZCh), some language consultants used the term *=ta4a2* 'ChCh, BCh, ZCh,' while others could not identify a monomorphemic term and used a description such as 'aunt's son' instead.

In addition to the use of sibling terms for parallel cousins, I have also recorded speakers using *ma3ma5* for MZ and MM in matrilocal households. When asked about this, consultants did not feel that the practice is normatively correct. However, it does suggest that the kinship system is in the process of changing from merging terms within generations, to merging matrilateral relatives across generations.

#### 2.3.2.2 Affinal kin terms

The system of affinal kinship terms makes a few more distinctions. There is an ungendered term for spouse, *mɨ1kɨ3*, which historically meant (and still also means) 'companion, partner in an activity.' This is perhaps the most popular spouse term today. Due to calquing on the use of Spanish *señor(a)* 'gentleman/lady' to mean 'husband/wife,' people also sometimes use the term *ko3ri5* 'Lord, *señor*' for 'husband' and *ʧi3ũ3ra1* 'lady, *señora*' for 'wife.' The traditional terms for spouse are *=te4* 'husband' and *=mą1* 'wife.'

Parents-in-law are *=tɨ4* 'father-in-law' (WF, HF) and *=ʔe3* 'mother-in-law' (WM, HM).[6] Children-in-law are *=ne3ą1* 'daughter-in-law, SW' and *=ã3te4* 'son-in-law, DH.' The affinal kinship system for people in ego's generation contrasts four terms: *ã3ma3kɨ3* 'spouse's brother, HB/WB,' *ã3mą1kɨ3* 'spouse's sister, HZ/WZ,' *=ɨ3ma1* 'brother's wife,' and *=a3ne3* 'sister's husband.' The child-in-law and sibling-in-law terms may be related to the basic terms *=ne3* 'son,' *=te4* 'husband,' and *=mą1* 'wife' (e.g. *=ne3ą1* 'daughter-in-law, SW' is probably < *=ne3=mą1* '=son=wife' with lenition of the /m/).

#### 2.3.2.3 Use of kin terms in person reference

When people use a kinship term to refer someone to whom both they and the addressee are related, they can calculate the kinship relation either via themself or via the addressee. If the addressee is in a junior generation to the speaker, then in general the speaker will calculate the relationship through the addressee – that is, mothers speaking to children and referring to their own mothers will say *no31ʔẽ5* '(your) grandmother,' not *ma3ma5* '(my) mother.' If the addressee is in a senior generation to the speaker, on the other hand, then the speaker will calculate through themself; for instance, a mother speaking to her own mother about

[6] This term is in a minimal pair with 'mother.'

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her daughter will call the daughter *tʃau1=a3kɨ1* 'my daughter,' not *ku31=ta4a2* 'your grandchild.'

If the speaker and addressee are in the same generation, on the other hand, then person reference is extremely varied, especially when discussing people who are related to one person as sibling and to the other person as spouse. For example, when a man speaks to his brother and refers to his own wife, I have recorded both *ku31=u3ma1 (/ku31=ɨ3ma1/)* 'your sister-in-law (BW)' and *tʃo1=mɨ1kɨ3* 'my partner/wife' during the same conversation. Likewise, a woman speaking to her sister and referring to the sister's husband can routinely call him either *ku31=mɨ1kɨ3* 'your partner/husband' or *tʃau1=a3ne3* 'my brother-in-law (ZH).'

#### 2.3.2.4 Compadrazgo

*Compadrazgo*, the system of ritual co-parenthood which is widespread in Latin America, is also part of the Cushillococha kinship system. When each child is born, the mother generally selects either her husband's sister or her own sister to become her *comadre* of that child. Children of the same mother can have different *comadres*, but almost never have *comadres* who are not already related to them. The *comadre* is responsible for cutting the baby's umbilical cord; this act causes the two women to become *comadres* with each other in a reciprocal relationship.[7] The women's husbands then become *compadres* to each other as a result of the *comadre* relationship.

The *compadres* do not have conspicuous obligations to the child after they are born. In particular, because Ticuna Christians do not practice infant baptism, the *compadres* do not attend or sponsor the child's baptism. However, couples who are *compadres* often engage in more economic cooperation and social visiting than couples who have the same in-law relationship but are not *compadres*. In addition, people always refer to their *compadres* by the title *ku3ma5* 'comadre' or *ku3pa5* 'compadre' rather than by other kinship terms. This applies even if the ritual co-parent is the speaker's own brother or sister. *Ku3ma5* and *ku3pa5* do not have the semantic extension 'good friend' found for *comadre/compadre* in some varieties of Spanish.

[7] I am unclear on how *comadre* relationships are established when people give birth in hospitals.

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### 2.3.3 Caregiving and education of children

#### 2.3.3.1 Pregnancy and infancy

From about six months of pregnancy until giving birth, mothers stay at home rather than working in fields. They and the child's father also observe various other prohibitions, for example on touching certain plants. Birth is usually at home, although giving birth in hospitals is an increasingly popular option.

Once a baby is born, the mother stays at home with it for approximately six months. She does not do any agricultural or paid work during this time. After the baby reaches six months, women resume their normal work, either taking the baby with them in a front-facing sling or leaving it in the care of other family members. However, mothers usually continue breastfeeding until about 12 months of age, and sometimes as late as 24 months. When asked about who took care of a child aged 12 months or older, people in the child language studies always named the child's mother, and usually also named at least one other person. The other person was typically the mother's sister, the child's own older sister, or the mother's mother. People virtually never named men or boys, including the child's own father, or people who are related patrilaterally, as caregivers.

People engage in a very marked infant-directed style of communication toward children under 12 months. This register is characterized by the use of many nonlexical words and non-word vocalizations, along with an elevated pitch and large pitch excursions. In contrast, speech directed to children over 12 months is not markedly different in phonology, morphology, or lexicon from adult-to-adult speech (cf. Skilton 2023 JCL).

#### 2.3.3.2 Formal education

Pre-tertiary education in Peru is divided into *inicial* or preschool/kindergarten (three years, for children aged 3-6); *primaria* or primary school (six years, ages 6-12); and *secundaria* or secondary school (five years, generally ages 12-17). The state also sponsors public childcare centers known as *Cuna Más* for children from infancy to age 2.

Cushillococha has a *Cuna Más* center, two *inicial* schools, two primary schools, and a secondary school. The pre-secondary institutions are all staffed by Ticuna people and are officially bilingual, but in practice they are taught almost exclusively in Ticuna. The secondary school has some Ticuna teachers, but most of its staff are not Ticuna and it is taught primarily in Spanish.

Very few children attend the *Cuna Más* center. However, from the age of three, virtually all children attend *inicial* and primary school. (There are a few adults

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who did not complete primary school; most of them were born before 1970.) Attendance drops off over the course of secondary school, but the majority of students do graduate on time. People who do not graduate from secondary school as teenagers have the option of completing their education as adults via a service known as the *Centro de Educación Básica Alternativa*, which operates a night school. Staffing and language use at the night school appear to be similar to the mainstream secondary school.

Tertiary education is also available locally. Caballococha has a technical education institute where students can train for three careers: as nursing technicians, electricians, or in agriculture.[8] Several Cushillococha people – men and women – generally enroll in each of these degree programs per year. They are taught entirely in Spanish. Historically, teacher training programs have also been available in Caballococha at a local branch of the Universidad Nacional de la Amazonía Peruana, but as of this writing, the teacher training program was no longer operational. Ticuna people attending this program in the past generally followed the bilingual education track, which included some classes taught in Ticuna.

While local tertiary education is not entirely free, fees do not appear to be a barrier to attendance. A small number of people study at universities and training centers in other Peruvian cities, or if they have Colombian/Brazilian identity documents, in urban centers in other countries. Cost becomes more of an issue for study away from home, and only relatively wealthier families pursue it.

### 2.3.4 Matrilocality and 'matriarchy'

During the studies of child language acquisition which I conducted between 2019 and 2023, I collected detailed information about the households of 48 unique children born between 2014 and 2021. (The 48 children were born to 41 mothers, as the sample included seven pairs of siblings.) This included asking each child's primary caregiver about who lived with the child, how they were related to the child, and who else lived nearby.

To interpret this data, I group people mentioned in caregiver responses, or that I observed in their homes, into 'households' and 'extended households' (neither of these English words has a unique counterpart in Ticuna). A 'household' as a group of people who share a sleeping structure, while an 'extended household' is a group of related people who live in physically attached or adjacent houses. I considered extended households to be matrilocal if more than half of the heads of the component households were related through women.

[8] The nursing and agriculture courses teach Western/non-traditional practices, but most people who complete them seem to use a blend of traditional and introduced practices.

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Within the 48-child sample, the average household included two parents, three children, and six total people (i.e., on average, there was one person who was neither a parent nor a sibling of the target child). The average extended household included 16 people. The largest extended household had 30 residents, while the smallest had eight residents.

Mothers in the study generally gave birth to their first child between ages 16 and 20. Although not all mothers were finished childbearing when the data was collected, 32 of 41 mothers had three children or fewer. Six mothers had four children, two had five, and one had six.

#### 2.3.4.1 Prevalence of matrilocality

While households in the child-language study sample tended to be neolocal, extended households were mostly matrilocal. Of the 41 mothers and 48 children, 29 mothers (71%) and 32 children (67%) lived in matrilocal extended households, while only six mothers and nine children lived in patrilocal ones. Additionally, five total mothers and five children lived in isolated neolocal households (two) or extended households that could not be classified into one of the classic residence patterns (three; these involved pairs of households headed by a brother and sister).[9]

Some of the extended households that I count as matrilocal involved mixed matrilocal and patrilocal dynamics, but with a tilt toward matrilocality. For example, three mothers and four children in the sample lived in an extended household where the heads of household were related as sister, sister, mother, and brother. The brother's residence was not matrilocal because he did not live with his wife's family, but the residence of his *daughter* was matrilocal because her husband lived with her family.

Patrilocal and unclassifiable residence patterns tended to occur in situations where either (a) the woman who married into the family (and left her kin) was not from Cushillococha, or (b) the woman's kin still lived extremely close to her new residence. To return to the example of the Z-Z-M-B extended household, while the brother's wife technically lives in a patrilocal pattern, her father lives less than 400 meters from her current house. Non-matrilocal extended households in Cushillococha also tend to experience more change in residence over time than matrilocal ones, and this change often leads to people returning to their mother's household or the household of someone related via their mother. For example, when a patrilocal or neolocal marriage ends, the woman will almost

[9] Two of the three unclassifiable extended households contained matrilocal households within them.

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invariably go back to her mother's household, and the children always go with her. The man's residence is more variable; he may end up with his mother, or with another matrilateral relative such as his mother's sister. Similarly, if a mother dies or is unable to take care of her children, they will normally go to live with either her sister or her mother, not their father or someone related to him.

#### 2.3.4.2 'Matriarchy' and other effects of matrilocality

The overall political and economic effect of matrilocality in Cushillococha is to relatively increase the status of women within the extended household and decrease the status of men. Women can rely on the support of their co-resident mothers, sisters, and daughters to cooperate in taking care of children, agriculture, and other economic activities. They also benefit from the support of related, co-resident women in conflicts with their husbands or in-laws. This results in a very high level of status for the most senior woman in an extended household, as all members of the extended household are either descended from her, or belong to the household because they are married to one of her descendants. In either case, they are obliged to help her economically and treat her as an authority figure.

Men who have many daughters can also acquire high status under this system, for two reasons: (a) the daughters' in-marrying husbands are expected to do work that benefits the father-in-law, especially early in the marriage (bride service), and (b) their daughters' and granddaughters' families will support them as they age. However, men who are related because their wives are sisters – although they normatively live together – do not tend to engage in a great deal of economic cooperation. This further contributes to the dynamic of solidarity between women vs. relative isolation of men.

Ticuna women regularly observe that Ticunas, as a group, treat women better than non-Indigenous Peruvians. At the same time, these women still live within a fairly patrilocal and patriarchal national culture. Thus, while Ticuna women have greater social capital and support than many other rural Peruvian women, they are still far from immune from gender-based violence.

#### 2.3.4.3 Unmarried adults

Nuptiality (the rate at which people get married) is very high in Cushillococha, but it is not universal. While I have never directly counted how many people are married, I estimate that at least 80% of adults have been married at least once by the age of 25. People whose marriages end through death or divorce often remarry, especially if they are less than 30-40 years old.

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Unmarried adults generally continue living with their mothers' families. There is a significant population of adult men who remain unmarried, run their own households (within their mothers' extended households), and engage in various gender non-conforming behaviors, such as wearing women's clothes. These people generally use men's names and male kinship terms and tend to have close relationships with each other. There is not a native-vocabulary term for this group of people. There are a few women who have never been married, but they do not form a community in the way that the unmarried men do.

### 2.3.5 Political authorities

The Peruvian state mandates that *Comunidades Nativas* must have an elected president. Cushillococha complies with this requirement. In addition, the town is organized as a sub-district within the district of Mariscal Ramón Castilla. The sub-district government includes has a lieutenant governor (who represents the mayor of the district, but is always from Cushillococha) and a town council, the members of which are called *regidores*.

People generally come to political authority by working in specific public professions, most commonly as schoolteachers; by being religious leaders (a group that often overlaps with teachers); or by being married to someone who is a teacher or religious leader. To my knowledge, all town presidents and lieutenant governors so far have been men, but the *regidores* include both men and women. Political leaders at all levels are known as *ã3ẹ1ga3kɨ3* 'the authorities.' This term can be applied to everyone from the president and Congress of Peru to the *regidores* of Cushillococha.

### 2.3.6 Economic specialization and inequality

There are clear differences in wealth between families in Cushillococha. Wealthier families live in houses that include more commercial materials, raise more and larger animals, have more commercially manufactured possessions (such as technology and jewelry), and are more likely to send children for education in other cities. They also visit cities themselves more frequently. Wealthier people have generally gained wealth by working for wages, either in town or as emigrants, not by having more success in agriculture.

Beyond wage labor and the division of labor by gender, there is a little labor specialization. For example, some women are known as talented, artistic basket-weavers or singers, and some men are known for carpentry or house-building. However, in general everyone shares a similar baseline knowledge of agriculture and of the other labor assigned to their gender.

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## 2.4 Religion

### 2.4.1 Prevalence of Protestant Christianity

Ticuna people in the Cushillococha region have been in contact with Christianity for approximately 200 years. According to its own staff, the Catholic mission at Caballococha was established in 1845, and even prior to this date, it is reasonable to assume that Ticunas would have been in contact with the Jesuit, and then Franciscan, missionaries who traveled the Amazon in the Spanish colonial period.

Today, due to the activity of SIL missionaries, nearly everyone in Cushillococha is at least nominally an evangelical Protestant. I have never met a Peruvian Ticuna person who identified as Catholic, even though I lived inside the Catholic mission building during six field trips between 2015 and 2022. In fact, Ticuna people found the idea that I might be Catholic fairly scandalous (even though most people in Caballococha are nominal Catholics).

Most people attend church at least once per week, at one of the three Protestant churches which are established in Cushillococha. Church services and church-related activities, along with activities related to the school, are the main non-agricultural collective activities in town. Therefore, I describe them in depth.

### 2.4.2 Protestant religious practices

Church services are held on Sunday and are between three and four hours long. The first hour is Sunday school, which is attended by children, as well as by adults who are more devout than average. The following two to three hours have a split leadership structure where one person (usually a woman) directs the service, i.e. announces the hymns and introduces other speakers, and one person (always a man, most frequently the lead pastor of the church) preaches. This is the only aspect of church participation which is divided by gender.

At least an hour, and usually more, of each service time is occupied by the congregation collectively singing hymns, which are chosen by the director ahead of time and by congregants who feel moved in the moment. The hymns are mostly in Ticuna, even when other parts of the service are not, and are always accompanied by the entire congregation clapping or playing tambourines. They usually also have instrumental accompaniment. Over the hours of hymn singing, the repetitive lyrics of the hymns, rhythmic clapping, and tambourine playing create a trance-like atmosphere which is markedly different from Catholic or mainline Protestant hymn performance.

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Time in services which is not occupied by singing hymns is occupied by the pastor's sermon, by individual congregants' prayers, or by Sunday school participants reciting a memorized Bible verse collectively (memorizing scripture is the main activity during Sunday school). Sermons and prayers frequently incorporate ritual weeping – a discourse style that involves intentionally crying during speech – or use a voice quality that resembles wailing or crying. Since ritual weeping or wailing is widespread in Indigenous Amazonia (Urban 1988), this could reasonably be described as syncretic. However, church activities do not incorporate any other clearly Indigenous ceremonial elements, even when they are held completely in Ticuna.

### 2.4.3 Religious education

In addition to churches proper, Cushillococha is also home to a missionary-financed but locally run institute for training evangelical Christian pastors, known as the *Instituto Bíblico de Estudios Ticuna del Amazonas* (IBIETA). IBIETA offers courses for two to three months each year to people from throughout the Ticuna region who wish to become pastors or missionaries (usually to other Ticuna speakers), or to develop in their current practice as pastors. For more religiously observant people in Cushillococha, IBIETA courses are extremely popular. Many people, including both men and women, attend IBIETA up to four times. The IBIETA classes are taught primarily in Ticuna, as the students – many of whom come from Brazil – do not share any other language.

### 2.4.4 Traditional religious practices

Traditional religious and spiritual practices do still occur – for example, I have been told many times about sick people being brought to shamans.[10] However, people have shared very little information with me about who still engages in traditional religious practices, when, or how. I conclude that this information is not public.

One exception to the non-public status of traditional religion is the girls' puberty ritual known as *ɟi51ʔi3* 'dance' or *wo̱1re3ki3=tʃi3ga1* (teenage.girl=celebration) 'teenage girl's ceremony.' People are happy to discuss this ritual, which has been extensively documented in the anthropological literature and in museum exhibits around the world. (The ritual involves participants wearing elaborate masks

[10] By shamans, I mean people who heal or effect other changes in the world through religious practices, not people who heal using plants. Almost everyone in Cushillococha has at least some knowledge of healing with plants.

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and other regalia; many museums with an Indigenous Amazonian collection will display one of the masks.) However, because the SIL missionaries discouraged observance of *ɟi51ʔɨ3*, it has not been practiced widely in Cushillococha since at least the 1980s.

## 2.5 Conclusion

In contrast to the stereotype of Indigenous Amazonians living in isolated villages with minimal technology, Cushillococha people ride motorcycles, listen to *reggaetón*, and often work for wages. Some colleagues have suggested to me that this is anomalous in Amazonia. To this, I would point out that Ticunas make up a large proportion of all Indigenous Amazonians (across the entire region), so it makes little sense to consider anything they do anomalous.

Rather, it is more accurate to say that Cushillococha culture includes both traditional and non-traditional elements. On the side of non-traditional practices, Cushillocochanos participate in the cash economy, have significant access to formal education, and are exposed to technology and cultural products originating in other countries. At the same time, nearly everyone also continues to speak Ticuna; participate to some degree in subsistence agriculture; and engage in various traditional Ticuna practices other than language, such as matrilocality and the use of traditional herbal medicine. Many people express pride in this fact, as well as in the fact that they are bilingual, stating that they 'value both' cultures and languages.

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# 3 Phonological inventory and word prosody

This chapter, which is adapted from Skilton (2023b), describes the language's phonological inventory, phonotactics, and stress. I begin with the segmental inventory (§3.1). Describing the segmental inventory also requires me to describe nasality, as there are contrastive nasal vowels. Sound changes in progress affect the distribution of nasality and lead to substanitally different analyses of the phonological inventory for more conservative vs. more innovative speakers.

Suprasegmental contrasts are extremely important to the language, possibly more important than segmental contrasts. There are 8 contrastive tone melodies on monosyllabic words (§3.2). Creaky voice is also contrastive (§3.3). The creaky voice contrast is limited to the syllables with the lowest two tones (tone 1 and 2). While creaky voice could be analyzed as a laryngeal feature independent from tone, I treat syllables with creaky voice and tones 1/2 as displaying separate tonemes from their counterparts with modal voice and the same pitch.

The syllable structure is (C)V(ʔ) (§3.4). There are many phonotactic restrictions banning specific consonant-vowel sequences. In addition, many of the language's segments and tones are possible only in stressed syllables. Stress is fixed on the first syllable of the Prosodic Word (PrWd), and its main acoustic correlate is duration 3.5. Stress conditions almost all of the language's phonological processes (Chapter 4).

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## 3.1 Segmental inventory

### 3.1.1 Consonant inventory

Due to a sound change in progress affecting /ŋ/, Cushillococha speakers have different *phonological* inventories of consonants, although their *phonetic* inventories are very similar. I start by describing the conservative variant of this inventory, then discuss how the innovative variant is different.

The conservative inventory contains 16 consonants and 6 vowel qualities. The consonant inventory is shown in Table 3.1. As this table indicates, the language

has no fricatives, although some non-fricative sounds can be spirantized in fast speech (Chapter 4.5.1).

Table 3.1: Phonological inventory of consonants: More conservative variant

| Manner | Labial | Alveolar | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Voiceless Stop/Affricate | p | t | tʃ | k | ʔ |
| Voiced Stop | b | d | ɟ | g | |
| Nasal | m | n | ɲ | ŋ | |
| Approximant | ʍ w | ɾ | | | |

(1–5) provide near-minimal pairs at each place of articulation supporting all of the phonological contrasts in this table.

citations for these examples are currently given by date and consultant. Convert to the style of this work - Page number and consultant

(1) Segmental minimal pairs with labials

a. /p/ vs. /b/:
*pu3* 'rain (verb)' [KSC.20150815] vs.
*bu31* 'be a child; be immature' [LCS.20150814]

b. /p/ vs. /m/:
/tʃau1=pa3ti4/ *tʃo1pa3ti4* (1SG=fingernail) 'my fingernail' vs.
/tʃau1=ma3ti4/ *tʃo1ma3ti4* (1SG=design) 'my design' [DGG.20160718]

c. /p/ vs. /w/ vs. /ʍ/:
*pa̱1* 'embrace' [KSC.20150815] vs.
*wa̱1* 'fall, speaking of tree' [DGG.20150818] vs.
*ʍa̱1* 'know'

(2) Alveolars

a. /t/ vs. /d/ vs. /r/:
*ti4* 'cotton, thread' [LCS.20150817] vs.
*di1* 'palm sp. (probably *Jessenia bataua*)' [LCS.20150814] vs.
*ri1* 'and; Topic' [LCS.20150817]

b. /t/ vs. /n/:
/tʃau1=te4/ *tʃau1te4* (1SG=husband) 'my husband' [LCS.20150817] vs.
/tʃau1=ne3/ *tʃau1ne3* (1SG=son) 'my son' [DGG.20150819]

(3) Palatals

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a. /tʃ/ vs. /ɟ/ vs. /ɲ/:
*tʃa4* 'be itchy' [LCS.20150817] vs.
*ɟa2* 'be adult; be mature' [LCS.20150817] vs.
*ɲa43* 'run.SGS'

(4) Velars

a. /k/ vs. /ʍ/:
*kɑ1* 'fruit sp.' vs.
*ʍɑ1* 'know' [DGG.20160611]

b. /k/ vs. /g/:
*ka1* 'yell, call' vs.
*ga1* 'swallow' [DGG.20150815]

c. /k/ vs. /ŋ/:
*ku1* 'push' vs.
*ŋu1* 'learn'

(5) Glottal

a. /ʔ/ vs. ∅:
/na43=tɨ4/ *na43tɨ4* (DFLT.POSS-river) 'a/the river' vs.
/na43=ʔtɨ4/ *na43ʔtɨ4* (DFLT.POSS-WF/HF) 'a/the father-in-law'
[LCS.20150817]

The sound transcribed in Table 3.1 as /ʍ/ is involved in a change in progress (not related to the change that causes the reorganization of the phonemic inventory). Words with this sound are transcribed as a labialized velar stop [kʷ] in sources from the 1950s, such as L. Anderson (1959) and D. Anderson (1962). Cushillococha speakers born before about 1960 – including several people whose speech is represented in this description, such as Deoclesio Guerrero Gómez, Angel Bittancourt Serra, Nicasio Witancort Guerrero, and Ortencia Guerrero Coello – still usually produce the phoneme as [kʷ]. However, people born in the 196os and later, who now make up the great majority of all speakers, produce this phoneme in all environments as a fricative or approximant [ɸ, ʍ] rather than a stop. I therefore represent it as /ʍ/. This change is also observed in other varieties of Ticuna (Santos Angarita 2005: 89).

In addition to the 22 consonants, the inventory contains six vowel qualities /i u e o a ɨ/ and two rising diphthongs, /au/ and /ai/. Diphthongs and monophthongs behave identically in most phonological processes. I justify the treatment of /au/ and /ai/ as diphthongs in my discussion of the syllable template (§3.4.) (6) gives a segmental minimal set demonstrating the vowel contrasts.

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(6) Minimal pairs demonstrating vowel quality contrasts

a. /a/ vs. /i/ vs. /e/:
*ŋa̱1* 'be raw' [LWG.20170806] vs.
*ŋi̱1* 'steal' [LWG.20170806] vs.
*ŋe̱1* 'drop, let go of' [KSC.20150815]

b. /a/ vs. /ɨ/:
*ta4* 'FUT' vs.
*tɨ4* 'cotton, thread' [DGG.20160706]

c. /a/ vs. /u/ vs. /o/:
*ɟa2* 'be adult; be mature; grow' [LCS.20150817] vs.
*ɟu2* 'die' [LCS.20150817] vs.
*ɟo2* 'cut with scissors' [LCS.20150814]

### 3.1.2 Distribution of nasality

All vowel qualities can be nasal. Where the conservative and innovative phonological inventories differ is in the distribution of nasal vowels. In *both* systems, nasality is contrastive on vowels in onsetless syllables, as shown by (7), and on vowels in syllables with the onsets /ʔ w ɾ/, as shown for /w/ in (8) and /ʔ/ in (9). I refer to onsetless syllables as having the forms [V Ṽ], and to syllables with a glide, glottal, or approximant onset as having the forms [GV GṼ].

(7) a. *a5we1* 'pava, bird species'
b. *ã5we1* 'charcoal'

(8) a. *wa̱1* 'fall, speaking of tree'
b. *wã4* 'open, close'

(9) a. *ni4ʔ=ã1* 'he/she/they paddle'
b. *ni4ʔ=a1* 'he/she/they are burned'

add citations in current style

In addition, in *both* phonological systems, nasality is predictable in all syllables with a surface voiced or voiceless obstruent onset, or with the surface onset [m n ɲ]. Specifically, the vowel of a syllable with a (voiced or voiceless) obstruent onset is always phonetically oral, and the vowel of a syllable with a nasal onset other than /ŋ/ is always phonetically nasal. In other words, syllables may have the surface forms [TV], [DV], or [NṼ], but not [*TṼ], [*DṼ], or [*NV] with [m n ɲ].

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Where the systems differ is in the existence of a nasality contrast in syllables with the onset /ŋ/. In the conservative system, nasality is also contrastive after /ŋ/, as shown in (10).

(10) a. *ŋ̃o1* 'eat, bite'
b. *ŋo1* 'appear'
add citations in current style

However, in the innovative system, *ŋ has undergone a split conditioned by the nasality of the following vowel. Before nasal vowels, it remains [ŋ], but before oral vowels, it has changed to [ʎ] (or in some realizations [j]), as shown in (11).[1]

(11) a. *ŋ̃o1* 'eat, bite'
b. *ʎo1* 'appear'
add citations in current style

Prior to the *ŋ > ʎ change, [ŋV] syllables with an oral vowel were the only syllable type where (i) the vowel and the onset did not have the same value of nasality, and (b) the onset was an oral or nasal stop. However, as shown in (11), the *ŋ > ʎ change eliminated this syllable type. Therefore, while everyone has the syllable types [TV DV V Ṽ GV GṼ], people *without* the change also have both of [NV NṼ], but people *with* the sound change have only [NṼ].

For speakers who have no contrast between [NV] and [NṼ] syllable types for any nasal, i.e. speakers with the *ŋ > ʎ change, we need to either (a) treat nasal stops as allophones of oral stops triggered by a following nasal vowel, or (b) posit phonotactic constraints against sequences of a nasal stop + oral vowel. Because the type of phonotactic constraints in (b) are necessary for other reasons already, I choose this analysis, which amounts to treating nasality as a syllable-level feature. The phonological inventory for speakers with the *ŋ > ʎ change is shown in Table 3.2.

Transcription in the rest of this work reflects the *ŋ > ʎ change, i.e. uses <ʎ> before oral vowels, regardless of how the segment was actually pronounced in the example. As of the mid-2020s, most adult speakers have this sound change, and all child speakers appear to be acquiring it. Thus, the inventory in Table

[1]Other varieties of Ticuna also have splits in *ŋ conditioned by the nasality of the following vowel, but in all other described varieties with splits, the reflex of *ŋ before oral vowels is [ŋʰ], [g], [h], or zero, rather than an approximant (Santos Angarita 2004: 78-79; Montes Rodriguez 2004a: 109; Bertet 2020: 70).

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Table 3.2: Phonological inventory of consonants: More innovative variant

| Manner | Labial | Alveolar | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Voiceless Stop/Affricate | p | t | tʃ | k | ʔ |
| Voiced Stop | b | d | ɟ | g | |
| Nasal | m | n | ɲ | ŋ | |
| Approximant | ʍ w | ɾ | ʎ | | |

3.2 is not only the most common phonological system today, but also the one which is most likely to exist in the future. Nasality is not marked after nasal stops, including <ŋ>, because it is completely predictable.

## 3.2 Tone inventory

### 3.2.1 Level and contour tones and their distribution

Phonetically, Cushillococha Ticuna displays four level tones and three contour tones which regularly appear on monosyllabic words. An additional level tone appears primarily on polysyllabic words, giving a total of eight contrasting tone categories. In describing the tone inventory, I assume that the TBU is the syllable. This claim is justified in §3.4.

I represent tone using the numbers 1 through 5, where 5 represents the high end of the speaker's pitch range.[2] Under this scheme, the seven tone categories possible on monosyllabic words are level tones 1, 2, 3, and 4, and contour tones 31, 43, and 51.[3] (12) shows the seven contrasts on monosyllabic words with the nucleus /u/. In (12), the diacritic on the tone 1 form marks creaky voice, discussed further in §3.3. Tone 5 is not included in (12) because, as discussed later in this section, it rarely occurs on monosyllabic words.

(12) a. 1: *mṵ1* 'eat (fruit)'
b. 2: *mu2* 'send'
c. 3: *mu3* 'weave'
d. 4: *mu4* 'be many'
e. 31: *mu31* 'pierce with pointed weapon'

[2] Readers who compare examples in this work to Anderson (1959) and Anderson (1962) should be aware the Andersons use a tone notation system where 5 is the low end of the pitch range.

[3] Anderson (1962) reports an additional tone 41 occurring on certain subject proclitics. However, there is no evidence in my data for a 41 vs. 4 contrast.

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f. 43: *ũ43* 'go (singular subject)'
g. 51: *tu51* 'pull'

add citations in current style

(13) shows six of the tone contrasts on monosyllabic words with the nucleus /a/. There is no example of tone 51 in (13) because there are no monosyllabic words of the form /(C)a51/ (tone 51 is very infrequent in the lexicon).

(13) a. 1 (creaky voice): *pa̰1* 'hug'
b. 1 (modal voice): *pa1* 'be tired'
c. 2: *ã2* 'mosquito'
d. 3: *ã3* 'give (inanimate singular object)'
e. 4: *pa4* 'be a young adult'
f. 31: *a31* 'be thin'
g. 43: *pa43* 'be dry'

add citations in current style

Tone 5, the superhigh tone, has a restricted distribution. The only two monosyllables with tone 5 are the function word *nai5* 'other, noun class III' and the possibly onomatopoeic verb *pe5* 'slap.' These two words both belong to minimal tone sets, as shown in (14) and (15).

(14) a. 1: *nai1* 'other (noun class II)'
b. 2: *nai2* 'fart'
c. 31: *nai31* 'tree, generic'
d. 4: *nai4* 'hot'
e. 5 *nai5* 'other (noun class III)'

(15) a. 43: *pe43* 'sleep'
b. 5: *pe5* 'slap'

add citations in current style

Tone 5 more often appears in polysyllabic words, where it may occur on any syllable. The minimal set in (16) demonstrates the contrastiveness of tone 5 on the first syllable of disyllabic words, and the minimal and near-minimal sets in (17–19) demonstrate the contrast on the second syllable.

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(16) a. *ŋe2ʔma4* 'there (anaphoric/addressee-proximal, locative case)'
b. *ŋe3ma2* 'that (anaphoric/addressee-proximal/invisible, noun class IV)'
c. *ŋe4ma2* 'that (anaphoric/addressee-proximal/invisible, noun class V)'
d. *ŋe5ma2* 'there (anaphoric/addressee-proximal, allative case)'

(17) a. *ɟu3ra1* 'palm species; floor'
b. *ɟo3ra5* 'owner, boss'

(18) a. *de43ʔa2* 'talk (v., n.)'
b. *de43ʔa5* 'water'

(19) a. *ma3rɨ3* 'already'
b. *e3rɨ4* 'because'
c. *pi3ri5* 'fry (v.); fried food (n.)' (< Spanish *freir*)

add citations in current style

Even in polysyllabic words, the distribution of tone 5 is still subject to some morpheme structure constraints. Tone 5 can appear on any syllable of an alienable noun or adverb; on any syllable of a suffix or enclitic which attaches to nouns (or adverbs or interjections); or on non-final syllables in an inalienable noun, verb root, verbal suffix, or verbal enclitic. However, tone 5 **never** appears on the final syllable of an inalienable noun, or on any suffix or enclitic which attaches to verbs. With the exception of the verbs *pe5* 'slap' and *pi3ri5* 'fry,' it also never appears on the final syllable of verb roots. These constraints mean that, except in these two roots, tone 5 never appears on the final syllable of a verb stem.

### 3.2.2 Phonetic realization of tones on monosyllabic words

Auditorily, the tones that I label as 'level' – tones 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 – vary between level tones at superlow, low, mid, high, and superhigh pitch, and rising tones which begin at a superlow, low, mid, high, or superhigh pitch and display a slight rise. Thus tone 1 could be equally well described as 11 or 12, tone 2 as 22 or 23, and so on, and it would be as accurate to call these tones 'rising' as to call them 'level.' In contrast to the level/rising tones, the 'contour' tones 31, 43, and 51 are always phonetically falling.

To describe the acoustics of the five level tones, I recorded two speakers – LWG and the anonymous research assistant/transcriber – producing each of the words in (12–15) in isolation and in three different carrier sentences, shown in (20–22),

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where the target word was followed by either tone 1 (20), tone 3 (21), or tone 4 (22). Most of the target words in (12–15) are verbs and therefore syntactically require subject proclitics. The speakers produced all verbs with the same subject proclitic, the third-person main clause form *na4=/ni4=*. This proclitic was used in all carrier sentences as well as in isolation.

(20) *na4=X rɨ1 na4me43*
na4=X rɨ1 na4=me43
3.SBJ=X and 3.SBJ=good
's/he Xed, it's fine' (reading with verbs); 'the X, it's good' (reading with nouns)'

(21) *na4=X a3rɨ1 ni4ʔĩ4*
na4=X a3rɨ1 ni4ʔĩ4
3.SBJ=X again COP/FOC
's/he/it Xed again' (reading with verbs); 'it's an X again' (reading with nouns)

(22) *(na4=)X ɲa4a2ʔĩ4*
(na4=)X ɲa4a2ʔĩ4
(3.SBJ=)X 3.SBJ.SC.QUOT
's/he said X'

Each speaker produced each carrier sentence and each word in isolation at least twice. Some words in isolation were produced up to eight times; some carrier sentences were produced up to six times. All tokens were analyzed unless they contained noise or disfluencies. In total, 235 tokens were usable for the anonymous research assistant and 208 tokens for LWG.

For each vowel token analyzed, F0 was measured at ten equally spaced intervals from 0% to 100% of the duration of the vowel using Praat (v. 6.2; Boersma & Weenink 2022). Following the measurement of F0, I excluded all tone 1 vowels with creaky voice in words such as *mṵ1* 'eat fruit,' since their nonmodal phonation prevented reliable measurement of F0. This decision led to exclusion of 47 tokens, leaving 396 in the data set. All other F0 values were transformed to log scores and a by-speaker z-score normalization was applied using R (v. 4.1.2; R Core Team 2020). F0 could not be measured at the first timepoint for 22.2% of tokens and at the final timepoint for 16.2%. This was typically due to low amplitude, nonmodal phonation caused by an adjacent glottal stop, or for words produced in isolation, vowel post-aspiration (phrase-final oral vowels tend to be post-aspirated). All other timepoints had <7% missing data. Missing F0 values were disregarded in the z-score normalization.

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Acoustically, Figure 1 shows z-score normalized log F0, which measures the distance of an F0 value from the center of the speaker's F0 space, vs. normalized time for of each of the five level tones. The left panels in Figure 3.1 show data from the anonymous speaker, and the right panels show data from LWG. Data is missing for the final timepoint in LWG's panel for the tone 3 frame due to nonmodal phonation. Figure 3.2 shows the same data for the contour tones.

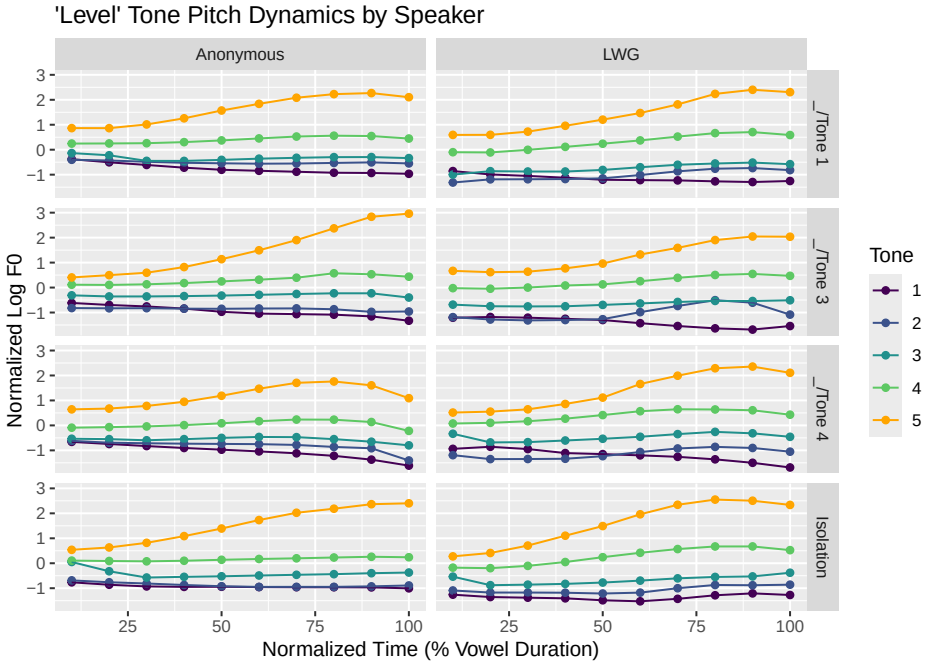



Figure 3.1: Normalized log F0 vs. normalized time for 'level' tones on monosyllabic words

As Figures 3.1 and 3.2 illustrate, the language's tones – especially the level tones – are not equally dispersed through the pitch range. Some tones display a large separation in pitch from their nearest phonetic neighbors. For example, in LWG's data, level tone 5 is 1.3 to 6.0 semitones (14.8 to 79.7 Hz) higher than level tone 4 at each time point. In comparison, other tones crowd together within a small range. In comparison to the large tone 4 vs. tone 5 difference, LWG's pairwise differences among tones 1, 2, and 3 never exceed 1.46 semitones (13 Hz). Therefore, in Skilton (2023b), I evaluated whether there are other acoustic cues to tone in addition to F0. This analysis found that tone category was a significant predictor of F0 for every tone and at nearly every timepoint. Tone category

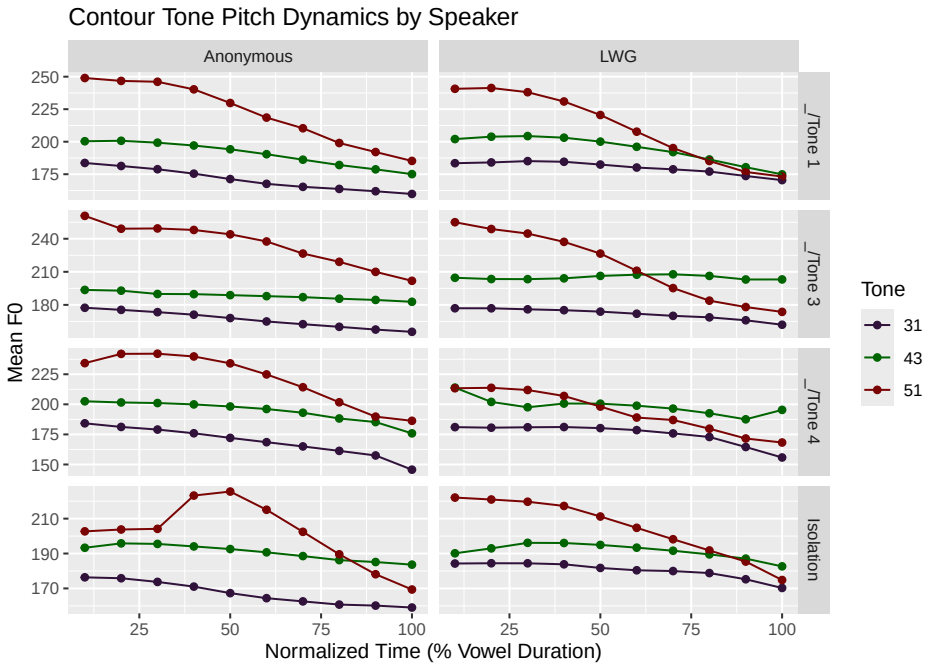



Figure 3.2: Normalized log F0 vs. normalized time for 'contour' tones on monosyllabic words

was also a significant predictor of vowel duration. There were no other acoustic measures which were significantly predicted by tone category for every tone and timepoint. However, the acoustic measures which were most consistently related to tone were H2 intensity, H1-H2, H1-A3, and A3 (A3 refers to the amplitude of the strongest harmonic in the third formant). These measures are often acoustic correlates of non-modal (e.g., breathy) voice quality, suggesting that voice quality may make some contribution to the tone contrasts in monosyllabic words.

### 3.2.3 Distribution of tones in non-monosyllabic words

Most of the examples so far, as well as the data for Figures 3.1 and 3.2, have come from monosyllabic words. However, tone contrasts are mostly maintained in larger words.

Table 3.3 presents example disyllabic roots with all of the attested melodies involving only level tones. As of 2026, I have not recorded any words of the form 2.5 or 5.5. However, these two patterns are the only gaps out of the 25 logically

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possible tone melodies involving only level tones. All 23 other melodies occur at least once.

Table 3.3: Tone melodies on disyllabic words with only level tones

| *Tone 1 on first syllable* | | | *Tone 2 on first syllable* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1.1 | wi1ʔɟa1 | urinate (v.) | 2.1 | tɨ2ʔe1 | manioc (n.) |
| 1.2 | ʎai1ka2 | nearby (loc.) (n.) | 2.2 | ɟi2ma2 | DEM.MULTI(III) |
| 1.3 | ɲa1ʔtɨ3 | under (n.) | 2.3 | ɨ2ʔɨ3 | firewood (n.) |
| 1.4 | dɨ1ka4(ʔ) | look! (intj.) | 2.4 | ɟi2ma4 | DEM.MULTI(II) |
| 1.5 | i1ru5 | plantain variety (n.) | 2.5 | – | |
| *Tone 3 on first syllable* | | | *Tone 4 on first syllable* | | |
| 3.1 | tɨ3re1 | port (n.) | 4.1 | pe4ʔtʃi1 | basket, generic (n.) |
| 3.2 | ŋe3ma2 | DEM.MULTI(IV) (n.) | 4.2 | ɲa4a2 | DEM.PROX(IV) (n.) |
| 3.3 | ĩ3nɨ3 | listen (v.) | 4.3 | o4ʔta3 | brain (n.) |
| 3.4 | e3ga4 | if (adv.) | 4.4 | o4ʔgɨ4 | vomit (v.) |
| 3.5 | wɨ3ra5 | bow and arrow (n.) | 4.5 | dɨ4ʔwa5 | at last (adv.) |
| *Tone 5 on first syllable* | | | | | |
| 5.1 | a5we1 | bird sp. (n.) | | | |
| 5.2 | nu5a2 | here.ALL (n.) | | | |
| 5.3 | ko5mɨ3 | bright white (v.) | | | |
| 5.4 | wai5ra4 | açaí, *Euterpe precatoria* (n.) | | | |
| 5.5 | (n.att.) | | | | |

As described in further detail in §3.4.3, the contour tones 31, 43, and 51 occur only on stressed syllables, and therefore are found only on the first syllable of roots. Of the 15 possible disyllabic tone melodies with a contour on the first syllable, 11 are attested, as shown in Table 3.4. Three of the four unattested melodies involve tone 51, which is very rare in the lexicon (it appears in <15 total words in the lexical database).

I do not attempt to construct tables on the model of Tables 3.3 and 3.4 for trisyllabic and larger roots, as roots of that size are usually either (a) loans or (b) diachronically derived from morphologically complex stems.

### 3.2.4 Tone inventory: Interim summary

Table 3.3 and 3.4 demonstrate that all five tone contrasts persist on the initial syllable of disyllabic roots, as well as in monosyllables. Additionally, all of the tones found on monosyllables pattern separately in the nominalizer tone circle,

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Table 3.4: Tone melodies on disyllabic words with a contour tone on the first syllable

| *Tone 31 on first syllable* | | | *Tone 43 on first syllable* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 31.1 | ɟa31tɨ1 | be male (v.), man (n.) | 43.1 | o43na1 | food, generic (n.) |
| 31.2 | tai31ɟa2 | hungry (v.) | 43.2 | de43ʔa2 | talk (v.) |
| 31.3 | ta31ʔi3 | *Pouteria caimito* (n.) | 43.3 | be43re3 | *Solanum sessiliflorum* (n.) |
| 31.4 | – | | 43.4 | wɨ43ʔi4 | one (n.) |
| 31.5 | no31ʔri5 | at first (adv.) | 43.5 | de43ʔa5 | water (n.) |
| *Tone 51 on first syllable* | | | | | |
| 51.1 | i51ra1 | small (v.) | | | |
| 51.2 | – | | | | |
| 51.3 | ŋi51ã3 | let's go! (intj.) | | | |
| 51.4 | – | | | | |
| 51.5 | – | | | | |

which is the language's only phonological process affecting >2 tone categories (see Chapter 4.3.1). In light of these facts, I analyze all five level tones as phonemic, yielding five tonemes /1 2 3 4 5/. I treat contour tones as composed of a sequence of two level tones which have been assigned to the same TBU (syllable).

## 3.3 Creaky voice

Creaky voice is contrastive on syllables with tone 1. (23) and (24) provide minimal pairs illustrating the contrast between modal voice and creaky voice on monosyllabic words with tone 1.

(23) a. *na̰1* 'fall into trap'
b. *na1* 'stop crying'

(24) a. *to̰1* 'Night Monkey (*Aotus* sp.)'
b. *to1* 'other (noun class IV)'

All vowels except for /ɨ/ can bear underlying creaky voice, as shown by (23–24) for /a/ and /o/ and by (25) for the other vowel qualities.

(25) a. /i/: *ŋḭ1* 'steal'
b. /e/: *ʎḛ1* 'drop'
c. /u/: *ʎṵ1* 'learn; hurt'

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d. /ai/: *ŋa̰i̯1* ‘sew’
e. /au/: *ga̰u̯1* ‘be cold’

While /ɨ/ never bears underlying creaky voice, it can display creaky voice on the surface. This most commonly happens due to assimilation from an adjacent creaky vowel. For example, the enclitic *=kɨ1ã̰1* ‘from, originating from’ is often pronounced [kɨ̰1ã̰1]. This restriction against creaky voice with /ɨ/ is the language’s only limitation on the co-occurrence of segmental and suprasegmental features. /ɨ/ can have all values of other suprasegmental features (i.e., tone and nasality), and other suprasegmental features can occur on all vowels.

In addition to creaky voice, Ticuna also has syllables closed by glottal stop (§3.4). It is clear that creaky voice is distinct from coda glottal stop because voice quality remains contrastive even in syllables closed by glottal stop. This is shown by the pair of derived words in (26). (See Chapter 4.1.1 on the change of /ɨ/ to [o] in this example.) Another piece of evidence that creaky voice is distinct from coda glottal stop is that underived verbs are not allowed to end in glottal stop (Chapter 4.4), but *are* allowed to end in a syllable with creaky voice, as shown in (25).

(26) a. ***to1****ʔo5tʃi2*
/to1=ʔɨ5tʃi2/
other=really
‘really different’
b. ***tọ1****ʔo5tʃi2*
/tọ1=ʔɨ5tʃi2/
Night.Monkey=real
‘real Night Monkey’

Creaky voice is compatible with nasality. Since creaky nasal vowels are not widely reported in the literature on creaky voice, I give some examples in (27).

(27) a. *ã̰ṵ̃1* ‘stay, singular subject’
b. *ŋḭ1* ‘steal’
c. *ma̰1* ‘hit, kill, singular object’

In addition to appearing on tone 1 syllables, creaky voice also appears on tone 2 syllables in a small number of words (I am aware of less than 10). One of these words is in a minimal pair with a tone 1 word (28).

(28) a. Creaky 2: *tʃọ̰2* ‘break, crack (vi) (three-dimensional subject)’

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b. Creaky 1: *tʃo̰1* ‘be white’

Additional roots containing creaky voice on tone 2 appear in (29). The varying word class of these roots indicates that creaky voice on tone 2 is not restricted to any specific, phonologically marked word class.

(29) a. *tʃa̰2* ‘spread out, smooth out (e.g. fabric)’ (v.)
b. *ta̰2kɨ4* ‘what?, something (pronoun)’
c. *bę̰2ru5* ‘butterfly’ (n.)

As (28) and (29) suggest, creaky voice on tone 2 is associated with syllables containing coronal onsets, though it can occur with non-coronals (29c). Underlying creaky voice on tone 2 also seems to occur only on stressed syllables, though its rarity makes it hard to evaluate whether it is exclusively stress-licensed.

Outside of this small number of underived words, creaky voice on tone 2 appears primarily as an allotone of tones 1 and 2. Syllables with tone 1 and modal voice change to tone 2 with creaky voice in the nominalizer tone circle (Chapter 4.3.1). Additionally, syllables with tone 2 and modal voice change to creaky voice when they bear the conditional antecedent enclitic *=(ʔ)gu2* (Chapter 4.3.4).

Are creaky and modal voice tone 1 the same phonemic category, or two different categories? In general, phonological processes affecting tone treat creaky vs. modal voice tone 1 syllables differently as *targets*. For example, creaky tone 1̰ undergoes dissimilation to tone 5 in stressed syllables, but modal tone 1 does not (Chapter 4.2.1). Likewise, when they undergo the nominalizer tone circle, syllables with underlying creaky tone 1 vs. modal tone 1 pattern apart – creaky 1 becomes 5, while modal 1 becomes creaky 2 or modal 3 (Chapter 4.3.1).

However, the same processes which distinguish creaky and modal tone 1 as targets treat them exactly the same as *triggers*. For example, even though only creaky tone 1̰ undergoes dissimilation to tone 5, both creaky tone 1 and modal tone 1 trigger dissimilation on the preceding syllable. As a result, the number and quality of arguments (from targets) for treating creaky vs. modal tone 1 syllables as having different tones is exactly the same as the number and quality of arguments (from triggers) for treating them as having the same tone, plus an additional suprasegmental feature. For creaky vs. modal tone 2, there are no strong arguments either way, since the distribution of creaky 2 means that it is almost never the trigger or target of any phonological process.

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## 3.4 Syllable structure and phonotactics

The Cushillococha Ticuna syllable template is (C)$V_1$($V_2$)(ʔ). There are no complex onsets. Glottal stop is the only possible coda.

### 3.4.1 Diphthongs

Complex nuclei are only allowed if $V_1$ is /a/ and $V_2$ is /i/ or /u/. The complex nuclei (diphthongs) /ai/ and /au/ behave as a single vowel for the distribution of tone, nasality, and creaky voice, as shown in (30).

(30) a. *gạụ1* 'cold'
b. *pai1* 'inject, insert at right angle'
c. *tai2* 'hard'
d. *dau4* 'red'
e. *nai4* 'hot'

Diphthongs pattern apart from monophthongs in that they can occur only in stressed syllables (§3.4) and behave differently in phonological processes involving vowel quality assimilation (Chapter 4.1.1). However, diphthongs behave identically to monophthongs in other phonological processes, such as stress-conditioned tone alternations and the nominalizer tone circle (Chapter 4.3.1). I treat /ai/ and /au/ as diphthongs, rather than vowel-glide sequences /aj/ and /aw/, because of their behavior in vowel quality assimilation and because there is no other evidence of /j/.

Vowel sequences other than /ai/ and /au/ also exist, as examples in this chapter have already illustrated (e.g., *nu5a2* 'here.ALL' in Table 3.3). However, these vowel sequences behave as disyllabic with respect to the distribution of suprasegmental features. That is, they may have two different tones, values of nasality, and values of creaky voice. Vowel sequences other than /ai/ and /au/ also pattern away from monophthongs in tone alternations and grammatical tone. Thus, I analyze all vowel sequences other than /ai/ and /au/ as heterosyllabic.

### 3.4.2 Segmental phonotactic restrictions

Looking first to the phonotactics of stops, the voiceless stop and affricate series /p t k tʃ/ can occur anywhere in the word, but do not occur in syllables with nasal vowels (*TṼ). The voiced stops /b d g ɟ/ also do not occur in syllables with surface nasal vowels (*DṼ/.

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For all speakers, the nasal stops /m n ɲ/ do not occur in syllables with surface oral vowels (*NV where N is not /ŋ/ and V is an oral vowel). For speakers who have *ŋ > ʎ, this generalization is broader: nasal stops never occur with oral vowels (*NV where V is an oral vowel). Therefore, for speakers with the sound change, the best phonotactic generalization is that within a syllable with a supralaryngeal obstruent or nasal onset, the C and V must agree in nasality (i.e., nasality is a syllable-level feature). For speakers who do not have the *ŋ > ʎ change, the generalization is that an obstruent/nasal C and its V agree in nasality unless the C is /ŋ/.

In addition to the phonotactic constraints involving stops and nasals, there are also constraints against sequences of velar consonants and front vowels. /ge/ and /gi/ do not occur at all, and /ki/ does not occur except in the second-person subject proclitic for i-class verbs (*ki3=* main clause, *ki1=* subordinate clause). /ke/, /ŋẽ/, and /ŋĩ/ do occur, as well as /ŋe/ and /ŋi/ for speakers who maintain *ŋ before oral vowels (for speakers who do not, these sequences are [ʎe] and [ʎi]). (31) provides examples of words with the velar-front vowel sequences which *are* allowed. Therefore, the velar-front vowel constraints are *g[V +front] and *ki.

(31) a. */ki/: except in 2SG.SBJ proclitic, e.g. *ki3=de43ʔa2* 'you talk'
b. /ke/: *ʎu3ta4ke2e3* 'meet, gather (group of people)'
c. */gi/ (outside loanwords, see §3.6.1)
d. */ge/
e. /ŋĩ/: *ŋĩ1* 'steal'
f. /ŋẽ/: *ŋe3ma2* 'DEM.MULTI(IV)'
g. */ŋi/ ~ /ʎi/: *ŋi31* ~ *ʎi31* 'clear weeds'
h. /ŋe/ ~ /ʎe/: *ŋe43* ~ *ʎe43* 'transport, inanimate singular object'

The glottal stop is subject to extensive phonotactic restrictions, but they are different from the other stops. The glottal stop does occur in syllables with nasal vowels, as shown in (9). However, there is no contrast between ʔV and V at the beginning of a word, which I take as evidence that /ʔ/ is banned word-initially (*#ʔ). Verbs, nouns, and adverbs are not allowed to *end* in /ʔ/ either, except if the /ʔ/ appears as the exponent of the vocative construction (nouns) or the reduced allomorph of the subordinating morpheme *=ʔ(ɨ̃)4* (verbs). (Interjections and discourse markers can end in /ʔ/.) The restriction against underived lexical words ending in /ʔ/ causes the phonological process of /ɨ/-epenthesis (Chapter 4.4).

Allother phonotactic restrictions relate to stress. The segments /d ʍ ɲ ŋ ai au/ for everyone, and the segment /ʎ/ for speakers who have it, occur only in stressed

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syllables. That is, these segments appear in the first syllable of roots, but never in the non-initial syllables of roots, and never in inalienable nouns, suffixes, enclitics, or proclitics (see §3.5.1 on why these morpheme types are never stressed). /o/ occurs underlyingly only in stressed syllables, but can occur on the surface in the second syllable of the prosodic word due to vowel quality assimilation (Chapter 4.1.1). It never occurs in the non-initial syllables of roots unless they have the form [(C)o(ʔ)o] (which comes from assimilation of /oa/; Chapter 4.1.2). /o/ also never occurs in inalienable nouns, suffixes, enclitics, or proclitics.

Separate from purely phonotactic constraints, there are also morpheme structure constraints. Any legal syllable shape (V, CV, CVʔ) is also a legal morpheme shape for a root or bound morpheme, modulo the restrictions above about word-final glottal stop. For example, *-e3* 'PL' is a legal bound morpheme with the shape V, *=gɨ4* 'PL' is a bound morpheme with the shape CV, and *dɨ1ʔ* 'look' is a legal interjection (which is why it is allowed to end in glottal stop). Additionally, while syllables cannot be CCV, morphemes can have this shape if the initial consonant is glottal stop, as in the inalienable noun *ʔtʃi5ru2* 'clothes.' Last, morphemes cannot end in a consonant or consist of only a consonant, except if the consonant is glottal stop. Thus, while *=ʔ* is the only realization of the vocative case, there are no bound morphemes of other C-only forms, such as **g-*. The one exception to this generalization is that, in fast speech, certain third-person accusative pronouns can be reduced to a single consonant (Chapter 4.5.4).

### 3.4.3 Tonotactic restrictions

Most tonotactic restrictions relate to tone 5. As introduced in §3.2.1, tone 5 generally does not occur on monosyllabic words, except in the words *nai5* 'other(III)' and *pe5* 'slap.' There are also no disyllabic words with the melody 5.5. This leads to the generalization that tone 5 is never the only tone of a word. Additionally, all words with the melody 5.2 are locative demonstratives or spatial nouns which alternate their tone melodies in order to mark case (Chapter 11.3). We can express this by stating that the melody 52 is exclusively grammatical. Last and most significant for verbal tone alternations, tone 5 does not appear on the final syllable of native-vocabulary verb roots (it does appear in this position on one loan, *pi3ri5* 'fry') or on the final syllable of any enclitic or bound morpheme, including inalienable nouns, which can attach to a verb.

Another major tonotactic restriction is that the contour tones – tones 31, 43, and 51 – and tone 2̰ occur only on stressed syllables. That is, the contours and tone 2̰ appear on the initial syllables of roots only, and do not appear on non-initial root syllables or on any syllable of inalienable nouns, enclitics, or suffixes.

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Unlike the stress-licensed segments, tones 31 and 43 do appear on verb proclitics, though they are at least sometimes derived by fusion of an underlying disyllabic /3.1/ or /4.3/ sequence.

There are only two tonotactic restrictions which are *not* about tone 5 or the contours. First, as discussed in §3.3, /ɨ/ does not occur with underlying tone 1̱ or tone 2̱. Second, tone 1̱ generally does not occur on the final syllable of non-monosyllabic verb roots (it can occur on earlier syllables of verb roots, and on the final syllable of other word classes). This last restriction has one exception, which is the verb root *ɨ2g̱a1* 'scold; be dirty.' There are no exceptions to the ban on contour tones and tone 2̱ on unstressed syllables, or to the ban on creaky voice with /ɨ/.

Table 3.5 presents a summary of all segmental and tonal phonotactic restrictions.

## 3.5 Stress

Stress in Cushillococha Ticuna is fixed on the initial syllable of the Prosodic Word. For most word classes, this is the initial syllable of the root (§§3.5.1-3.5.2). The primary acoustic correlate of stress is duration (§3.5.3). Phonological consequences of stress are far-reaching, affecting contrast licensing, segmental and tonal phonological processes (Chapter 4.1.1–4.2), and grammatical tone (Chapter 4.3.1).

Other research on varieties of Ticuna describes different stress-tone interactions. For the Cushillococha variety, Anderson (1959) and Anderson (1962) do not recognize the existence of stress. For the San Martín de Amacayacu variety, Bertet (2020, 2021) describes similar stress placement facts but does not analyze them in terms of a prosodic hierarchy. Additionally, due to somewhat different surface facts, Bertet (2020, 2021) argues that the Amacayacu variety displays 16 tonemes: ten tonemes are licensed only in stressed syllables, while the other six are licensed only in unstressed syllables. He attributes differences in the phonological behavior of stressed vs. unstressed syllables to this difference in inventory.

### 3.5.1 Stress and word class

In Ticuna, the relationship between the syntactic word and prosodic word differs between word classes. Understanding stress therefore requires understanding the morphology of each word class. As discussed in Chapter 5, the language has

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Table 3.5: Phonotactic restrictions on segments, tones, and their co-occurrence

| Phoneme/Class | Restriction |
|---|---|
| Segments | |
| All unvoiced stops except /ʔ/ | Banned before nasal vowel |
| All voiced stops | Banned before nasal vowel |
| All nasals | Banned before oral vowel, except /ŋ/ for conservative speakers |
| All diphthongs | Banned in unstressed syllables |
| /k/ | Banned before /i/, except in a single functional morpheme |
| /g/ | Banned before all front vowels |
| /ʔ/ | Banned word-initially |
| /ʔ/ | Only legal coda; banned word-finally in underived lexical words |
| /ɲ/ | Banned in unstressed syllables |
| Reflexes of *ŋ, i.e. /ŋ/, /ʎ/ | Banned in unstressed syllables |
| Reflexes of *ŋ, i.e. /ŋ/, /ʎ/ | Banned before oral /i/ (legal before nasal /ĩ/) |
| /ʍ/ | Banned in unstressed syllables |
| Tones | |
| All contour tones | Banned on unstressed syllables |
| Tone 1̱ | Banned on /ɨ/ |
| Tone 1̱ | Mostly banned from being the final tone of a disyllabic/larger verb root |
| Tone 2̱ | Banned on /ɨ/ |
| Tone 2̱ | Banned on unstressed syllables |
| Tone 5 | Mostly banned from being the only tone of a word (*5, *55) |
| Tone 5 | Mostly banned on the final syllable of a verb |
| Tone 5 | Banned on the final syllable of bound morphemes that can attach to verbs |
| Melody 5.2 | Banned from being a lexical melody (i.e. is always grammatical) |

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four content word classes: verbs, nouns, adverbs, and interjections. I describe the relationship between the syntactic vs. prosodic word, and the stress pattern, for each word class.

#### 3.5.1.1 Verbs

Verb roots are most often monosyllabic. Verbal words always have proclitics (Chapter 6). Within the verbal word, stress always falls on the initial syllable of the root, regardless of how many syllables the root or stem contains (32).

(32) a. *tʃa3ˈʍa1*
tʃa3=ˈʍa1
1SG.SBJ=know
'I know'

b. *tʃa3rɨ3ˈmo4ẽ2*
tʃa3rɨ3=ˈmo4ẽ2
1SG.SBJ=greet
'I say hello'

c. *tʃa3ˈʎe4tʃa1ĩ1*
tʃa3=ˈʎe4tʃa1ĩ1
1SG.SBJ=sad
'I am sad'

d. *tʃa3ʔˈo2e5ga1ã5ẽ2*
tʃa3=ˈo2e5ga1ã5ẽ2
1SG.SBJ=worried
'I am worried'

Stress does not occur on verbal proclitics, even if the verb has additional proclitics that come before the subject – such as the aspectual proclitic in (33) – or after it, such as the associated motion proclitic in (34).

(33) *i5tʃa3ˈwi1ʔɟa1*
i5=tʃa3=ˈwi1ʔɟa1
IPFV=1SG.SBJ=urinate
'I am urinating'

(34) *tʃa3ɟa3ˈwi1ʔɟa1*
tʃa3=ɟa3=ˈwi1ʔɟa1
1SG.SBJ=AM=urinate
'I go and urinate'

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As the stresses in (32–34) illustrate, the initial stress on the root is the only stress in the verbal word. In other words, stress marks the boundary between the proclitic material and the verb stem.

#### 3.5.1.2 Nouns

As described in Chapter 7, Cushillococha Ticuna nouns are divided into two morphological categories: inalienably possessed and alienably possessed. Both categories of nouns are generally disyllabic.

Alienable nouns are semantically diverse and make up the majority of the nominal lexicon. Like verb roots, they bear initial stress (35).

(35) a. ˈto1 'other'
b. ˈʌo2bɨ4 'turtle species'
c. ˈo3wa4ru1 'armored catfish'
d. ˈmɨ3ra3pe3wa1 'plank'

Pronouns bear obligatory case enclitics and undergo extensive case-based suppletion (Chapter 8). While these properties make it difficult to identify pronominal roots, pronominal stems behave like alienable nouns, displaying initial stress (36).

(36) a. ˈnɨ31ʔna1 'third person pronoun (noun classes II, III, IV), recipient case form'
b. ˈtʃo1gɨ1 'first person singular pronoun, reflexive form'
c. ˈti31ma2 'third person pronoun (noun class I), topic form'

In contrast to the semantic range of alienable nouns, inalienable nouns are generally part terms (e.g., *tʃi3we1* 'face,' *tʃi2re4* 'seed'), terms for close personal possessions (e.g., *pa4te2e3* 'hat,' *ʔtʃi5ru2* 'clothes'), kinship terms, or members of the other semantic domains discussed in Chapter 7.1.2. As discussed in that section, inalienable nouns are unacceptable to isolation (37).

(37) *e2ru4
*head
(Intended: 'head')

Instead of appearing in isolation, inalienable nouns must either be (a) possessed by another noun or (b) incorporated into a verb. In this structure, the inalienable noun attaches directly to the possessing noun stem or incorporating

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verb stem with no intervening morphology. The possessing noun/incorporating verb receives stress on the first syllable, and there is *no stress* on the inalienable noun, as shown in (38) (cf. Chapter 7.1.2).

(38) *ˈna4e2ru4*
ˈna4=e2ru4
3=head
'his/her/its head'

The single stress in examples such as (38) indicates that the possessor and possessum form a single prosodic word, meaning that possession (and incorporation) is a type of compounding. Inalienable nouns appear only in compounds of this type, and are never the first root in a compound. Since stress is initial, including in compounds, this means that they are never stressed.

#### 3.5.1.3 Adverbs and interjections

Adverbs and interjections have similar phonological properties, and many roots can be used in both functions. Phonologically, adverbs and interjections behave like alienable nouns. They are generally disyllabic, are acceptable in isolation, and bear stress on the initial syllable (39). Unlike verbs, they do not have subject proclitics.

(39) a. ˈbai51 'not at all (emphatic negation)'
b. ˈta4ma3 'not (standard negation)'
c. ˈta4gu2ma3 'never'
d. ˈwo5e3ta2ma4 'exactly'

#### 3.5.1.4 Enclitics

Adverbs, alienable nouns, and verbs can all bear enclitics, which do not have a characteristic prosodic size. Some enclitics are acceptable across multiple word classes, as shown in the examples of the enclitic *=ʔɨ5tʃi2* 'really' in (40) and discussed further in Chapters 5.2.3.1 and 31.

(40) a. *ta43ʔɨ5tʃi2*
ta43=ʔɨ5tʃi2
big=really
'really big'

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b. *ɟo3ra5ʔi̵5tʃi2*
ɟo3ra5=ʔi̵5tʃi2
owner=really
'real owner'

c. *po2ra4ã1ki̵2ʔi̵5tʃi2*
po2ra4ã1ki̵2=ʔi̵5tʃi2
quickly=really
'very quickly, very intensely'

Some enclitics are restricted to just one type of constituent. For instance, case markers always cliticize to the final element of the noun phrase. While these markers could be analyzed as suffixes given their distribution, their phonological behavior is identical to that of multi-categorial markers such as *=ʔi̵5tʃi2* 'really.' Since this means there is no phonological motivation for a distinction between enclitics and suffixes, I treat all post-root markers as enclitics until proven suffixes (directionals, Chapter 18, are an example of post-root morphemes that do appear to be suffixes). Enclitics are not stressed and do not affect the stress pattern of their host (41).

(41) a. *na4ˈmu4*
na4=ˈmu4
3.SBJ=be.many
'there are many'

b. *na4ˈmu4ʔũ5tʃi2*
na4=ˈmu4=ʔi̵5tʃi2
3.SBJ=be.many=really
'there are really many'[4]

c. *ni4ˈmu4tʃi1gi̵1*
ni4=ˈmu4=tʃi1gi̵1
3.SBJ=be.many=DISTRIB
'there are more and more'

With their lack of stress and requirement for a host, enclitics are morphophonologically identical to inalienable nouns. Instead, the distinction between inalienable nouns and enclitics is syntactic. Inalienable nouns can be the head of a phrase – for example, they can trigger noun class concord – and enclitics cannot.

[4]See Chapter 4.1.1 on /i̵/ → [u].

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### 3.5.2 The Prosodic Word

As described in the preceding subsection, Ticuna verb stems, alienable nouns, adverbs, and interjections can occur in isolation and always bear initial stress. Inalienable nouns occur only as the second stems in compounds, and as a result, they never bear stress. Enclitics and subject proclitics also cannot occur in isolation and are never stressed.

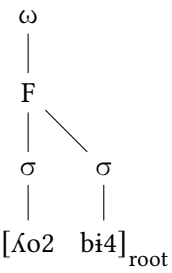
I analyze this pattern as indicating that the relationship between the syntactic and prosodic word varies with morpheme class. Verb stems, alienable nouns, adverbs, and interjections project an independent prosodic word (PrWd). Inalienable nouns, enclitics, and proclitics do not. This prosodic weakness is what prevents inalienable nouns, enclitics, and proclitics from appearing in isolation or as the initial morpheme of a PrWd.

Among the prosodically dependent morphemes, inalienable nouns and enclitics display many phonological interactions with their hosts, such as vowel quality assimilation and tone 1̲ dissimilation (Chapter 4). By contrast, subject proclitics' only interaction with their hosts is that a glottal stop is epenthesized between vowel-final subject proclitics and vowel-initial stems (Chapter 4.1.4, and see e.g. (32d) in this chapter). To capture this asymmetry, I posit that inalienable nouns and enclitics form a single PrWd with the clitic host. Subject proclitics do not: they are instead dominated directly by the phonological phrase. In other words, inalienable nouns and enclitics cannot head a PrWd, but can be parsed into one. Subject proclitics can neither head nor be dominated by the PrWd.

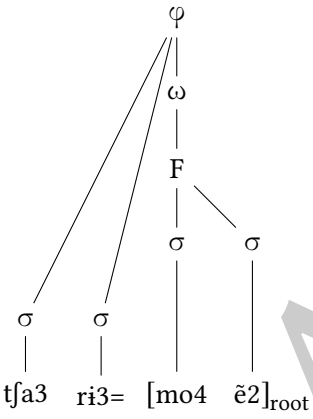
With this analysis of prosodic wordhood, we can state the stress generalization for Cushillococha Ticuna very simply: stress always falls on the first syllable of the PrWd. The prosodic trees in (42) illustrate how this accounts for the stress patterns observed in various classes of morphosyntactic words: alienable noun roots with no proclitics or enclitics (a), verbal words consisting of a proclitic and root (b), noun-noun compounds consisting of a possessor and inalienable noun (c), and verbal words consisting of a root and enclitic (d). As I explore in more detail in Chapter 4, this language has no evidence of foot structure beyond the first two syllables of the Prosodic Word – phonological processes distinguish between the syllable with primary stress and other syllables, but not among the non-primary-stressed syllables. I therefore represent later syllables as dominated directly by the PrWd in (42).

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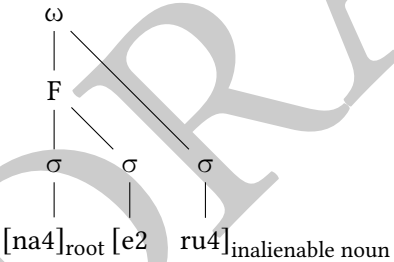
(42) a.



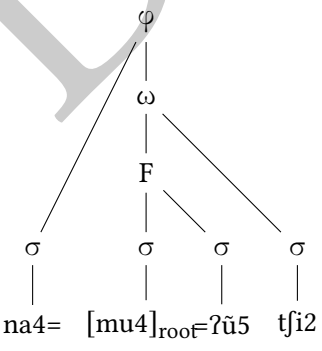

b.




c.




d.




Because of the variable relationship between the syntactic word and PrWd

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shown in (42), there are some syntactic words which appear to be minimal stress pairs, such as (43).

(43) a. *na4ˈpa1*
na4=ˈpa1
3.SBJ=smell.strong
'it smells'

b. *ˈna4pa1*
ˈna4=pa1
3=hammock
'his/her/their hammock'

The syntactic words in (43) contrast in stress placement because they have different morphological, and therefore prosodic, constituency. In (43a), the morpheme *na4* is a subject proclitic. It is outside of the PrWd projected by the verb stem *pa1* 'smell' and therefore is unstressed. In (43b), on the other hand, the morpheme *na4* is a free pronoun (which happens to be homophonous with a subject proclitic; this is not the case for other pronouns). When the pronoun is compounded with the inalienable noun *pa1* 'hammock', it projects its own PrWd, occupies the first syllable of that PrWd, and therefore is stressed. Thus, while stress placement is never contrastive within a word class in Cushillococha Ticuna, on the surface it does contrast between word classes.

### 3.5.3 Acoustic correlates of stress

The primary acoustic correlate of stress is vowel duration. To assess the difference in duration between unstressed and stressed syllables, I measured the duration of all vowels in 130 tokens of 27 verb stems (16 monosyllabic, 6 disyllabic, and 5 trisyllabic) produced by Deoclesio Guerrero Gómez (n word tokens = 66) and Lilia Witancort Guerrero (n word tokens = 64). The verb stems were produced in utterance frames as described in §1. Closed syllables occurred in some of the disyllabic and trisyllabic stems, but their vowels were excluded from analysis to control for effects of the glottal coda. This exclusion yielded a data set of 187 vowel tokens.

Within this data set, the average stressed vowel of a monosyllabic word lasted 201ms (SD = 52ms), the average stressed vowel of a non-monosyllabic word lasted 159ms (SD = 37ms), and the average unstressed vowel lasted 123ms (SD = 39ms). An analysis of variance indicated that both stress and word length had significant effects on vowel duration. Stressed syllables were longer than unstressed

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syllables ($F[1, 184] = 89.376$, $p < 0.001$). The stressed (i.e. only) syllables of monosyllabic words were also longer than the stressed syllables of non-monosyllabic words ($F[1, 184] = 23.425$, $p < 0.001$). In light of the cross-linguistically greater duration of contour tones, I repeated these analyses considering only level tone syllables. The average duration of a stressed level tone syllable was 189ms (SD = 55ms) in a monosyllabic word and 149ms (SD = 34ms) in a non-monosyllabic word. The ANOVA results were unchanged.

## 3.6 Loanword phonology

Ticuna has borrowed many words from Spanish, Brazilian Portuguese, and Tupi-Guaraní languages such as Omagua, Kokama, and Nheengatú/Lengua Geral. It is much easier to identify Spanish and Portuguese loans than Tupí-Guaraní ones, for many reasons: the Iberian languages are more thoroughly documented, their phonological inventories are more different from that of Ticuna, and the loans occurred much more recently in the past. Therefore, this section focuses mainly on Iberian loans.

When loanwords undergo phonological adaptation, the process involves (a) changes to segments and (b) assignment of a tone pattern (since none of the source languages of the loanwords have lexical tone). Segmental changes involve changes that are driven by the language's consonant inventory and by the phonotactics (§3.6.1). Tone assignment is mostly predictable from stress in Iberian loanwords, where it involves the melodies 3.1, 3.5, and 3.4.1. For Tupí-Guaraní loans, on the other hand, loanword melodies are 3.1, 3.5, 3.3.1, 3.3.4, 3.3.5, and 3.3.3.1 (§3.6.2).

### 3.6.1 Segmental adaptation

Older loanwords, especially loanwords from Spanish and Portuguese (which have more different inventories from Ticuna than Tupí-Guaraní languages), underwent phonological adaptation of their segments. This process continues with some new words that enter the vocabulary today (e.g. *ko3bi5* 'COVID') and is not perfectly regular (e.g. 'COVID' can also be pronounced *ŋo3bi5*, but /k/ > /ŋ/ is not a recurring consonant mapping).

Table 3.6 gives the mappings between Spanish/Portuguese phonemes and loans for consonants in onset position. The source phoneme is on the top row in each section; the Ticuna phoneme is on the bottom row. Note that sounds are represented according to their pronunciation in Caballococha Spanish (e.g., the initial

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sound in *llamar* is pronounced in Caballococha as [dʒ], rarely [j] or [ʝ]). As this table shows, some phonemes, such as /f/, are borrowed faithfully even though they do not exist in the inventory; these sounds then occur only in loanwords.

Table 3.6: Spanish/Portuguese consonant mappings in loanwords

| | Labial | Alveolar | Palatal/Post-alveolar | Velar/Uvular |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Voiceless stops/affricates | p | t | tʃ | k |
| | p | t | tʃ | k |
| Voiced stops/affricates | b | d | dʒ | g |
| | b, w | d / #_; ɾ / V_V | ʝ | g |
| Voiceless fricatives | f | s | ʃ | x |
| | p, f | s, tʃ | tʃ | ʍ, tʃ |
| Voiced fricatives | v | z | ʒ | |
| | | –; no clear examples | | |
| Nasals | m | n | ɲ | |
| | m | n, Ṽ | ɲ, Ṽ | |
| Laterals | | l | ʎ | |
| | | d, l / #_; ɾ / V_V | ʝ | |
| Rhotics | | ɾ r (SP) | | ʁ (Po) |
| | | | d / #_; ɾ / V_V | |

(44–49) give examples of each mapping above. In several cases, it is not possible to tell whether the word was loaned from Spanish vs. Portuguese.

(44) Voiceless stops and affricates
   a. p: *po3pe4ra1* 'notebook, paper' (< Sp/Po *papel*)
   b. t: *ti3u1* 'uncle' (< Sp/Po *tio*)
   c. tʃ: *tʃa3wi1* 'key' (< Po *chave*)
   d. k: *ku3ma5* 'ritual co-mother' (< Sp *comadre*)

(45) Voiced stops and affricates
   a. b > w: *wo3ne4ra1* 'flag' (< Sp *bandera* or Po *bandeira*)
      b > b: *bi3do4ĩ1* 'tank' (< Sp *bidón*)
   b. d > d: ***d**u3tu4ru1* 'doctor/nurse' (< Sp *doctor* or Po *doutor*)
      d > ɾ: *tʃu3**r**a3**r**a1* 'soldier, army' (< Sp/Po *soldado*)
   c. dʒ: *ga3**ʝ**e4ta1* 'cookie/cracker' (< Sp *galleta*)
   d. g: *ga3na1* 'win; earn money' (< Sp *ganar*)

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(46) Voiceless fricatives

a. f > p: *pe4ta3* 'party' (< Sp *fiesta*)
   f > f: *fi3de5* 'noodle' (< Sp *fideo*)

b. s > tʃ: *tʃai3ɟa1* 'skirt' (< Po *saia*)
   s > s: *se3re4ɟa1* 'beer' (< Sp *cerveza*)

c. ʃ: *tʃi3ne3la1* 'sandal' (< Po *chinela* 'flip-flop')

d. x > tʃ: *tʃa3ũ1* 'soap' (< Spanish *jabón*)
   x > ʍ: *ʍa3ĩ1* 'Juan'

(47) Nasals

a. m: *ma3ma5* 'mother' (< Sp *mamá*)

b. n > n: *pa3**n**e4ra1* 'pot' (< Po *panela*)
   n > Ṽ: *di3**ẽ**3ru1* 'money' (< Sp *dinero* or Po *dinheiro*)

c. ɲ > ɲ: *ɲa3ɲa1* 'sister' (< Peruvian Sp *ñaña* 'sister' < Quechua)
   ɲ > Ṽ: *tʃi3ũ3**r**a1* 'lady' (< Sp *señora* or Po *senhora*)

(48) Laterals

a. l > l: ***l**e3e1* 'read' (< Sp *leer*)
   l > d: ***D**i3ti4tʃi1a1* 'Leticia' (place name)
   l > l: *Ne3**l**i1* 'personal name' (< Sp *Neli*)
   l > r: *Ke3**r**i5* 'personal name' (< Sp *Quelina*)
   l > r: *ko3wa4**r**u1* 'horse' (< Sp *caballo* or Po *cavalo*)

b. ʎ > ɟ: *ku3ɟe4ra1* 'spoon' (< Po *colher*)

(49) Rhotics

a. ɾ (tap): *tʃi3ũ3**r**a1* 'lady' (< Sp *señora* or Po *senhora*)

b. r (Sp trill): *a3ru4tʃu1* 'rice' (if < Spanish *arroz*)

c. ʁ (Po): *tʃe3ra1* 'handsaw' (< Po *serra*, probably not < Sp *serrucho*)

Complex onsets can be adapted by deleting the second consonant, as in *gĩ3gu1* ~ *ɟĩ3gu1* 'foreigner' (< Sp *gringo*), or by epenthesizing a vowel, as in *po3ra4tu1* 'dish, plate' (< Sp *plato*).

Word-internal coda consonants have two possible outcomes. One is that the coda is deleted and the following consonant is preserved without any trace of the coda remaining. This occurs, for instance, with the /s/ in Sp *fiesta* > *pe4ta3* 'party.' Alternatively, the coda can be preserved and the onset of the following syllable can be deleted, as with the /n/ in Sp *bandera* > *wo3ne4ra1* 'flag.' If the word-internal coda is nasal, there is another possibility, which is that it can be

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realized as nasality on the preceding vowel, as in *gĩ3gu1* ~ *ɟĩ3gu1* 'gringo' and the proper name *Tʃãti5* 'Santiago.'

With a word-*final* coda, the most common strategy is to epenthesize a vowel following the coda so that it becomes an onset. The epenthetic vowel is most often /a/, as seen in *papel* > *po3pe4ra1* 'paper' and *colher* > *ku3ɟe4ra1* 'spoon.' However, it can also have the same quality as a preceding vowel in the word, as in *doctor* > *du3tu4ru1* 'doctor/nurse.' If the word-final coda was nasal, there is never an epenthetic vowel. Instead, either the nasal is adapted to *ɾ̃*, as in *Juan* > *ʍa3ɾ̃1*, or the final vowel of the word is nasalized, as in *jabón* > *tʃa3ũ1* 'soap.'

As the above examples show, vowels are sometimes borrowed faithfully and sometimes are not. The most consistent vowel adaptation is that /a/ is borrowed as /o/ in the environment of labials in words such as *papel* > *po3pe4ra1* 'paper,' *bandera* > *wo3ne4ra1* 'flag,' and *caballo/cavalo* > *ko3wa4ru1* 'horse.' However, there are also loans where /a/ is borrowed faithfully in this environment, such as *papá* > *pa3pa5* 'father.' It is hard to argue that this represents a newer vs. older stratum of loans, since all of the loans involved are at least 70 years old (e.g. all of these nouns are in Anderson 1962 with their contemporary forms). The other consistent vowel adaptation is that /o/ outside the stressed syllable is raised to /u/, due to the language's constraint against /u/ in unstressed syllables. For example, the common noun *arroz* > *a3ru4tʃu1* 'rice' and the personal name *Victoria* > *Bi3tu5* both display /o/-raising. /o/-raising can also be observed synchronically in very Ticuna-dominant speakers' production of Spanish words (e.g. pronouncing the place name *Caballo* as [kabaɟu]).

Some aspects of vowel and consonant adaptation, such as /o/-raising and the realization of /d/ as the tap word-internally, are clearly driven by the language's constraints /d ɲ ŋ ʍ ai au o/ in unstressed syllables. However, loanwords are not completely subject to these phonotactics and *can* display the stress-licensed segments in non-initial syllables. Examples include *na3ra3ɲa1* 'orange (fruit)' (< Spanish *naranja*), *tu3pau3ka1* 'church' (Omagua [Tupi-Guaraní] *tupa* 'Christian God' + *uka* 'house'), and *mo3to1* 'motorcycle' (< Spanish *moto*; clearly a Ticuna word because it is always noun class III). Loanwords can also violate other phonotactic constraints, such as the ban on sequences of a stop followed by a nasal vowel; for example, realizations of 'gringo' as *gĩ3gu1* break the ban on /gi/ and the ban on DṼ sequences, and *Tʃãti5* 'Santiago' breaks the ban on *TṼ sequences.

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### 3.6.2 Tone assignment

#### 3.6.2.1 Disyllabic loanwords

As the above examples show, disyllabic loanwords, including proper names of Spanish origin, are limited almost entirely to the tone melodies 3.1 and 3.5. The 3.1 melody normally occurs on disyllabic words with initial stress in the source language, such as *ˈserra* > *tʃe3ra1* 'saw,' and the 3.5 melody occurs on disyllabic words with final stress in the source language, such as *maˈmá* > *ma3ma5* 'mother.'

Additionally, words which are more than disyllabic in the source language are sometimes truncated to the first two syllables, as seen in the common nouns in (50) and the proper nouns in (51). Truncation is much more common in proper nouns than common nouns, and never occurs in verbs.

(50) a. *ku3ma5* 'ritual co-mother' (< Sp *coˈmadre*)
b. *ku3pa5* 'ritual co-father' (< Sp *comˈpadre*)
c. *tu3be5* 'tuberculosis' (< Sp *tu͵bercuˈlosis*)
d. *ga3tʃu5* 'soda' (< Sp *gaseosa*)

(51) a. *Ko3ri1* 'Coˈrina'
b. *Me3u1* 'Meˈury'
c. *Ke3ri5* 'Queˈlina' (cf. *Ke3ri1* 'Kelly')
d. *Bi3tu5* 'Vicˈtoria'
e. *Tʃãti5* 'Santiˈago'
f. *De3u5* 'Deoˈclesio'
g. *A3da5* 'Adaliˈana'
h. *Ã3ma5* 'Amˈalia'
i. *Be3ɟa5* 'Bellaˈvista' (place name)
j. *ku3ru5* 'Colombian, < Co͵lombiˈano' (noun; demonym)

Truncated disyllabic words are almost always 3.5, as shown by the above examples. However, there are a few examples of personal names which are truncated but 3.1. For example, *Coˈrina* is truncated to 3.1 *Ko3ri1* while the phonotactically extremely similar name *Queˈlina* is truncated to 3.5 *Ke3ri5*. One possible explanation for this is that some of these names also have conventional disyllabic hypocoristics in (regional) Spanish where the stress falls on the first syllable. For example, Betsabe Guerrero Witancort was known in Spanish as both *ˈBetsa͵be* (< English *Betsy*) and *ˈBecha*. Her name was truncated to *Be3tʃa1*, rather than

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the expected *Be3tʃa5*; perhaps this is because truncation was due to hypocoristic formation in Spanish, while the tone assignment was due to borrowing of an already-disyllabic word.

#### 3.6.2.2 Three- and four-syllable loanwords

If a word has three or four syllables and is not stressed on the final syllable in the source language, then it is normally assigned the tone melody 3.4.1. The tone 4 falls on the stressed syllable, the tone 3 falls on the syllable(s) preceding the stress, and the tone 1 falls on the syllable(s) following the stress. For example, stress on the penult occurs in *ban'dera* 'flag', borrowed as 3.4.1 *wo3ne4ra1*, and stress on the antepenult occurs in *Le'ticia*, borrowed as *Di3ti4tʃi1a1*. Any syllables created by word-final vowel epenthesis count as if they were unstressed syllables in the same location in the source language. Thus, a CV.'CVC word such as *pa'pel* 'paper' is borrowed as 3.4.1 *po3pe4ra1* (as if the word had been CV.'CV.CV all along), and a (C)V.'CV.CVC word such as *azúcar* 'sugar' is borrowed as 3.4.1.1 *a3tʃu4ka1ra1* (as if it had the same shape as *Le'ticia*). Words of three or more syllables which *are* stressed on the final syllable have the melody 3.3.(3.)5. One example is the personal name *Elisa'bet*, which is borrowed as *E3ri3tʃa3be5* (or *E3li3tʃa3be5* with a lateral).

Words which were borrowed from Tupí-Guaraní languages follow similar rules to Iberian loans for consonant and vowel adaptation, but they do *not* follow these rules for tone assignment. Disyllabic loanwords from Tupi-Guaraní can be either 3.1, such as *u3i1* 'farinha, manioc flour' or 3.5, such as *ɟo3ra5* 'owner' (both probably < Nheengatú). However, loanwords from Tupi-Guaraní with more than two syllables do not have the 3.4.1 pattern seen above. Instead, they usually have tone 3 on all syllables except the final syllable; the final syllable can then be any of tones 1, 4, or 5. (52) gives examples of three-syllable Tupí-Guaraní loans with each of these tone patterns. (53) gives equivalent examples of four-syllable loans. There are no examples of four-syllable loans ending in tone 5, but given the small total number of four-syllable loans, this could be an accidental gap.[5]

(52) a. 331: *Tu3pa3na1* 'Christian God' (< Nheengatú *tupana*)
b. 334: *pu3ra3kɨ4* 'work' (< Omagua *ipuraka*)
c. 335: *mi3ga3ũ5* 'drink made of boiled plantains' (< Nheengatú *mingaú*)

(53) a. 3331: *ta3ni3ma3ka1* 'ashes' (< Proto-Omagua-Kokama **tanimuka*)

[5]Thanks to Zach O'Hagan (p.c., 2017) for the Omagua lexical items and the Proto-Omagua-Kokama reconstructions, as well as for help identifying the loans.

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b. 3334: *a3ra3wi3ri4* 'fish species, regional Spanish *sardina*' (< Nheengatú *arawirí*)

Sometimes 3.3.1 Tupí-Guaraní loans, such as *Tu3pa3na1* 'Christian God,' are pronounced as 3.4.1, assimilating to the Iberian loanword pattern. While tones 1 and 3 clearly behave as default tones in loanword phonology based on this data, the rest of the phonology provides no evidence that these should be considered default tones overall. Outside of loanwords, they have the same phonological activity as any other lexical tone.

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# 4 Phonological processes

Stress conditions the application of almost all phonological processes in Ticuna. Additionally, many other processes – whether or not they are stress-conditioned – are morphologically conditioned, meaning that they are triggered by certain morphemes, but not by others with similar phonological form. Therefore, this chapter is organized as follows. §4.1 describes segmental phonological processes. All of these are stress-conditioned, but only one is morphologically conditioned. Next, §4.2 describes tonal processes which are stress-conditioned, but not morphologically conditioned (i.e., are not sensitive to the lexical identity of the trigger or target morpheme). §4.3 describes tonal processes which are morphologically conditioned, including the language's main grammatical tone process. §4.4 describes the behavior – in segmental phonology, general tonology, and morphologically conditioned tone processes – of an exceptional class of /ʔ/-final verb roots. To close the chapter off, §4.5 describes variable phonological processes, such as consonant lenitions in fast speech.

## 4.1 Segmental phonological processes

In this section, I describe and analyze the following segmental phonological processes:

- Vowel quality assimilation targeting /ɨ/ (§4.1.1)
- Vowel quality assimilation targeting /oa/ sequences (§4.1.2
- Monophthongization of /au/ → [o] (§4.1.3)
- Insertion of glottal stop at the proclitic-verb root boundary (§4.1.4)

Some of these processes are only triggered by stressed syllables, while other processes only target stressed syllables. However, because all four processes fall into at least one of these two categories, all of them can be described as stress-conditioned.

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### 4.1.1 /ɨ/ assimilation

The *oral* vowel /ɨ/ is subject to a stress-conditioned assimilation process in which it assimilates completely to the quality of a preceding non-central vowel. This process is stress-conditioned because it is *triggered* only by stressed vowels. It is also conditioned by nasality, since it does not apply to the nasal vowel /ɨ̃/.

#### 4.1.1.1 /ɨ/ assimilation is triggered by stressed syllables

When the *stressed* syllable contains a front or back vowel, and the *following* syllable of the prosodic word contains underlying oral /ɨ/ and lacks a supra-laryngeal onset, the token of /ɨ/ assimilates completely in quality and nasality to the vowel of the stressed syllable.

All vowel qualities other than /a/ and /ɨ/ trigger /ɨ/ assimilation. (1) shows a set of monosyllabic verbs with vowels of all the possible vowel qualities, followed by the enclitic /=ʔɨ1ra1/ 'sort of.' Front vowels (1a, b), back vowels (1c, d), and diphthongs (1e, f) trigger assimilation of the /ɨ/ in /=ʔɨ1ra1/. /a/ and /ɨ/ do not trigger assimilation (1f, g).

As shown in (1e, f), diphthongs differ from other vowel qualities in their behavior in /ɨ/ assimilation. While monophthongal vowel qualities other than /a/ trigger complete assimilation of /ɨ/, diphthongs display *fusion* with /ɨ/. The first vowel of the diphthong becomes the sole vowel of its (stressed) syllable, while the second vowel of the diphthong becomes the sole vowel of the syllable with the underlying /ɨ/.

(1) /ɨ/ → $V_\alpha$ / [ˈ$V_\alpha$(ʔ)_], provided $V_\alpha$ is not /a/

a. *na4ˈtʃi4ʔi1ra1*
/na4=tʃi4=ʔɨ1ra1/
3sbj=stand=sort.of
's/he sort of stands up'

b. *na4ˈme31ʔe1ra1*
/na4=me43=ʔɨ1ra1/
3.SBJ=good=sort.of
'it's sort of good'[1]

c. *na4na3ˈmu2ʔu1ra1*
/na4=na3=mu2=ʔɨ1ra1/
3.SBJ=3.OBJ=send=sort.of
's/he sort of sends it'

[1]See §4.2.2 on tone /43/ → [31].

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d. *na4ˈdo31ʔ**o**1ra1*
/na4=do43=ʔɨ1ra1/
3.SBJ=soft=sort.of
'it's sort of soft'

e. *na4ˈna4ʔ**ĩ**1ra1*
/na4=nai4=ʔɨ1ra1/
3.SBJ=hot=sort.of
'it's sort of hot'

f. *na4ˈda2ʔ**u**1ra1*
/na4=dau2=ʔɨ1ra1/
3.SBJ=see=sort.of
's/he sort of sees'

g. *na4ˈɟa2ʔ**ɨ**1ra1*
/na4=ɟa2=ʔɨ1ra1/
3.SBJ=mature=sort.of
'it's sort of mature'

h. *na4na3ˈʔɨ2ʔ**ɨ**1ra1*
na4=na3=ɨ2=ʔɨ1ra1
3.SBJ=3.OBJ=make=sort.of
's/he sort of makes it'

/ɨ/ assimilation behaves the same in nouns, as shown by (2): it is triggered by front vowels (2a, b), back vowels (2c, d), and diphthongs (2e), but not by /a/ or /ɨ/ (2f).

(2) /ɨ/ ⟶ $V_\alpha$ / ['$V_\alpha$(ʔ)_], provided $V_\alpha$ is not /a/

a. *ˈŋĩ1ʔ**ɨ**4ne1*
ŋĩ1=ʔɨ4ne1
3(V)=body
'her body'

b. *ˈe4ʔ**e**5tʃi2*
e4=ʔɨ5tʃi2
Genipa.americana=really
'real *Genipa americana* (plant species yielding black dye)'

c. *ˈʎu2ʔ**u**5tʃi2*
ʎu2=ʔɨ5tʃi2
Theobroma.bicolor=really
'real *Theobroma bicolor* (plant species related to cacao)'

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d. *ˈto1ʔ**o**5tʃi2*
to1=ʔɨ5tʃi2
other=really
‘really different’

e. *ˈtʃa1ʔ**u**4ne1*
tʃau1=ʔɨ4ne1
1SG=body
‘my body’

f. *ˈna4ʔ**ɨ**4ne1*
na4=ʔɨ4ne1
3(III/IV)=body
‘his/her/its body’

#### 4.1.1.2 /ɨ/ assimilation is not triggered by unstressed syllables

/ɨ/ assimilation does not apply unless the target /ɨ/ segment is adjacent to the stressed syllable. The exception is when the process is triggered by /u/, as assimilation of /ɨ/ to /u/ is not conditioned by stress.

The failure of unstressed syllables to trigger /ɨ/ assimilation is shown in (3), a verb, and (4), a noun. (3) has a sequence of unstressed /e/ followed by unstressed /ɨ/. If the /e/ token was stressed, it would trigger complete assimilation of the /ɨ/, as in (1b) and (2b). But as the /e/ is unstressed, the /ɨ/ does not assimilate. The same applies to the sequence of /i/ and /ɨ/ in (4).

(3) *na4ˈtʃi31e2ʔɨ5tʃi2*
na4=tʃi31e2=ʔɨ5tʃi2
3.SBJ=bad=really
‘it’s really bad’

(4) *ˈo̱1ʔi5ʔɨ5tʃi2*
o̱1ʔi5=ʔɨ5tʃi2
grandfather=really
‘real grandfather’

Like tone 1̱ dissimilation, /ɨ/ assimilation is stress-conditioned, not foot-conditioned. A stress-conditioned analysis of /ɨ/ assimilation predicts that the process applies only if the target syllable is adjacent to the stress. By contrast, a foot-conditioned analysis predicts that the process applies in all even-numbered syllables, including those that are not adjacent to the stress.

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(19) and (20) support the stress-conditioned analysis. Contrary to the foot-conditioned analysis, they illustrate that /ɨ/ assimilation does not apply in the fourth syllable of the PrWd (an even-numbered syllable that is not adjacent to a stress). This is another piece of evidence that foot formation is not iterative (cf. Chapter 3.5.2).

(5) *na4ˈwi3ɟa3e3ʔi5tʃi2*
na4=wi3ɟa3e3=ʔɨ5tʃi2
3.SBJ=sing=really
's/he really sings'

(6) *ˈka3ru1ne3ʔĩ5tʃi2*
Ka3ru1=ne3=ʔɨ5tʃi2
Carlos=son=really
'Carlos's real son'

While unstressed /i/ and /e/ do not trigger /ɨ/ assimilation, unstressed /u/ **does** trigger the process, as shown in (7) and (8).

(7) *ˈu3ku1ʔu5tʃi2*
ˈu3ku1=ʔɨ5tʃi2
needle=really
'real needle'

(8) *tʃa3tɨ3re1gu2ʔu5tʃi2*
tʃa3=tɨ3re1=gu2=ʔɨ5tʃi2
1SGSBJ=port=LOC=really
'I'm right in the port'

Besides /u/, the other back vowel, /o/, is restricted in distribution to the first two syllables of the PrWd (Chapter 3.4.2). While stressed (first syllable) /o/ triggers /ɨ/ assimilation (1d, 2d), unstressed (second syllable) /o/ does not (9). /o/ thus patterns with the front vowels and diphthongs, not with /u/, in its behavior as a trigger of /ɨ/ assimilation.

(9) *ˈo2ʔõ4ʔɨ4ne1*
/o2ʔõ4=ʔɨ4ne1/
baby=body
'baby's body'

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Recall from Chapter 3.4.2 that all underived words with /o/ in the second syllable have the form [(C)o(ʔ)o]. Since /ɨ/ assimilation derives words of this same form, we could posit that underived words with /o/ in the second syllable, like *o2ʔõ4* 'baby,' have the underlying form /(C)o(ʔ)ɨ/, with the final /o/ in the surface form derived by /ɨ/ assimilation. However, this analysis is impossible because there are underived words of the form [(C)o(ʔ)ɨ]. Two examples are the nouns *o1ʔɨ3* 'shuyo, fish species (*Hoplerythrinus unitaeniatus*)' and *to2ʔɨ3* 'isula, ant species (*Paraponera clavata*).' Instead, we will see in §4.1.2 that the underlying form of words such as *o2ʔõ4* 'baby' is actually not /(C)oʔo/ *or* /(C)oʔɨ/, but rather, /(C)oʔa/; the /o/ in the second syllable is derived by a different process, /oa/ assimilation.

With this information in hand, we can state the /ɨ/ assimilation rule as in (10).

(10) /ɨ/ → V[$\alpha$-high -low $\alpha$-front $\alpha$-back $\alpha$-nasal] / ˈV[$\alpha$-high -low $\alpha$-front $\alpha$-back $\alpha$-nasal]]

The /ɨ/ assimilation rule as stated in (10) produces the correct output for assimilation of /ɨ/ to monophthongs, but not for assimilation to diphthongs. Specifically, (10) predicts that assimilation of /ɨ/ to a diphthong will produce a sequence of the form [V1V2.V2], while the outcome is actually [V1.V2] in forms such as /na4=dau2=ʔɨ1ra1/ → *na4da2ʔu1ra1* 's/he sort of sees' (1f). In order to produce the fusion, we need the additional diphthong-monophthong fusion rule given in (11): when a diphthong comes before a monophthong with the same quality as the second vowel in the diphthong, the second vowel of the diphthong deletes.

(11) Diphthong-monophthong fusion
$V_\beta \rightarrow \emptyset$ / $V_\alpha$_(ʔ)$V_\beta$

Since the environment in (11) does not include a morpheme boundary, it predicts that there will be no roots with a diphthong followed by a high vowel with the same quality as the second member of the diphthong (*ai.i, *au.u). In the lexical materials, this prediction is correct: there are no roots of this form.

Last, assimilation of /ɨ/ to /u/ is not stress-conditioned, and no roots violate it, meaning that it is likely not a derived environment effect. I posit the additional rule in (12) to produce assimilation of /u/-/ɨ/ sequences anywhere in the word, including root-internally.

(12) /u/-/ɨ/ assimilation
/ɨ/ → [u] / u(ʔ)_

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Bertet (2020: 125-126) describes a similar process to /ɨ/ assimilation in the Amacayacu variety, but analyzes it as copying of the stem vowel to an underspecified vowel slot in the following enclitic. I reject the copying analysis because of the behavior of stressed /a/. In Cushillococha, following /ˈa/, morphemes involved in this alternation are not realized with [a], as predicted by copying, but with [ɨ] (1g), as predicted by my analysis.

### 4.1.2 /oa/ assimilation

In addition to /ɨ/ assimilation, the lexical phonology displays another vowel assimilation process which is limited to the first two syllables of the PrWd. This is assimilation of /oa/ sequences, which also occurs in the Amacayacu variety Bertet (2020: 126).

When the first syllable of the PrWd contains /o/, and the second syllable contains /a/ and lacks a supralaryngeal onset, the /a/ of the second syllable assimilates completely to the /o/ in quality. (13) and (14) provide examples of this process in verbs and nouns respectively.

(13) a. *na4ˈtʃo5**o**1ne1*
na4=tʃo̰1=a1ne1
3.SBJ=white=NI:land
'it has white, i.e. sandy, land' (see §4.2.1 for 1̰ ⟶ 5 dissimilation)

b. *na4ˈdo43ʔ**o**5tɨ1*
na4=do43=ʔa5tɨ1
3.SBJ=soft=NI:leaf
'it has soft leaves'

(14) a. *ˈto1o̰1*
to1=a̰1
other=mouth
'other one's mouth'

b. *ˈto1**o**1ʔɨ̃5*
to1=a1ʔɨ̃5
other=BEN
'for the other one'

/oa/ assimilation is absent when /o/ occurs in the second syllable and /a/ occurs in the third syllable of the PrWd (15). Since [o] never occurs after the second syllable of the PrWd (even on the surface), this is the latest position where an [oa] sequence can appear.

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(15) *ˈo2ʔõ4a̱1*
o2ʔõ4=a̱1
baby=mouth
'baby's mouth'

(16) *ˈbo2ʔo3a1ʔĩ5, *[ˈbo2ʔo3o1ʔĩ5]*
bo2ʔo3=a1ʔĩ5
grub.species=BEN
'for grubs'

The lexical materials do not contain any underived words of the form [(C)o(ʔ)a]. Therefore, I analyze all surface [(C)o(ʔ)o] words as having underlying /a/ in the second syllable and displaying surface [o] in the second syllable due to /oa/ assimilation. On this account, for example, the underlying form of the word 'baby' is /o2ʔã4/, and its surface form [o2ʔõ4] reflects the outcome of /oa/ assimilation. As discussed in §3.4.2, this permits the generalization that in native-vocabulary words, /o/ occurs only in the stressed syllable.

With this background, /oa/ assimilation can be modeled with the rule shown in (17), which states that when /a/ comes after stressed /o/, /a/ is realized as [o].

(17) /oa/ assimilation
/a/ ⟶ [o] / ˈo(ʔ)_

The /oa/ assimilation rule technically does not need to include stress in its conditioning environment, because /o/ only occurs underlyingly in stressed syllables. However, I include the stress in the environment in order to make clear that, in an underlying /oaa/ sequence, this rule will only ever apply to the first underlying /a/ (the one that is adjacent to the stress and the /o/).

### 4.1.3 Monophthongization of /au/ to [o]

When the /tʃau1/ allomorph of the 1SG pronoun is followed by a labial consonant or a surface glottal stop-labial cluster, the /au/ changes to [o] (18). This process displays sociolinguistic variation (e.g., the corpus also has examples of *tʃau1pa4ta3* for 18a).

(18) /ˈau/ ⟶ [o] / _(ʔ)C[+lab]

a. *ˈtʃo1pa4ta3*
tʃau1=pa4ta3
1SG=house
'my house'

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b. *ˈtʃo1bɨ2*
tʃau1=bɨ2
1SG=starchy.food
'my starchy food'

c. *ˈtʃo1mɨ1kɨ3*
ˈtʃo1=mɨ1kɨ3
1SG=companion
'my companion'

d. *ˈtʃo1=we3ɨ̃1*
tʃau1=we3ɨ̃1
1SG=vehicle
'my vehicle'

[DGG 2016.1.128]

The monophthongization of /au/ can also occur outside the morpheme *tʃau1* '1SG.' At least some verb roots of the form (C)au(ʔ) undergo monophthongization before labials (19a). However, people use both monophthong and diphthong forms of these same roots (19b). Additionally, consultants completely rejected monophthongization with some other verb roots (20).

(19) a. *tʃa1ˈ**ɟo1**ʔme5ʔɨ̃4*
/tʃa1=**ɟau1ʔ**=mɛ̨1=ʔɨ̃4/
1SG.SBJ.SC=**wash**=NI:hand=SUB
'I washed my hands.' [CG27, C27 CCI 2019]

b. *ˈ**ɟau1**ʔpɨ1ta1i5ra1*
**ɟau1**ʔ=pɨ1ta1=i5ra1
**wash**=NI:tooth=first
'Brush your teeth first.' [20180628 002]

(20) *na4ˈdau4pa4ta3, *[na4ˈdo4pa4ta3]*
na4=dau4=pa4ta3
3.SBJ=red=NI:house
's/he has a red house' [DGG 2016.1.128]

/au/ monophthongization is stress-conditioned in that the target of the assimilation can only occur in a stressed syllable. However, since the target /au/ never occurs outside of stressed syllables, we do not need to include stress in the environment of the rule in (21).

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(21) /au/ monophthongization
/au/ ⟶ [o] / _C[+lab]

### 4.1.4 Glottal stop insertion

If the verb root begins with a vowel, then there is always a glottal stop between it and the final syllable of the proclitic group (i.e., the string of aspect/directional, subject, and object proclitics). This applies regardless of the tone of the two syllables. They can have the same tone (22a), the verb root can have the higher tone (22b), or the proclitic can have the higher tone (22c). Glottal stop insertion is also insensitive to the identity of the proclitic adjacent to the root. It applies whether the proclitic involved is an object proclitic (22a), a subject proclitic (22b), or expresses another category, such as associated motion.

(22) a. *ʧa3na3ʔã3*
tʃa3=na3=ʔ=ã3
1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=EPENTHETIC=give.INAN.SG
'I give it'

b. *ʧi1ʔu2ʔĭ4kạ1*
tʃi1=ʔ=u3=ʔĭ4=kạ1
1SG.SBJ.SC=EPENTHETIC=say=SUB=PURP
'so that I say it'

c. *ʧa3ʔũ43*
tʃa3=ʔ=ũ43
1SG.SBJ=EPENTHETIC=go.SGS
'I go'

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Even though most verb tokens have subject proclitics, and therefore the most verb root tokens have an initial glottal stop on the surface, the glottal stop here should not be analyzed as an underlying part of the root. When vowel-initial verb roots are used without proclitics, for example in nominalizations or subject relative clauses, they do *not* have initial glottal stops. For example, there is no glottal stop on the verb of the relative clause in (23).

(23) *gu31ʔe2ma4 ta31e3ɟạ1 ga4 Ka3ni3ma3ru1wa5ne4* ***ũ31e3***

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gu31ʔe2ma4 ta31=e3ɟa̰1 ga4 Ka3ni3ma3ru1=wa5=ne4
DEM.REM.PST(I) 1INCL=sister DET.REM.PST Canimaru=ALL=from
**ũ43=e3**
**go.SGS=NMLZ(I)**
'that sister of ours who came from Canimaru' [NWG Brazil Trip]

## 4.2 General tone processes

This section describes two tone processes which are general (rather than morphologically conditioned), i.e. occur in all words regardless of morphological composition. These are tone 1̰ dissimilation (§4.2.1) and tone 43 assimilation (§4.2.2). Both of them are stress-conditioned.

### 4.2.1 Tone 1̰ dissimilation

Tone 1̰ syllables are subject to a stress-conditioned dissimilation process in which they are realized as tone 5. This process is stress-conditioned because it applies only to stressed syllables.

#### 4.2.1.1 Tone 1̰ dissimilation applies in stressed syllables

When an underlying tone 1̰ syllable bears stress and is followed by either (a) another tone 1̰ syllable or (b) a syllable with modal tone 1, the stressed tone 1̰ dissimilates to tone 5.

(24) provides an example of tone 1̰ dissimilation in the verb *tʃo̰1* 'white,' which is tone 1̰ in isolation (24a). The verb undergoes dissimilation triggered by a creaky 1̰ syllable in (24b) and triggered by a modal 1 syllable in (24c) and (24d).

(24) Tone 1̰ → 5 / ˈ_σ1

a. *na4ˈtʃo̰1*
na4=tʃo̰1
3.SBJ=white
'she/he/it is white'

b. *na4ˈtʃo5õ̰1tɨ3*
na4=tʃo̰1=õ̰1tɨ3
3.SBJ=white=NI:yard
's/he/it has a white (i.e. sandy) yard'

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c. *ni4ˈtʃo5tʃi1gɨ1*
ni4=tʃo̰1=tʃi1gɨ1
3.SBJ=white=DISTRIB
'it keeps turning white'

d. *na4ˈtʃo5gɨ1*
na4=tʃo̰1=gɨ1
3.SBJ=white=NI:blood
'it (a tree) has white sap'

Because most nouns are disyllabic or larger, it is hard to observe tone 1̰ dissimilation in nouns. However, the process does occur, as shown by (25). In this example, a monosyllabic noun which is tone 1̰ in isolation undergoes dissimilation triggered by a creaky 1̰ syllable (25b) and by a modal 1 syllable (25c, d).

(25) a. *ˈto̰1*
Night.Monkey
'Night Monkey'

b. *ˈto5o̰1tɨ3*
to̰1=ã̰1tɨ3
Night.Monkey=yard
'Night Monkey's yard'

c. *ˈto5mɨ1kɨ3*
to̰1=mɨ1kɨ3
Night.Monkey=companion
'Night Monkey's companion'

d. *ˈto5gɨ1*
to̰1=gɨ1
Night.Monkey=blood
'Night Monkey's blood'

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Modal voice tone 1 syllables are triggers, but **not** targets, of tone 1̰ dissimilation. This is easy to see by contrasting the behavior of *to̰1* 'Night Monkey,' which is tone 1̰, with that of *to1* 'other (noun class IV),' which is tone 1 and modal voice. Modal 1 *to1* 'other' never undergoes dissimilation, either before a creaky 1̰ syllable (26b) or before a modal 1 syllable (26c, d).

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(26) a. *ˈto1*
other(IV)
‘other’

b. *ˈto1o̱1*
to1=a̱1
other(IV)=mouth
‘other one’s mouth’

c. *ˈto1mɨ1kɨ3*
to1=mɨ1kɨ3
other(IV)=companion
‘other one’s companion’

d. *ˈto1gɨ1*
to1=gɨ1
other(IV)=blood
‘other one’s blood’

Creaky tone 2 also does not undergo dissimilation (27, cf. 24c). Because tone 2̰ occurs only on stressed syllables (Chapter 3.4.3), it is never in the environment to trigger dissimilation.

(27) Creaky Tone 2 ⟶ 2̰ / ˈ_σ1
*ni4ˈtʃo̱2tʃi1gɨ1*
ni4=tʃo̱2=tʃi1gɨ1
3.SBJ=crack=DISTRIB
‘it keeps cracking’

#### 4.2.1.2 Tone 1̰ dissimilation fails to apply in unstressed syllables

Tone 1̰ dissimilation is exclusive to stressed syllables. The process does not apply if the target tone 1̰ syllable is unstressed. This is shown for immediately post-tonic tone 1̰ syllables in (28) and (29).

(28) Tone 1̰ ⟶ 1̰ / ˈσ_σ1

a. *ˈko2re̱1*
sweet.potato
‘sweet potato’

b. *ˈko2re̱1q̃1tɨ3*

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ko2rę̱1=ą̃1tɨ3
sweet.potato=yard
'yard planted with sweet potatoes'

c. *ˈko2rę̱1a1ne1*
ko2rę̱1=a1ne1
sweet.potato=garden
'garden planted with sweet potatoes'

d. *ˈko2rę̱1gɨ1*
ko2rę̱1=gɨ1
sweet.potato=blood
'sweet potato sap'

(29) Tone 1̱ ⟶ 1̱ / ˈσ_σ1

a. *tɨ31ʔĩ3 pe3ˈʔi2a̱1*
tɨ31=ʔĩ3 pe3=i2a̱1
3(I)=ACC 2PL.SBJ=scold
'you all scold him/her/them'

b. *tɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃi3ˈʔi2a̱1tʃi1gɨ1, *tʃi3ʔi2a5tʃi1gɨ1*
tɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃi3=i2a̱1=tʃi1gɨ1
3(I)=ACC 1SG.SBJ=scold=DISTRIB
'I keep scolding him/her/them'

[LWG 2025.1.98]

Based on the data introduced so far, tone 1̱ dissimilation could be analyzed as either stress-conditioned or foot-conditioned. If it is stress-conditioned, the process is predicted to apply only to stressed (i.e., PrWd-initial) syllables. On the other hand, suppose that all syllables are parsed into binary feet, and tone dissimilation is foot-conditioned. Dissimilation should then apply in unstressed but odd-numbered syllables.

(30) and (31) support the prediction of the stress-conditioned analysis. They show that tone dissimilation does not apply to the third syllable of a trisyllabic stem, whether the stem is nominal (30) or verbal (31).[2]

(30) Tone 1̱ ⟶ 1̱ / ˈσσσ_σ1

a. *ˈna4e3ɟa̱1*

[2]These examples use derived stems because, as far as I know, there are no trisyllabic roots of any category that end in tone 1̱.

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na4=e3ɟa̱1
3=sister
'his/her/their sister'

b. *ˈna4e3ɟa̱1q̃1tɨ3*
na4=e3ɟa̱1=q̃1tɨ3
3=sister=yard
'his/her/their sister's yard'

c. *ˈna4e3ɟa̱1gɨ1*
na4=e3ɟa̱1=gɨ1
3=sister=blood
'his/her/their sister's blood'

(31) Tone 1̱ ⟶ 1̱ / ˈσσσ_σ1

a. *na4ˈtʃo̱1e3ɟa̱1*
na4=tʃo̱1=e3ɟa̱1
3.SBJ=white=sister
's/he has a white, i.e. light-skinned, sister'

b. *na4ˈtʃo̱1e3ɟa̱1tʃa1ĩ1*
na4=tʃo̱1=e3ɟa̱1=tʃa1ĩ1
3.SBJ=white=sister=PROSP
's/he is going to have a white sister'

Since the dissimilation process treats all unstressed syllables equally, it is better analyzed as stress-conditioned than foot-conditioned. This is one example of the generalization in Chapter 3.5.2 that there is no evidence for iterative footing in the PrWd.

Additionally, the lexical materials contain no roots which violate tone 1̱ dissimilation (i.e., display an initial 1̱1 sequence). Thus, the rule producing tone 1̱ dissimilation does not need to include a specification that it applies only across morpheme boundaries. With this background, (32) formally states the rule producing tone 1̱ dissimilation. I take the feature [+superlow] as defining the natural class of tones 1 and 1̱; the rule states that when tone 1̱ occurs on a stressed syllable and the following syllable has a superlow tone, the stressed tone 1̱ is realized as tone 5.

(32) Tone 1̱ dissimilation
1̱ ⟶ 5 / ˈ_σ[+superlow]

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### 4.2.2 Tone 43 assimilation

The same tones that trigger tone 1̩ dissimilation – modal tone 1 and creaky 1̩ – also trigger a process of tone assimilation. Stressed syllables with underlying tone 43 are realized as tone 31 when they are followed by a tone 1̩ or 1 syllable.

(33) shows this for the morpheme *na43*, the pronoun which acts as the default grammatical possessor of inalienable nouns that are semantically unpossessed. Like all possessive pronouns in the language, it projects a PrWd and bears stress (Chapter 3.5.2). The default possessor is realized with tone 43 when it is followed by a syllable with tones 4 or 5 (33a,b). But when the pronoun is followed by a syllable with tone 1̩ or modal 1, it is realized as tone 31 (33c, d).

(33) Tone 43 ⟶ 31 / ˈ_σ1

a. *ˈna43a5tɨ2*
na43=a5tɨ2
DFLT.POSS=leaf
'leaf'

b. *ˈna43tɨ4*
na43=tɨ4
DFLT.POSS=river
'river'

c. *ˈna31ɰ̃1tɨ3*
na43=ɰ̃1tɨ3
DFLT.POSS=yard
'yard'

d. *ˈna31a1ne1*
na43=a1ne1
DFLT.POSS=land
'land, place, garden'

Tones 1̩ and 1 are not the only triggers of tone 43 assimilation. Tone 3 also triggers the process, as shown in (34).

(34) Tone 43 ⟶ 31 / ˈ_σ3

a. *ˈna31e3ĩ1*
na43=e3ĩ1
DFLT.POSS=prey
'wild/game animal'

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b. *ˈna31tɨ3we3*
na43=tɨ3we3
DFLT.POSS=half.sphere
'half (of something spherical)'

In contrast to tones 1̩, 1, and 3, tone 2 does not trigger tone 43 assimilation (35). Thus, the triggers of assimilation cannot be treated as a natural class of the low or low/mid tones.

(35) Tone 43 ⟶ 43 / ˈ_σ2
*ˈna43tɨ2*
na43=tɨ2
DFLT.POSS=weeds
'weeds'

Since tone 3 patterns with tones 1̩ and 1 as a trigger of the /43/ ⟶ [31] change, one might expect that it would also pattern with these tones in tone 1̩ dissimilation, acting as another trigger for this process. However, tone 3 does **not** trigger tone 1̩ dissimilation (36).[3]

(36) 1̩ ⟶ 1̩ / ˈ_σ3

a. *na4ˈtʃo̱1e3ɟa̱1*
na4=tʃo̱1=e3ɟa̱1
3.SBJ=white=NI:sister
's/he has a white sister'

b. *na4ˈtʃo̱1ne3*
na4=tʃo̱1=ne3
3.SBJ=white=NI:son
's/he has a white son'

c. *na4ˈtʃo̱1pa3tɨ4*
na4=tʃo̱1=pa3tɨ4
3.SBJ=white=NI:claw/nail
'it has white claws'

[3]There *are* several suffixes of the form *-e3* which trigger the dissimilation (§4.3.3), but the process is not triggered by all tone 3 syllables. For example, dissimilation is not triggered by *e3ɟa̱1* 'sister' in (36), even though it also begins with /e3/. I analyze the *-e3* suffixes as triggering dissimilation because they have a floating tone 1 at the left.

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The lexical materials include roots which display the environment for tone 43 dissimilation, but where it fails to apply. These roots include both 43.1 roots such as *o43na1* 'food' and 43.3 roots such as *be43re3* 'plant species (*Solanum sessiliflorum)*.' These roots indicate that tone 43 assimilation applies only across morpheme boundaries, meaning that the formal statement of tone 43 assimilation must include a morpheme boundary in the environment. The rule does **not**, however, need to include stress as part of the environment. While tone 43 assimilation is stress-conditioned in that it only targets stressed syllables, this 'stress-conditioning' is epiphenomenal on the fact that tone 43 – like the other contour tones – only occurs in stressed syllables (Chapter 3.4.3).

With this background, (37) provides a formal statement of the rule producing tone 43 assimilation. Note that, as discussed above, there is no external motivation for positing that the triggers of this process (tones 1 and 3) share phonological features. Thus, in (37), I represent the environment of this rule as disjunctive: when a syllable bears tone 43, and the following syllable belongs to a different morpheme and bears a superlow tone or tone 3, the tone 43 syllable is realized with tone 31.

(37) Tone 43 assimilation
$43 \longrightarrow 31 \; / \; \_]_{\text{morpheme}}\sigma[+\text{superlow}],\; \_]_{\text{morpheme}}\sigma 3$

### 4.2.3 Comparison of tone 1̱ dissimilation and tone 43 assimilation

The two tone processes observed only on stressed syllables relate to stress in different ways. Tone 1̱ dissimilation interacts with stress via classic stress-conditioning. Tone 1̱ can occur on both stressed and unstressed syllables, but it undergoes dissimilation to tone 5 only when it occurs on stressed syllables (§4.2.1). There is no relationship with licensing; stress is simply part of the environment for the process, exactly like it is part of the environment for /ɨ/ assimilation.

In contrast, tone 43 assimilation interacts with stress exclusively via stress-licensing. Because tone 43 occurs only on stressed syllables, tone 43 assimilation can occur only on stressed syllables (§4.2.2). This is exactly the same as the stress-conditioning of /au/ monophthongization and /oa/ assimilation, which target segments that only appear in stressed syllables. Due to this relationship with licensing, it is unnecessary to include stress in the environment for the process.

## 4.3 Morphologically conditioned tone processes

This section describes and analyzes the language's main grammatical tone process – the nominalizer tone circle – which extensively affects the final syllable

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of verbs in subordinate and relative clauses (§4.3.1).

The nominalizer tone circle is the only morphologically conditioned tone process in the language which affects more than one tone category. However, there are also two sets of morphemes which cause tone changes with smaller scope. One set consists of all suffixes of the form *-e3*, which cause tone 1̲ roots to become tone 5 (§4.3.3). The other consists of the temporal overlap/conditional antecedent subordinator *=gu2*, which causes tone 2 roots to become tone 2̲ (§4.3.4).

### 4.3.1 The nominalizer tone circle

Ticuna displays an extensive set of grammatical tone alternations affecting the final syllables of verb stems. These alternations involve circle and chain shift patterns similar to the well-known tone circles found in Taiwanese Southern Min and other Sino-Tibetan languages Mortensen (2006). Because the circle-like alternations are triggered mostly by nominalizing constructions, I refer to them collectively as the *nominalizer tone circle*.

Exactly like the phonological processes described in the previous two sections, the nominalizer tone circle is also stress-conditioned. In §4.3.1.1, I introduce the circle and the morphosyntactic contexts where it applies. Then, I lay out the alternations caused by the circle on stressed syllables (§4.3.1.2) and unstressed syllables (§4.3.1.3). In §4.3.1.4, I discuss interactions between the nominalizer tone circle and other tone processes, and in §4.3.2 I summarize this subsection.

My analysis is informed by the initial description of the tone circle in Anderson (1962: 369). Anderson's statements of the alternations are reasonably accurate; however, her list of conditioning environments is not accurate, at least for contemporary Cushillococha Ticuna, and she does not identify the circle as stress-conditioned. Bertet (2020: 130-138) states a similar list of surface alternations, but because he treats the stressed and unstressed syllable toneme inventories as unrelated, he identifies the alternations as affecting different tonemes, not as stress-conditioned.

#### 4.3.1.1 Triggers of the nominalizer tone circle

Several morphemes trigger the nominalizer tone circle. The most common triggers are the relativizing enclitics, which appear on verbs to derive relative clauses (Chapter 23).

The relativizers agree in noun class (Chapter 7.2) with the head noun of the relative clause. When a relativizer attaches to a verb, it comes to have the external syntax of a noun, i.e. can take case and possess other nouns (the case

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marker/possessum attaches directly to the verb). I therefore gloss these enclitics as 'nominalizers' and refer to them in the text using that term as well as 'relativizer.' The relativizers are listed, together with their noun classes, in (38).

(38) a. *=e3* 'NMLZ(I), i.e. noun class I'
b. *=kɨ3* 'NMLZ(II)'
c. *=ʔĩ5ne1* ~ *=ne1* 'NMLZ(III)'[4]
d. *=ʔĩ4* 'NMLZ(IV)'

Not all relativizers trigger the nominalizer tone circle. Specifically, the relativizer for noun class V is syntactically identical to the relativizers in (38), deriving relative clauses. It is also segmentally identical to the Class II nominalizer, with the segmental form *=kɨ3*. However, the Class V nominalizer does **not** induce the nominalizer tone circle on its host, while the Class II nominalizer does.

(39) illustrates the nominalizer tone circle, including its non-application in class V nominalizations, by comparing relative clauses formed with the nominalizers in (38) vs. with the class V nominalizer. Each example in (39) has the same verb, *mu̱1* 'eat (raw fruit).' This verb is underlyingly tone 1̱. In (39a-c), when the root bears the Class I, II, and IV nominalizers, it is realized as tone 5, which is one of the tone circle alternations. But when the root bears the class V nominalizer in (39d), it is realized with its underlying tone. This same pattern holds regardless of verb stem properties: the class V nominalizer never affects stem tone.

(39) a. *bu3e3 ɟa4 ta31ʔi3* ***mu5e3***
bu3e3 ɟa4 ta31ʔi3 **mu̱1**=e3
baby(I) DET(I) *Pouteria.caimito* **eat.fruit**=NMLZ(I)
'the baby (class I) that ate caimito (fruit species)'
b. *ʌe3ʔtɨ̱2kɨ3 ɟa4 ta31ʔi3* ***mu5kɨ3***
ʌe3ʔtɨ̱2kɨ3 ɟa4 ta31ʔi3 **mu̱1**=kɨ3
young.man(II) DET(II) *P.caimito* **eat.fruit**=NMLZ(II)
'the young man (class II) that ate caimito'
c. *du1ĩ3ʔĩ4 i4 ta31ʔi3* ***mu5ʔĩ4***
du1ĩ3ʔĩ4 i4 ta31ʔi3 **mu̱1**=ʔĩ4
person(IV) DET(IV) *P.caimito* **eat.fruit**=NMLZ(IV)
'the person (class IV) that ate caimito'

[4]This morpheme is subject to stress-conditioned allomorphy. It has the form *=ʔĩ5ne1* when attaching to a stressed syllable, *=ne1* otherwise.

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d. *pa4kɨ3 i4 ta31ʔi3* ***mu̱1kɨ3***
pa4kɨ3 i4 ta31ʔi3 **mu̱1**=kɨ3
young.woman(V) DET(V) *P.caimito* **eat.fruit**=NMLZ(V)
'the young woman (class V) that ate caimito'

I take the failure of the Class V nominalizer to induce the tone circle – as represented by the contrast between (39a-c) and (39d) – as evidence that it is neither syntactic status as a relativizer nor phonological form that causes the Class I, II, III, and IV relativizers to induce the nominalizer tone circle. Instead, I assume that triggering the circle is a lexical property of the Class I, II, III, and IV relativizers listed in (38).

As well as these nominalizers, several other morphosyntactic constructions also trigger the nominalizer tone circle.

First, the subordinating enclitic *=ʔ(ĩ4)* appears in focus constructions, purpose clauses, and complement clauses. It triggers the nominalizer tone circle on the final syllable of the verb stem to which it attaches, as shown for a tone 1̱ verb in (40).

(40) *na1te5ʔĩ4ka̱1*
na1=te̱1=ʔĩ4=ka̱1
3.SBJ.SC=sharp=SUB=PURP
'so that it is sharp'

While the subordinator *=ʔ(ĩ4)* resembles the Class IV nominalizer, the two morphemes are distinct. The subordinator can be realized without a vowel in utterance-final position, but the nominalizer always has a vowel.

Second, there are three subordinate clause types where the verb undergoes the nominalizer tone circle, but does not bear any segmental subordinating material. These are (a) temporal subordinate clauses introduced by the adverb *ɲu̱1ʔma5ta4(ta1)* 'until' (Chapter 25.4.4.1), (b) embedded polar questions (Chapter 25.4.4.2), and (c) plural imperatives (Chapter 6.1.1.3). In all three clause types, the verb takes subordinate-clause inflection (Chapter 6), and the final syllable of the stem undergoes the tone circle, but there is *no* subordinating enclitic present at the right edge of the verb. For example, (41) provides an example of a clause with the verb *ɲu̱1ʔma5ta4(ta1)* 'until,' which introduces a temporal subordinate clause. The verb has no enclitic, but it still displays the subordinate-clause form of the 3SBJ proclitic, *na1=*, and undergoes the tone circle alternation from tone 3 to tone 2. Similarly, (42) is a plural imperative. There is again no enclitic, but the verb takes the subordinate-clause form of the 2PL.SBJ proclitic, *pe1=*, and undergoes the tone circle alternation (for stressed syllables) from tone 4 to tone 1.

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(41) *ɲu̱1ʔma5ta4ta1 nɨ31ʔĩ3 na1ʔĩ3**nɨ2***
ɲu̱1ʔma5ta4ta1 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 na1ʔ=**ĩ3nɨ3**
until 3(IV)=ACC 3.SBJ.SC=**hear**
'until she/he heard it'
YCG - add cite in current style

(42) *nu2a2 pe1na3ʔ**ɨ31***
nu2a2 pe1=na3=**ɨ43**
here.LOC 2PL.SBJ.SC=3.OBJ=**put.INAN.SG**
'You all, put it here.' [LWG 2025.1.98]

In sum, the nominalizer tone circle applies in a variety of morphological constructions and syntactic environments that involve subordinate clauses (as a morphological category – as discussed in Chapter 6.2.4, morphological and syntactic subordination are not exactly the same in Ticuna).

Through the rest of this section, I exemplify the tone circle alternations exclusively with the nominalizers shown in (38). However, the alternations are the same whether the tone circle is triggered by one of the nominalizers in (38), the subordinator *=ʔ(ĩ4)*, or a construction with no enclitic. Furthermore, the circle occurs only on the final syllable of verb stems. It never applies to adverbs, verb arguments, or other material.

#### 4.3.1.2 The nominalizer tone circle on stressed syllables

The circle has different outcomes on stressed syllables than unstressed syllables. This section describes the stressed syllable changes; §4.3.1.3 describes the changes on unstressed syllables.

On stressed syllables – that is, monosyllabic verb roots – the tone circle causes the eight alternations in (43).[5]

(43) a. /1̱/ ⟶ 5
b. /1/ ⟶ 2̱
c. /2/ ⟶ 2, 5 (5 before *=e3* 'NMLZ(I)'; 2 in all other environments)
d. /2̱/ ⟶ 2̱
e. /3/ ⟶ 2

[5]Tone 5 is not included as a target in (43) because it occurs on only one monosyllabic word, *pe5* 'slap.' This verb is unchanged when the word is subject to the circle, but as there are no other verbs of this form, we cannot know if the alternation generalizes.

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f. /4/ ⟶ 1
g. /31/ ⟶ 3
h. /43/ ⟶ 31
i. /51/ ⟶ 51

(44) – (52) provide example verb roots of each tone undergoing the circle. Examples are given using subject relative clauses with heads of noun classes I, II, and IV. Class III is left out because it does not contain any animate nouns, which makes many subject relative clauses with the example verbs semantically unacceptable.

(44) Tone 1̰ ⟶ 5

a. /pa̰1/ 'hug' ⟶ *'pa5e3*, *'pa5ki3*, *'pa5ʔĩ4* 'the one (Class I/II/IV) that hugs'
b. /mṵ1/ 'eat fruit' ⟶ *'mu5e3*, *'mu5ki3*, *'mu5ʔĩ4* 'the one (Class I/II/IV) that eats (fruit)'

(45) Tone 1 ⟶ 2̰
/pa1/ 'be tired' ⟶ *'pa̰2e3*, *'pa̰2ki3*, *'pa̰2ʔĩ4* 'the one (Class I/II/IV) that's tired'

(46) Tone 2 ⟶ 2, 5 (if before *=e3* 'NMLZ(I)')

a. /ɟa2/ 'be mature' ⟶ *'ɟa5e3* 'mature (Class I)'
b. /ɟa2/ 'be mature' ⟶ *'ɟa2ki3*, *'ɟa2ʔĩ4* 'mature (Class II/IV)'
c. /mu2/ 'send' ⟶ *'mu5e3* 'the one (Class I) that sends (it)
d. /mu2/ 'send' ⟶ *'mu2ki3*, *'mu2ʔĩ4* 'the one (Class I/II/V) that sends (it)'

(47) Tone 2̰ ⟶ 2̰

a. /tʃo̰2/ 'crack' ⟶ *'tʃo̰2e3*, *'tʃo̰2ki3*, *'tʃo̰2ʔĩ4* 'the one (Class I/II/IV) that cracked'
b. /tʃa̰2/ 'spread out fabric, trans.' ⟶ *'tʃa̰2e3*, *'tʃa̰2ki3*, *'tʃa̰2ʔĩ4* 'the one (Class I/II/IV) that spreads (it) out'

(48) Tone 3 ⟶ 2

a. /ã3/ 'give.INAN.SG' ⟶ *'ã2ʔe3*, *'ã2ki3*, *'ã2ʔĩ4* 'the one (Class I/II/IV) that gives (it)'
b. /mu3/ 'weave' ⟶ *'mu2e3*, *'mu2ki3*, *'mu2ʔĩ4* 'the one (Class I/II/IV that wove (it)'

(49) Tone 4 ⟶ 1

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a. /pa4/ 'be a young adult, speaking of a woman' → *'pa1e3*, *'pa1ʔĩ4* 'young (woman) (Class I/IV)'[6]
b. /mu4/ 'be many' → *'mu1e3*, *'mu1kɨ3*, *'mu1ʔĩ4* 'many (Class I/II/IV)'

(50) Tone 31 → 3
a. /a31/ 'be thin' → *'a3e3*, *'a3kɨ3*, *'a3ʔĩ4* 'thin (Class I/II/IV)'
b. /mu31/ 'pierce' → *'mu3e3*, *'mu3kɨ3*, *'mu3ʔĩ4* 'the one (Class I/II/IV) that pierces (it)'

(51) Tone 43 → 31
a. /pa43/ 'be dry' → *'pa31e3*, *'pa31kɨ33*, *'pa31ʔĩ4* 'dry (Class I/II/IV'
b. /ũ43/ 'go.sgS' → *'ũ31e3*, *'ũ31kɨ3*, *'ũ31ʔĩ4* 'the one (Class I/II/IV) that goes'

(52) Tone 51
a. /ko51/ 'tease' → *'ko51e3*, *'ko51kɨ3*, *'ko51ʔĩ4* 'the one (Class I/II/IV) that teases (him/her/it)'
b. /tu51/ 'pull' → *'tu51e3*, *'tu51kɨ3*, *'tu51ʔĩ4* 'the one (Class I/II/IV) that pulls (it)'

#### 4.3.1.3 The nominalizer tone circle on unstressed syllables

On unstressed syllables, the nominalizer tone circle causes a different – though partially overlapping – set of alternations than on stressed syllables. The tone circle alternations which occur on unstressed syllables are shown in (53). Tones 31, 43, 51, 2̰, and 5 are not included as targets in (53) because they never occur on unstressed syllables (tones 31, 43, 51, and 2̰) or never occur on the final syllable of a verb stem (tone 5).[7]

(53) a. /1̰/ → 5
b. /1/ → 3
c. /2/ → 2, 5 (5 before *=e3* 'NMLZ(I)'; 2 in all other environments)
d. /3/ → 2
e. /4/ → 5

[6]Unacceptable with Class II because all human referents in Class II are male, and this verb cannot be predicated of men.

[7]There is one verb that does end in tone 5, the Spanish loan *pi3ri5* 'fry.' The tone 5 in this word is unchanged in the nominalizer tone circle. However – and as with the single monosyllabic verb with tone 5 – we cannot know if this is a general alternation, because there are no other verbs of this form.

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The differences between the nominalizer tone circle on unstressed syllables (43 and stressed syllables (53) come down to the behavior of tones 1 and 4. Stressed tone 1 syllables are realized as tone 2̰ in the circle, but unstressed ones are realized as tone 3. Likewise, stressed tone 4 syllables are realized as tone 1 in the circle, but unstressed ones are realized as tone 5. Other differences between the stressed and unstressed alternations are epiphenomenal on the fact that fewer tones are possible on unstressed syllables.

(54–58) provide examples of the nominalizer tone circle on disyllabic verb stems with each possible stem-final tone.

(54) Disyllabic ending in Tone 1̰ → 5
/ŋu̱1=a̰1/ (hurt=mouth) → *ˈŋu5a5e3*, *ˈŋu5a5kɨ3*, *ˈŋu5a5ʔĩ4* 'the one (Class I/II/IV) whose mouth hurts'

(55) Disyllabic ending in Tone 1 → 3
/wi1ʔɟa1/ (urinate) → *ˈwi1ʔɟa3e3*, *ˈwi1ʔɟa3kɨ3*, *ˈwi1ʔɟa3ʔĩ4* 'the one (Class I/II/IV) that urinates'

(56) Disyllabic ending in Tone 2 → 2, 5

a. /de43ʔa2/ (talk) → *ˈde43ʔa5e3* 'the one (Class I) that talks'

b. /de43ʔa2/ (talk) → *ˈde43ʔa2kɨ3*, *ˈde43ʔa2ʔĩ4* 'the one (Class II/IV) that talks'

(57) Disyllabic ending in Tone 3 → 2
/ĩ3nɨ3/ (listen) → *ˈĩ3nɨ2e3*, *ˈĩ3nɨ2kɨ3*, *ˈĩ3nɨ2ʔĩ4* 'the one (Class I/II/IV) that listens'

(58) Disyllabic ending in Tone 4 → 5
/o4ʔgɨ4/ (vomit) → *ˈo4ʔgɨ5e3*, *ˈo4ʔgɨ5kɨ3*, *ˈo4ʔgɨ5ʔĩ4* 'the one (Class I/II/IV) that vomits'

Trisyllabic verb stems display exactly the same alternations in the circle as disyllabic ones. Outcomes of the circle on trisyllabic stems are shown in (59–63).

(59) Trisyllabic ending in Tone 1̰ → 5
/ɟu2=e3ɟa̰1/ (die=sister) → *ˈɟu2e3ɟa5e3*, *ˈɟu2e3ɟa5kɨ3* , *ˈɟu2e3ɟa5ʔĩ4* 'the one (Class I/II/IV) whose sister died'

(60) Trisyllabic ending in Tone 1 → 3
/tʃi31e2=ga1/ (bad=voice) → *ˈtʃi31e2ga3e3*, *ˈtʃi31e2ga3kɨ3*, *ˈtʃi31e2ga3ʔĩ4* 'the one (Class I/II/IV) that sounds bad'

(61) Trisyllabic ending in Tone 2 → 2, 5

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a. /ta43=ʔi5tʃi2/ (big=really) → *'ta43ʔi5tʃi5e3* 'the one (Class I) that's really big'
b. /ta43=ʔi5tʃi2/ (big=really) → *'ta43ʔi5tʃi2kɨ3*, *'ta43ʔi5tʃi2ʔɨ4* 'the one (Class II/IV) that's really big'

(62) Trisyllabic ending in Tone 3 → 2
/wi3ɟa3e3/ (sing) → *'wi3ɟa3e2e3*, *'wi3ɟa3e2kɨ3*, *'wi3ɟa3e2ʔɨ4* 'the one (Class I/II/IV) that sings'

(63) Trisyllabic ending in Tone 4 → 5
/pu3ra3kɨ4/ (work) → *'pu3ra3kɨ5e3*, *'pu3ra3kɨ5kɨ3* , *'pu3ra3kɨ5ʔɨ4* 'the one (Class I/II/IV) that works'

The fact that disyllabic and trisyllabic stems behave the same in (54–63) shows that the nominalizer tone circle is not sensitive to the syllable count of the stem, only to the distinction between the stressed syllable and the other stem syllables. Thus, as in the processes discussed in §4.1–4.2, the prosodic factor conditioning the circle is stress, not foot structure.

The multisyllabic stem examples also show that the tone circle is insensitive to the morphological composition of the stem. For example, compare the underived disyllabic stem *wi1ʔɟa1* 'urinate' (55) with the derived trisyllabic stem *tʃi31e2=ga1* (bad=voice) 'sound bad' (60). Under the circle, the final tone 1 syllable in underived (55) and derived (60) behave exactly the same. Both are realized as tone 3, while a stressed tone 1 syllable subject to the circle (i.e. a monosyllabic verb root) would be realized as tone 2̱ (45).

Last, the outcomes of the tone circle on multisyllabic stems demonstrate that the process does not display effects of the Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP) (Leben 1973, Odden 1986)). If the OCP applied at the lexical level in Cushillococha Ticuna, multisyllabic stems with level tone melodies – such as the /11/ stem in (55), /33/ stem in (57), /44/ stem in (58), and /333/ stem in (62) – would be modeled as involving a single tone associated with multiple TBUs (syllables). Assuming that the nominalizer tone circle affects the identity of this single tone, the circle is predicted to change the tone of every stem syllable. Thus, a /44/ stem such as *o4ʔgɨ4* 'vomit' should be realized as 55 when subject to the circle, while a /333/ stem such as *wi3ɟa3e3* 'sing' should be realized as 22. In fact, only the last syllable changes under the circle. This is true for both disyllabic stems, as shown by (55), (57) and (58), and trisyllabic stems, as shown by (62). Thus, the /44/ stem *o4ʔgɨ4* 'vomit' is realized as 45 (*o4ʔgɨ5*), not 55, and the /333/ stem *wi3ɟa3e3* 'sing' is realized as 332 (*wi3ɟa3e2*), not 222 as predicted by the OCP analysis.

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This indicates that the OCP does not apply at the lexical level in Ticuna. Stems with level tone melodies, such as /44/ and /333/, should be represented as involving multiple tones with the same value – each linked to a distinct TBU – rather than a single tone linked to multiple TBUs.

#### 4.3.1.4 Interactions of the nominalizer tone circle and other tone processes

The nominalizer tone circle is ordered after and counterbleeds the process of tone 1̰ dissimilation in disyllabic stems with the underlying tone melodies /1̰1̰/ and /1̰1/. It is also ordered after and counterbleeds tone 43 assimilation in disyllabic stems with the underlying melodies /43.1̰/ and /43.1/.

Recall from §4.2.1 that tone 1̰ dissimilation applies to stressed tone 1̰ syllables which are immediately followed by another tone 1̰ or modal 1 syllable. The nominalizer circle also applies to these trigger (tone 1̰ and 1) syllables, causing tone 1̰ syllables to be realized with tone 5, and tone 1 syllables to be realized with tone 3. Tones 3 and 5 are not triggers of tone 1̰ dissimilation. Thus, when the tone circle applies to the second syllable of a /1̰1̰/ or /1̰1/ stem, it eliminates the tone which would trigger dissimilation.

This raises the question of whether tone 1̰ dissimilation still occurs when the trigger syllable is subject to the nominalizer tone circle. It does: when a /1̰1̰/ or /1̰1/ stem undergoes the circle, both the tone 1̰ dissimilation and the tone circle apply. As shown in (64) and (65), the initial syllable is realized as tone 5, undergoing the same tone 1̰ dissimilation process as if the stem were not nominalized. The second syllable is realized with the tone assigned by the circle: tone 5 if it is underlyingly tone 1̰ (64) and tone 3 if it is underlyingly modal 1 (65).

(64) *ˈtʃo5o5ʔĩ4*
/tʃo̰1=a̰1=ʔĩ1/
white=NI:mouth=NMLZ(IV)
'the one (Class IV) that has a white mouth'

(65) *ˈtʃo5gɨ3ʔĩ4*
/tʃo̰1=gɨ1=ʔĩ4/
white=NI:blood=NMLZ(IV)
'the one (Class IV) that has white sap'

The tone circle also interacts with tone 43 assimilation. Per §4.2.2, tone 43 assimilation applies to tone 43 syllables followed by a syllable with the tones 1̰, 1, or 3. When the tone circle applies to tones 1̰ and 3, they are respectively realized with tones 5 and 2, making them no longer triggers of the assimilation process.

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On the other hand, when the circle applies to tone 1 in an unstressed syllable, it is realized with tone 3, remaining a trigger of assimilation.

The interaction between tone 43 assimilation and the tone circle therefore occurs only in stems with the underlying form /43.1̥/ or /43.3/. When such stems are subject to the tone circle, both tone 43 assimilation and the circle apply. The stem-initial syllable is realized with tone 31, undergoing the assimilation. The second syllable is realized with the tone assigned by the circle. For example, in (66) the second syllable is underlyingly tone 1̥, and thus it is realized with tone 5.

(66) *ˈme31me5kɨ3*
/me43=me̥1=kɨ3/
good=NI:hand=NMLZ(II)
'the one (Class II) that has pretty hands'

In other words, the tone circle displays exactly the same opaque, counterbleeding relationship with tone 43 assimilation as with tone 1̥ dissimilation.

### 4.3.2 Conclusion: the nominalizer tone circle

The nominalizer tone circle is a morpho-tonological process targeting verb stems, triggered by certain morphosyntactic constructions involving subordination or relativization. Because the constructions that trigger the circle are not a natural class, I treat the nominalizer tone circle as a lexical property of some subordinating morphemes, rather than a grammatical tone process directly marking subordination.

The nominalizer tone circle applies to the final syllable of the verb stem. It fails to affect any tones on syllables to the left of the final syllable. If the final syllable is also the stressed syllable – that is, if the verb stem is monosyllabic – then the nominalizer tone circle causes the tone alternations shown in (43). If the verb stem is not monosyllabic, and the tone circle therefore applies to a unstressed syllable, then the circle causes the alternations shown in (53). Among the five tones that can occur on both stressed and unstressed syllables (tones 1̥, 1, 2, 3, and 4), the circle causes different changes on stressed vs. unstressed syllables for two – tones 1 and 4. It causes the same changes on two other tones – tones 1̥ and 3 – and generally fails to cause changes to tone 2.

Figure 4.1 summarizes all of these changes in a graphical form. In the figure, solid lines indicate changes in stressed syllables, while dotted lines indicate changes in unstressed syllables (where they are different). The dashed line indicates the change, from tone 2 ⟶ 5, caused by the Class I nominalizer only.

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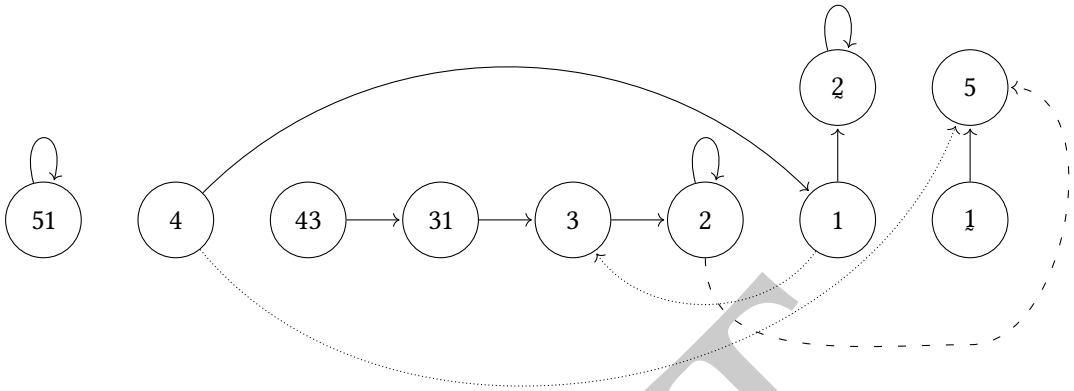



Figure 4.1: Alternations of the nominalizer tone circle

While the nominalizer tone circle is sensitive to the phonological distinction between stressed and unstressed syllables, it is not sensitive to any other properties of the verb stem, such as its prosodic size or morphological composition (§4.3.1.3). Additionally, the nominalizer tone circle never affects any syllable other than the stem-final syllable. Contrary to the predictions of the OCP (§4.3.1.3), in stems with a sequence of syllables with the same tone, it affects only the tone of the final syllable, not the tone of preceding syllables with the same tone. Likewise, in verb stems where the underlying representation meets the environment for tone 1̲ dissimilation or tone 43 assimilation, the circle fails to bleed the other tone processes (§4.3.1.4). Thus, non-final syllables of a verb subject to the circle are always realized with exactly the same tones which they would display elsewhere.

### 4.3.3 Tone alternations triggered by *-e3* 'PL, DIR'

There are several suffixes with the segmental form *-e3*: a verbal plural marker attaching to (mostly) unaccusative intransitive verbs (§17.2), a verbalizer deriving activity verbs from nouns (§26.1.1), and a singular directional which (in combination with other morphology) can express 'down in vertical space,' 'across horizontal space,' or 'into a liquid' (Chapter 18).

When the verbal plural *-e3* or the directional *-e3* attaches to a monosyllabic tone 1̲ verb root, the tone 1̲ root becomes tone 5. This is shown for the verbal

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plural in (67) and for each sense of the directional in (68). It is not possible to tell if the activity verbalizer shares this behavior because it does not attach to a wide enough range of nouns.

(67) Plural
*na4ʎu5e3*
/na4=ʎu̱1-e3/
3.SBJ=learn-PL
'They are going to school/learning.'
add cite in current style

(68) Directional: 'Into liquid' sense
*nu5a2 tʃa3a3**ta5e3***
nu5a2 tʃa3=a3=**tą1-e3**
here.ALL 1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=**discard.SG-DIR:into.liquid**
'I left it in the water here, i.e. left it to soak.' [LWG 2024.1.60]

(69) Directional: 'Down' sense
*tʃa3na3**ku5e3** a4 me3tʃa1*
tʃa3=na3=**ku̱1-e3** a4 me3tʃa1
1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=**push-DIR:down** DET(IV) table(IV)
'I pushed the table down (in vertical space).' [LWG 2024.1.60]

(70) Directional: 'Across' sense
*tʃa3a3**ku5e3** a1 ʎu31e3*
tʃa3=a3=**ku̱1-e3** a1 ʎu31e3
1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=**push-DIR:across** DET(III) boat(III)
'I pushed the canoe across (a body of water).' [LWG 2024.1.60]

Tone 1̨ change caused by *-e3* PL/DIR is stress-conditioned, like regular tone 1̨ dissimilation. It does not occur if the tone 1̨ syllable adjacent to the *-e3* token is unstressed, as shown for the plural in (71).

(71) *pe3ʔi̱2ą̱1e3*
pe3=i̱2ą̱1-e3
2PL.SBJ=be.angry/scold-PL
'Y'all are angry.' [MFG, LFG-MFG-LVI]

Besides this behavior, *-e3* PL and *-e3* DIR behave like any other tone 3 suffix/enclitic. Like all tone 3 post-root morphemes, they trigger tone 43 assimila-

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tion, but they do not trigger any other tone change. This distinguishes both morphemes from the *=e3* relativizer, which triggers not only a tone 1̩ ⟶ 5 change, but all the other changes of the nominalizer tone circle.

There are two possible analyses of the 1̩ ⟶ 5 change caused by *-e3* PL and *-e3* DIR. One is that it is a lexically specified change, like the changes of the nominalizer tone circle. The other analysis is that this change is tone 1̩ dissimilation caused by a floating tone 1̩ or 1 at the left of these suffixes. The floating tone analysis is compatible with the triggering of tone 43 assimilation because tones 1̩ and 1 are also triggers of this process. Additionally, it has the advantage of explaining why the changes caused by *-e3* PL and *-e3* DIR are stress-conditioned. However, the floating tone analysis has the weakness of positing a floating tone that is never actually observed.

### 4.3.4 Tone alternations triggered by *=gu2* 'COND/SUB'

The enclitic *=(ʔ)gu2* attaches to verbs. It forms conditional antecedents and many temporal subordinate clauses, among other uses (Chapter 25.1).

Whenever this enclitic attaches to a stem that ends in modal tone 2, it changes the tone 2 syllable to creaky tone 2̰, as shown in (72) for a monosyllabic stem, (73) for a disyllabic stem, and (74) for a trisyllabic stem. As well as demonstrating this alternation, (72) also shows that, while underlying creaky voice is prohibited on /i̱/ (Chapter 3.3), derived creaky voice is allowed.

(72) a. No enclitic
*tʃa3ʔi̱2*
/tʃa3=i̱2/
1SG.SBJ=make
'I make/made'

b. Conditional
*tʃa1ʔḭ2ʔgu2*
/tʃa1=i̱2=ʔgu2/
1SG.SBJ.SC=make=COND
'if I make'

add cite in current style

(73) *ɟa1de43ʔa̰2ʔgu2*
/ɟa1=de43ʔa2=ʔgu2/
3.SBJ.SC=talk=COND
'if s/he talks' [LWG 2017 tone frames]

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(74) *na1ta43ʔi5tʃi2ʔgu2*
/na1=ta43=ʔi5tʃi2=ʔgu2/
3.SBJ.SC=big=really=COND
'if it's really big' [LWG 2017 tone frames]

While the conditional antecedent enclitic triggers creaky voice on tone 2, it does not trigger it on tone 1, as shown by (75), or on any higher tone.

(75) *tʃi1**pa1**ʔgu2*
/tʃi1=pa1=ʔgu2/
1SG.SBJ.SC=tired=COND
'if I get tired' [LWG 2017 tone frames]

This is the only alternation between modal and creaky tone 2. Given all of the above facts, it is not appropriately analyzed with floating tones; instead, it is an idiosyncratic lexical property of *=(ʔ)gu2* COND/SUB.

## 4.4 Segmental and tonal behavior of verb roots of the form (C)V(ʔ)

Some verb roots alternate between a form with the shape (C)$V_1$ʔ and a form with the shape (C)$V_1$ʔ$V_2$. This alternation is stress-conditioned, because it only occurs in monosyllabic roots – there are no verb roots that alternate between a disyllabic form of the shape (C)V(C)$V_1$ʔ and a trisyllabic form of the shape (C)V(C)$V_1$ʔ$V_2$. In other words, the alternation targets only stressed syllables.

To introduce the alternation, consider the verb root 'yellow.' This has the form *de4ʔ* when it bears an enclitic in (76a), but the form *de4ʔe1* when there is no enclitic in (76b).

(76) a. *ni4de4ʔtʃi1gɨ1*
ni4=de4ʔ=tʃi1gɨ1
3.SBJ=yellow=DISTRIB
'it's turning yellow'

b. *na4de4ʔe1*
na4=de4ʔe1
3.SBJ=yellow
'it's yellow'
[LWG 2018.1.187]

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The quality and nasality of the vowels in the (C)$V_1$ʔ$V_2$ form of verbs like 'yellow' is predictable from the (C)$V_1$ form. However, the tone of the second syllable in the (C)$V_1$ʔ$V_2$ form is not predictable, and alternating verbs also behave exceptionally in some grammatical tone processes.

In this section, I describe the vowel quality and nasality in the (C)$V_1$ʔ and (C)$V_1$ʔ$V_2$ forms of alternating verbs (§4.4.1) and the environments where each form appears (§4.4.2). Then, in §4.4.3, I describe how these verbs behave in general tone processes and morphologically conditioned tone processes.

### 4.4.1 Quality and nasality of the epenthetic vowel

The identity of the $V_1$ in the (C)$V_1$ʔ form determines the vowel qualities in the (C)$V_1$ʔ$V_2$ form as follows. If $V_1$ is /i e u/, then in the (C)$V_1$ʔ$V_2$ form, $V_1$ stays the same and $V_2$ is identical to it (77). However, if $V_1$ is a diphthong, then in the (C)$V_1$ʔ$V_2$ form, $V_1$ is /a/ and $V_2$ is the second member of the diphthong, i.e. /i/ or /u/ (78). If $V_1$ is any other vowel, i.e. is /o a ɨ/, then in the (C)$V_1$ʔ$V_2$ form, $V_1$ remains the same but $V_2$ is /ɨ/ (79).

In the (C)$V_1$ʔ$V_2$ forms in (77–79), $V_1$ and $V_2$ always match in nasality. That is, if $V_1$ was nasal in the C$V_1$ form, then both vowels are nasal in the vowel-final form. This can be seen in for forms with identical $V_2$ in (77b, c), for a form with diphthong splitting in (78d), and for a form with [ɨ] as $V_2$ in (79b).

(77) a. di4ʔ ~ di4ʔi4 'roll'
b. ĩ2ʔ ~ ĩ2ʔĩ4 'narrow'
c. ne4ʔ ~ ne4ʔẽ1 'flick'
d. du31ʔ ~ du31ʔu3 'sip'

(78) a. ɟau1ʔ ~ ɟa1ʔu2'get, receive'
b. tau2ʔ ~ ta2ʔu2 'negative existential'
c. ɯai1ʔ ~ ɯa1ʔĩ3 'hit with swinging motion'
d. nạ̰i1ʔ ~ nạ̰1ʔĩ2 'untie'

(79) a. do4ʔ ~ do4ʔɨ1 'fuss, cry (speaking of baby)'
b. ma4ʔ ~ ma4ʔĩ2 'be alive'
c. a3ʔ ~ a3ʔɨ3 'drink'
d. dɨ4ʔ ~ dɨ4ʔɨ1 'cover'

The vowel qualities in the (C)$V_1$(ʔ)$V_2$ forms have almost exactly the same pattern which we would expect to see if the (C)$V_1$ʔ form took a suffix or enclitic of

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the form /ɨ/ and that morpheme underwent regular /ɨ/ assimilation. Therefore, I analyze the alternations in (76–79) as arising from epenthesis of /ɨ/ following root-final glottal stop. This epenthesis is motivated by a phonotactic constraint against root-final glottal stop, which never occurs in nouns and never occurs in any underived verbs that do not participate in this alternation.

(80) states the epenthesis analysis as a rule. Although this process only occurs in monosyllabic verb roots, and therefore only targets stressed syllables, I do not include stress as part of the environment in order to avoid predicting that root-final glottal stop *would* be acceptable in longer roots. Final glottal stop simply does not occur in longer verb roots, so there is no way to test this prediction. In contrast to stress, word class *does* need to be included in the environment because this alternation does not occur in adverbs or interjections, which can end in glottal stop.

(80) V$\text{ʔ} \longrightarrow \text{V}\text{ʔ}\text{ɨ}$ / $\_]_{\text{Verb}}\#$

The only difference between the (C)$V_1$(ʔ)V ~ (C)$V_1$(ʔ)$V_2$ alternation and /ɨ/ assimilation relates to /o/. In /ɨ/ assimilation, /o/ patterns with other non-central vowels and triggers assimilation (e.g., /do43=ʔɨ1ra1/ 'sort of soft' ⟶ [do31ʔo1ra1] in example 1), while in this alternation, /o/ patterns with /a/ and /ɨ/ and displays an unassimilated form of the final vowel (e.g., /do4ʔ/ 'fuss' ⟶ [do4ʔɨ1]).

This difference indicates that while /o/ can assimilate underlying /a/ and /ɨ/, it cannot assimilate *epenthetic* /ɨ/. We cannot capture this using rule-ordering because (in a rule-ordering model) /ɨ/ assimilation must be ordered after /ɨ/ epenthesis to obtain the correct forms for other vowels. Instead, if modeling these processes with rules, the fact that /o/ does not assimilate epenthetic /ɨ/ can only be captured by writing a separate /oɨ/ assimilation rule and ordering it before /ɨ/ epenthesis (as we did earlier with assimilation of /uɨ/ sequences). This inelegant solution is shown in (81).

(81) Ordered rules

a. /oɨ/ assimilation
   /ɨ/ ⟶ [o] / ˈo(ʔ)_
b. /ɨ/ epenthesis
   V$\text{ʔ} \longrightarrow \text{V}\text{ʔ}\text{ɨ}$ / $\_]_{\text{Verb}}\#$
c. /ɨ/ assimilation with triggers other than /o/ and /u/
   /ɨ/ ⟶ V[$\alpha$-high -low $\alpha$-front -back $\alpha$-nasal] / ˈV[$\alpha$-high -low $\alpha$-front -back $\alpha$-nasal]]
d. Diphthong-monophthong fusion
   $V_\beta \longrightarrow \emptyset$ / $V_\alpha$_(ʔ)$V_\beta$

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### 4.4.2 Environments of (C)V$_1$ʔ and (C)V$_1$ʔV$_2$ forms

In general, the (C)V$_1$ʔV$_2$ form of alternating verbs appears when the root has no affixes or enclitics, as shown for *ma4ʔ ~ ma4ʔɨ̃2* 'be alive' in (82a). The (C)V$_1$ʔV form appears when the verb has an affix or enclitic, as in (82b-d). This regular rule applies for both affixes such as *-e3* PL (82b) and enclitics such as *=e1tʃa1* CONT and *=tʃi1gɨ1* DISTRIB (82c, d). It also applies for both C-initial and V-initial affixes/enclitics.

(82) a. *na4ma4ɨ̃2*
na4=ma4ʔ
3.SBJ=be.alive
'she/he/it is alive'

b. *na4ma4ʔe3*
na4=ma4ʔ-e3
3.SBJ=be.alive-PL
'they are alive'

c. *na4ma4ʔe1tʃa1*
na4=ma4ʔ=e1tʃa1
3.SBJ=be.alive=CONT
'it's always alive' (speaking of something one is trying to kill)

d. *ni4ma4ʔtʃi1gɨ1*
ni4=ma4ʔ=tʃi1gɨ1
3.SBJ=be.alive=DISTRIB
'it keeps coming back to life'
[LWG 2018.1.144]

However, if the morpheme following the verb root is an enclitic which forms a subordinate clause, this rule does not apply. Instead, subordinators always trigger the (C)V$_1$ʔV$_2$ form. The following examples show that the (C)V$_1$ʔ form appears with the relativizers for noun class I (83), the conditional/temporal overlap subordinator *=gu2* (84), and the general subordinator *=ʔ(ɨ̃4)* (85). This exception cannot be due to anything about the segmental or tonal phonology of the subordinators, because segmentally and tonally identical morphemes behave differently – for example, while *-e3* PL triggers the (C)V$_1$ʔ form of the root, *=e3* NMLZ(I) triggers the (C)V$_1$ʔ2 form.

(83) *wo3ru3a1 ɟa4 de4ʔe5ʔe3*

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wo3ru3a1 ɟa4 de4ʔe4=e3
mirror(I) DET(I) yellow=NMLZ(I)
'yellow mirror' [LWG 2018.1.187]

(84) *na1de4ʔe2gu2*
na1=de4ʔe1=gu2
3.SBJ.SC=yellow=SUB
'if it's yellow' [LWG 2018.1.187]

(85) Context: teaching the equivalent to Spanish *amarillo*
***de4ʔe3ʔ**, de4ʔe3ʔi4 ɲa4a2ʔi4 ni4ʔi4 ta31ga1wa5*
**de4ʔe1=ʔ** de4ʔe1=ʔi4 ɲa4a2ʔi4 ni4ʔi4 ta31=ga1=wa5
**yellow=SUB** yellow=SUB 3.SBJ.SC.QUOT FOC 1INCL=language=ALL
'**It's yellow**, in our language the word is 'yellow."
[CG35 2019 CCI]

The (C)$V_1$ʔ$V_2$ form also appears in any context where the verb is used as a noun without a nominalizer. For example, the verb *ma4ʔ ~ ma4ʔi2* is also used as a noun meaning 'life.' The noun always has the form *ma4ʔi2*, even if it has nominal enclitics, such as the possessor enclitic or case enclitics (86). The same applies to other alternating verb roots, such as *tau2ʔ* 'negative existential' (always *ta2ʔu2* when used as the negative pronoun 'nothing').

(86) a. tʃo31ri3 ma4i2=∅
1SG.POSS be.alive=ZERONMLZ
'my life'
add cite in current style

b. ***ma4i2a1ri3** ɟo3ra5*
**ma4i2=∅=a1ri3** ɟo3ra5
**be.alive=ZERO.NMLZ=POSS** owner
'Owner **of Life**' (title of the Christian God) [CG39 CCI]

c. *to1gu5e3a1ri3 **ma4i2gu2***
to1gu5e3=a1ri3 **ma4i2=∅=gu2**
other(I)=POSS **be.alive=ZERO.NMLZ=LOC**
'in other people's **lives**/hearts' [MFG, MFG-LFG-LVI]

### 4.4.3 Tonology

Verb roots that participate in this alternation have unusual tone behavior. All of this behavior relates to the tone of the second syllable in the (C)$V_1$ʔ$V_2$ form. As

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discussed above, this form appears (a) when the verb has no suffixes or enclitics, (b) when it has the enclitic *=(ʔ)gu2*, and (c) when it has a relativizer. Each of these environments has different tone effects on the second syllable.

First, consider environments where the verb root has no suffixes or enclitics. In this environment, the tone of the (C)$V_1$ʔ$V_2$ form is not completely predictable from the tone of the (C)$V_1$ʔV form. The (C)$V_1$ʔ$V_2$ form always has the same tone as the (C)$V_1$ʔ form on the *first* syllable. However, the *second* syllable can have any tone that is allowed on unstressed syllables.

For example, both *tau2ʔ* 'negative existential' and *ĩ2ʔ* 'narrow, crowded' are tone 2 in the monosyllabic form. However, the negative existential is 22 in the disyllabic form, while 'narrow' is 24 (87). Looking to a higher tone, the verbs meaning 'immature, speaking of a plant' and 'fuss' are both tone 4 in the monosyllabic form, but in the disyllabic form, 'immature' becomes 44 while 'fuss' becomes 41 (88). However, not all possible combinations of of first- and second-syllables tones exist. For instance, as far as I know, all verbs which are tone 3 in the monosyllabic form are 33 in the disyllabic form (89), and all verbs which are 31 in the monosyllabic form are 31.3 in the disyllabic form (90). Additionally, I am not aware of any alternating verbs which have tone 43, 51, or 5 in the monosyllabic form.

(87) a. tau2ʔ ~ ta2ʔu2 'negative existential'
b. ĩ2ʔ ~ ĩ2ʔĩ4 'narrow'

(88) a. do4ʔ ~ do4ʔi4 'green, immature, speaking of a plant'
b. do4ʔ ~ do4ʔi1 'fuss, cry, speaking of baby'

(89) a. a3ʔ ~ a3ʔi3 'drink'
b. au3ʔ ~ a3ʔu3 'cry'

(90) a. du31ʔ ~ du31ʔu3 'sip'
b. ku31ʔ ~ ku31ʔu3 'kick'

Next, look to environments where an alternating verb root is immediately followed by *=(ʔ)gu2*. In this context, the verb root appears in the (C)$V_1$ʔ$V_2$ form, and the second syllable is always creaky tone 2. This applies regardless of the tone of the initial syllable (91).

(91) a. *e3ga4 na1ʔ**ĩ2ʔĩ2**ʔgu2*
/e3ga4 na1=**ĩ2ʔĩ4**=gu2/
if 3.SBJ.SC=narrow=COND
'if it is narrow'

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b. e3ga4 na1ʔ**a3ʔu̱2**ʔgu2
/e3ga4 na1=**a3ʔu3**=gu2/
if 3.SBJ.SC=cry=COND
'if s/he cries'

c. *e3ga4 na1ʔ**do4ʔi̱2**ʔgu2*
/e3ga4 na1=**do4ʔi̱2**=gu2/
if 3.SBJ.SC=immature=COND
'if it is immature/unripe'

[LWG 2018.1.187]

The negative existential *tau2ʔ ~ ta2ʔu2* is an exception to this rule. With *=(ʔ)gu2*, it appears in the monosyllabic (C)$V_1$ʔ form with creaky tone 2, like a regular tone 2 verb (92). This could be due to the fact that the negative existential has tone 2 on both syllables, or it could be a true lexical irregularity (because negation is irregular in many other ways, Chapter 20). Because there are no other 2 ~ 22 alternating verbs, there is no way to tell. However, other verbs which alternate between tone 2 and 2.X (with another tone), such as *ĩ2ʔ ~ ĩ2ʔĩ4* 'narrow,' do not display this behavior (91b).

(92) *na1t̪a̱u̱2ʔgu2 (*na1ta2ʔu̱2ʔgu)*
na1=**tau2**=ʔgu2
3.SBJ.SC=neg.exist=COND
'if there isn't any' [LWG 2018.1.187]

Last, consider environments where the verb bears a relativizer immediately following the alternating verb root. In this context, as with *=ʔgu2*, the verb root appears in the (C)$V_1$ʔ$V_2$ form. Based on the behavior of other verbs with relativizers we expect that the first syllable of the verb will have the same tone as would occur without the relativizer, while the second syllable will undergo the nominalizer tone circle.

What actually happens, however, depends on the identity of the relativizer. With the Class I and Class III nominalizers, the second syllable of an alternating verb is *always tone 5*, regardless of its tone in isolation. However, with the Class II and Class IV nominalizers, the second syllable undergoes the regular alternations of the nominalizer tone circle on an unstressed syllable.

To exemplify these differences, (93) gives all four relativized forms of *de4ʔ ~ de4ʔe1* 'yellow.' (We already saw the Class I relativized form of this verb in 83.) The second syllable of this verb is tone 1 in isolation. It becomes tone 5 in the Class I form in (93a), but becomes tone 3 in the Class II form in (93b). This is the

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regular outcome of the nominalizer tone circle on an unstressed tone 1 syllable. The same pattern repeats in the Class III form, which has tone 5 on the second syllable (93c), vs. the Class IV form, which again has tone 3 (93d). (94) displays the same pattern with *au3ʔ* ~ *a3ʔu3* 'cry': the second syllable is tone 5 in the Class I/III forms in (94a, c), but tone 2 – like any other tone 3 syllable subject to the nominalizer tone circle – in (94b, d).

(93) a. *wo3ru3a1 ɟa4* ***de4ʔe5e3***
wo3ru3a1 ɟa4 **de4ʔe1=e3**
mirror(I) DET(I) **yellow=NMLZ(I)**
'yellow mirror'

b. *tʃe3ra1 ɟa4* ***de4ʔe3kɨ3***
tʃe3ra1 ɟa4 **de4ʔe1=kɨ3**
handsaw(II) DET(II) **yellow=NMLZ(II)**
'yellow handsaw'

c. *ĩ43 ɟa1* ***de4ʔe5ne1***
ĩ43 ɟa1 **de4ʔe1=ne1**
house(III) DET(III) **yellow=NMLZ(III)**
'yellow house'

d. *po3pe4ra1 i4* ***de4ʔe3ʔĩ4***
po3pe4ra1 i4 **de4ʔe1=ʔĩ4**
paper(IV) DET(IV) **yellow=NMLZ(IV)**
'yellow book/paper'

[LWG 2018.1.187]

(94) a. *bu3e3 ɟa4* ***a3ʔu5ʔe3***
bu3e3 ɟa4 **a3ʔu3=ʔe3**
baby(I) DET(I) **cry=NMLZ(I)**
'baby that cried'

b. *bu3kɨ3 ɟa4* ***a3ʔu2kɨ3***
bu3kɨ3 ɟa4 **a3ʔu3=kɨ3**
boy(II) DET(II) **cry=NMLZ(II)**
'young boy that cried'

c. *ĩ43 ɟa1 na43wa5 tʃa1ʔa3ʔu5ne1*
ĩ43 ɟa1 na43=wa5 tʃa1=**a3ʔu3=ne1**
house(III) DET(I) 3=ALL 1SG.SBJ.SC=**cry=NMLZ(III)**
'house where I cried'

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d. *du1ĩ3ʔĩ4 i4* ***a3ʔu2ʔĩ4***
du1ĩ3ʔĩ4 i4 **a3ʔu3=ʔĩ4**
person(IV) DET(IV) **cry=NMLZ(IV)**
'person that cried'
[LWG 2018.1.188]

In regular verbs, tone 2 syllables also become creaky 2 before *=ʔgu2* and become tone 5 before the Class I nominalizer. Since the second syllable of alternating verbs shares these two properties, one could argue that it becomes tone 2 in these environments and then undergoes regular tone changes. However, this analysis does not account for why the second syllable of alternating verbs also becomes tone 5 before the Class *III* nominalizer. In that environment, regular unstressed tone 2 remains tone 2 (95).

(95) *ĩ43 ɟa1 na43wa5* ***tʃi1de43ʔa2ne1***
ĩ43 ɟa1 na43=wa5 tʃi1=**de43ʔa2=ne1**
house(III) DET(I) 3=ALL 1SG.SBJ.SC=**talk=NMLZ(III)**
'house where I talked' [LWG 2018.1.188]

## 4.5 Variable and fast-speech phonological processes

With a few exceptions, such as /oa/ assimilation, all of the processes discussed above are obligatory. They apply regardless of speaking style and speech rate. However, there are also a variety of other phonological processes that occur in faster and/or less careful speech, such as the speech in the conversational corpus. Some of these phonological processes are probably best analyzed as being areas of sociolinguistic variation, while others are very highly correlated with fast speech and seem likely to arise from coarticulation.

I describe the variable/fast speech processes that target supralaryngeal consonants (§4.5.1), that target vowels (§4.5.2), and that involve laryngeal or suprasegmental features (§4.5.3). Pronouns undergo reduction that is different from other, more regular fast-speech processes (§4.5.4).

### 4.5.1 Affecting supralaryngeal consonants

The consonants which are most clearly affected by variable processes are /ɟ/, /w/, /m/, and /n/.

Lenition of /ɟ/ is an extremely common process and occurs (optionally) at many speech rates, in many styles. When /ɟ/ occurs before a front vowel, for example

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in the words *ɟi2ma4* 'DEM:ANA(II)' or *ɟe4ʔgu4ma4* 'then:REM.PST', it is very often spirantized to a fricative resembling [ʒ]. Before central and back vowels, /ɟ/ can be lenited to either [ʒ] or the glide [j]. /w/ is also sometimes pronounced as a fricative [v] or [β] before front vowels, for example in the word *a3ra3wi3ri4* 'fish species, regional Spanish *sardina*.'

Syllables of the form /ma/ also often undergo lenition in fast speech, but the outcome is completely different: the nasal stop is deleted, and the vowel is realized as nasal with no onset. Thus, it is extremely common to hear *ta4ma3* 'Neg' produced as *ta4ã3*. /na/, /ne/ and /ni/ syllables can also undergo lenition with the same outcome, so that, for example, *tɨ31-ʔna1* (3(I)-RCP) 'for him/her' is realized as *tɨ31ʔã1*, *ni4* 'FOC' is realized as only *ĩ4*, and *ne4* 'Source' is realized as [ẽ4]. This occurs exclusively in the word-final syllables of grammatical/functional words, not in lexical words; for example, adults do not realize the word *ma3ma5* as [ma3ã5] 'mother' (although children sometimes do). Realization of [ma] as [ã] is found across speech styles and rates, while reduction of [nV] syllables to [Ṽ] seems to occur only in very fast speech.

### 4.5.2 Affecting vowels

The high central vowel /ɨ/ is affected by several variable processes. First, in the environment V_#, unstressed nasal /ɨ̃/ can be realized as a coda velar nasal [ŋ]. For example, the enclitic *kɨ̃5ra1ɨ̃1* 'Infer' is frequently realized [kɨ5ra1ŋ1].

Second, in the environment i(ʔ)_#, oral or nasal /ɨ/ can be fronted to /i/. For example, *wɨ43ʔi4* 'one' can be realized [wi43ʔi4] and *ɟi1ʔĩ4* '3SBJ.Cop.SC' can be realized [ʒi1ʔĩ4]. /ɨ/-fronting can also occur across syntactic boundaries, especially when the /i/ trigger is a determiner (i.e., part of the same prosodic word as the preceding material). For example, the sequence *gɨ4 i4* (PL DET(IV)) is extremely often realized as [gi4i4] in phrases such as *na4=na3ʔ=ã3=gɨ4 i4* (3SBJ=3OBJ=give=PL DET(IV)) 'they give DET' (when the verb is followed by another argument). /ɨ/-fronting and realization of /ɨ/ as the velar nasal are associated with fast speech.

Additionally, some people can apply /ɨ/ assimilation, which normally targets only oral /ɨ/, to word-final tokens of nasal /ɨ̃/. This is different from /ɨ/-fronting because it can be triggered by any vowel, not only /i/, and it can lead to diphthong splitting as well as to assimilation. For example, the general subordinate form of *dau2* 'see' is normally pronounced *dau2=ʔĩ4* (see=SUB), but some speakers will apply assimilation and produce [da2ʔũ4]. Application of /ɨ/ assimilation to nasal /ɨ̃/ does not correlate strongly with speech rate and is probably best understood as a sociolinguistic variable.

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The high back vowel /u/ and diphthong /au/ are also affected by variable processes. In a sequence of /au/ followed by a vowel, the /u/ portion of the diphthong can be realized as [w]. For example, *tʃau1=ã5ẽ2* (1SG=soul) 'my soul' can be pronounced [tʃa1wã5ẽ2]. Looking to /u/, in an /ua/ sequence the /u/ can be lowered to [o], so that a word such as *nu5a2* 'here.ALL' is realized [no5a2]. These are both found only in fast speech.

The front vowels and front diphthong – /i/, /e/, and /ai/ – do not undergo any variable processes. /a/ undergoes a single variable process, which is that in a homomorphemic /ae/ sequence, the /a/ is usually fronted to [e]. Therefore, the antipassive suffix *-ta2e3* is usually pronounced [te2e3], the word *wi3ɟa3e3* is more often pronounced [wi3ɟe3e3], and so on. This process is clearly a sociolinguistic variable or change in progress rather than a fast speech process, since (a) it is morphologically conditioned and (b) some speakers now categorically say and write [ee], rather than [ae], in the affected morphemes.

### 4.5.3 Affecting laryngeal and suprasegmental features

In terms of suprasegmental features, there are no variable processes which apply (like the vowel processes described in the last section) only to specific sequences of tones or nasality values. However, in sequences of vowels with no intervening consonants, nasality and/or creaky voice can spread from its underlying location to adjacent vowels because of coarticulation. For example, the word *ĩ31g̰1* 'door/window' underlyingly has nasality only on the first vowel (the root *ĩ43* 'house') and underlyingly has creaky voice only on the second vowel (the inalienable root *g̰1* 'mouth'). However, in running speech the entire word is usually realized as nasal and with creaky phonation, giving *ḭ̃31g̰̃1*. I posit that this is due to coarticulation, and not a phonological process of nasal spreading or laryngealization spreading, because (a) the creaky vs. modal and nasal vs. oral portions of the word can still be distinguished when it is pronounced very slowly, and (b) there is no evidence that vowels which undergo nasal/creaky voice assimilation come to behave as nasal or creaky in any other phonological process.

Looking to laryngeal consonants, glottal stops are *extremely* variable in their realization. While they can involve actual closure with a spectral zero, it is hard to find tokens of this in running speech recordings. More often, glottal stops are realized as creaky voice on adjacent vowels (that are not contrastively creaky).

Additionally, speakers often insert glottal stops after oral vowels at intonational boundaries. It can be difficult to distinguish prosodic vs. underlying glottal stops, especially because discourse markers – the main category of words that can end in underlying glottal stop – are very likely to appear at intonational

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boundaries. The second line of examples in this work attempts to show only the underlying glottal stops, but I am not always certain of which these are. When an utterance has a final oral vowel, and does not have final glottal stop, the vowel is almost always post-aspirated, with about 100ms of breathy phonation or [h]-like noise following it.

### 4.5.4 Irregular reduction of pronouns

In fast or casual speech, and for some people in any speech rate/style, pronouns can be reduced to a single syllable or even a single consonant.

Reduction to a single syllable applies to the accusative case and beneficiary case forms of all pronouns. It seems to occur most often immediately before a verb, but it can also occur in other environments. The full/underlying forms of the accusative case pronouns are always disyllabic CV.ʔV with the tone pattern 31.3: 31 on the monosyllabic pronominal stem, and 3 on the accusative case enclitic (e.g., *tʃo31=ʔĩ3* 1SG=ACC, *pe31=ʔĩ3* 2PL=ACC, *nɨ31=ʔĩ3* 3=ACC, *tɨ31=ʔĩ3* 1Incl=ACC and 3(I)=ACC). The full forms of beneficiary case pronouns are CV.ʔV with the tone pattern 31.5 (e.g., *tʃo31=ʔĩ5* 1SG.BEN), forming minimal tone pairs with the accusative. When the accusative and beneficiary forms are reduced, the second syllable is deleted and the initial syllable takes on its tone. Therefore, reduced accusative pronouns are monosyllabic with the form CV(ʔ) and tone 3 (e.g., *tʃo3(ʔ)* 1SG.ACC, *pe3(ʔ)* 2PL.ACC, *nɨ3(ʔ)* 3.ACC, *tɨ3(ʔ)* 1Incl.ACC/3(I).ACC). Reduced beneficiary pronouns are also monosyllabic, but have tone 5 (i.e., *tʃo5(ʔ)* 1SG.BEN, *pe5(ʔ)* 2PL.BEN, *nɨ5(ʔ)* 3.BEN, *tɨ5ʔ* 1Incl.BEN/3(I)BEN).

(96) and (97) are examples of sentences with reduced accusative and beneficiary pronouns respectively. (98) includes a reduced beneficiary and a reduced accusative pronoun in the same clause.

(96) *ɲu̱1ʔma5 i4* ***tʃo3ʔ*** *ki3mą1*
ɲu̱1ʔma5 i4 **tʃo3ʔ** ki3=mą1
now DET(IV) **1SG.ACC** 2SGSBJ=hit/kill.SG
'Now you're hitting **me**.' [CG19, C19-C20 CCI]

(97) ***tɨ5*** *na4me43gɨ4ʔɨ5tʃi2ʔã3*
**tɨ5** na4=me43=gɨ4=ʔɨ5tʃi2=ʔã3
**3(I).BEN** 3.SBJ=good=PL=really=INFO
'**they** really like it, lit. it is very good **to them**' [LSC-VSC, Beronica]

(98) *ta2ʔũ4ta4* ***tʃo5 tɨ3*** *pe1tu51ĩ1ã3ku2ʔ*

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ta2ʔũ4ta4 **tʃo5** **tɨ3**
NEG+FUT **1SG.BEN** **3(I).ACC**
pe1=tu51-ĩ1=ã3ku2=ʔ
2SG.SBJ.SC=pull-DIR:outward.PL=NI:contents=SUB
'Don't empty **it** out, **it's mine**.'
More literally: 'Don't pull out its contents to my detriment.' [CG19, C19-C20 CCI]

Additionally, while full accusative and beneficiary pronouns are independent prosodic words that bear their own stress – as shown by the fact that they have contour tones – reduced accusative and beneficiary pronouns usually are not stressed (i.e., lengthened).

Reduction to a *single consonant* seems to apply only to the third-person accusative pronouns *nɨ31=ʔĩ3* 3=ACC and *tɨ31=ʔĩ3* 3(I)=ACC. When these pronouns are directly followed by a token of a verbal proclitic that has the form *i*, such as the i-class imperative proclitic *i1=* in (99) or the directional proclitic *i5=* in (100), they can be reduced to the single consonant *n-* or *t-*. This is shown in (99) for the 3(I) accusative form and (100) for the default third-person accusative.

(99) *ti1ʔu3gɨ1, ti1ʔu3gɨ1*
**t**-i1=u3gɨ1 **t**-i1=u3gɨ1
**3(I).ACC**=IMP=count **3(I).ACC**=IMP=count
'Count them, count them.' [CG44]

(100) *nɨ31ma2ʔĩ4ma3re3* ***ni5na1dau2ʔ***
nɨ31ma2ʔĩ4=ma3re3 **n-i5=na1=dau2=ʔ**
SOME(IV)=just **3.ACC=DIR=3.SBJ.SC=see=SUB**
'She **went to look at it** for some random reason.' [CG36, C36 CCI]

I have no evidence that reduction to a single syllable ever occurs with non-third-person pronouns, with beneficiary rather than accusative third-person pronouns, or with an accusative pronoun followed by vowel-initial verbal proclitic other than /i/ (e.g., it never occurs with an accusative pronoun followed by the 3SBJ.SC proclitic *a1=*). Additionally, the corpus includes positive examples of non-third-person accusative pronouns which are followed by *i2=/i5=* and are reduced, but *only* to a single syllable, not to a single consonant. (101) is one of these examples: *ku31=ʔĩ3* 2SG=ACC is followed immediately by the directional *i5=*, but the sequence is reduced only to *ku3 i5=*, not to **ki5=*.

(101) *ɟe5a2ma4 na4* ***ku3*** *i5ta3mu2ʔũ2tʃi4gɨ4a3rɨ1 to31ma2ʔ*

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ɟe5a2=ma4 na4 **ku3**
there.DIST.ALL=toward COMP **2SG.ACC**
i5=ta3=mu2=ʔɨ2tʃi4=gɨ4=a3rɨ1 to31ma2ʔ
DIR=1EXCL.SBJ=send=DIR:outward=PL=INFO 1EXCL.TOP
'We-excl are sending you outside, (go over) there.' [2022 C19-C20 CCI, C19, judged correct]

The fact that reduced pronouns can be contracted with verbal proclitics strongly suggests that, prosodically, they belong to the verbal proclitic group, rather than being part of the preceding or following PrWd. (As argued in Chapter 3.5.2, verbal proclitics are dominated directly by the phonological phrase.)

Writing provides further evidence that reduced pronouns belong to the verbal proclitic group. Because edited written materials always write pronouns in the full form, there is no established convention for writing reduced pronouns. However, when people do write reduced pronouns, they generally write them as a single word with the following verbal proclitic, as shown in (102). Sometimes writers treat the reduced pronouns as independent words with a space before and after (103). However, people never write them as part of the preceding word (i.e., unlike the reduced discourse markers discussed in Chapter 31, losing stress does not make pronouns into enclitics).

(102) <Yixcama ta nanarevisa rü **nünadaux**>
*= IPA ɟi51ʔka4ma4 ta1 na4na3revisa rɨ1 **nɨ3** na1dau2ʔ*
ɟi51ʔkɨ3=ã4ma4 ta1 na4=na3=revisa rɨ1 **nɨ3** na1=dau2=ʔ
later=toward also 3.SBJ=3.OBJ=SP:check and **3.ACC** 3.SBJ.SC=see=SUB
'Later she checks it and sees **it**.' [original transcription of Angelina, AMM-JRL-NGS 2025]

(103) <maná tama **nü** nacuá>
*= IPA ma2na4 ta4ma3 **nɨ3** na1ɱa5*
ma2na4 ta4ma3 **nɨ3** na1=ɱą1=∅
EPIST NEG **3.ACC** 3.SBJ.SC=know=NTC
'S/he must not know it.' [original transcription of CG1, C1 2022 CCI]

Besides accusative and beneficiary pronouns, some function words also undergo truncation to the first syllable in fast speech. Words which are frequently truncated in this way include the perfect marker *ma3rɨ3* and the disyllabic alienable possession pronouns (e.g., *tʃo31rɨ3* 1SG.POSS, *pe31rɨ3* 2PL.POSS, *no51rɨ3* 3.POSS, but not *tɨ31ma2a1rɨ3* 3(I).POSS). Truncation is frequently accompanied by insertion of a word-final glottal stop. It is different from pronoun reduction because

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truncation deletes both the segments and the tones of the second syllable. For example, *no51ri̱3* 3.POSS is simply truncated to *no51(ʔ)*, rather than having the 3 tone of the second syllable assigned to the first (**no3(ʔ)*), as in pronoun reduction.

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# 5 Word and morpheme classes

This chapter discusses the major classes of free words and bound morphemes found in Ticuna, along with the defining behavior of each class. Rather than providing examples of the defining behaviors, I generally cross-reference the chapters which discuss them.

## 5.1 Major word classes

Lexical words can be divided into four main classes: nouns, verbs, adverbs, and interjections/discourse markers. There is no evidence for a class of adjectives. Most function words are difficult to categorize in terms of word class, but some of them are clearly members of these classes (e.g., demonstratives are nouns).

### 5.1.1 Nouns

All Ticuna nouns share several defining properties. The simplest is that nouns, such as *mi3tʃi1* 'cat' or *mɨ3ra3pe3wa1* 'plank,' tend to act as arguments, not predicates. They can be the subjects of verbs without any further licensing morphology, or they can take case marking (Chapters 9) to act as objects or adjuncts. To act as predicates, nouns need to either participate in one of the nonverbal predication constructions described in Chapter 21, or take a verbalizer (Chapter 26.1).

Ticuna nouns are also divided exhaustively into five noun classes (Chapter 7.2). Most constituents of the noun phrase, and some constituents of the verb phrase, undergo noun class concord. Based on the existence of concord, I assume that the noun phrase exists as a constituent in Ticuna, has a hierarchical structure, and is headed by the noun which controls the concord.

Nouns can also participate in possessive constructions, and their behavior in possessive constructions defines them as either inalienably or alienably possessed (Chapter 7). Inalienably possessed nouns cannot project their own Prosodic Word and therefore behave phonologically as clitics (Chapter 3.5.1.2). However, inalienably possessed nouns still behave syntactically as the head of the noun

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phrase. For example, inalienable nouns still have their own noun class and trigger noun class agreement on the rest of the noun phrase.

My lexicon currently contains 684 common nouns (including functional items, such as demonstratives, that behave as nouns, but excluding pronouns and names). However, the class of nouns is open. Nouns can be borrowed from other languages (Chapter 3.6), or derived from verbs using nominalizers.

Beyond their shared morphology and syntax, nouns also distinctive phonological properties. These include being primarily disyllabic and being allowed to end in tone 5 (Chapter 3.5.1.2).

### 5.1.2 Verbs

Verbs are defined by their role as predicates, rather than arguments. Verbs, such as *ɟo2* 'cut with scissors' or *ʌg̰1* 'know,' can combine with subjects, and therefore take subject proclitics (Chapter 6), without any additional licensing morphology. Transitive verbs and oblique object verbs (Chapter 6.2.3) can also assign overt case marking to nouns.

In order to act as arguments, adjuncts, or possessors (i.e., take the external syntax of nouns), verbs need to be relativized (Chapter 23) or nominalized (Chapter 26.2, 26.3). A few lexical items, such as *wi3ɟa3e3* 'sing; song,' can function as either verbs or nouns without any additional morphology. However, these make up a very small proportion of the class of verbs.

There is no class of adjectives. Instead, concepts which are expressed as adjectives in other languages – such as color, size, and age – are always expressed as stative verbs in Ticuna. More adjective-like statives, such as *dau4* 'be red,' behave no differently from less adjective-like statives, such as *ʌg̰1* 'know,' in predication or modification (Chapter 14.2.1).

My lexicon contains 828 verbs. Like nouns, verbs are an open class and can be borrowed or derived using verbalizers (e.g., Chapter 26.1.1). However, verbs are much less frequently borrowed than nouns (Chapter 3.6). Verb roots are most often monosyllabic (Chapter 3.5.1.1) and are not allowed to end in tone 5 (Chapter 3.4.3).

### 5.1.3 Adverbs

Adverbs, such as *ɟi51kɨ3ã4ma4* 'later' or *dɨ4ʔwa5* 'at last,' characteristically modify verbs. Unlike nouns, they do not have case or function as arguments, and unlike verbs, they do not take subject proclitics or assign case. Many function

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words which are not part of the noun phrase can be categorized as adverbs. For example, all negation markers are adverbs.

Adverbs make up a much smaller class than verbs or nouns. Including function words categorized as adverbs, my lexical database includes 136 adverbs. Despite their small numbers, adverbs are an open class – they can be derived with the adverbializer *=ã1kɨ2* (Chapter 25.4.1) or can be borrowed. Adverbs do not have a characteristic prosodic size, but (like other word classes that are not verbs) they are allowed to end in tone 5 (Chapter 3.5.1.3).

### 5.1.4 Interjections and discourse markers

Interjections, such as *pa31ʔa2* 'hurry up!', and discourse marker words, such as the tag *kɨ2a4na4* 'right?', are a slippery word class to define. Their main shared positive property is that they make up complete, non-elliptical utterances on their own (Chapter 31). Even when they are combined with other words, interjections and discourse markers tend to appear at the edges of prosodic and syntactic constituents, especially at the beginning or end of the utterance.

Interjections and discourse markers also share various negative characteristics. They do not take case, unlike nouns, and do not take subject proclitics, unlike verbs. In fact, these words do not combine with any morphology besides clausal enclitics. This distinguishes them from adverbs, which are allowed to host phrasal enclitics.

It is difficult to quantify the number of discourse markers and interjections which are free words, because many words in this class have phonologically similar forms. For example, people use all of the forms *kɨ2*, *kɨ4*, *kɨ51*, *kɨ1ɨ3*, *kɨ2ã4*, *ka2ã4*, *ka2ʔna4*, *ka2ʔni4*, and *kɨ2a4na4* to ask or pursue answers to questions. In some cases, such as *kɨ2a4na4* vs. *kɨ2ã4* and *kɨ2*, the various items appear to be phonological variants of the same lexical item (which can be paraphrased in American English as *right?*). In other cases, the phonologically similar forms clearly have semantically related, but different, meanings. For example, *kɨ1ɨ3*/*kɨ3ɨ5* with a rise is not a tag marker, but instead an interjection – like American English *Well???* – which is used to pursue uptake when the addressee does not answer a question.

With all of the above provisos, the lexical database currently contains 135 separate lexical entries for interjections. Interjections are an open class because they can be borrowed (e.g. *mba31* 'uh-oh!' is a borrowing from regional Spanish *va!*). However, there is no morphology that derives interjections.

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## 5.2 Classification of bound morphemes

I divide bound morphemes in Ticuna into three classes: proclitics, enclitics, and suffixes.

Proclitics are inflectional bound morphemes which occur only on verbs and nonverbal predicates. I refer to them as proclitics, not prefixes, because of their prosodic properties (Chapter 3.5.1.1), and because they can occur with scope over an entire phrase in some types of nonverbal predication (Chapter 21). The verbal proclitic system is described in Chapter 6.

Enclitics make up the great majority of all bound morphemes in the language. Only a small proportion of bound morphemes are suffixes. In this section, §5.2.1 describes the criteria that I use to classify morphemes as free (i.e., independent words) vs. bound (i.e., enclitics/suffixes). In §5.2.2, I then discuss criteria that distinguish affixes vs. clitics. Last, because the class of clitics is internally diverse, in §5.2.3 I describe the various sub-classes within it, such as second-position vs. phrasal clitics.

### 5.2.1 Independent words vs. clitics

Enclitics and suffixes have various properties which distinguish them from independent words. The most important diagnostic is prosodic. Independent words, including grammatical words and second-position clitics, can have stress, meaning that they project their own Prosodic Word. By contrast, enclitics and suffixes never bear stress (Chapter 3.5.1.4). In addition, people never produce an enclitic or suffix as the first element of a turn outside situations of disfluency. Consultants generally have trouble repeating enclitics and suffixes in isolation from their hosts. Similarly, there is a discursive practice in Christian religious services that involves congregation members reciting Bible verses exactly one word at a time. When congregants do this, they repeat free function words (e.g., determiners, second-position clausal clitics) separately, but they repeat proclitics, enclitics, and suffixes with their hosts. Last, when I have discussed with language consultants whether various enclitics are words, people generally find them incomplete and feel that they are not words in isolation.

Although enclitics and suffixes all share these same prosodic characteristics, they vary in their morphosyntactic and semantic properties. First, as discussed in §5.2.2, some enclitics are clausal, while others are phrasal. Second, some enclitics – both phrasal and clausal – have meanings that are more lexical than

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functional, such as *=ne3ta2* 'pretend,' *=ʔɨ5tʃi2* 'really,' and *=e1tʃa1* 'constantly.' [1] When an enclitic has more lexical semantics, consultants usually found it easier to translate, paraphrase, and repeat in isolation. However, consultants still do not judge highly lexical enclitics such as *=ne3ta2* 'pretend' to be words, and they still cannot bear stress.

### 5.2.2 Clitics vs. affixes

Leaving aside verbal proclitics, bound morphemes in Ticuna can be divided into two classes – enclitics and suffixes.

The class of suffixes consists of the language's 13 directionals (Chapter 18); the argument plural suffix *-e3*; the homophonous activity verbalizer *-e3*; the various valency-changing suffixes and physical result suffixes described in Chapter 19; and a few very low-frequency morphemes, such as the habitual *-ta1*. These morphemes all share two properties: they appear only on verbs, not other constituent types, and they display a high degree of lexical selection compared to other bound morphemes. For example, the argument plural *-e3*, which is a suffix, is only acceptable on a limited number of intransitive verbs, while the plural marker *=gɨ4*, which is an enclitic, is acceptable on almost all verbs (Chapter 17). Selection for a specific syntactic category and specific lexical items is a property of affixes, not clitics (Anderson 2005).

Beyond the shared properties of limitation to verbs and lexical selection, certain suffixes also display other phonological or morphological behavior indicating that they are more closely related to the root than other bound morphemes (i.e., enclitics) are. First, many suffixes trigger lexically specific phonological processes or suppletive allomorphy on the stem. For example, all directionals trigger suppletive allomorphy on the basic motion verb root *ũ43* 'come, go, walk' (Chapter 18.3.1), and the verbal plural suffix *-e3* triggers irregular change of stressed tone 1̱ to tone 5 (Chapter 4.3.3).[2] Second, suffixes appear closer to the root and display more rigid ordering than other bound morphemes. For instance, directionals (Chapter 18.3.1) and the causative suffix (Chapter 12.1.2.2.4) must appear

[1] Inalienable nouns, which behave prosodically as enclitics, could also be seen as members of this category. They have entirely lexical meanings.

[2] Some morphemes that I classify as clitics also trigger suppletive allomorphy or morphologically conditioned phonological processes. For example, most relativizers trigger a specific morphologically conditioned tone process on verbs (Chapter 4.3.1), and case markers trigger suppletive allomorphy on pronouns (Chapter 8). The reason that I still classify these morphemes as clitics is that they have a low degree of lexical selection, scope over an entire phrase, and do not have rigid order.

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before incorporated nouns. In contrast, other bound morphemes in Ticuna appear after incorporated nouns (as shown by examples throughout Chapter 12). Last, suffixes scope only over stems, while enclitics usually scope over entire phrases (see e.g. the discussion of the scope of the verbalizer *-e3* in Chapter 26.1.1). Lexically specific phonology and morphology, rigid order, and limited scope are all cross-linguistic properties of affixes, rather than clitics (Anderson 2005).

Outside the classes just named, all other bound morphemes are enclitics. While enclitics sometimes are limited to specific constituent types, they otherwise display little or no lexical selection; have flexible or scope-based ordering with respect to one another; and scope over phrases or clauses rather than stems.

### 5.2.3 Clitic types

#### 5.2.3.1 Phrasal enclitics

Some enclitics attach to and scope ofver a specific type of constituent, most commonly the noun phrase or the predicate. For example, *=a1rɨ3* POSS attaches to the final element of the possessor phrase, case enclitics (Chapter 9) attach to the final element of the noun phrase, and aspect markers (Chapter 14.3) attach to the final element of the predicate phrase (the verb or the nonverbal predicate). Enclitics can also be positioned with respect to a specific word class. Relativizers and subordinators, for example, always attach to the verb (Chapter 23). I call enclitics with these behaviors noun phrase, predicate, or verbal enclitics.

On the other hand, other enclitics can attach to any kind of constituent. Members of this category include the plural *=gɨ4*, the distributive *=tʃi1gɨ1*, the reportative *=ʔã3*, and most of the enclitics discussed in Chapter 32. For example, *=gɨ4* attaches to the final element of the noun phrase to mark the nominal plural (Chapter 7.3.1.1), attaches to the verb as the main verbal plural (Chapter 17.1), and also sometimes attaches to pronouns. Likewise, *=ʔi5tʃi2* 'really' attaches to nouns, verbs, and adverbs (Chapter 3.5.1.4).

Most enclitics that attach to multiple constituent types are still, despite their flexibility, phrasal. That is, they occur only once per constituent, and take scope only over the constituent which they attach to. This is shown in (1), where *=ʔi5tʃi2* 'really' attaches to the predicate *dau2* + PURP 'look for' and scopes only over it (not over the argument, which would give the reading 'real grandpa').

(1) *na31ʔkɑ̨1* ***a3da2ʔu5tʃi2*** *a4 o̧1ʔi5*
na43=kɑ̨1 **a3=dau2=ʔi5tʃi2** a4 o̧1ʔi5
3(IV)=PURP **AM.IMP=look.for=really** DET(IV) grandfather(IV)
'Go and **really look** for grandpa!' [YCG, SCG-YCG-DGC]

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#### 5.2.3.2 Clausal enclitics

The reportative, *=ne3ta2* 'pretend,' and some discourse-marker enclitics also attach to multiple constituent types, but behave differently from phrasal enclitics such as 'really.' These enclitics are clausal: they take scope over the entire clause, rather than only their host.

While phrasal enclitics occur exactly once in their domain in Ticuna, clausal enclitics can, and often do, occur multiple times. For instance, in (2), the speaker uses the reportative twice in a single clause – first on the interrogative pronoun 'where?', then again on the pronominal subject. The evidential meaning does not apply specifically to the pronoun or the pronominal subject, but instead conveys that the speaker expects the addressee to answer the entire question based on hearsay.

(2) *ʌe1ʔta5**ʔã3** ni4 ni31ma2**ʔã3** na1ʔũ31ʔ?*
ʌe1ʔta5=**ʔã3** ni4 ni31ma2=**ʔã3** na1=ũ43=ʔ
where?.ALL=**REP** FOC 3.TOP=**REP** 3.SBJ.SC=go.SG=SUB
'Where did she **supposedly** go?' [Victoria, AFG-LVI]

#### 5.2.3.3 Second-position clausal clitics

In addition to phrasal enclitics and clausal enclitics, the language also has second-position clausal clitics. For example, many discourse markers are second-position clausal clitics (Chapter 31). In addition, there are two second-position modals: *ta4* FUT (Chapter 14.3.4) and *ʧi4* CNTF (Chapter 14.6.2).

Like other clausal clitics, the two second-position modals can and do occur more than once per clause, provided that at least one token is in second position. For example, in (3), the future marker appears once in second position, following the initial adverb. It then appears again after the verb.

(3) *mo4ʔĩ2 **ta4** ti31ma2we5 ʧa1ri3ʔũ31ʔi4 **ta4** ʧo1ma1ʔ pa31ʔa2ã4ʧi4*
mo4ʔĩ2 **ta4** ti31ma2=we5 ʧa1ri3ʔ=ũ43=ʔi4 **ta4** ʧo1ma1
tomorrow **FUT** 3(I)=RN:behind 1SG.SBJ.SC=go.SG=SUB **FUT** 1SG.TOP
pa31ʔa2ã4ʧi4
for.short.time
'Tomorrow I'm going to go with her for a little bit.' [Victoria, LFG-MFG-LVI]

The two second-position modals are different from all phrasal and clausal clitics in that they are prosodically independent words. For example, people consistently write them as free words, can easily repeat them in isolation, and judge

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them to be complete words in isolation. They can also act as the hosts of other clausal clitics, such as the reportative in (4). Thus, I describe these two items as clitics because of their placement in the clause, not because they are prosodically dependent.

(4) *na31ma3* ***ta4ã3*** *na4me43ẽ4ẽ3 ni4ʔĩ4*
na43=ma3 **ta4=ã3** na4=me43ẽ4ẽ3 ni4ʔĩ4
DFLT.POSS=road **FUT=REP** 3.SBJ=fix 3.SBJ.COP
'It's supposedly going to fix the road.' [2019-C10-C13 CCI, 2:34]

There *are* some environments where the second-position clausal enclitics become prosodically dependent on other words, such as when they form portmanteaus with negation (Chapter 20.4). They also display anomalous phonological behavior with respect to the phrasal enclitic *=ta2ã4* 'only' which is not shared by any other constituent type (Chapter 28.4.2).

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# 6 Verbal inflection and basic clausal syntax

Ticuna verbs are obligatorily inflected for subject agreement and clause type. These categories are marked fusionally by a single verbal proclitic. The form of the subject-clause type proclitic is determined by the verb's conjugation class; there are three conjugation classes.

In addition to the three conjugation classes, transitive verbs are divided into two object syntax classes. The verb's object syntax class determines whether it can take third-person object proclitics. (Object syntax class also controls the distribution of the accusative case, as described in Chapter 10.) While the *acceptability* of object proclitics is determined by object syntax class, the *form* of these proclitics is determined by conjugation class. Object proclitics appear after subject proclitics.

The language also has various verbal proclitics which are not inflectional, such as the imperfective proclitic *i5=*; the directional and verbal classifier proclitics *i2= and i5=*; and the associated motion proclitic *ɟa3=*. The *i2=* and *i5=* proclitics appear before subject proclitics and do not interact at all with inflection. Therefore, imperfective *i5=* is discussed in Chapter 14 and directional/classifier *i2=* and *i5=* are discussed in Chapter 18. Associated motion *does* interact with inflection and leads to changes in both subject proclitic form and object syntax. I discuss this very intricate set of changes in Chapter 18.

Table 6.1 illustrates the relative ordering of each type of proclitics within the verbal word. The associated-motion proclitic cannot really be assigned a single position in the verb template because its position and form depend on the conjugation class of the verb. However, I have shown its position for the largest conjugation class, the /a/-class. In verbs that do *not* have associated-motion marking, the subject proclitic is always before the object proclitic. In verbs that *do* have associated-motion marking, this order can be reversed.

In this section I will first describe the system of conjugation classes, subject agreement, and clause type inflection (§6.1); then the system of object syntax classes and object inflection (§6.2). Understanding this information is a prerequisite to understanding basic clausal syntax/constituent order. Therefore, in §6.3 I

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Table 6.1: Order of pre-root morphemes in the verb

| Position Relative to Verb | -3 | -2 | -1 | Root |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Example Proclitics | *i5=* 'IMPF, VCL, DIR' | *ʧa3=* '1SG.SBJ.MC' | *na3=* '3(II/III/IV).OBJ' | Root |
| | *i2=* 'IMPF, VCL, DIR' | *na1=* '3(II/III/IV).SBJ.SC' | *ɟa3=* 'AM' | Root |

describe the basic clausal syntax.

## 6.1 Subject agreement and clause type inflection

To understand the form of subject agreement proclitics, you must first understand the concepts of clause type and conjugation class. Therefore, this section covers the clause type system (§6.1.1) and the conjugation class system (§6.1.2), then gives the paradigm of subject agreement proclitics (§6.1.3).

### 6.1.1 Clause type

All verbs in Ticuna have either main clause, subordinate clause, or imperative inflection. The clause type of a verb is determined by whether it bears subordinating enclitics (or other subordinating morphology) at the end of the verbal word.

#### 6.1.1.1 Main clause inflection

Main clause inflection is the unmarked category. It occurs whenever the verb does not bear a subordinating enclitic. For example, in (1) the verb bears the proclitic *ʧa3=*, indicating a main clause with a 1SG subject and the /a/ conjugation class.

(1) *nɨ31ʔĩ3 ʧa3dau2*
nɨ31=ʔĩ3 ʧa3=dau2
3=ACC 1SGSBJ=see
'I saw it/him/her.'
(LWG 2016.1.118)

If the verb has no subordinating enclitics, then main clause inflection must be used, even if the clause is not *syntactically* a main clause. For example, clauses

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introduced by *e3ri4 ~ ɟe4ri4* 'because' are arguably subordinate clauses, but they cannot have subordinating morphology on the verb (Chapter 25.3). Therefore, the verbs of 'because' clauses still have main clause inflection. For example, the main-clause form of the verb, with the main-clause 3.SBJ proclitic *na4=* and no subordinator, is acceptable in (2).

(2) *ɟe5ma2ma3 i4ɲa43, **ɟe4ri4** na4tu1ra1ʔi5tʃi2.*
ɟe5ma2=ma3 i4=ɲa43 **ɟe4ri4** na4=tu1ra1=ʔi5tʃi2
there.ANA.REM.PST 3(V).SBJ=run **because**.REM.PST 3.SBJ=weak=really
'She ran there (to get a doctor) **because** he was very weak.' [DGG HALDI]

#### 6.1.1.2 Subordinate clause inflection

Subordinate clause inflection is obligatory whenever the verb has any kind of subordinating morphology. This includes all of the subordinating enclitics discussed in Chapter 25 and all of the relative clause enclitics discussed in Chapter 23. Subordinate clause inflection also occurs in any construction where the verb undergoes the nominalizer tone circle, even if there isn't a segmental subordinator (Chapter 25.4.4). However, this inflection *never* occurs without other segmental or tonal subordinating morphology.

Most subordinate clause proclitics are in minimal tone pairs with the main-clause proclitics of the same person, number, noun class and conjugation class. For example, the 1SG.SBJ /a/-class, main-clause proclitic is *tʃa3=*, as shown in (1), with tone 3. Its subordinate-clause equivalent is *tʃa1=*, with tone 1, as shown in (3). This is part of a general pattern where subordinate-clause proclitics have tone 1, while main-clause proclitics have tones 3 or 4.

(3) *ta4ma3 ni31ʔĩ3 tʃa1dau2ʔĩ4kạ1*
ta4ma3 ni31=ʔĩ3 tʃa1=dau2=ʔĩ4=kạ1
NEG 3=ACC 1SG.SBJ.SC=see=SUB=PURP
'so that I would not see it' [LWG 2016.1.118]

Approximately one-third of all verb tokens in the corpus have subordinate-clause inflection. One reason for this high proportion of subordinate verbs is that formally subordinate clauses where the verb bears the subordinator *=ʔ(ĩ⁴)* (described in Chapter 25.2) often function as main clauses, displaying 'insubordination' (Evans 2007). That is, *=ʔ(ĩ⁴)* clauses frequently occur as the sole clause of an utterance, including in contexts that do not plausibly involve ellipsis of a main clause. Anderson (1962) states that this structure is used to form polar questions, but there is no evidence whatsoever of this in my materials. Instead,

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formally subordinate clauses with *=ʔ(ĩ⁴)* can be interpreted as declaratives (4c), polar questions (5), or content questions (6). To the extent that polar questions are syntactically or lexically marked, the marking uses polar question particles (Chapter 27), not subordinators.

(4) Context: Child getting too close to video camera.

a. MFG: *ta31e3ɟa̰1a1rɨ3*
ta31=e3ɟa̰1=a1rɨ3
1INCL=sister=POSS
'(Don't touch that,) it's our sister's (Amalia's).'

b. Child: *ŋɨ31, ŋɨ31*
ŋɨ31 ŋɨ31
yes yes
'Sure, sure.'

c. MFG: ***pe1tʃi31e2ã5ẽ2ʔ***
**pe1=tʃi31e2=ã5ẽ2=ʔ**
**2PL.SBJ.SC.A=bad=NI:heart=SUB**
'**You're being annoying**.' [LFG-MFG-LVI]

(5) *a1ɟi2ʔi5tʃi2ʔĩ4 kɨ2a4na4?*
a1=ɟi2ʔ=ʔɨ5tʃi2=ʔĩ4 kɨ2a4na4
3.SBJ.SC.I=fragrant=really=SUB INTJ:tag
'Doesn't it smell really good?' [RGW, 20170527]

(6) *te1ʔe5ma4ã2 rɨ1 na1ŋẽ2ʔma5ʔĩ4?*
te1ʔe5=ma4ã2 rɨ1 na1=ŋẽ2ʔma4=ʔĩ4
who?=COM TOP 3.SBJ.SC.A=be.in.place=SUB
'Who was s/he with there?' [C3 CG]

Thus, although examples like (4–6) are morphologically subordinate, they probably should not be considered syntactically, semantically, or pragmatically subordinate. This is exactly the mirror image of because-clauses, which are syntactically but not morphologically subordinate.

To sum up, while the 'subordinate' clause type and syntactic subordination are closely related, they are not synonymous. Instead, the fundamental difference between the main clause type and the subordinate clause type is that subordinate-clause inflection can only occur in the presence of subordinating morphology, such as a subordinating enclitic, at the end of the verb word.

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#### 6.1.1.3 Imperative inflection

Imperative inflection occurs only on positive imperatives with a singular addressee. For example, the singular imperative in (7) has the proclitic *na1=*, which is the SG.IMP proclitic for /a/-class verbs.

(7) *pa31ʔa2ma4 na1ʎu̯1*
pa31ʔa2=ma4 na1=ʎu̯1
quickly=INFO IMP=learn
'Learn quickly!' [YCG 2017.4.21]

Positive plural imperatives do *not* take imperative inflection. Instead, they undergo the nominalizer tone circle on the final syllable of the verb stem. Therefore, like all other verbs with the nominalizer tone circle, they take subordinate clause inflection. For instance, (8) is a 2PL imperative of the /a/-class verb root *i2a1* 'be angry with, scold.' This verb ends in tone 1 in citation form, like 'learn' in (7). However, in the plural imperative, it undergoes the nominalizer tone circle and is realized as tone 5. Simultaneously, the subject proclitic appears in the subordinate-clause form, *pe1=*, rather than the main-clause form, *pe3=*.

(8) *tɨ31ʔĩ3 pe1ʔi2a5*
tɨ31=ʔĩ3 pe1=i2a1=∅
3(I)=ACC 2PL.SBJ=scold=NTC
'You guys, scold him/her/them!' [LWG 2025.1.98]

Negative imperatives, singular or plural, also do not take imperative inflection. They can have either main clause or subordinate clause inflection, as described in more detail in Chapter 20.7.

#### 6.1.1.4 Interim summary

The clause type of a verb is determined completely by the presence of subordinating morphology at the end of the verbal word. If the verb has subordinating morphology (segmental or tonal), then it takes subordinate clause inflection. Otherwise, the verb takes main clause inflection. This applies regardless of whether the clause is a main clause vs. a subordinate clause from a syntactic point of view. The only verbs where this generalization does not apply are singular positive imperatives, which have their own imperative inflection.

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### 6.1.2 Conjugation class

There are three conjugation classes: the /a/-class, /i/-class, and /r/-class. I use these names to reflect the conjugation classes' thematic segments: /a/-class subject agreement/clause type proclitics usually have the form /(C)a/, while /i/-class proclitics have the form /(C)i/, and /r/-class proclitics contain the syllable /rɨ/. For example, the /a/-class 1SG main clause proclitic is *ʧa3=*, the /i/-class equivalent is *ʧi3=* and the /r/-class equivalent is *ʧa3rɨ3=*.[1]

In general, the assignment of verb roots to conjugation classes does not have an obvious phonological or semantic basis. For example, take the three verbs *ʍa1* 'know,' *u3* 'say' and *ʎɨ2ma3* 'forget.' These verbs are all transitive verbs of communication or cognition, but they belong to three different conjugation classes: *ʍa1* 'know' is /a/-class, *u3* 'say' is /i/-class, and *ʎɨ2ma3* 'forget' is /r/-class.

Some patterns do exist in the conjugation class assignment of roots. First, all verb stems borrowed from Spanish or Portuguese (e.g., *ga3na1* 'win,' *le3e1* 'read,' and many less conventional borrowings) belong to the /a/-class. Second, verbs that have causative object syntax (§6.2) never belong to the /r/-class. And third, all intransitive verbs of manner of motion – such as *ũ43* 'walk', *ã1* 'paddle boat' and *ɲa43* 'run' – belong to the /i/-class. Besides this, there is no evidence that transitivity or lexical aspect/event structure affect conjugation class, unlike in other American languages (e.g., Ashéninka [Arawak], Payne 1981; Yucatec Maya, Bohnemeyer 2002).

Derived stems do not always have the same conjugation class as their roots, because many verbal suffixes and enclitics change the stem's conjugation class. For instance, when the distributive enclitic *=ʧi1gɨ1* attaches to a verb stem, it generally changes the stem to the /i/-class (Chapter 17.3). Less often, other constituents of the verb phrase can change conjugation class – for example, when manner of motion verbs take a goal adjunct, they become /a/-class (Chapter 11.1). When I discuss verbal enclitics and suffixes in the other chapters of this book, I describe whether they change conjugation class and how.

### 6.1.3 Subject proclitic paradigms

#### 6.1.3.1 Paradigm tables

Table 6.2 shows the main-clause proclitics for verbs of each conjugation class. Table 6.3 shows the subordinate-clause proclitics for these same verbs, and Table

[1] I discuss in §6.1.3.3 why /r/-class inflections like *ʧa3rɨ3=* should be analyzed as monomorphemic, and not as derived from /a/-class inflection.

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6.4 shows the imperative proclitics. These are the subject proclitics which appear when the verb **does not** have an object or associated motion proclitic. See §6.2.2 for paradigms with object proclitics, and see Chapter 18.4 for paradigms with associated motion proclitics.

Proclitics in all three of the following tables were elicited using a pronominal subject. In the tables, '3(I)' refers to a third person subject of noun class I; '3(II/III/IV)' is a third-person subject of noun classes II, III, or IV; and '3(V)' is a third-person subject of noun class V. There are no distinctions in subject marking between classes II, III, or IV. The 3(II/III/IV) subject proclitics are also the forms used for expletive subjects (e.g. with weather verbs, deontic modals, and so on). Therefore, in the rest of this work I use the gloss '3SBJ' rather than '3(II/III/IV)SBJ' for this cell of the subject-marking paradigm. Additionally, outside of this chapter I do not use conjugation class identifiers when glossing proclitics.

Table 6.2: Main-clause subject proclitics, when no object proclitic or associated motion proclitic is present

| Subject | /a/-Class | /i/-Class | /r/-Class | Note |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | tʃa3= | tʃi3= | tʃa3ri3= | |
| 2SG | ku3= | ki3= | ku3ri3= | |
| 3(I) | ta4= | ti4= | ta4ri3= | |
| 3(II/III/IV) | na4= | ni4= | na4ri3= | |
| 3(V) | i4= | i4ɟa3= | i4ri3= | |
| 1INCL | ta4= | ti4= | ta4ri3= | Same as 3(I) in main clauses only. |
| 1EXCL | ta3= | ti3= | ta3ri3= | Minimal tone difference from 3(I)/1INCL. |
| 2PL | pe3= | pi3= | pe3ri3= | |

I do not give full verb forms in all tables above because these would also include plural morphology on many plural forms; that plural morphology belongs to the verbal number system rather than the system of subject/clause type inflection. However, in the interest of being accountable to the data from full word forms, Tables 6.5 and 6.6 show the full paradigm of the intransitive /a/-class verb *ʎu̯1* 'learn, go to school.' Note that in these tables all plural forms have the suffix *-e3*; this occurs with plural subjects of some intransitive verbs and triggers change of tone 1̱ to tone 5 in monosyllabic verbs (Chapter 4.3.3). Also note that the subordinate forms in Table 6.6 are specifically the forms for a purpose clause (Chapter 25.2.2). Like all purpose clauses, they display the nominalizer tone circle on the final syllable of the verb stem (Chapter 4.3.1).

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Table 6.3: Subordinate-clause subject proclitics, when no object proclitic or associated motion proclitic is present

| Subject | /a/-Class | /i/-Class | /r/-Class | Note |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | tʃa1= | tʃi1= | tʃa1rɨ3= | |
| 2SG | ku1= | ki1= | ku1rɨ3= | |
| 3(I) | ta1= | ti1= | ta1rɨ3= | |
| 3(II/III/IV) | na1= | (ɟ)a1= | na1rɨ3=, na1= | Sociolinguistic variation in /i/-class and /r/-class forms. |
| 3(V) | na4= | ɟa4= | i1ɟa4rɨ3, na4= | Sociolinguistic variation in /r/-class form. Not enough tokens to determine if there is variation in /i/-class form. |
| 1INCL | ∅, i1= | i1= | rɨ3= | Sociolinguistic variation in /a/-class form. |
| 1EXCL | ta3= | ti3= | ta3rɨ3= | Minimal tone difference from 3(I). Segments and tones different from 1INCL. |
| 2PL | pe1= | pi1= | pe1rɨ3= | |

Table 6.4: Imperative proclitics, when no object proclitic or associated motion proclitic is present

| | /a/-class | /i/-class | /r/-class |
|---|---|---|---|
| IMP | na1= | i3= | rɨ3= |

Table 6.5: Main-clause paradigm of *ʎu̯1* 'learn' (DGG 2017.1.92-93)

| Subject | Form |
|---|---|
| 1SG | tʃa3=ʎu̯1 |
| 2SG | ku3=ʎu̯1 |
| 3(I) | ta4=ʎu̯1 |
| 3(II/III/IV) | na4=ʎu̯1 |
| 3(V) | i4=ʎu̯1 |
| 1INCL | ta4=ʎu5-e3 |
| 1EXCL | ta3=ʎu5-e3 |
| 2PL | pe3=ʎu5-e3 |

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Table 6.6: Subordinate-clause (purpose-clause) paradigm of *ʎu̯1* 'learn' (DGG 2017.1.92-93)

| Subject | Form |
|---|---|
| 1SG | tʃa1=ʎu5=ʔĭ4=kặ1 (1SGSBJ.SC=learn=SUB=PURP) |
| 2SG | ku1=ʎu5=ʔĭ4=kặ1 |
| 3(I) | ta1=ʎu5=ʔĭ4=kặ1 |
| 3(II/III/IV) | na1=ʎu5=ʔĭ4=kặ1 |
| 3(V) | na4=ʎu5=ʔĭ4=kặ1 |
| 1INCL | i1=ʎu5-e2=ʔĭ4=kặ1 (1INCLSBJ.SC=learn-PL=SUB=PURP) |
| 1EXCL | ta3=ʎu5-e2=ʔĭ4=kặ1 |
| 2PL | pe1=ʎu5-e2=ʔĭ4=kặ1 |

The imperative forms of *ʎu̯1* 'learn' are given in (9–10). Only (9), the singular imperative, belongs to the imperative clause type. (10), the plural imperative, is morphologically a subordinate clause.

(9) *na1ʎu̯1*
na1=ʎu̯1
IMP=learn
'Learn!' [LWG 2016.1.77]

(10) *pe1ʎu5e2*
pe1=ʎu̯1-e3=∅
2PL.SBJ.SC=learn-PL=NTC
'Y'all learn!' [LWG 2016.1.77]

#### 6.1.3.2 Comment on third-person subordinate clause forms

The forms given in Table 6.3 for 1INCL subjects of subordinate clauses – zero marking for /a/-class verbs, /i1=/ for the /i/-class, and /ri3=/ for the /r/-class – can also occur with third-person subjects.

Specifically, in a subject relative clause, the verb of the relative will **always** have the zero/i1=/ri3= subject proclitics, as shown for an /a/-class verb in (11) and an /i/-class verb in (12). This applies regardless of the noun class of the subject (i.e., head of the relative), meaning that the subject proclitic no longer undergoes noun class agreement. However, the relative clause overall still has agreement, since the relativizer on the verb agrees with the head of the relative in noun class.

(11) a. *ti31ʔĭ3 tʃa3dau2 ɟa4 da31ʔe2 bu31e3 ɟa4 (*ta1=)tai31ɟa5e3*

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ti31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=dau2 ɟa4 da31ʔe2 bu31e3 ɟa4
3(I)=ACC 1SG.SBJ=see DET(I) DEM.PROX(I) baby(I) DET(I)
(*ta1=)tai31ɟa2=e3
(*3(I).SBJ.SC.A)=hungry=NMLZ(I)
'I saw this hungry baby (Class I).'

b. *ni31ʔĩ3 tʃa3dau2 a4 ɲa4a2 bu3ʔĩ4 i4 (*na1=)tai31ɟa2ʔĩ4*
ni31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=dau2 a4 ɲa4a2 bu3ʔĩ4 i4
3=ACC 1SG.SBJ=see DET(IV) DEM.PROX(IV) child(IV) DET(IV)
(*na1=)tai31ɟa2=ʔĩ4
(*3(IV).SBJ.SC.A=)hungry=NMLZ(IV)
'I saw this hungry child (Class IV).'
[LWG 2024.1.38-39]

(12) a. *ti31ʔĩ3 tʃa3dau2 ɟa4 da31ʔe2 bu31e3 ɟa4* ✓*i1dą2we3e3 / *ti1dą2we3e3*
ti31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=dau2 ɟa4 da31ʔe2 bu31e3 ɟa4
3(I)=ACC 1SG.SBJ=see DET(I) DEM.PROX(I) baby(I) DET(I)
✓i1=dą2we1=e3 / *ti1=dą2we1=e3
✓1INCL.SBJ.SC.I=sick=NMLZ(I) / *3(I).SBJ.SC.I=sick=NMLZ(I)
'I saw this sick baby (Class I).'

b. *ni31ʔĩ3 tʃa3dau2 a4 ɲa4a2 bu3ʔĩ4 i4* ✓*i1dą2we3ʔĩ4 / *ɟa1dą2we3ʔĩ4*
ni31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=dau2 a4 ɲa4a2 bu3ʔĩ4 i4
3=ACC 1SG.SBJ=see DET(IV) DEM.PROX(IV) baby(IV) DET(IV)
✓i1=dą2we1=ʔĩ4 / *ɟa1=dą2we1=ʔĩ4
✓1INCL.SBJ.SC.I=sick=NMLZ(IV) / *3.SBJ.SC.I=sick=NMLZ(IV)
'I saw this sick child (Class IV).'
[LWG 2024.1.38-39]

The reduced (zero/i1=/ri3=) third-person subject proclitics can also occur in other types of relative and subordinate clauses, such as conditional antecedents. However, outside of subject relatives, suppression of noun class agreement in subordinate clauses is optional. For example, in a conditional antecedent subordinate clause, it's acceptable to suppress noun class agreement, using the reduced (zero/i1=/ri3=) third person proclitics for all noun classes), as shown in the first form in each of (13) and (14). But it's also acceptable to use the regular subordinate-clause proclitics with noun class agreement, as shown by the second form in each example.

(13) *e3ga4 da31ʔe2 bu3e3 [* ***i1dą2we1gu2*** */* ***ti1dą2we1gu2*** *] ti31ʔĩ3 na1ʔa3ʔẽ4ẽ3*

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e3ga4 da31ʔe2 bu3e3 [ **i1=dą2we1=gu2** /
if DEM.PROX(I) baby(I) [ **1INCL.SBJ.SC.I=sick=COND** /
**ti1=dą2we1=gu2** ] tɨ31=ʔĩ3 na1=a3-ʔẽ4ẽ3
**3(I).SBJ.SC.I=sick=COND** ] 3(I)=ACC IMP=drink-CAUS
'If this baby (Class I) is sick, make them drink.' [LWG 2024.1.38]

(14) *e3ga4 ɲa4a2 bu3ʔĩ4 rɨ1 [ **i1dą2we1gu2 / ɟa1dą2we1gu2** ] rɨ1 na3ʔa3ʔẽ4ẽ3*
e3ga4 ɲa4a2 bu3ʔĩ4 rɨ1 [ **i1=dą2we1=gu2** /
if DEM.PROX(IV) child(IV) TOP [ **1INCL.SBJ.SC.I=sick=COND** /
**ɟa1=dą2we1=gu2** ] rɨ1 na3=a3-ʔẽ4ẽ3
**3(IV).SBJ.SC.I=sick=COND** ] 3(I)=ACC IMP>3.OBJ=drink-CAUS
'If this child (Class IV) is sick, make them drink.' ' [LWG 2024.1.38]

It's also important that the ban on using regular third-person proclitics inside subject relative clauses applies only to subject proclitics. The verb of a subject relative clause can still have an object proclitic, such as the *na3=* object proclitic in (15), or an aspectual/directional *i5=* proclitic. However, contexts that delete third-person subject proclitics/suppress noun class agreement affect object proclitics in other ways.

(15) *Bi3tu5 rɨ1 nɨ31ʔĩ3 na4dau2ʔtʃa1ĩ1 i4 ŋe3ma2 bu3ʔĩ4 i4 **na3ʔi2ʔĩ4** i4 ɲa4a2 cuadro*
Bi3tu5 rɨ1 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 na4=dau2=tʃa1ĩ1 i4 ŋe3ma2 bu3ʔĩ4
Victoria TOP 3=ACC 3.SBJ=see=PROSP DET(IV) DEM.ANA(IV) child(IV)
i4 **na3=ɨ2=ʔĩ4** i4 ɲa4a2 cuadro
DET(IV) **3.OBJ=make=NMLZ(IV)** DET(IV) DEM.PROX(IV) SP:portrait(IV)
'Victoria wants to see the child that made this portrait.' [LWG 2018.1.15]

Other aspects of the morphology and syntax of subject relative clauses are discussed in Chapter 23.1.1.

#### 6.1.3.3 Evidence that proclitics are monomorphemic

In the tables above, I represented subject proclitics for all three conjugation classes as monomorphemic. This is not the only possible analysis, and in this section I consider alternatives.

First, it is possible to analyze /r/-class proclitics as derived from /a/-class proclitics plus a morpheme /rɨ3/. This would lead, for example, to segmenting the 1SG main-clause subject proclitics as *tʃa3=*, *tʃi3=*, and a complex form *tʃa3=rɨ3=*. This

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analysis works for all /r/-class proclitics except for the imperative, where it predicts **na1=rɨ3=* instead of the real form *rɨ3=*. However, I do not adopt it because there is no external evidence for a morpheme break in this location: nothing can intervene between the first and second syllables of the /r/-class proclitics. The associated motion proclitic could be seen as a counterexample, but that is analysis-dependent and the behavior of the proclitic is anomalous overall (Chapter 18). The morpheme *rɨ3=* also does not exist outside of this subject paradigm.

Second, as suggested by Bertet (2020), one could analyze the initial consonant of each proclitic as a separate morpheme from the theme vowel, leading to a segmentation like *tʃ=a3=*, *tʃ=i3=*, and *tʃ=a3=rɨ3* for the 1SG main-clause subject proclitics. This analysis works for most main clause inflections, but not all. For example, it predicts **ka3=* instead of *ku3=* for the 2SG main-clause subject form. More important, however, is that analyzing the theme vowel as a separate morpheme does not work for many subordinate clause inflections. For example, this analysis predicts **ni1=* instead of *ɟa1=* for the 3(II/III/IV).SBJ.SC.I form, and does not explain why the theme-vowel morpheme is deleted in the 1INCL.SBJ.SC subject proclitic for the /a/-class (zero), but not the equivalent for the /i/-class, *i1=*. And last, because nothing ever intervenes between the initial consonant and the theme vowel of subject proclitics, there is no external evidence for a morpheme break in this location eother.

To sum up, while I do not analyze /r/-class proclitics as multimorphemic, this analysis is fairly reasonable and captures the obvious morphological relationship between the /a/-class and /r/-class. However, analyzing /a/-class and /i/-class proclitics as multimorphemic is much less supported, since it requires positing many irregular forms. Last, analyzing /r/-class proclitics as derived from the alienable possessive pronouns, as suggested by Montes Rodriguez (1995), is not at all supported for the Cushillococha variety. Out of 17 cells in the /r/-class subject proclitic paradigm, only four (2SG.SBJ main clause and subordinate clause, and 2PL.SBJ main clause and subordinate clause) have the same segments as the alienable possession pronouns, and even these four cells do not have the same tones as the pronouns.

## 6.2 Object inflection

Not all transitive verbs in Ticuna can take object proclitics – this depends on the verb's object syntax class. In this section I describe first the object syntax class system (§6.2.1), then the form of object proclitics (§6.2.2). Certain verbs take two arguments, but assign the patient-like argument an oblique case, such as the

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locative, instead of the accusative. These 'oblique-object' verbs are outside the object syntax class system and are described in §6.2.3. §6.2.4 provides an interim summary of all information presented about verb inflection in this chapter.

### 6.2.1 Object syntax classes

Transitive verbs in Ticuna are divided into two classes for purposes of object marking. I refer to the two classes as 'psych verbs' and 'causative verbs.'

Unlike conjugation classes, object syntax classes have a strong semantic basis. Most transitive verbs of perception, cognition, and communication are psych verbs. Examples include *dau2* 'see,' *ɯɑ̨1* 'know,' *u3* 'say,' *ʌo4gɨ2* 'palpate, perceive something by touching it,' and *ʌɨ2ma3* 'forget.'

On the other hand, most classic transitive verbs – such as verbs of caused motion, manipulation, consumption, cutting and breaking, and so on – belong to the causative class. Examples include *ga4* 'transport animate being,' *ɨ2* 'make,' *ŋɑ̃1* 'eat/bite,' and *ɟo2* 'cut with scissors.' Also, all derived causatives of /a/-class and /i/-class intransitive verbs belong to the causative class (Chapter 19.2.1), which is why I call it 'causative.' Furthermore, when a verb is borrowed as transitive, it is always borrowed into the causative class, even if it is semantically a psych verb. For example, *le3e1* 'read' (< Spanish *leer*) is causative.

Despite these trends, the semantics of a verb does not absolutely determine its object syntax class membership. For example, *õ2* 'believe' is syntactically causative, while *ku31ʔ* 'kick' is syntactically psych.

The key morphological difference between the two object syntax classes is the realization of third-person pronominal objects of noun classes II, III and IV. Psych verbs realize third-person pronominal objects of noun classes II, III, and IV as free words, while causative verbs realize them as object proclitics. For example, because *dau2* 'see' is a psych verb, it is grammatical with a free pronominal object and ungrammatical with an object proclitic (16). On the other hand, *ɟau1ʔ* 'get, receive' is a causative verb, making it ungrammatical with a free object, but grammatical with an object proclitic (17).

(16) a. *nɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa3dau2*
nɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=dau2
3=ACC 1SGSBJ=see
b. **tʃa3na3dau2*
*tʃa3=na3=dau2
*1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=see
'I saw him/her/it.' [LWG 2017.3.183]

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(17) Context: What happened to the *tʃe3ra1* (Class II) 'handsaw'?

a. **Bi3tu5 rɨ1 nɨ31ʔĩ3 na4ɟa1ʔu2*
*Bi3tu5 rɨ1 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 na4=ɟau1ʔ
*Victoria TOP 3=ACC 3.SBJ=get

b. *Bi3tu5 rɨ1 na4na3ɟa1ʔu2*
Bi3tu5 rɨ1 na4=na3=ɟau1ʔ
Victoria TOP 3.SBJ=3.OBJ=get

'Victoria got it.' [LWG 2024.1.64]

Besides the acceptability of object proclitics, object syntax class also determines where and how the accusative case is marked, as discussed in great detail in Chapter 10.

### 6.2.2 Object proclitic paradigms

Object proclitics express only third-person pronominal objects of noun classes II, III and IV, and occur only with causative transitive verbs. As discussed in Chapter 10, pronominal objects of any other person and noun class, as well as all pronominal objects of psych verbs, are expressed as free words.

In the main and subordinate clause types, object proclitics appear immediately after subject proclitics. Clause type does not affect their form (except for one cell of the subordinate-clause paradigm). For example, the /a/-class object proclitic has the form *na3=*. This occurs in both main clauses, such as (18), and subordinate clauses, such as (19).

(18) *tʃa3na3ʍe1*
tʃa3=na3=ʍe1
1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=shoot/blow
'I shot it / blew on it.' [DGG 2016.1.92]

(19) *tʃa1**na3**ʍɐ2ʔĩ4kɐ1*
tʃa1=**na3**=ʍe1=ʔĩ4=kɐ1
1SGSBJ.SC=**3.OBJ**=shoot/blow=SUB=PURP
'so that I could shoot/blow on it' [DGG 2016.1.92]

#### 6.2.2.1 Paradigm tables

As with subject proclitics, the form of object proclitics depends on the verb's conjugation class. /a/-class verbs take the object proclitic *na3=*, shown in the previous examples, and /i/-class verbs take the object proclitic *ɟa3=*. The /i/-class form has the sociolinguistic variant *a3=*, with no onset, in all cells of the paradigm.

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In the /a/-class main clause paradigm, object proclitics have no effect on the realization of subject proclitics. They are the same as in Table 6.2. In the /i/-class main clause paradigm, on the other hand, object proclitics cause the verb to take */a/-class,* rather than /i/-class, subject proclitics. This does *not* mean that the verb has changed to the /a/-class, since the form of the object proclitic is still different than if the verb was /a/-class.

Table 6.7 displays the main-clause inflectional paradigms for /a/-class and /i/-class verbs that have both subject and object proclitics, but lack associated motion proclitics. Table 6.8 displays the *subordinate-clause* inflectional paradigms for /a/-class and /i/-class verbs that have both subject and object proclitics.

Table 6.7: Subject plus object proclitics for main-clause verbs

| Subject | /a/-Class | /i/-Class |
|---|---|---|
| 1SG | tʃa3=na3= | tʃa3=(ɟ)a3= |
| 2SG | ku3=na3= | ku3=(ɟ)a3= |
| 3(I) | ta4=na3= | ta4=(ɟ)a3= |
| 3(II/III/IV) | na4=na3= | na4=(ɟ)a3= |
| 3(V) | i4=na3= | i4=(ɟ)a3= |
| 1INCL | ta4=na3= | ta4=(ɟ)a3= |
| 1EXCL | ta3=na3= | ta3=(ɟ)a3= |
| 2PL | pe3=na3= | pe3=(ɟ)a3= |

Table 6.8: Subject plus object proclitics for subordinate-clause verbs

| Subject | /a/-Class | /i/-Class | Note |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | tʃa1=na3= | tʃa1=(ɟ)a3= | |
| 2SG | ku1=na3= | ku1=(ɟ)a3= | |
| 3(I) | ta1=na3= | ta1=(ɟ)a3= | |
| 3(II/III/IV) | na1=Verb=ã1 | (ɟ)a1=Verb=ã1 | |
| 3(V) | na4=Verb=ã1 | ɟa4=Verb=ã1 | Not enough tokens to determine if there is variation in the subject proclitic. |
| 1INCL | ∅=na3= | ∅=(ɟ)a3= | |
| 1EXCL | ta3=na3= | ta3=(ɟ)a3= | |
| 2PL | pe1=na3= | pe1=(ɟ)a3= | |

As shown in Table 6.8, there are two cells of the object clitic paradigm where object proclitics are replaced by *enclitics* – when the verb has either (a) a third

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person subject of noun classes II/III/IV, or (b) a third-person subject of noun class V (which otherwise never has the same inflection as classes II/III/IV). In these cells, the verb takes the enclitic *=ã1* '3>3.SC' instead of an object proclitic. At the left edge of the verb, the subject proclitic then takes the form that would occur with **no** object marker. That is, /i/-class verbs take /i/-class, not /a/-class, subject proclitics.[2]

(20) provides corpus examples of verbs in a variety of subordinate clause types – such as focus remnants (a), conditional antecedents (b), and complement clauses (c) – with the 3>3 subordinate-clause proclitics.

(20) a. *tʃo31ʔna1 ni4ʔĩ4 na1ʔã3ã1ʔĩ4*
tʃo31=na1 ni4ʔĩ4 na1=ã3=ã1=ʔĩ4
1SG=RCP FOC 3.SBJ.SC.A=give=3>3.SC=SUB
'He gave it *to me*.' [LGC HALDI]

b. *ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3 ta4 ʎe1ʔta5ã4ma4 ta4 a1wã4ʔna1gɨ4ã1gu2*
ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3 ta4 ʎe1ʔta5=ã4ma4 ta4
when FUT where?=toward FUT
a1=wã4ʔna1=gɨ4=ã1=gu2
3.SBJ.SC.I=open=PL=3>3.SC=COND
'if they open (a valve) in another direction' [C27 FM, C27 CCI]

c. *nɨ31ma2 ga4 gu2ma4 bu3kɨ3 rɨ1 nɨ31ʔĩ3 na4ʍą1 ga4 ɟe4ma4 gigante ta4* ***na1ma5ã1ʔĩ4***
nɨ31ma2 ga4 gu2ma4 bu3kɨ3 rɨ1 nɨ31=ʔĩ3
3.TOP DET.REM.PST DEM.REM.PST(II) boy(II) TOP 3=ACC
na4=ʍą1 ga4 ɟe4ma4 gigante ta4
3.SBJ=know DET.REM.PST(IV) DEM.REM.PST(IV) SP:giant FUT
**na1=mą1=ã1=ʔĩ4**
**3.SBJ.SC.A=kill=3>3.SC=SUB**
'The boy knew that the giant **was going to kill him**.' [LWG tak]

There are no corpus examples of the 3>3.SC enclitic in relative clauses. It does not occur in subject relatives (because subject relatives do not have noun class agreement; §6.2.2.2) or in most object relatives (because the object is usually gapped in object relatives; Chapter 23.1.3).

[2]Note that although the subject proclitic in the 3(II/III/IV)>3 and 3(V)>3 cells has the segments [ɟa=], it has the tone of the subject proclitics – tone 1 for noun classes II/III/IV, and tone 4 for noun class V. If the [ɟa] segments were the object proclitic, the syllable would be tone 3 instead. Therefore, this is the subject proclitic, not the object proclitic.

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In the imperative clause type, one portmanteau proclitic expresses both imperative clause type and the object. It has the same form as the object proclitic found in main and subordinate clauses. There is no separate subject proclitic in an imperative with an object proclitic. (21) is an /a/-class imperative with an object proclitic, and (22) is an /i/-class one.

(21) *na3ʍe1*
na3=ʍe1
IMP>3.OBJ.A=shoot/blow
'Shoot/blow on it.' [LWG 2016.1.77]

(22) *a3mą1*
a3=mą1
IMP>3.OBJ.I=hit/kill.SGO
'Hit/kill it.' [YCG 2017.4.23]

The plural imperative is formed the same way with an object proclitic as without one. That is, the subject proclitic uses the 2PL.SBJ subordinate form, not the imperative form, and the verb undergoes the nominalizer tone circle, as shown for an /a/-class verb in (23).

(23) *pe1na3ʍę2*
pe1=na3=ʍe1=∅
2PL.SBJ.SC=3.OBJ=shoot/blow=NTC
'Y'all, shoot/blow on it.' [LWG 2025.1.98]

As an example of a specific verb with object proclitics, Tables 6.9 and 6.10 respectively give the full main clause and subordinate clause paradigms of the /a/-class verb *ʍe1* 'shoot, blow on' with an object proclitic. The imperative form of this verb has already been given in (21). In Table 6.10, the subordinate-clause form is triggered by a complement clause. The speaker who provided these forms, LCS, preferred to use a directional proclitic *i2=* in the subordinate-clause forms. The directional is not part of the verb's inflection, and other speakers produce and accept this verb with only argument proclitics.

#### 6.2.2.2 Interactions between subject proclitic reduction and use of 3>3.SC object enclitics

We already saw in (15) that when /a/-class subject proclitics are obligatorily deleted and /i/-class or /r/-class proclitics have noun class agreement suppressed, such as in subject relative clauses, *object proclitics* can still appear.

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Table 6.9: Main-clause paradigm of the /a/-class verb *ɱe1* 'shoot' with object proclitics (LCS 2016.1.68)

| Subject | Form |
|---|---|
| 1SG | tʃa3=na3=ɱe1 |
| 2SG | ku3=na3=ɱe1 |
| 3(I) | ta4=na3=ɱe1 |
| 3(II/III/IV) | na4=na3=ɱe1 |
| 3(V) | i4=na3=ɱe1 |
| 1INCL | ta4=na3=ɱe1 |
| 1EXCL | ta3=na3=ɱe1 |
| 2PL | pe3=na3=ɱe1 |

Table 6.10: Subordinate-clause (complement clause) paradigm of the /a/-class verb *ɱe1* 'shoot' with object proclitics (LCS 2016.1.68)

| Subject | Form |
|---|---|
| 1SG | i2=tʃa1=na3=ɱe̯2=ʔ (DIR=1SGSBJ.SC=3OBJ=shoot=SUB) |
| 2SG | i2=ku1=na3=ɱe̯2=ʔ |
| 3(I) | i2=ta1=na3=ɱe̯2=ʔ |
| 3(II/III/IV) | i2=na1=ɱe1=ã1=ʔ |
| 3(V) | i2=na4=ɱe1=ã1=ʔ |
| 1INCL | i2=∅=na3=ɱe̯2=ʔ |
| 1EXCL | i2=ta3=na3=ɱe̯2=ʔ |
| 2PL | i2=pe1=na3=ɱe̯2=ʔ |

In contrast, the unique 3>3.sc object *enclitics* do not appear in subject relatives, as shown by (24) and (25). This is because the 3>3.sc enclitic only occurs if the third-person subject belongs specifically to noun classes II, III, IV, or V (not class I). Since the verb of a subject relative doesn't agree in noun class (except on the relativizer), it doesn't meet this requirement.

(24) Context: 'Coffee (as a crop) sells for much less in Colombia.'
*na4mũ4ũ2ʔkɨ4 a4 na3to43gɨ5ʔĩ4*
na4-mũ4=ɨ2ʔkɨ4 a4 ✓∅=na3=to43=gɨ4=ʔĩ4
3.SBJ=many=info DET(IV) ✓SBJ.REL.A=3.OBJ=plant=PL=NMLZ(IV)
'There are a lot of people who plant it.' [Laura, LSC-VSC]

(25) Context: I see that someone has shot a huge spider monkey.
*nɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa3ɱa5ʔtʃa1ĩ1 i4 ŋe3ma3 du1ĩ3ʔĩ4 i4* ***✓na3ɱe̯2ʔĩ4 / *na1ɱe1ã1ʔĩ4***

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nɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=ʍa̰1=tʃa1ĩ1 i4 ŋe3ma3 du1ĩ3ʔĩ4 i4
3=ACC 1SGSBJ=meet=PROSP DET(IV) DEM.ANA(IV) person(IV) DET(IV)
✓∅=**na3=ʍe1=ʔĩ4** /
✓**SBJ.REL.A=3.OBJ=shoot=NMLZ(IV)** /
***na1=ʍe1=ã1=ʔĩ4**
***3.SBJ.SC.A=shoot=3>3.SC=NMLZ(IV)**
'I want to meet the person who shot it.' [Anon, 2026-02-08]

In fact, the 3>3.SC enclitics never appear on any verb where third-person noun class agreement is suppressed, even if the suppression is optional. For example, *=gu2* subordinate clauses can either have regular or subject-relative-like, reduced subject agreement. If a *=gu2* clause takes regular subordinate-clause agreement on the subject proclitic, it also takes a 3>3.SC enclitic (rather than an object proclitic) (26). If it takes the subject-relative form of the proclitic (without noun class agreement), however, then it instead takes the object proclitic (27).

(26) *Tu3pa4na1ã1ʔĩ5 a1ʔõ2gɨ4ã1gu2*
Tu3pa4na1=ã1ʔĩ5 a1=õ2=gɨ4=ã1=gu2
Christian.God=BEN 3.SBJ.SC.I=believe=PL=3>3.SC=COND
'when they came to believe in God' [LGC HALDI]

(27) *tau2tʃi4ã3 Ma3ri1 ŋe5a2 na3mu̯2ʔgu2*
tau2tʃi4ã3 Ma3ri1 ŋe5a2 ∅=na3=mu2=gu2
NEG+CNTF Mari DEM.DIST.ALL SBJ.REL.A=3.OBJ=send=COND
'if Mari doesn't send him there' [Veronica, LSC-VSC]

Object *proclitics* are only deleted in object relative clauses (Chapter 23.1.3). Given the other behavior of object proclitics (as discussed in §6.3) and the rest of the structure of relative clauses, this represents gapping, not suppression of agreement.

### 6.2.3 Oblique-object verbs

Oblique-object verbs are verbs which take two arguments, but mark the patient-like argument with a case other than the accusative. Most (but not all) oblique-object verbs also have at least one sense as an intransitive or typical transitive verb (generally a psych transitive). This sense usually has some semantic relationship with the oblique-object sense. Table 6.11 provides examples of oblique-object verbs that assign each oblique case, together with the intransitive or typical transitive use of each stem (if one exists). (28–30) provide examples of oblique-object verbs in context.

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Table 6.11: Examples of oblique-object verbs and the cases they assign

| Verb | Case Assigned | Gloss | Non-Oblique-Object Gloss and Case |
|---|---|---|---|
| ʎe4tʃa1ĩ1 | BEN | 'forgive' | 'love' (psych transitive), 'be sad' (intransitive) |
| dau2 | RCP | 'take care of' | 'see' (psych transitive) |
| ũ43 | RSLT | 'transform into, become' | 'go' (intransitive) |
| pą1 | ALL | 'hug' | –, no other senses (for most speakers) |
| ĩ3nɨ3 | LOC | 'think about' | 'hear, listen to' (psych transitive) |
| ʍą1 | COM | 'manage, administer' | 'know' (psych transitive) |
| ta4e3 | PURP | 'buy' | *ta4e3* (intransitive) 'buy and sell, do business' |

(28) There are no more Armored Catfish because...
*ta4ma3ɨ1kɨ2* ***nɨ31ʔna1*** ***na4dau2gɨ4*** *i4 du1ĩ3ʔĩ4gɨ4*
ta4ma3=ɨ1kɨ2 **nɨ31=na1** **na4=dau2=gɨ4** i4 du1ĩ3ʔĩ4=gɨ4
NEG=INFO **3(IV)=RCP** **3.SBJ=take.care.of=PL** DET(IV) person(IV)=PL
'People didn't **take care of them**.' [YCG HALDI 27:30]

(29) ***na43gu2*** ***tʃa3ri3ʔĩ3nɨ3tʃa1ĩ1*** *ta4 ai2ʔkɨ4ma4ã1kɨ2 ɟi1ʔĩ1ʔ*
**na43=gu2** **tʃa3ri3=ĩ3nɨ3=tʃa1ĩ1** ta4 ai2ʔkɨ4ma4=ã1kɨ2 ɟi1ʔĩ1ʔ
**3=LOC** **1SGSBJ=think=PROSP** FUT true=ADVBZ SC.FOC
'I want to **think about it**, whether it's true.' [Victoria, LFG-MFG-LVI]

(30) *na1ta5e1gu1gu2* ***ri3ã3*** *wɨ43ʔi4ne1 a1* ***motocarroką1*** *tʃi4* ***na4ta4e3*** *a1 I3tʃi3tu1wa5*
na1=ta5e1gu1=gu2 **rɨ3ã3** wɨ43ʔi4=ne1 a1
3.SBJ.SC=return.SG=SUB TOP one=NMLZ(III) DET(III)
**motocarro=ką1** tʃi4 **na4=ta4e3** a I3tʃi3tu1=wa5
**SP:motocar(III)=PURP** CNTF **3.SBJ=buy** DET(III) Iquitos(III)=ALL
'When he comes home (from working in Lima), he might **buy a motocar** in Iquitos.' [Laura, LSC-VSC]

Some verb roots have several different oblique-object uses with different cases. For instance, *dau2*, which means 'see' as a psych transitive, has three separate oblique-object uses. Per (28), with /a/-class subject marking and the recipient case on the object, this verb means 'take care of.' However, with /a/-class marking

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and the purposive case on the object, it means 'look for,' and with /i/-class subject marking and the locative case on the object, it means 'neglect, overlook.' Another example is *ta4e3*, which means 'buy' with the purposive case and 'sell' with the comitative case.

Oblique-object verbs are an example of differential object marking in that they have semantically patient-like arguments, but do not mark those arguments with the accusative case. However, there is no animacy- or noun class-based differential object marking *within* the class (in contrast to causative transitive verbs, Chapter 10). Oblique-object verbs always assign their given case to the patient-like argument. As (28–30) show, there is no variation in the assignment of the case by the animacy or noun class of the argument – for example, the inanimate object in (30) is still case-marked. Additionally, oblique-object verbs never realize their objects as proclitics, even if the object is a third-person Class II/III/IV pronoun and would therefore be realized as an object proclitic on a causative transitive. This is seen with the pronominal objects in (28) and (29).

In syntactic constructions that are sensitive to argument structure, Ticuna oblique-object verbs behave as syntactically intransitive – that is, they pattern with one-argument verbs and away from both psych transitive and causative transitive verbs. For example, unlike psych transitive verbs, oblique-object verbs cannot incorporate their objects under any conditions (Chapter 12.1.2.2.5).

When mentioning oblique-object verbs and their regular transitive counterparts in the text, I use the notation '*Verb Root* + CASE 'gloss" for the oblique-object verb, e.g. '*dau2* + RCP 'take care of." If the oblique-object verb needs to be contrasted with a typical transitive sense of the same verb, I use the notation '*Verb Root* + ACC 'gloss" for the typical form, e.g. '*dau2* + ACC 'see." Many further examples of oblique-object verbs appear in Chapter 9.2.

### 6.2.4 Interim summary: verb inflection

Ticuna verb roots are exhaustively divided into three conjugation classes, which I refer to as the /a/-class, /i/-class and /r/-class. Conjugation class membership is sometimes predictable for stems, but rarely predictable for roots, except if the root is a loan. Conjugation class determines the form of subject and object proclitics.

All three conjugation classes contain both intransitives and transitives. In addition to conjugation class, transitive verbs are further divided into two object syntax classes: causative verbs, which can take object proclitics, and psych verbs, which cannot. The /a/-class and /i/-class contain both kinds of transitives, but the

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/r/-class contains only psych transitives. Therefore, /r/-class verbs never have object proclitics.

Both subject and object proclitics interact with clause type. The language distinguishes between two primary clause types – main clauses and subordinate clauses. Subject proclitics agree with the subject in person; they also agree in number for first and second persons, and in noun class for third persons. Almost without exception, subject proclitics display different forms in main and subordinate clauses. Object proclitics come immediately after subject proclitics. They express only third person objects, and only for certain noun classes. They have the same forms in main and subordinate clauses, except for unique forms for certain subordinate-clause transitive verbs that involve two third-person arguments. Main clause and subordinate clause paradigms generally make the same number of person, number, and noun class distinctions. However, noun class agreement is obligatorily suppressed in subject relative clauses and can optionally be suppressed in other subordinate clause types.

Looking to interactions between proclitics, /a/-class verbs take the same subject proclitics regardless of the presence of an object proclitic. However, /i/-class verbs take /i/-class subject proclitics if, and only if, the subject proclitic is immediately adjacent to the verb root. If there is an object proclitic between the subject and root, then the subject proclitic takes the /a/-class form. Finally, looking to /r/-class verbs, most cells of the /r/-class subject proclitic paradigm are identical to the equivalent /a/-class proclitic followed by the syllable /rɨ3/. However, for the reasons discussed in §6.1.3.3, I analyze /r/-class proclitics as monomorphemic, not as derived from the /a/-class.

## 6.3 Basic clausal syntax

Before describing the basic clausal syntax, I want to note that – when a Ticuna clause includes two arguments as full noun phrases – at least one of them is normally topicalized or focused. People generally find examples with multiple NP arguments and no topicalization/focus to be somewhat unnatural, although they are acceptable. Both the topic construction (Chapter 28.1) and the syntactic focus construction (Chapter 24) involve fronting the topicalized/focused constituent.

This said, in the event that no constituent is topicalized or focused, the least morphologically marked order of constituents is S(O)V, as shown by (31) for an intransitive and (32) for a transitive. This order is least marked because it does not require using any additional agreement/pronouns or determiners.

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(31) *Bi3tu5 na4pa4e2ta3*
Bi3tu5 na4=pa4e2ta3
Victoria(IV) 3(IV).SBJ=play.music
'Victoria played (music).' [LWG 2025.1.129]

(32) *Bi3tu5 ta3ra5 i5na4tą1*
Bi3tu5 ta3ra5 i5=na4=tą1
Victoria(IV) machete VCL=3(IV).SBJ=discard.SG
'Victoria threw away the machete.' [LWG 2025.1.129]

While SV and SOV are the least marked constituent orders, VS and OVS are also possible, as shown in (33–34), and very common. However, they are slightly more morphologically marked than SV/SOV, because when the subject follows the verb, the subject must be introduced by a determiner (Chapter 13.2 ) which agrees with it in noun class (Chapter 7.2). There is no change to the preverbal portion of the clause.

(33) *na4pa4e2ta3 i4 Bi3tu5*
na4=pa4e2ta3 i4 Bi3tu5
3(IV)SBJ=play.music DET(IV) Victoria(IV)
'Victoria played (music).' [LWG 2025.1.129]

(34) *ta3ra5 i5na4tą1 i4 Bi3tu5*
ta3ra5 i5=na4=tą1 i4 Bi3tu5
machete VCL=3(IV).SBJ=discard.SG DET(IV) Victoria(IV)
'Victoria threw away the machete.' [LWG 2025.1.129]

In a transitive clause, moving the object to be after the verb is also possible (35). Like postverbal subjects, and in fact all postverbal noun phrases, the object must be introduced by a determiner with this constituent order. However, this movement does not really lead to an SVO constituent order, because a free pronoun or proclitic resuming the object then needs to occur before the verb root. The form of the resumptive pronoun/proclitic depends on the object syntax class of the verb and the person and noun class of the object (Chapter 10). In (35), the resumptive pronoun is a proclitic because the object belongs to noun class IV. In (36), on the other hand, the object belongs to noun class I, which uses a free word as the resumptive pronoun. Therefore, the order occurring with postverbal objects is more accurately described as SOVO than SVO.

(35) *Bi3tu5 i5na4*(na3)tą1 i4 ta3ra5*

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Bi3tu5 i5=na4=*(na3=)tɑ̨1 i4 ta3ra5
Victoria(IV) VCL=3(IV).SBJ=*(3(IV).OBJ)=discard.SG DET(IV) machete(IV)
'Victoria threw away the machete.' [LWG 2025.1.129]

(36) *Bi3tu5 rɨ1 tɨ31ʔĩ3 na4ɟa1ʔu2 ɟa4 tʃo31rɨ3 kɨ3ʔtʃi1*
Bi3tu5 rɨ1 tɨ31=ʔĩ3 na4=ɟau1ʔ ɟa4 tʃo31rɨ3 kɨ3ʔtʃi1
Victoria(IV) TOP 3(I)=ACC 3(IV).SBJ=receive DET(I) 1SG.POSS knife(I)
'As for Victoria, she got my knife.' [LWG 2024.1.64]

Objects which follow the verb cannot take the accusative case (37a), even if they have a person and number value – e.g. first-person singular – that always requires the accusative under the differential object marking rules. Therefore, the reason that postverbal objects require resumptive pronouns is presumably that the verb needs to assign the accusative case, and cannot assign it to postverbal constituents.

(37) a. **Bi3tu5 i5na4tɑ̨1 i4 tʃo31ʔĩ3*
*Bi3tu5 i5=na4=tɑ̨1 i4 tʃo31=ʔĩ3
*Victoria(IV) VCL=3(IV).SBJ=discard.SG DET 1SG=ACC

b. ✓*Bi3tu5 tʃo31ʔĩ3 i5na4tɑ̨1*
Bi3tu5 tʃo31=ʔĩ3 i5=na4=tɑ̨1
Victoria(IV) 1SG=ACC VCL=3(IV).SBJ=discard.SG
'Victoria left me, lit. threw me away.' [LWG 2025.1.129]

Orders where both the subject and the object appear after the verb are never found in the corpus, although it is difficult to say whether this is due to the order or due to the rarity of expressing two non-topic, non-focus arguments with noun phrases. In elicitation, Lilia rejected both strictly verb-initial orders, e.g. VSO (38), and orders where a resumptive object pronoun appears before the verb, i.e. OVSO and OVOS (39).

(38) **i5na4tɑ̨1 i4 [Bi3tu5 i4 tʃo31ʔĩ3 / tʃo31ʔĩ3 i4 Bi3tu5]*
i5=na4=tɑ̨1 i4 [Bi3tu5 i4 tʃo31=ʔĩ3 /
VCL=3(IV).SBJ=discard.SG DET(IV) [Victoria(IV) DET(IV) 1SG=ACC /
tʃo31=ʔĩ3 i4 Bi3tu5]
1SG=ACC DET(IV) Victoria(IV)]
(Intended reading: 'Victoria left me.') [LWG 2025.1.129]

(39) **i5na4na3tɑ̨1 i4 [Bi3tu5 i4 ta3ra5 / ta3ra5 i4 Bi3tu5]*

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i5=na4=na3=tạ1 i4 [Bi3tu5 i4
VCL=3(IV).SBJ=3(IV).OBJ=discard.SG DET(IV) [Victoria(IV) DET(IV)
ta3ra5 / ta3ra5 i4 Bi3tu5]
machete(IV) / machete(IV) DET(IV) Victoria(IV)]
(Intended reading: 'Victoria threw away the machete.') [LWG 2025.1.129]

OSV order is also unacceptable (40) and unattested.

(40) **ta3ra5 Bi3tu5 i5na4tạ1*
*ta3ra5 Bi3tu5 i5=na4=tạ1
*machete(IV) Victoria(IV) VCL=3(IV).SBJ=discard.SG
(Intended reading: 'Victoria threw away the machete.') [LWG 2025.1.129]

Table 6.12 summarizes the acceptable and unacceptable constituent orders in a sentence where no constituent is topicalized or focused. Note that some of the orders marked as unacceptable in Table 6.12, such as the verb-initial orders, *are* acceptable if the verb is being focused (Chapter 24.2).

Table 6.12: Possible and impossible constituent orders

| Order | Status | Note |
|---|---|---|
| SV | ✓ | No DETs required |
| VS | ✓ | DET must introduce subject |
| SOV | ✓ | No DETs required |
| SVO | × | Due to lack of preverbal copy of object |
| $SO_1VO_2$ | ✓ | $O_1$ copy of object must be proclitic or resumptive pronoun without DET. $O_2$ can be noun phrase. DET must introduce $O_2$. |
| OVS | ✓ | DET must introduce subject |
| OSV | × | |
| (O)VSO | × | |
| (O)VOS | × | |

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# 7 Nouns and noun types

As described in Chapter 5, nouns are words which can take case or possessive marking without any additional morphology. This chapter describes common nouns, while the following chapter describes pronouns.

Common nouns are divided into several cross-cutting categories. First, all nouns are either alienably or inalienably possessed (§7.1). Alienability (the status of a noun as alienable vs. inalienable) determines whether the noun is a prosodically independent word vs. a clitic. Second, nouns are exhaustively divided into five noun classes (§7.2). Noun class assignment is based on semantic, rather than phonological, properties of the noun. It controls concord on many constituents of the noun phrase and verb phrase. Third, nouns are also divided into mass vs. count (§7.3). Countability (status as mass vs. count) controls the noun's ability to combine with plural marking, nominal quantifiers, and quantificational verbs. Alienability, noun class, and countability do not seem to influence one another. For example, all noun classes contain both alienable and inalienable nouns, and include both mass and count.

As well as the noun class system described in §7.2, the language also has a small number of noun classifiers (§7.4). In terms of form, noun classifiers look almost identical to inalienable nouns. However, in §7.4, I show that it is possible to distinguish the two categories based on their behavior with quantifiers, in noun/classifier incorporation, and in certain nonverbal predicates.

## 7.1 Alienable vs. inalienable nouns

This section discusses the semantic makeup of alienable nouns, the evidence that they are prosodically independent words, and the possessive construction for alienable nouns (§7.1.1). Then, I describe the semantic domains of inalienable nouns, the evidence that they are *not* prosodically independent, and the different possessive construction for inalienable nouns (§7.1.2).

As well as participating in different possessive constructions, alienable and inalienable nouns also take different morphology in noun incorporation; in nonverbal possessive predicates; and in certain nonverbal predicate types that resem-

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ble noun incorporation. Chapter 12, especially §12.1.1.1, covers the differences between alienable and inalienable nouns in incorporation. Chapter 21, specifically §21.2 and §§21.4-21.5, describes the alienability differences in nonverbal predicates.

### 7.1.1 Defining alienable nouns and the alienable possession construction

Alienable nouns are semantically diverse. Their key defining characteristic is that they are acceptable in isolation. When produced in isolation, they display initial stress as defined in Chapter 3, indicating that they are independent prosodic words. (1) gives examples of alienable nouns in various semantic domains. All-borrowed nouns are alienable, regardless of their semantics. For example, (1c) is borrowed from Spanish and (1d) is borrowed from a Tupí-Guaraní language.

(1) a. *de31* ['de31] 'liquor'
b. *po3ʔi5* ['po31ʔi5] 'plantain'
c. *tʃa3pa3tu1* ['tʃa3pa3tu1] 'shoe'
d. *tʃi3ri3ma4ta1* ['tʃi3ri3ma4ta1] 'fish species (*Prochilodus nigricans*)'

When an alienable noun is possessed by another noun, the possessor takes the enclitic *=a1ɾi3*. The possessor*=a1ɾi3* constituent takes initial stress, as does the alienable noun, indicating that they are separate prosodic words (2).

(2) *ˈɟa31tɨ1a1ɾi3 ˈǫ1ʔi5*
ˈɟa31tɨ1=a1ɾi3 ˈǫ1ʔi5
man=POSS grandfather
'man's grandfather'
add cite in current style

If the possessor of an alienable noun is a pronoun, it appears in a special suppletive form which is unique to alienable possession (3). The complete alienable possession paradigm for pronouns is given in Chapter 8.

(3) *no51ʔɾi3 ǫ1ʔi5*
no51ʔɾi3 ǫ1ʔi5
3(II/III/IV).POSS grandfather
'his/her grandfather'

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If the possessor of an alienable noun is a complex noun phrase, the construction is the same as for a simple noun phrase. The possessive enclitic attaches to the last element of the possessor (4).

(4) *ɟi2ma4 ɟa31tɨ1 ɟa4 tʃo31ʔĩ3 ʎu̯1ʔẽ4ẽ2kɨ3**a1rɨ3** o̯1ʔi5*
ɟi2ma4 ɟa31tɨ1 ɟa4 tʃo31=ʔĩ3 ʎu̯1-ʔẽ4ẽ3=kɨ3=**a1rɨ3**
DEM.ANA(II) man(II) DET(II) 1SG=ACC learn-CAUS=NMLZ(II)=**POSS**
o̯1ʔi5
grandfather
'the grandfather of the man who teaches me'

### 7.1.2 Defining inalienable nouns and the inalienable possession construction

In contrast to alienable nouns, inalienable nouns belong to a smaller number of semantic domains. These include part terms (for parts of humans, plants, and inanimates); kinship and relationship terms; landscape terms; terms for close personal possessions (i.e., possessions worn on and near the body); non-part relational terms; and many terms for geographic features. Table 7.1 lists these semantic domains.

Table 7.1: Semantic domains of inalienable nouns

| Domain | Example Inalienable Nouns | |
|---|---|---|
| Human/animate body parts | *mẹ1* 'hand' | *e2ru4* 'head' |
| Plant parts | *a5tɨ1* 'leaf' | *tʃi2re4* 'seed' |
| Inanimate parts | *e4tɨ1* 'roof, top side/part of object' | *a̯1tɨ2* 'yard (of building)' |
| Kin terms | *e3ɟa̯1* 'sister' | *a3kɨ1* 'daughter, child (kinship relation)' |
| Non-kin relationships | *mɨ1kɨ3* 'companion, friend' | *ta3nɨ3ĩ1* 'relative; member of one's own ethnic group; teammate' |
| Landscape features | *ʔtɨ4* 'river' | *tɨ4ĩ1* 'creek' |
| Close personal possessions | *tʃa3gɨ1* 'necklace' | *pa̯1* 'skirt' |
| Non-part relational terms | *ta3nɨ3* 'price' | *e5ga1* 'name' |

Despite the trends in Table 7.1, the semantics of a noun do not absolutely determine its alienability or vice versa. On one side, some very prototypical inalienable nouns, such as body part terms and kinship terms, are alienable. For example,

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*ko4nɨ3* 'tongue,' *o̧1ʔi5* 'grandfather,' and *no31ʔẽ5* 'grandmother' are all alienable. Additionally, all borrowed nouns are alienable, even if they belong to semantic domains that are prototypically inalienable, such as kin terms. Thus, the words *ma3ma5* 'mother' and *pa3pa5* 'father' are alienable because they are borrowings from Spanish, and the word *tu3tɨ5* 'maternal uncle' is alienable because it is a borrowing from Omagua (Tupí-Guaraní). Going the other direction, some nouns which do not seem to have any relational semantics are nevertheless inalienable. Examples in this category include *ne1* 'weapon' and *bɨ2* 'starchy food; feed (of a domestic animal),' which are both inalienable.

The key defining characteristic of inalienable nouns is that they are *unacceptable* in isolation (5). Instead of appearing in isolation, an inalienable noun must always either be possessed by another nominal, such as the noun *ɟa31tɨ1* 'man' in (6), or be incorporated into a verb (see Chapter 12).

When inalienable nouns are licensed by nominal possessors (rather than by verbs), the possessive enclitic *a1rɨ3 does not* appear between the possessor and the possessed inalienable noun. There is one primary stress, and it falls on the initial syllable of the possessor.[1] This indicates that the possessor and inalienable noun form a single prosodic word.

(5) **ta4a2*
*grandchild
(Intended reading: 'grandchild')

(6) *ˈɟa31tɨ1ta4a2*
ɟa31tɨ1=ta4a2
man=grandchild
'man's grandchild'
add cite in current style

If the possessor of an inalienable noun is a *pronoun*, then it appears in a suppletive form which is unique to inalienable possession (7). (Chapter 8 gives the

[1]Similarly, when inalienable nouns are licensed by incorporation into verb stems, there is one stress, and it appears on the initial syllable of the verb stem, as shown in (i. See Chapter 3.5.1 for further details on stress assignment in verbs.

(i) *na4ˈtʃo̧1pa3tɨ4*
na4='tʃo̧1=pa3tɨ4
3.SBJ=white=NI:claw
'it has white claws'

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full paradigm of possessive pronouns.) There is still only a single stress, and it falls on the pronoun.

(7) *ˈna4ta4a2*
ˈna4=ta4a2
3(III/IV)=grandchild
'his/her grandchild'
add cite in current style

In contexts where an inalienable noun is semantically unpossessed, it takes a 'default possessor' morpheme in the same location where a pronominal or nominal possessor would normally appear. For example, the generic/hypernymic term *e3ĩ1* 'wild animal' is inalienable. Therefore, it appears with the default possessor morpheme in (8), which is a statement about the entire species as a kind. The default possessor morpheme, which has the underlying form *na43*, is in a minimal tone set with the 3(II) inalienable possessor, *na2*, and the 3(III/IV) inalienable possessor, *na4*. As the fact that this morpheme has a contour tone indicates, it is always stressed.

(8) *ai31 rɨ1 na31e3ĩ1 ni4ʔĩ4*
ai31 rɨ1 na43=e3ĩ1 ni4ʔĩ4
jaguar TOP DFLT.POSS=wild.animal 3.SBJ.COP
'Jaguars are wild animals / The jaguar is a wild animal.'
add cite in current style

Some inalienable nouns (e.g., landscape terms) are rarely syntactically possessed, and instead take the default possessor morpheme in most non-incorporated tokens.

If the possessor of an inalienable noun is a multiword noun phrase, the inalienable noun cliticizes to the last element of the possessor NP (9). As with other inalienable possessor types, there is no token of *=a1rɨ3* POSS between the possessor, which here is a relative clause, and the possessed inalienable noun, which here is *pa4te2e3* 'hat.'

(9) *ɟi2ma4 tʃo31ʔĩ3 ʎu̯1ẽ4ẽ2kɨ3**pa4te2e3***
ɟi2ma4 tʃo31=ʔĩ3 ʎu̯1-ẽ4ẽ3=kɨ3=**pa4te2e3**
DEM.ANA(II) 1SG=ACC learn-CAUS=NMLZ(II)=**hat**
'the **hat** of the one who teaches me'
add cite in current style

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Inalienable possession constructions can be described as compounds, since they involve building a single prosodic word (as defined by stress) which contain multiple roots – the possessor and the inalienable noun. Likewise, noun incorporation – the other context that licenses inalienable nouns – is a form of compounding, building a single PrWd with a verb root and one or more noun roots. Because inalienable possession and noun incorporation are the *only* contexts where inalienable nouns can appear, this means that inalienable noun roots *always* appear as the second (or third) member of a multi-root compound. There are no processes which allow them to appear either outside of compounding or as the first member of a compound. Therefore, because stress is always initial in the language, inalienable nouns are never stressed.

### 7.1.3 What drives the behavior of inalienable nouns – morphosyntax, or prosody?

Incompatibility with stress could be seen as either an effect of the morphosyntactic requirements of inalienable nouns, or as their cause. This is a theoretical question, not an empirical one, because the distinction between alienable and inalienable nouns is absolute. There are no nouns which can be used as both, and there are no processes which can clearly be analyzed as changing one class into the other.

Points supporting the view that the requirement for a possessor causes the lack of stress include that (a) the language has a very large number of enclitics and second-position clitics (Chapter 5.2.3.3). All of these clitics are unable to take stress, but most of them are able to attach to a wide range of hosts. Only inalienable nouns specifically require that the host is a possessor or an incorporating verb, which indicates that they are morphologically different from all other clitics. In addition, (b) consultants had no difficulty repeating inalienable nouns in isolation, suggesting that while this structure is ungrammatical, it is not phonologically illicit.

On the other hand, the main point supporting the view that incompatibility with stress (not morphology or syntax) causes inalienable nouns' need for a possessor is that, (a) outside of the *form* of possession and noun incorporation, there are very few morphological or syntactic differences between inalienable and alienable nouns. For example, both alienable and inalienable nouns can undergo noun incorporation; it is simply that alienable nouns require extra morphology to be incorporated. Likewise, (b) alienable and inalienable nouns appear to be equally full-fledged as nouns. Inalienable nouns control noun class agreement,

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can be of any noun class, can be of any animacy, can appear in any argument position, and so on.

## 7.2 Noun class

Ticuna nouns are exhaustively divided into five noun classes or genders. Noun class controls agreement, which targets both the noun phrase and the verb phrase. For most targets of noun class agreement, the form of agreement is suppletive (§7.2.1). Noun class also controls the behavior of nouns in differential object marking (Chapter 10).

For inanimate nouns, noun class assignment is based primarily on semantic properties of the referent, such as size and material (§7.2.2). There is significant sociolinguistic variation in the noun class assignment of some inanimates.

Human nouns are different. Except for human nouns formed with relativizers (which are triggers/targets of noun class agreement), any human noun can take the concord for up to three different noun classes. Noun class for human nouns conveys social information about the referent, such as honorification, rather than properties of the noun or kind (§7.2.3). There is limited, if any, sociolinguistic variation in the noun class system for humans.

Class IV is the language's default noun class. Evidence that Class IV is the default comes from abstract nouns, discourse deixis, and coordination (§7.2.4).

### 7.2.1 The five noun classes

The noun class system contains five noun classes, which I label with Roman numerals I through V. Table 7.2 provides examples of human and inanimate nouns of various semantic categories in each class. Because underived human nouns have no fixed noun class (§7.2.3), all human nouns shown here are nominalizations (subject relative clauses with a stative verb).

Allof the noun classes are open – you can derive new nouns from verbs using the relativizers for any noun class. Loanwords can also belong to any noun class. For example, all four of the mass nouns in Table 7.4 are loans, yet they belong to four different noun classes.

The noun class agreement properties of a noun phrase are determined by the noun class of its head noun. In a possessed noun phrase, the head, and therefore trigger of agreement, is the possessum, whether it is alienable or inalienable.

The targets of noun class agreement in the noun phrase are quantifiers, demonstratives, determiners, the word meaning 'other,' pronouns, and relativizers. The

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Table 7.2: Noun classes and example members of each class

| Noun Type | Example |
|---|---|
| | Class I |
| Animate | *bu3e3* 'baby' |
| | *pa1ʔe3* 'young woman' |
| Plant | *tʃi2ʔnɨ4* 'pineapple' |
| | *ku3pu5* 'copoazú (fruit sp)' |
| Other Inanimate | *wo3ru3a1* 'mirror' |
| | *ʎe1ri5* 'netbag' |
| Inalienable | *tʃa3gɨ1* 'necklace' |
| Mass Noun + Loanword | *di3ẽ3ru1* 'money' |
| | Class II |
| Animate | *bu3kɨ3* 'boy' |
| | *ʎe2tɨ̰1ʔɨ1kɨ3* 'young man' |
| Plant | *te5ma4* '*Mauritia flexuosa* (palm sp)' |
| | *ɟu3ra1* '*Iriartea deltoidea* (palm sp)' |
| Other Inanimate | *pe4ʔtʃi1* 'basket' |
| | *do51wɨ1* 'manioc bread' |
| Inalienable | *gɨ1* 'blood' |
| Mass Noun + Loanword | *ɟu3kɨ3ra1* 'salt' (< Tupí-Guaraní) |
| | Class III |
| Animate | n/a, no animates |
| Plant | *tɨ1e1* 'manioc' |
| | *ta31ʔi3* '*Pouteria caimito* (dicot tree sp)' |
| Other Inanimate | *ʎu31e3* 'canoe' |
| | *ka4ʔta1* 'housepost' |
| Inalienable | *mɛ̰1* 'hand' |
| Mass Noun + Loanword | *tɨ3pa3ka1* 'manioc starch' (< Tupí-Guaraní) |
| | Class IV |
| Animate | *du1ɨ̃3ʔɨ̃4* 'person' |
| | *pa1ʔɨ̃4* 'young woman' |
| Plant | *nai31* 'plant/tree, generic' |
| | *po3ʔi5* 'plantain, generic' |
| Other Inanimate | *ta3ra5* 'machete' |
| | *tʃo3ka1* 'bag' |
| Inalienable | *e2ru4* 'head' |
| Mass Noun + Loanword | *u3i1* 'manioc flour' (< Tupí-Guaraní) |
| | Class V |
| Animate | *bu31kɨ3* 'girl,' *pa4kɨ3* 'young woman' |
| Inanimate, Mass | n/a, only human nouns |

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targets in the verb phrase are subject proclitics, object proclitics, and the two existential verbs (which are identical to two of the nominal demonstratives).

Tables 7.4 and 7.5 show the complete inventory of items displaying noun class agreement, for every noun class. This paradigm contains certain gaps. For example, the Regional demonstrative refers only to regions of space and time periods. Because there are no nouns with these semantics in Class I or Class V, the Regional demonstrative has no forms for these noun classes.

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Table 7.4: Noun classes and noun class agreement targets

| Class | Class I | Class II | Class III | Class IV | Class V |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Example Noun | *kɨ3ʔtʃi1* 'knife' | *tʃe3ra1* 'handsaw' | *ʎu31e3* 'canoe' | *ta3ra5* 'machete' | *pa4kɨ3* 'young woman' |
| Noun Phrase Agreement Targets | | | | | |
| Demonstratives | | | | | |
| Speaker-Proximal | da$^{31}$ʔe$^{2}$ | da$^{2}$a$^{2}$ | da$^{31}$a$^{1}$ | ɲa$^{4}$a$^{2}$ | ɲa$^{43}$a$^{2}$ |
| Dyad-Proximal | ɟi$^{31}$ʔe$^{2}$ | ɟi$^{2}$a$^{4}$ | ɟi$^{2}$a$^{2}$ | ŋe$^{3}$a$^{2}$ | ŋe$^{43}$a$^{2}$ |
| Speaker-Distal | gu$^{31}$ʔe$^{2}$ | gu$^{2}$a$^{4}$ | gu$^{2}$a$^{2}$ | ɟe$^{4}$a$^{2}$ | ɟe$^{43}$a$^{2}$ |
| Regional | n/a | do$^{2}$ma$^{4}$ | do$^{31}$ma$^{2}$ | ɲo$^{4}$ma$^{4}$ | n/a |
| Multifunctional | ɟi$^{31}$ʔe$^{2}$ma$^{4}$ | ɟi$^{2}$ma$^{4}$ | ɟi$^{2}$ma$^{2}$ | ŋe$^{3}$ma$^{2}$ | ŋe$^{4}$ma$^{2}$ |
| Remote Past | gu$^{31}$ʔe$^{2}$ma$^{4}$ | gu$^{2}$ma$^{4}$ | gu$^{2}$ma$^{2}$ | ɟe$^{4}$ma$^{4}$ | ɟe$^{4}$ma$^{2}$ |
| Quantifiers | | | | | |
| 'ALL' | gu5=ʔe3 | gu5=kɨ3 | gu5=ʔĩ5ne1 | gu5=ʔĩ4 | gu̯1=kɨ3 |
| 'One' | wɨ43ʔi4ʔe3 | | | wɨ43ʔi4 | |
| Other NP constituents | | | | | |
| Determiner | | ɟa4 | ɟa1 | | i4 |
| 'Other' | to3gu5e3 | nai1 | nai5 | to1 | nai1 |
| Free pronoun stem | tɨ31 | | nɨ31 | | ŋi1 |
| Inalienable possessor | tɨ31ma2 | na2 | | na4 | ŋi1 |
| Indefinite object marker | tɨ31ʔne1 | =ne1 | =ne5 | =ta2 | =ne1 |
| Relativizer | =e3 | =kɨ3 | =ʔĩ5ne1 ~ =ne1 | =ʔĩ4 | =kɨ3 |

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Table 7.5: Noun classes and noun class agreement targets, continued

| Class | Class I | Class II | Class III | Class IV | Class V |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Example Noun | *kɨ3ʔtʃi1* ‘knife’ | *tʃe3ra1* ‘handsaw’ | *ʎu31e3* ‘canoe’ | *ta3ra5* ‘machete’ | *pa4kɨ3* ‘young woman’ |
| | | | Verb Phrase | | |
| 3.SBJ.MC proclitic, /a/-class verb | ta4= | | na4= | | i4= |
| 3.OBJ proclitic, /a/-class verb | n/a (pronoun) | na3= (doubles object) | na3= (no doubling) | | n/a (pronoun) |
| Existential verb | ɟi$^{31}$ʔe$^{2}$ma$^{4}$ | ɟi$^{2}$ma$^{4}$ | ɟi$^{2}$ma$^{2}$ | ŋe$^{3}$ma$^{2}$ | ŋe$^{4}$ma$^{2}$ |
| Remote past existential verb | gu$^{31}$ʔe$^{2}$ma$^{4}$ | gu$^{2}$ma$^{4}$ | gu$^{2}$ma$^{2}$ | ɟe$^{4}$ma$^{4}$ | ɟe$^{4}$ma$^{2}$ |

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In Table 7.4, note that most quantifiers, other than numerals, are formed by attaching a relativizer to a verbal or nominal stem (cf. Chapter 13.1). The relativizer comes from the regular paradigm of relativizers and displays noun class agreement. The forms of 'all' are one example of this structure, but it is the same with all other quantifiers.

### 7.2.2 Noun class assignment for non-human nouns

Noun class assignment is simplest for inanimate nouns. These appear in Classes I, III, III, and IV. There are no inanimates in Class V. Nouns for non-human animates generally follow the pattern of inanimate nouns. That is, they are assigned to a single noun class (e.g., all shellfish belong to Class I), rather than having noun class convey social information. However, non-human animates never belong to Class III. It contains only inanimates.

Inanimate nouns in Class I mostly denote small things that can be held in the hand (e.g. money, knives, axes, jewelry, mirrors, children's toys). Many of these referents are made of metal or glass. Some fruits, mostly sweet fruits that do not grow on dicot trees (e.g., pineapple, papaya, sweet plaintains), also belong to Class I. There are also semantically coherent groups of non-human animates in Class I. For example, all shellfish and snails belong to this class.

Inanimates in Class II include weather phenomena (e.g. wet season/flood), most time periods (month, year), all palm trees, and the produce of all palm trees. This class also includes most artifacts actually or historically made of palm wood, regardless of how they are made today. For example, the word *ɟu3ra1* refers to the palm species *Iriartea deltoidea*, which was historically used to manufacture flooring for raised houses (and is still used this way sometimes). However, due to semantic broadening, this word also means 'floor.' It can be used to refer to any floor, even if one which is made of a non-wood product like poured concrete; either way, it is still Class II. While using Class II agreement with non-human animates is acceptable, it rarely occurs and I am not aware of any semantic clusters of non-humans in this class.

Class III is much larger than I and II. This class includes all vehicles, all buildings, many building parts, and many place names. In the semantic domain of plants, it contains all woody/non-palm trees; most artifacts historically made from these trees; and most other edible plants. Additionally, Class III contains the names of most paired and multiple body parts, such as teeth, hands, legs, and eyes, and some non-paired body parts, such as the head, back, and tongue. It does not contain any animates.

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Class IV is the largest noun class. It contains all inanimate nouns that are not assigned to classes I, II, or III based on the semantic principles outlined above. It also contains all abstract nouns. Additionally, Class IV is the most common noun class used with non-human animates.

There are a handful of inanimate/non-human animate nouns which can participate in two noun classes, with different meanings depending on the noun class. One common example is *tʃo43ʔni5* 'fish,' which is Class I when it refers to dead food fish, but usually Class IV when it refers to live ones. Class I agreement can also be used with any inanimate noun to convey that the referent is very small or belongs to a child (i.e., using this agreement is akin to using a nominal diminutive). However, there are no nouns which display lexical splits in noun class agreement according to case or number.

Table 7.6 provides a summary of the assignment of inanimate nouns to classes, with examples.

Table 7.6: Inanimate nouns in each noun class

| Noun Class | Semantic Category |
|---|---|
| Class I | Plants: Sweet fruit |
| | Artifacts: Metal or glass |
| | Artifacts: Very small things; children's toys |
| Class II | Plants: Palms and their fruit |
| | Artifacts: Made from palms |
| | Time periods |
| | Weather phenomena |
| Class III | Plants: Dicot trees and their fruit |
| | Artifacts: Buildings |
| | Artifacts: Vehicles |
| | Artifacts: Made from non-palm wood |
| | Paired and multiple body parts |
| Class IV | All abstract nouns |
| | Inanimates not otherwise classified |

While every noun class in Ticuna has some semantic core, every class also contains some apparently arbitrary nouns which do not belong to any of the coherent clusters. For instance, the words *tɨ1e1* 'manioc' and *tɨ3pa3ka1* 'manioc starch' (< Tupi-Guaraní) are in Class III, with most other non-palm plants and plant products, but *do51wɨ1* 'manioc bread' is in Class II and *u3i1* 'manioc flour, farinha' is in Class IV.

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#### 7.2.2.1 Sociolinguistic variation in noun class assignment

There is *very* extensive sociolinguistic variation in which inanimates are assigned to which classes. This variation is structured by (a) noun and (b) speaker. As an example of variation across nouns, *ʎu31e3* 'canoe' (in Table 7.4 is very consistently Class III for all speakers, but the hypernym *nai31* 'tree' is sometimes Class III, other times Class IV.

Turning to variation within and across speakers, individual speakers usually are able to express metalinguistic judgments about which class is better (for them) for variable nouns, and people are always consistent within a single clause/noun phrase in the class to which they assign each noun. However, across clauses within a discourse, people often shift between different concord patterns with the same noun.

Intra-speaker variation can be seen in many examples within this work where the same referent displays different noun class agreement in successive clauses. For instance, in (10) Victoria is discussing a sack of rice. In the preceding discourse and in line (a), she refers to the rice with Class III agreement, which is the most common for the noun *a3ru4tʃu1* 'rice' (and most other grains). However, in line (b), she shifts to Class IV agreement. In the following discourse, beginning with line (c), she returns to Class III.

(10) a. ***ɟi2ma2*** *ɟa1 i̵3pa3ʔi1ra1 ri1a3ri1 ɲu̯1ʔgu2 pa31ʔa2 tʃo5ʔ na1gu5ʔ*
**ɟi2ma2** ɟa1 ĩ3pa3=ʔi1ra1 ri1=a3ri1 ɲu̯1ʔgu2 pa31ʔa2
**DEM.ANA(III)** DET(III) long.ago=sort.of TOP INFO when?
tʃo31=ʔi5 na1=gu̯1=ʔ
quickly 1SG=BEN 3.SBJ.SC=run.out=SUB
'**That (III)** (rice) that (I bought) long ago, I didn't run out of it quickly,

b. *ga4* ***ɟe3a2*** *di1ʔ*
ga4 **ɟe3a2** di1ʔ
DET.REM.PST **DEM.DIST(IV)** INTJ:look!
'**There it is (IV)**, look.'

c. ((four turns omitted))
*i3ʔĩ1* ***ɟi2ma2ʔĩ1ki2kạ1*** *tʃa3ta4e3*
i3ʔĩ1 **ɟi2ma2=ʔĩ1ki2=kạ1** tʃa3=ta4e3
INTJ:yes **DEM.ANA(III)=INFO=PURP** 1SG.SBJ=buy
'Uh-huh, I buy **that (III)** (rice).'

[Victoria, LVI-MFG-LFG]

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### 7.2.3 Noun class assignment for human nouns

Human nouns can take agreement for Classes I, II, IV, and V. However, they do not have underlying noun class, except if they are formed with relativizers. Instead, on human nouns, noun class agreement conveys features of the referent of that specific noun.

The two most common concord patterns for human nouns are Class I and Class IV. Class I agreement on human nouns is honorific. It conveys respect and/or affection for the referent. This agreement is most often used to talk about one's own relatives or friends, meaning that it generally picks up on the relationship between the speaker and the referent. But the agreement can also track the relationship between the referent and someone other than the speaker, such as the addressee or another person mentioned in the discourse. (11), where the speaker refers to his own wife with Class I agreement, is an example of the speaker-centered honorific use. (12), where the speaker is describing the plot of a telenovela (soap opera), is an example of the other-centered use. The speaker uses Class I agreement not because she has a close relationship to the wife in line (b), but because the male lead of the telenovela does.[2]

(11) *ri1 ti31ma2 ri1 Bufeocochawa5 ta4 ta4ʔũ43*
ri1 ti31ma2 ri1 Bufeococha=wa5 ta4 ta4=ũ43
and 3(I) and Bufeococha=ALL FUT 3(I).SBJ=go.SGS
'She (my wife) will also go to Bufeococha.' [SSG HALDI]

(12) a. *ɟa31ti3ʔĩ4 ri1ã3 ma3ri3 na4ɟu2ʔmą̰1tʃi4rę̰1, ã4ki5ʔĩ4 ɲa4a2gi5ʔ,*
ɟa31ti3ʔĩ4 ri1ã3 ma3ri3 na4=ɟu2=mą̰1=tʃi4rę̰1 ã4ki5ʔĩ4
man(IV) TOP PRF 3.SBJ=die=NI:wife=actually HESIT
ɲa4a2=gi4=ʔ
3.SBJ.SC.QUOT=PL=SUB
'As for the man (IV), he had lost his wife, or so he um thought,'

b. *tau4ʔ **ta4**ma4ʔã4ma4 a4 na4ʔmą̰1, ma3ri3 **ta4**ʎi43ʔtʃi4rę̰1*
tau4ʔ **ta4**=ma4ʔ=ã4ma4 a4 na4=mą̰1 ma3ri3
INFO **3(I).SBJ**=live=anyway DET(IV) 3=wife PRF
**ta4**=ʎi43ʔ=tʃi4rę̰1
**3(I).SBJ**=get.married=actually
'But in fact, his wife (I) was still alive, and in fact she (I) had gotten remarried.'

[2]Besides the honorific use of Class I, the human indefinite pronoun *te1ʔe5* 'who?' also always takes Class I agreement (Chapter 8.3).

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[C32CG, C31-C32 CCI]

Class IV agreement is the unmarked agreement for all human nouns. It encodes nothing about the referent's honorific status, maleness, or femaleness. This is by far the most common agreement for human nouns.

Class II and Class V concord patterns are also possible for human referents. When they do, Class II conveys that the referent is male and Class V conveys that they are female. However, contemporary Cushillococha speakers rarely use Class II with human reference and rarely use Class V at all.

### 7.2.4 Class IV is the default noun class

We have already seen in §7.2.2 that Class IV is the 'residue' noun class (Corbett 1991). Other than abstract nouns, it does not have a coherent semantic core. Instead, nouns go into this class if they do not meet the semantic criteria for being assigned to another noun class.

As well as being the home of the semantic residue, Class IV agreement is used in contexts where a form from an agreeing paradigm is required, but there is no head noun to trigger agreement. For example, Class IV demonstratives are used for propositional anaphora, as seen with the adverb *ɟe4ma4ã1kɨ2* 'thus' (< *ɟe4ma4* DEM.REM.PST(IV)) in (13a), the connective *ɟe4ma4we5na1* 'after that' in (13b), and the discourse marker *ŋe3ma2kɑ̰1* 'because of that' (< *ŋe3ma2* DEM.MULTI(IV)) in (14). Class IV forms are also used for reference to the ongoing discourse itself, for example when the speaker refers to her ongoing sermon as *gu5ʔĩ4ma3 i4 ɲa4a2* 'all of this (IV)' in (14).

(13) a. *kɨ³ **ɟe⁴ma⁴ã¹kɨ²** na⁴ɟu² ga⁴ ŋu⁵e³ẽ⁴ẽ³ta⁴e³ru⁵ĩ¹ ga⁴ Pastor Valencia Peña.*
kɨ³ **ɟe⁴ma⁴=ã¹kɨ²** na⁴=ɟu² ga⁴
INTJ **DEM.REM.PST(IV)=ADVBZ** 3.SBJ=die DET.REM.PST
ŋu⁵e³ẽ⁴ẽ³ta⁴e³=ru⁵ĩ¹ ga⁴ Pastor Valencia Peña
teach=Agent DET.REM.PST Pastor Valencia Peña
'So **in that way** the teacher Pastor Valencia Peña died.'

b. *rɨ¹ **ɟe⁴ma⁴**we⁵na¹ e²na⁴na³ʔɨ²gɨ⁴ ga⁴ ɟi²ma⁴ no³¹ʔri⁵ nɨ³¹ʔĩ³ tʃi¹ʔu²kɨ³.*
rɨ¹ **ɟe⁴ma⁴**=we⁵na¹ i²=na⁴=na³=ɨ²gɨ⁴ ga⁴
and **DEM.REM.PST(IV)**=after VCL=3.SBJ=3.OBJ=begin DET.REM.PST
ɟi²ma⁴ no³¹ʔri⁵ nɨ³¹=ʔĩ³ tʃi¹=u³=kɨ³
DEM.ANA(II) earlier.today 3=ACC 1SG.SBJ.SC=say=NMLZ(II)
'And **after that** they began, those (teachers) that I was just talking about.'

[SSG HALDI 9:48]

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(14) Context: 'Through her, the Holy Spirit told me what to say (i.e. today).'
***ŋe³ma²kạ¹ ni⁴¹ʔĩ⁴ gu⁵ʔĩ⁴ma² i⁴ ɲa⁴a² pe³¹ma⁴ã² nɨ³¹ʔĩ³ tʃi¹ʔu³ʔã⁴tʃi⁵ʔ.***
**ŋe³ma²**=kạ¹ ni⁴¹ʔĩ⁴ **gu⁵ʔĩ⁴ma² i⁴** **ɲa⁴a²** pe³¹=ma⁴ã²
**DEM.ANA(IV)**=PURP FOC **all(IV)** **DET(IV)** **DEM.PROX(IV)** 2PL=COM
nɨ³¹=ʔĩ³ tʃi¹=u³=ʔã⁴tʃi⁴=ʔĩ⁴
3=ACC 1SG.SBJ.SC=say=ACHV=SUB
'Because of **that**, I am telling you all of **this**.' [Ana's Sermon 20170604 31:11]

Class IV agreement is also used on verbs that have expletive arguments – for example, on the expletive subjects of weather verbs and deontic modals, such as (15).

(15) *ta4ã3* ***na4me43*** *tʃi31ʔri5 i5rɨ3tọ2ʔ*
ta4ã3 **na4=me43** tʃi31ʔri5 i5=rɨ3=to1=ʔ
NEG **3.SBJ=deontic.possibility** badly VCL=IMPERS.SBJ.SC=sit=SUB
'**It's not allowed** to sit down wrong.' [SCG, SCG-YCG-DGC]

The evidence from propositional anaphora and expletive agreement already suggests that Class IV is the default noun class. However, even clearer evidence to this effect comes from coordination. If you coordinate two nouns which belong to different noun classes, and then refer back to that set using an anaphor, the anaphor is Class IV. This holds even in contexts where neither of the nouns in the coordination was itself Class IV. For example, in (16), the initial NP contains a Class III noun, *ti1e1* 'manioc,' and a Class II noun, *te5ma4* 'palm fruit (of *Mauritia flexuosa*).' However, the anaphor in the second clause cannot be either Class III or Class II, *only* Class IV.

(16) *ti1e1 rɨ1 te5ma4kạ1 tʃa3ta4e3, rɨ1 na4ʔi5ta3nɨ3gɨ4ʔi5tʃi2ma3re3*
*[✓i4 ŋe3ma2 / *ɟa1 ɟi2ma2 / *ɟa4 ɟi2ma4] ta2ʔre4*
ti1e1 rɨ1 te5ma4=kạ1 tʃa3=ta4e3 rɨ1
manioc(III) and M.flexuosa(II)=PURP 1SG.SBJ=buy and
na4=i̯1=ta3nɨ3=gɨ4=ʔi5tʃi2=ma3re3 [✓i4 ŋe3ma2 / *ɟa1
3.SBJ=tiny=NI:price=PL=really=just [✓DET(IV) DEM.ANA(IV) / *DET(III)
ɟi2ma2 / *ɟa4 ɟi2ma4] ta2ʔre4
DEM.ANA(III) / *DET(II) DEM.ANA(II)]
'I bought manioc and palm fruit, and **they both** were dirt cheap.' [LWG 2018.1.154]

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## 7.3 Mass vs. count nouns

Nouns are also divided by countability, into mass nouns and count nouns. The countability of a noun determines whether it is compatible with plural marking (§7.3.1), with numerals (§7.3.2); and with certain other quantifiers and quantificational verbs (§7.3.3). For more detail on all of these topics, see Skilton (2021a), on which this section is based.

### 7.3.1 Only count nouns combine with nominal and verbal plurals

Ticuna has plural marking on both verbs and nouns. The only nominal plural marker is the plural enclitic *=gɨ4*, while verbal plural marking is more extensive. It includes both concatenative enclitics such as *=gɨ4* PL and *=tʃi1gɨ1* DISTRIB (Chapter 17), and number-based suppletion of certain verb roots (Chapter 16).

All forms of plural marking are acceptable with count nouns, and unacceptable with mass nouns. I show this first for the nominal plural, then for verbal plurals.

#### 7.3.1.1 Nominal plural

The nominal plural enclitic *=gɨ⁴* is acceptable with all *count* nouns, regardless of noun class, countability, or animacy. It is always optional. (17) provides examples of *=gɨ⁴* with inanimate, nonhuman animate, and human nouns. With human nouns, *=gɨ4* allows associative plural readings, as shown in (18).

(17) Context: I saw two lakes / chickens / people.
*[na⁴ʔ=ta⁴a²**(=gɨ⁴)**=ʔĩ³ / o³ta⁵**(gɨ⁴)**ʔĩ³ / du¹ĩ³ʔĩ⁴**(gɨ⁴)**ʔĩ³] tʃa³=dau²*
[na⁴ʔ=ta⁴a²**(=gɨ⁴)**=ʔĩ³ / o³ta⁵**(=gɨ⁴)**=ʔĩ³ / du¹ĩ³ʔĩ⁴**(=gɨ⁴)**=ʔĩ³]
[DfltPOSS=lake**(=PL)**=ACC / chicken**(=PL)**=ACC / person**(=PL)**=ACC]
tʃa³=dau²
1SG.SBJ=see
'I saw lakes/chickens/people.' [LWG, tca_20180625_lwg_ahs_elicit_001]

(18) *ta4wo1e1gu1ma3 **Ti3a1 E3ʔri5gɨ4***
ta4=wo1e1gu1=ma3 **Ti3a1 E3ʔri5=gɨ4**
3(I).SBJ=return.PL=INFO **SP:aunt E3ʔri5=PL**
'**Auntie E3ʔri5 and her family/companions** returned.' [Laura, LSC-VSC]

The nominal plural enclitic is generally not judged compatible with *mass* nouns, such as *ɟu3kɨ3ra1* 'salt' in (19).

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(19) *#**ɟu³kɨ³ra¹gɨ⁴**ʔĩ³ tʃa³dau²*
#**ɟu³kɨ³ra¹=gɨ⁴**=ʔĩ³ tʃa³=dau²
#**salt=PL**=ACC 1SG.SBJ=see
(Attempted: 'I saw **salts**.') [tca_20180625_lwg_ahs_elicit_001, tca_20180628_ksc_ahs_elicit_003]

At times, people did accept plurals on mass nouns. However, whenever consultants judged this structure acceptable, they also made comments that the plural mass noun referred to a set of contained portions of the substance. For example, *de43ʔa5* 'water' in (20) is a mass noun. When it takes the plural, it is only acceptable in the plural portion reading represented by the comment.

(20) *de⁴³ʔa⁵gɨ⁴ʔĩ³ tʃa³dau²*
de⁴³ʔa⁵=gɨ⁴=ʔĩ³ tʃa³=dau²
water=PL=ACC 1SG.SBJ=see
'I saw **waters**.'
KSC's comment: 'This would make sense if you saw many tanks of water.' [tca_20180628_ksc_ahs_elicit_003, tca_20180703_ycg_ahs_elicit_004]

All examples of mass nouns with nominal plurals in the corpus materials occur in contexts that clearly support the portion reading found in (20). For example, the noun *u3i1* 'farinha, manioc flour' is a mass noun. However, it is acceptable to use the noun with the plural when describing an event that involves selling many packaged portions of farinha, such as (21).

(21) Context: Talking about how Caballococha (provincial capital) did not have a produce market in the old days. Instead, Ticuna people would arrive in town with produce, sit beside the church, and wait for townspeople to come to buy.
***u³i¹gɨ⁴** rɨ¹ po³ʔi⁵gɨ⁴ ɟe⁴ma⁴ã¹kɨ² ni⁴¹ʔĩ⁴.*
**u³i¹** **=gɨ⁴** rɨ¹ po³ʔi⁵ =gɨ⁴ ɟe⁴ma⁴ã¹kɨ² ni⁴¹ʔĩ⁴
**manioc.flour**(IV) **=PL** and plantain =PL thus.REM.PST 3(IV).SBJ.COP
'It was like that (that they would sell) **manioc flours** and plantains.' [ABS HALDI]

#### 7.3.1.2 Verbal plurals

As described in Chapter 17, Ticuna has many verb roots which alternate between suppletive plural and singular forms depending on the number (or number and animacy) of the internal argument. Verb root number suppletion is acceptable

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even if the argument does not have the nominal plural. For example, in (22), the object of the verb 'transport' is *tʃo43ʔni5* 'fish.' It has no plural marking, but does have a plural referent. Therefore, 'transport' can appear as either its singular allomorph, *ʎe43*, or its plural allomorph, *na1*.

(22) Context: I want you to bring me several (dead) fishes.
*nu²a² tɨ³¹ʔɪ̃³ **[na1ʎe43 / na1na1]** ɟa⁴ tʃo⁴³ʔni⁵*
nu²a² tɨ³¹=ʔɪ̃³ [na1=**ʎe43** / na1=**na1**]
here.LOC 3(I)=ACC [IMP=**transport.INANSGO** / IMP=**transport.INANPLO**]
ɟa⁴ tʃo⁴³ʔni⁵
DET(I) fish(I)
'Bring me the fishes.' [tca_20180628_ksc_ahs_elicit_003]

Mass nouns are incompatible with the plural forms of number-suppleting verb roots, as shown in (23).

(23) Context: I dropped off a quantity of tapioca (dried manioc starch) at someone else's home. It was not packaged in bags or containers.
*#tɨ³pa³ka¹ ŋe⁵ma² tʃa³**wo¹***
#tɨ³pa³ka¹ ŋe⁵ma² tʃa³=**wo¹**
#tapioca there.ANA.ALL 1SGSBJ=**discard.PLO**
(Attempted: 'I left the manioc starches there.')
[tca_20180626_lwg_ahs_elicit_001]

Some consultants did accept sentences where mass noun objects combined with the PLO forms of number-alternating verbs. But when this happened, people invariably made comments indicating a reading of the mass noun object as referring to a plurality of portions of the substance (24). This is exactly the same pattern which we saw in §7.3.1.1 with attempts to use the nominal plural on mass nouns.

(24) *ʔde⁴³ʔa⁵ nu²a² **na¹na¹***
ʔde⁴³ʔa⁵ nu²a² na¹=**na¹**
ʔwater here.ALL IMP=**transport.INANPLO**
'Bring the waters here.'
YCG's comment: 'You could say this if the water was in bags.'
[tca_20180703_ycg_ahs_elicit_004]

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### 7.3.2 Only count nouns combine with numerals

The distribution of numerals also tracks with the count-mass distinction. As discussed in Chapter 13.1.3), numerals and other nominal quantifiers do not combine directly with nouns, but only with nouns that are introduced by determiners. Combining a numeral with a determiner plus count noun is always acceptable, whether the count noun is human (25a), nonhuman animate (25b), or inanimate.

(25) *na⁴ŋe²ʔma⁴ i⁴ ta²ʔre⁴ i⁴ **ʌe³ʔtɨ̨²ʔɨ̃⁴***
na⁴=ŋe²ʔma⁴ i⁴ ta²ʔre⁴ i⁴ **ʌe³ʔtɨ̨²ʔɨ̃⁴**
3.SBJ=be.in.place DET(IV) two DET(IV) **young.man**(IV)
'Two **young men** are there.'
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(26) *ta²ʔre⁴ i⁴ **tʃo⁴³ʔni⁵**ʔɨ̃³ tʃa³dau²*
ta²ʔre⁴ i⁴ **tʃo⁴³ʔni⁵**=ʔɨ̃³ tʃa³=dau²
two DET(IV) **fish**(IV)=ACC 1SG.SBJ= see
'I saw two **fish**.' [tca_20180703_ycg_ahs_elicit_004]

By contrast, consultants almost invariably rejected attempts to combine a numeral with a determiner plus mass noun, such as (27).

(27) *#ta²ʔre⁴ i⁴ **u³i¹**ʔɨ̃³ tʃa³dau²*
#ta²ʔre⁴ i⁴ **u³i¹**=ʔɨ̃³ tʃa³=dau²
#two DET(IV) **manioc.flour**(IV)=ACC 1SG.SBJ=see
(Attempted: 'I saw two **manioc flours**.')
[tca_20180625_lwg_ahs_elicit_001, tca_20180703_ycg_ahs_elicit_004]

Whenever consultants accepted structures like (27), they always made comments indicating a reading of the mass noun as denoting a culturally conventional portion of the substance. For instance, the consultant's comment in (28) offers two different examples of this portion reading of the mass noun *ka³pe⁴* 'coffee.'

(28) *ta²ʔre⁴ ɟa⁴ **ka³pe⁴** nu²a² pe³ʌe⁴³ a³ʔru⁵ɨ̃¹*
ta²ʔre⁴ ɟa⁴ **ka³pe⁴** nu²a² pe³=ʌe⁴³ a³ʔ=ru⁵ɨ̃¹
two DET(II) **coffee**(II) here 2PL=transport.INANSGO drink=PURP
'Y'all bring two **coffees** here, to drink.'
KSC's comment: 'You could say this to order two cups or two packets of (instant) coffee.' [tca_20180628_ksc_ahs_elicit_003]

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The universal quantifier *wɨ⁴³ʔi⁴tʃi¹gɨ¹* 'every' is derived from the numeral *wɨ⁴³ʔi⁴* 'one' with the distributive enclitic *=tʃi¹gɨ¹*. Like numerals, *wɨ⁴³ʔi⁴tʃi¹gɨ¹* 'every' cannot combine with mass nouns (29).

(29) ***#wɨ⁴³ʔi⁴tʃi¹gɨ¹*** *a⁴ ɟu³kɨ³ra¹ʔɨ̃³ tʃa³dau²*
**#wɨ⁴³ʔi⁴tʃi¹gɨ¹** a⁴ ɟu³kɨ³ra¹=ʔɨ̃³ tʃa³=dau²
**#every** DET(II) salt(II)=ACC 1SG.SBJ=see
(Attempted: 'I saw/examined **every** salt.')
[tca_20180625_lwg_ahs_elicit_001]

### 7.3.3 Mass vs. count nouns combine with different quantifiers and quantificational verbs

As discussed in Chapter 13.1.1, Ticuna has six positive quantifiers other than numerals.[3] They are *gu5ʔɨ̃4* 'all,' *nɨ31ma2ʔɨ̃4* 'partitive some,' *mu1ʔɨ̃4* 'many,' *no31ʔre5* 'few,' *ɲu̯1ʔre5* 'how many/a few,' and *wɨ43ʔi4tʃi1gɨ1* 'every' (discussed in the last section).

'All' and 'some' are compatible with mass nouns, as shown by (30) and (31).

(30) ***gu⁵ʔɨ̃⁴ma³*** *i⁴ de⁴³ʔa⁵ rɨ¹ na⁴gu̯¹tʃi⁴ɨ³*
**gu⁵ʔɨ̃⁴ma³** i⁴ de⁴³ʔa⁵ rɨ¹ na⁴=gu̯¹=tʃi⁴ɨ³
**all**(IV) DET(IV) water(IV) TOP 3(IV).SBJ= cold =CLF:liquid
'**All** of the water is cold.' [tca_20170605_lwg_ahs_elicit_002]

(31) Context: You mixed white and yellow manioc flour together.
***nɨ³¹ma²ʔɨ̃⁴*** *i⁴ u³i¹ rɨ¹ na⁴tʃo̯¹*
**nɨ³¹ma²ʔɨ̃⁴** i⁴ u³i¹ rɨ¹ na⁴=tʃo̯¹
**SOME**(IV) DET(IV) manioc.flour(IV) TOP 3(IV).SBJ= white
'**Some** of the manioc flour is white.' [tca_20170601_ecp_ahs_elicit_001]

The other three quantifiers which combine with count nouns – *mu¹ʔɨ̃⁴(ma³)* 'many,' *no³¹ʔre⁵* 'few,' and *ɲu̯¹ʔre⁵* 'how many?' – are not acceptable with mass nouns. Instead, these three quantifiers alternate with quantifiers which are specific to mass nouns. I now discuss each of the three count noun-specific quantifiers and their mass noun equivalents.

First, (32) demonstrates that the quantifier *mu¹ʔɨ̃⁴(ma³)* 'many' is not acceptable with mass nouns, except on the coerced portion reading represented by the comment.

[3] See Chapter 20.3.4.1 on negative quantification.

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(32) ***mu¹ki³ma³*** *ɟa⁴ na³¹gɨ¹*
**#mu¹ki³ma³** ɟa⁴ na43=gɨ¹
**#many**(II) DET(II) DFLT.POSS=blood(II)
(Attempted: '**many** bloods')
LWG's comment: 'But a lab tech could say this, talking about many test tubes of blood.' [tca_20180625_lwg_ahs_elicit_001]

Instead of *mu¹ʔĩ⁴(ma³)* 'many,' mass nouns are quantified with the quantifier *ta³¹ʔĩ⁴* 'a lot.' Like 'many,' *ta³¹ʔĩ⁴* 'a lot' undergoes noun class agreement. In (33), it appears in the form for noun class II.

(33) ***ta³¹ki³*** *ɟa⁴ na³1gɨ¹*
**ta³¹ki³** ɟa⁴ na43=gɨ¹
**a.lot/big**(II) DET(II) DFLT.POSS= blood(II)
'**a lot** of blood' [tca_20180625_lwg_ahs_elicit_001]

With count nouns, *ta³¹ʔĩ⁴* 'a lot' is not interpreted as a quantifier – even when it occurs in the prenominal position usually reserved for quantifiers, as in (34). Rather, when used to modify a count noun, the word means 'big': that is, it is interpreted as a property concept term conveying size.

(34) ***ta31=ʔĩ⁴*** *i⁴ du¹ĩ³ʔĩ⁴*
**ta43=ʔĩ⁴** i⁴ du¹ĩ³ʔĩ⁴
**a.lot/big**=NMLZ(IV) DET(IV) person(IV)
'a **big, i.e. fat**, person'
**Not**: 'a lot of people' [tca_20180625_lwg_ahs_elicit_001]

Morphologically, *ta³¹ʔĩ⁴* 'a lot, big' is a nominalization of the verb root *ta⁴³*. This verb root may also be used as a predicate. When predicated of a count noun, *ta⁴³* is simply a stative verb meaning 'be big.' By contrast, when predicated of a mass noun, *ta⁴³* is interpreted as a quantificational existential verb meaning 'be abundant,' as shown in (35).

(35) Context: Describing a flood.
*na⁴**ta⁴³**ʔi⁵tʃi²* *i⁴ de⁴³ʔa⁵*
na⁴=**ta⁴³**=ʔi⁵tʃi² i⁴ de⁴³ʔa⁵
3(IV).SBJ=**a.lot/big**=really DET(IV) water(IV)
'**There was a lot** of water.'
add cite in current style

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Parallel to *ta³¹ʔɨ̃⁴* 'a lot, big,' the count noun-specific quantifier *mu¹ʔɨ̃⁴(ma³)* 'many' is also a nominalization, derived from the verb root *mu⁴* 'be numerous' (cf. Table 13.1). This verb, like the verb *ta⁴³* 'be abundant,' also functions as a quantificational existential verb. While *ta⁴³* 'be abundant' takes a mass noun subject, *mu⁴* 'be numerous' takes a count noun subject (36).

(36) Context: Describing what Cushillococha's fish stocks were like in the 1960s-1970s.
*to³ma³ka³tʃi¹gɨ⁴ rɨ¹ na⁴**mu⁴***
to³ma³ka³tʃi¹=gɨ⁴ rɨ¹ na⁴=**mu⁴**
Colossoma.macropomum(IV)=PL TOP 3(IV)=**many**
'**There were many** tambaqui fish.' [Elvira, ebu]

Thus, the mass noun-specific quantifier *ta³¹ʔɨ̃⁴* 'a lot' and its verbal root *ta⁴³* 'be big, be abundant' behave exactly parallel to the count noun-specific quantifier *mu¹ʔɨ̃⁴* 'many' and its verbal root *mu⁴* 'be numerous.' In each pair, the derived form functions as a noun phrase quantifier, and the underived (verb root) form acts as a quantificational existential verb.

Next, I look to *no³¹ʔre⁵* 'few.' This quantifier is also unacceptable with mass nouns (37), except if the mass noun is coerced to a portion reading, as indicated by the comment.

(37) *#**no³¹re⁵kɨ³** ɟa⁴ ɟu³kɨ³ra¹*
#**no³¹re⁵=kɨ³** ɟa⁴ ɟu³kɨ³ra¹
#**few=NMLZ(II)** DET(II) salt(II)
(Attempted reading: '**a few** salts')
LWG's comment: 'But you could say this if someone asked you how many bags of salt you had.' [tca_20180625_lwg_ahs_elicit_001]

Instead of *no³¹ʔre⁵* 'few,' mass nouns are quantified with *i⁵¹ra³ʔɨ̃⁴* 'a little' (38).

(38) ***i⁵¹ra3kɨ³** ɟa⁴ ɟu³kɨ³ra¹*
**i⁵¹ra1=kɨ³** ɟa⁴ ɟu³kɨ³ra¹
**a.little/small=NMLZ(II)** DET(II) salt(II)
'**a little bit** of salt' [tca_20180625_lwg_ahs_elicit_001]

The quantifier *i⁵¹ra³ʔɨ̃⁴* 'a little,' exactly like its mass-quantifying counterpart *ta³¹ʔɨ̃⁴* 'a lot,' is derived from a lexical verb. This verb root is *i⁵¹ra¹*, which means 'small' when predicated of or modifying a count noun. *i51ra1* 'small' does not have quantificational reading with count nouns, even when it occurs prenominally, in the syntactic position where a quantifier would appear (39).

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(39) a. ***i⁵¹ra³ʔḭ̃⁴*** *i⁴ ĩ³¹a¹ne¹a³kɨ¹wa⁵ rɨ¹,*
**i⁵¹ra³ʔḭ̃⁴** i⁴ ĩ³¹a¹ne¹-a³kɨ¹=wa⁵ rɨ¹
**a.little/small(IV)** DET(IV) town(IV)-Dim=ALL TOP
'In a **small** town (**not**: in a few towns),'

b. *wɨ⁴³ʔi⁴ i⁴ ã³e̱¹ga³kɨ³ du¹ḭ̃³ʔḭ̃⁴gɨ⁴ka̱¹ ŋe³ma²gu² rɨ¹, gu⁵ʔḭ̃⁴ma³ i⁵na⁴ʎu³gɨ⁴.*
wɨ⁴³ʔi⁴ i⁴ ã³e̱¹ga³kɨ³ du¹ḭ̃³ʔḭ̃⁴ =gɨ⁴ =ka̱¹ 0= ŋe³ma²
one DET(IV) leader(IV) person =PL =PURP 3(IV).SBJ.SC= call.for
=gu² rɨ¹ gu⁵ʔḭ̃⁴ma³ i⁵= na⁴= ʎu³ =gɨ⁴
=SUB TOP all(IV) IPFV= 3(IV).SBJ= arrive =PL
'When a political leader calls the people (to have a community meeting), everyone comes.'
(But in bigger towns, they don't.) [SSG, iia]

When *i⁵¹ra¹* 'small' is predicated of a mass noun, it functions as a quantificational existential verb 'be little, i.e. not be abundant' (40).

(40) Context: Describing a stream at the height of dry season.
*na⁴ʔi⁵¹ra¹ʔi⁵tʃi² i⁴ de⁴³ʔa⁵*
na⁴ʔ=**i⁵¹ra¹**=ʔi⁵tʃi² i⁴ de⁴³ʔa⁵
3(IV).SBJ=**a.little/small**=really DET(IV) water(IV)
'**There's very little** water.' [DGG Yard Description]

Thus, the quantifier *i⁵¹ra³ʔḭ̃⁴* 'a little' exhibits the same pattern as the quantifier *ta³¹ʔḭ̃⁴* 'a lot' with respect to the contrast between mass and count nouns. Both items express quantification when combined with mass nouns, but size when combined with count nouns. This contrast extends to the verb roots from which the items are derived. The verb roots *i⁵¹ra¹* 'be small, little (quantity)' and *ta⁴³* 'be big, abundant' behave as quantificational existential verbs with mass subjects, but express size with count subjects.

The final quantifier which is not compatible with mass nouns is *ŋu̱¹ʔre⁵* 'how many?', as shown in (41a). As with other quantifiers, coercion to a portion reading renders the item acceptable with mass nouns, per (41b).

(41) ***ŋu̱¹ʔre⁵*** *i⁴ de⁴³ʔa⁵ na⁴baldegu²?*
**ŋu̱¹ʔre⁵** i⁴ de⁴³ʔa⁵ na⁴=balde=gu²?
**how.many** DET(IV) water(IV) 3(IV).SBJ=SP:bucket=LOC
'**How many** waters are in the bucket?'

a. Unacceptable if the bucket is filled with uncontained water [volume reading of mass noun]

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b. Acceptable if the bucket is filled with individual bottles of water [portion reading of mass noun]

[tca_20170624_ssg_ahs_elicit_001]

In lieu of *ɲu̱¹ʔre⁵* 'how many?,' questions about the quantity of mass nouns are asked with the quantifier *(na³)ɲu̱¹ʔra³ɨ̃³ʔɨ̃⁴* 'how much?,' as in (42).

(42) Context: A bucket is filled with uncontained water.
***na³ɲu̱¹ʔra³ɨ̃³ʔɨ̃⁴ i⁴ de⁴³ʔa⁵ na⁴ŋe²ʔma⁴ i⁴ baldewa⁵?***
**na³ɲu̱¹ʔra³ɨ̃³ʔɨ̃⁴** i⁴ de⁴³ʔa⁵ na⁴=ŋe²ʔma⁴ i⁴
**how.much(IV)** DET(IV) water(IV) 3(IV).SBJ=be.in.place DET(IV)
balde=wa⁵
SP:bucket=ALL
'**How much** water is in the bucket?' [tca_20170624_ssg_ahs_elicit_001]

The quantifier *(na³)ɲu̱¹ʔra³ɨ̃³ʔɨ̃⁴* 'how much?' is a nominalized form of the interrogative stem *ɲu̱¹ʔ* 'how' plus the verbalizer *ra³ɨ̃¹* 'be the size/shape/color/age of an X.' This interrogative stem is described in Chapter 27 and the verbalizer is described in Chapter 15. They are *not* derived from *ɲu̱¹ʔre⁵* 'how many?.' 'How many' is simply another derivative of *ɲu̱¹* 'how.'

## 7.4 Classifiers

This section discusses the basic morphosyntactic properties of classifiers (§7.4.1), the properties that allow us to distinguish classifiers from inalienable nouns (§7.4.2), and last, the inventory of classifiers (§7.4.3).

### 7.4.1 Basic morphosyntax of classifiers

Noun classifiers are morphologically very similar to inalienably possessed nouns. They cannot appear in isolation (43). Instead, they appear mainly in quantificational noun phrases and incorporated into verbs. In a quantificational noun phrase, the classifier can appear on either the quantifier (44) or the noun (45). Phrases where the classifier appears directly on the noun usually have a conventional reading involving the noun+classifier constituent, in this case 'stick' (not any stick-shaped plant part).

(43) *me³na²ʔã³
CLF:stick
(Intended reading: 'stick, elongate cylindrical object')

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(44) *wo5e3ma3* ***veinteme3na2ʔã3*** *a4 de4ʔne1 i5na3ʔą̃ų̃1*
wo5e3=ma3 **veinte=me3na2ʔã3** a4 de4ʔne1 i5=na3=ą̃ų̃1
simply=INFO **SP:20=CLF:stick** DET(II) cane(II) VCL=IMP>3.OBJ=grind
'In the meantime, grind 20 stalks of (sugar)cane.' [CG7, C3-C7 2019 CCI]

(45) *ta4ma3 wa31ʔi5 wɨ43ʔi4 i4* ***nai31me3na2ʔã3*** *ŋẽ2ʔma4 ki1ŋu2??*
ta4ma3 wa31ʔi5 wɨ43ʔi4 i4 **nai31=me3na2ʔã3**
NEG CONT.FOC one DET(IV) **tree=CLF:stick**
ŋẽ2ʔma4 ki1=ŋu3=ʔ
there.ADDRPROX.LOC 2SG.SBJ.SC=insert=SUB
'Why don't you put **a stick** in there?'
add cite in current style

It is possible, but very unusual, for classifiers to appear in a non-quantificational noun phrase. (46) is the only clear example in the corpus out of ~200 classifier tokens.

(46) *ŋe5ma2ʔã3 na4 ŋe4ʔgu2ã3 ã4kɨ4 i5tʃa3dau2 ta4, ã4kɨ5ne1,* ***mu3tu3ru1pi3ta3***
ŋe5ma2=ʔã3 na4 ŋe4ʔgu2ã3 ã4kɨ4 i5=tʃa3=dau2 ta4
there.ANA.ALL=REP COMP then HESIT VCL=1SG.SBJ=see FUT
ã4kɨ4=ne1 **mu3tu3ru1=pi3ta3**
HESIT=NMLZ(III) **motor=CLF:chunk**
'I'm going to go and check on the thing there, the um, **boat motor**.'
[Laura, LSC-VSC]

Outside of quantification, classifiers normally appear incorporated into verbs, as in (47). Chapter 12.3 discusses classifier incorporation in detail.

(47) ***na4ʔi51ra1pi1ʔi3*** *na2tɨ4rɨ4 na4mai2ku4ra2*
**na4=i51ra1=pi1ʔi3** na2tɨ4rɨ4 na4=mai2ku4ra2
**3.SBJ=small=CLF:round** but 3.SBJ=sweet
'It's small (CLF:round) but it's sweet [speaking of a fruit].' [DGG Yard Description 15:08]

### 7.4.2 Classifiers vs. inalienable nouns

Inalienable nouns share all of the properties that I have given so far for classifiers. That is, inalienable nouns also do not appear in isolation, can encliticize to

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nouns, can be incorporated into verbs, and form one prosodic word with their host (noun or verb). Therefore, classifiers initially appear to be a type of inalienable noun. Further evidence that classifiers are nouns on syntactic criteria (not only morphological criteria) is that, if a quantifier+classifier constituent is the last element in the noun phrase, it can take a case marker. This occurs with the purposive case marker *=kạ1* in (48).

(48) ***ta2ʔre4pi1ʔi3kạ1*** *ta4 tʃa3ta4e3*
**ta2ʔre4=pi1ʔi3=kạ1** ta4 tʃa3=ta4e3
**two=CLF:round=PURP** FUT 1SG.SBJ=buy
'I'm going to buy two (watermelons).' [discussion of C34 CCI]

Although classifiers resemble inalienable nouns, various syntactic and semantic properties show that they are two different types of morpheme. The most significant diagnostics of status as a noun vs. classifier are (a) readings of the noun with the verb *ã3* 'have, use, wear' and (b) readings of incorporation into verbs.

First, the verb *ã3* 'have, use, wear' (described in Chapter 21.2.1) occurs only with inalienable nouns/classifiers and obligatorily incorporates them. When this verb combines with an inalienable noun, the predicate means 'have an Inalienable Noun' (49–50). When a classifier participates in it, the predicate means 'be of the shape classified by Classifier' (51–52). The shape reading is not available to inalienables, and the possession reading is not available to classifiers.

(49) *na⁴ʔã³e²ru⁴*
na⁴=ã³=e²ru⁴
3.SBJ=have=head
a. 'She/he/it has a head.'
b. #'It is shaped like a head.'
[SSG 2017/06/11]
add cite in current style

(50) *na⁴ʔã³pa⁴te²ʔe³*
na⁴=ã³=pa⁴te²ʔe³
3.SBJ=have=hat
a. 'S/he has a hat; s/he is wearing a hat.'
b. #'It is shaped like a hat.'
[SSG 2017/06/11]
add cite in current style

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(51) *na⁴ʔã³pɨ¹ʔɨ³*
na⁴=ã³=pɨ¹ʔɨ³
3.SBJ=have=CLF:sphere
'It is spherical.' [SSG 2017/06/11]
add cite in current style

(52) *na⁴ʔã³me³na²ʔã³*
na⁴=ã³=me³na²ʔã³
3.SBJ=have=CLF:1D.cylinder
a. 'It is long and cylindrical.'
b. #'S/he has a long cylindrical object (e.g. a stick).'
[ABS 2017/06/20]
add cite in current style

Looking to incorporation, incorporation of an *inalienable noun* into an intransitive verb is always interpreted as possessor raising. That is, it involves alternations between (a) structures where the inalienable noun is free, possessed by another noun phrase, and acts an argument of the verb (53a), vs. (b) structures where the same noun is incorporated into the verb; there is no longer any possessive morphology; and the possessor of the incorporated noun occupies the former argument position of the noun (53b). This is discussed in much greater detail in Chapter 12.

(53) a. *ta4ma3 tʃa3pu3ra3k+4 e3rɨ4 tʃau1ne3 na4rɨ3ʌu31*
ta4ma3 tʃa3=pu3ra3k+4 e3rɨ4 tʃau1=ne3 na4rɨ3=ʌu31
NEG 1SGSBJ=work because 1SG=son 3.SBJ=fall.SG
'I'm not working because my son took a fall.' [ECP 2017.2.38]

b. *ta4ma3 tʃa3pu3ra3kɨ4 e3rɨ4 tʃa3rɨ3ʌu31ne3*
ta4ma3 tʃa3=pu3ra3kɨ4 e3rɨ4 tʃa3rɨ3=ʌu31=ne3
NEG 1SGSBJ=work because 1SGSBJ=fall=NI:son
'I'm not working because I had my son take a fall.' [ECP 2017.2.38]

In contrast, incorporation of a *classifier* into an intransitive verb is not possessor raising. The classifier is not interpreted as a possessum of the argument. Instead, it *characterizes the argument of the verb* in terms of shape, as shown in (54).

(54) *ta2ʔre4 ɟa1 na3ra4ɲa1 na4rɨ3ɟi31pɨ1ʔɨ3*

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ta2ʔre4 ɟa1 na3ra4ɲa1 na4rɨ3=ɟi31=pɨ1ʔɨ3
two DET(III) orange(III) 3.SBJ=fall.PL=CLF:round
'Two oranges (CLF:round) fell.' [LWG 2024.1.80]

Incorporation also provides other diagnostics of the classifier/inalienable noun distinction. For example, when a verb incorporates both an inalienable noun and a classifier, the order of the two incorporates is fixed (Chapter 12.3.2), but when a verb incorporates two inalienable nouns, their order is *not* fixed (Chapter 12.1.1.5).

The distinction between classifiers and inalienable nouns is not completely absolute, because a few morphemes can be used as both. For example, the classifier *pa3ra1* 'tube' is also a part term 'leg' and the classifier *tʃi4ɨ3* 'liquid' is also an inalienable noun 'drink made from [possessor].' However, besides these two, other classifiers have no uses as inalienable nouns and no other obvious lexical/grammaticalization source.

### 7.4.3 Inventory of classifiers

The inventory of classifiers in Ticuna is very small compared to other Amazonian languages with noun classifier systems (e.g. Tukanoan languages, Bora; see Thiesen & Weber 2012, Farmer 2015). Table 7.7 is a full list of the morphemes which are currently tagged as classifiers in my lexical materials.

Over half of all tokens of classifiers in the corpus are tokens of *pɨ1ɨ3* 'CLF:round,' and it occurs only 81 times. Behind this classifier, *e3ma3* 'immaterial,' *mɨ1* 'undifferentiated mass,' *me3na2ã3* 'stick,' *pa3ra1* 'tube,' *pɨ3ta3* 'chunk,' *tʃa3ra1* 'undifferentiated mass,' and *tʃi4ɨ3* 'liquid' all occur more than 10 times. None of tother other classifiers occur more than 6 times. Thus, as well as being much smaller than the classifier systems of other languages of the region, Ticuna classifiers are also much less token-frequent.

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Table 7.7: Inventory of classifiers

| Classifier | Gloss | Paraphrase | Examples of classified entities |
|---|---|---|---|
| e3ma3 | CLF:immaterial | perceptible but intangible | steam, smoke, electricity, smells, lights |
| me3na2ã3 | CLF:stick | small, thin cylinder | broomstick, piece of firewood, pencil, manioc tuber |
| mɨ1 | CLF:mass | undifferentiated mass | clothes, mud, puree, dough, intact skin |
| pa3ra1 | CLF:tube | large, wide cylinder | plantain, column in building, leg |
| pe3nɨ3 | CLF:1D.curved | one-dimensional but curved | hood of car, back of caterpillar, fire fan with sides bent down |
| pɨ1ɨ3 | CLF:round | spherical | marble, melon, head |
| pɨ3ta3 | CLF:chunk | compact, three-dimensional | bar of soap, belly, hair bun |
| ta4tʃi3nɨ1 | CLF:plank | two-dimensional, squarish | unbent fire fan, side of meat, sawed lumber |
| tʃa3ra1 | CLF:mass | undifferentiated mass | identical referents to *mɨ1* |
| te1e3 | CLF:powder | powder | manioc flour, powdered soap |
| tʃi1nɨ1 | CLF:2D.round | two-dimensional and round | coins |
| tʃi4 | CLF:pointed | has a pointed tip | obelisk |
| tʃi4ɨ3 | CLF:liquid | liquid | blood, contained water, body of water, pus |

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# 8 Pronouns

This chapter covers personal pronouns (§8.1); impersonal or generic uses of pronouns (§8.2); indefinite/interrogative pronouns (§8.3); and hesitation forms (§8.4).

Pro-verbs and pro-predicates exist in Ticuna, but mostly involve the quotative verb and are discussed in Chapter 22. Demonstratives are clearly different from personal pronouns for reasons discussed in §8.1, and are covered in Chapter 13.3. Negative indefinite pronouns like *nothing* are covered in Chapter 20.3.4.1.

## 8.1 Personal pronouns

Ticuna has six personal pronouns: first-person singular, first-person inclusive, first-person exclusive, second-person singular, second-person plural, and third person. The third-person pronoun does not encode number, but it does undergo agreement for noun class: the forms distinguish class I vs. class II vs. classes III/IV (always a single form) vs. class V.

There is no gender or noun class agreement on the non-third-person pronouns. Instead, when non-third person pronouns combine with targets of NP-internal noun class agreement – that is, determiners, quantifiers, or demonstratives – the agreement targets take the form for either noun class IV (determiners, quantifiers) or noun class I (demonstratives).

As detailed in the next section, pronouns undergo suppletive allomorphy conditioned by their case or other enclitics, and they always appear with at least one enclitic. The only allomorph which allows us to see all person, number, and noun class distinctions is the inalienable possession allomorph. Therefore, Table 8.1 lists the pronouns by person, number, noun class, and inalienable possession form. Note that the 3(II) form and 3(III/IV) form are a minimal tone pair.

### 8.1.1 Case on pronouns

Pronouns are bound roots and cannot occur in isolation. They must bear either a case marker, an inalienably possessed noun, or another clitic – such as the the reflexive/reciprocal marker *=gɨ1*, or a lexical clitic like *=i5ra1* 'first' or *=rɨ5ĩ1* 'like' – following the stem, as shown in (1). In citation form, as well as when they occur

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Table 8.1: Paradigm of personal pronouns

| Pronoun | Inalienable Possession Stem |
|---|---|
| 1SG | tʃau1 |
| 2SG | ku3 |
| 1Incl | ta31 |
| 1EXCL | to31 |
| 2PL | pe3 |
| 3(I) | tɨ31ma2 |
| 3(II) | na2 |
| 3(III/IV) | na4 |
| 3(V) | ŋi1 |

in positions where a noun would not have case (e.g., topic position, postverbal positions), pronouns take the enclitic *=ma2* (2).

(1) **tʃo31*
*1SG
(Intended reading: 'me') [LCS 2016.1.22]

(2) *tʃo31ma2*
tʃo31=ma2
1SG=TOP
'me' [LCS 2016.1.22]

Whatever marker is adjacent to the pronominal stem conditions the form of the stem. Each pronoun has four different stem allomorphs: the stem for primarily grammatical cases, the stem for primarily spatial cases, the inalienable possession stem (which we have already seen in Table 8.1), and the alienable possession stem. The four stems are not overall predictable from each other.

The *grammatical-case* stem appears in the citation form and when the pronoun bears a lexical enclitic such as *=i5ra1* 'first.' In the citation/topic form, the grammatical-case stem has its underlying tones, as shown in the second column of Table 8.2. The same stem appears in the accusative, beneficiary, and recipient cases. However, in these primarily grammatical cases, the pronominal stem loses its underlying tones. They are replaced by Tone 31, as shown in the right three columns of Table 8.2.

There is no distinction between the 3(II) and 3(III/IV) pronouns in forms derived from the grammatical-case stem. There is also one irregularity in the paradigm, which involves the 1Incl pronoun. This pronoun has the stem *ɟi1e2* in the topic/citation

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form (*ɟi1e2=ma3*), but only *ɟi1* in other environments (e.g., with lexical enclitics) where the topic/citation form normally appears. Additionally, the 1Incl pronoun has different segments in grammatical cases – where the stem is *ti̱31*, same as the 3(I) pronoun – than in the citation/topic form.

Table 8.2: Forms of pronouns: citation/topic and grammatical-case stems

| Pronoun | Forms | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Citation/Topic | ACC | BEN | RCP |
| 1SG | tʃo1 | tʃo31=ʔĩ3 | tʃo31=ʔĩ5 | tʃo31=ʔna1 |
| 2SG | ku1 | ku31=ʔĩ3 | ku31=ʔĩ5 | ku31=ʔna1 |
| 3(I) | ti̱31 | ti̱31=ʔĩ3 | ti̱31=ʔĩ5 | ti̱31=ʔna1 |
| 3(II/III/IV) | ni̱31 | ni̱31=ʔĩ3 | ni̱31=ʔĩ5 | ni̱31=ʔna1 |
| 3(V) | ŋji1 | ŋji31=ʔĩ3 | ŋji31=ʔĩ5 | ŋji31=ʔna1 |
| 1Incl | ɟi1 | ti̱31=ʔĩ3 | ti̱31=ʔĩ5 | ti̱31=ʔna1 |
| 1EXCL | to3 | to31=ʔĩ3 | to31=ʔĩ5 | to31=ʔna1 |
| 2PL | pe3 | pe31=ʔĩ3 | pe31=ʔĩ5 | pe31=ʔna1 |

The stem for *primarily spatial cases* appears in the allative, locative, comitative/instrumental, and purposive cases. This stem is the same as the grammatical-case Tone 31 stem for the first- and second-person pronouns, as shown in Table 8.3. However, for the third-person pronouns, it is different in segments and does not have (only) Tone 31.[1] There is no distinction between 3(II) and 3(III/IV) pronouns in this stem.

There is an irregularity in the 1SG form of the purposive case. It is usually *tʃau1ʔka̱1*, with the inalienable possession segments and tones, rather than the expected **tʃo31ʔka̱1*. However, the form *tʃo1ʔka̱1* (with the stem segments leveled to the grammatical-case segments) does appear in the corpus. There are also corpus examples of people producing the locative and allative as *tʃau1gu2* and *tʃau1wa5*, leveling in the opposite direction (from the purposive to the other spatial cases). However, I do not have examples of the /tʃau1/ stem being extended to the comitative case.

The *inalienable possession* stem has already been shown in Table 8.1, as this stem makes the greatest number of distinctions (by contrasting 3(II) and 3(III/IV) forms). Pronouns have a separate stem for *alienable possession.* The alienable-possession stem is the same as the grammatical-case stem in the 1SG, 2SG, 1EXCL,

[1] In Table 8.3, the appearance of tone 31 on the 3(II/III/IV) purposive form is due to the process of tone 43 assimilation. It is not irregular.

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Table 8.3: Spatial-case forms of pronouns

| Pronoun | Forms | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | ALL | LOC | COM | PURP |
| 1SG | tʃo31=wa5 | tʃo31=gu2 | tʃo31=ma4ã2 | tʃau1=ʔkạ1 |
| 2SG | ku31=wa5 | ku31=gu2 | ku31=ma4ã2 | ku31=ʔkạ1 |
| 3(I) | tɨ31ma2=wa5 | tɨ31ma2=gu2 | tɨ31ma2=ma4ã2 | tɨ31ma2=ʔkạ1 |
| 3(II/III/IV) | na43=wa5 | na43=gu2 | na43=ma4ã2 | na31=ʔkạ1 |
| 3(V) | ŋi31=wa5 | ŋi31=gu2 | ŋi31=ma4ã2 | ŋi31=ʔkạ1 |
| 1Incl | ta31=wa5 | ta31=gu2 | ta31=ma4ã2 | ta31=ʔkạ1 |
| 1EXCL | to31=wa5 | to31=gu2 | to31=ma4ã2 | to31=ʔkạ1 |
| 2PL | pe31=wa5 | pe31=gu2 | pe31=ma4ã2 | pe31=ʔkạ1 |

2PL and 3(V) pronouns; the same as the inalienable and spatial-case stem in the 3(I) pronouns; and different from all other stems in the 3(II), 3(III/IV), and 1Incl pronouns. Table 8.4 shows the inalienable (again) and alienable possession forms of each pronoun. Note that as well as the 3(II) vs. 3(III/IV) inalienable stems, the 1Incl and 1EXCL alienable stems also form a minimal tone pair.

Table 8.4: Possessive forms of pronouns

| Pronoun | Inalienable Possessor | Alienable Possessor |
|---|---|---|
| 1SG | tʃau1 | tʃo31=ʔrɨ3 |
| 2SG | ku3 | ku31=ʔrɨ3 |
| 3(I) | tɨ31ma2 | tɨ31ma2=rɨ3 |
| 3(II) | na2 | no51=ʔrɨ3 |
| 3(III/IV) | na4 | no51=ʔrɨ3 |
| 3(V) | ŋi43 | ŋi31=ʔrɨ3 |
| 1Incl | ta31 | to51=ʔrɨ3 |
| 1EXCL | to31 | to31=ʔrɨ3 |
| 2PL | pe3 | pe31=ʔrɨ3 |

Note the recipient case, purposive case, and alienable possession forms include a glottal stop following the pronominal stem for all of the monosyllabic pronouns. For the recipient case and purposive case, this is because the case enclitic undergoes a regular syllable-counting allomorphy where it has an initial glottal stop when adjacent to the stressed syllable, and does not have one when adjacent to unstressed syllables. For the alienable possession forms, however, the glottal stop does not come from regular allomorphy, as the alienable possession enclitic for other nouns (including monosyllabic nouns) is *=a1rɨ3*, not *=(ʔ)rɨ3*.

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Demonstratives (Chapter 13.3) and indefinite pronouns do not share any of the case behavior of personal pronouns, because (1) demonstratives and indefinite pronouns are acceptable in isolation, and (2) their stems do not vary with case. Additionally, third-person object pronouns alternate with object proclitics as described in Chapter 10, but demonstrative objects (as well as indefinite pronoun objects) do not alternate in this way. Therefore, demonstratives and third-person pronouns are two different (and in fact, unrelated) morphosyntactic categories.

### 8.1.2 Reflexive/reciprocal pronouns

Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns are derived by adding the reflexive/reciprocal enclitic *=gɨ1* to the citation/topic stem of the relevant pronoun. For example, *nɨ31* '3(II/III/IV)' has the reflexive *nɨ31gɨ1* and *ɟi1(e2)* '1Incl' has the reflexive form *ɟi1gɨ1*. There is no formal distinction between reflexive and reciprocal pronouns.

When a reflexive/reciprocal pronoun appears in a position where a noun would be assigned the accusative case, it takes the reflexive/reciprocal marker, but there is *no* accusative marker following. This is shown for the object of an underived causative transitive, *dai2* 'hit, fight, kill.PLO', in (3a); for the object of a psych transitive in (3b); and for the object of a derived causative transitive *wai2ʔ-ɛ̃4ɛ̃3* 'make wet' in (3c).

(3) a. *ko3ri5tʃi4a1ne1 ni4* ***nɨ31gɨ1*** *dai2ʔĩ4*
ko3ri5=tʃi4a1ne1 ni4 **nɨ31=gɨ1** dai2=ʔĩ4
white.person=nation FOC **3=REFL** fight.PLO=SUB
'They are fighting **each other** in the Europeans' country (Ukraine).' [LVI, LFG-MFG-LVI]

b. ***nɨ31gɨ1*** *ɱa5ʔe2ʔĩ4 me31ʔ ni4*
**nɨ31=gɨ1** ɱą1-e3=ʔĩ4 me31ʔ ni4
**3=REFL** know-PL=SUB EPIST FOC
'They must (epistemic) know **each other**.' [MFG, LFG-MFG-LVI]

c. ***nɨ31gɨ1*** *ni4wai2ʔɛ̃4ɛ̃3ma3re3 a4 ŋe3ma2ʔ*
**nɨ31=gɨ1** ni4=wai2-ʔɛ̃4ɛ̃3=ma3re3 a4 ŋe3ma2
**3=REFL** 3.SBJ=be.wet-CAUS=just DET(IV) DEM:MULTI(IV)
'That one near you (a child) is just getting **themself** wet.' [YCG, SGC-DGC-YCG]

When a reflexive/reciprocal pronoun appears in a position where a noun would have an oblique case, it bears the oblique case marker following the reflexive/reciprocal *=gɨ1* (4). The opposite order is ungrammatical (5).

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(4) *ɲu1ʔkɨ4 ta4 **nɨ31gɨ1ma4ã2** na4ʔĩ43gɨ4 ɟi1ʔĩ4*
ɲu1ʔkɨ4 ta4 **nɨ31=gɨ1=ma4ã2** na4=ĩ43=gɨ4 ɟi1ʔĩ4
EPIST FUT **3=REFL=COM** 3.SBJ=go.PLS=PL FOC.SC
'Maybe they'll run away together (lit. **with each other**).' [CG7, C3-C7 CCI]

(5) **pe31ma4ã2gɨ1 / ✓pe31gɨ1ma4ã2 pi3de43ʔa2gɨ4*
*pe31=ma4ã2=gɨ1 / ✓pe31-gɨ1=ma4ã2 pi3=de43ʔa2=gɨ4
*2PL=COM=REFL / ✓2PL=REFL=COM 2PL.SBJ=talk=PL
'You guys talked **to each other**.' [LWG 2017.2.55]

## 8.2 Impersonal/generic use of the first person inclusive pronoun

The 1Incl pronoun and 11ncl verb inflections have two different uses. This pronoun can refer to a group of people which includes the speaker and addressee (1 + 2) and can also include third persons (1 + 2 + 3). However, it can also refer to people in general (6) or to all members of a group of people. For example, the 1Incl pronoun and verbs with 1Incl (zero) inflection in (7) refer to women in general, not people in general.[2]

(6) Context: Benefits of moving temporarily to Lima for work
*to51rɨ3 mo3to1 wi31ʔi5, to51rɨ3 ne5ta4e2ʔĩ4 e3rɨ4 pu3ra3kɨ4 na4ta31ta3nɨ3ʔĩ1ra1*
to51rɨ3 mo3to1 wi31ʔi5 to51rɨ3
1INCL.POSS motorcycle(II) CONT.FOC 1INCL.POSS
ne5=∅=ta4e3=ʔĩ4 e3rɨ4 pu3ra3kɨ4
some(III)=1INCL.SBJ.SC=buy=SUB because work
na4=ta31ta3nɨ3=ʔĩ1ra1
3.SBJ=expensive=sort.of
'(Getting) **your (generic)** motorcycle, on the other hand – **you (generic) can buy yourself** one (lit. you can buy yours), because the work is pretty well-paid.' [Laura, LSC-VSC]

(7) Context: A woman is complaining to her father about the pain in her hands, which she believes is caused by touching hot and cold objects in succession

[2]Use of second-person singular and third-person verb forms with impersonal human subjects also occurs in the corpus.

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*ɟi1ʔe2ma4 ni4ʔĩ4 ʎe3ʔĩ4 rɨ1, ni4ʔĩ4 pu3ra3kɨ5ʔĩ4 rɨ1, de43ʔa5ʔĩ3 ni4ʔĩ4 dau31ʔĩ4*
ɟi1ʔe2ma4 ni4ʔĩ4 ∅=ʎe31=ʔĩ4 rɨ1 ni4ʔĩ4
1INCL.TOP FOC 1INCL.SBJ.SC=be.female=SUB TOP FOC
∅=pu3ra3kɨ4=ʔĩ4 rɨ1 de43ʔa5=ʔĩ3 ni4ʔĩ4 ∅=dau43=ʔĩ4
1INCL.SBJ.SC=work=SUB TOP water=ACC FOC 1INCL.SBJ.SC=touch=SUB
'As for **you (generic)**, when **you're (generic) a woman**, when **you're (generic) working**, **you (generic) touch** (hot) water.' [RGW, Conversation 20170527b, 3:10]

The 1Incl is used not only for impersonal/generic human subjects, but also for impersonal verb inflection with no overt pronominal subject, as in (8); for impersonal objects (9); and for impersonal oblique objects or adjuncts, as in (10).

(8) *ɲu̯1ʔma5ʔĩ5tʃi2ma3, na4 i2ɟa1ʔe3a1ne3ʔĩ4 rɨ1, ta2ʔu2ã1kɨ2ma3 ŋe5ma2* ***ta4ʎu3***
ɲu̯1ʔma5=ʔĩ5tʃi2=ma3 na4 i2=ɟa1=e3-a1ne1=ʔĩ4
now=really=INFO COMP VCL=3.SBJ.SC=fall.water.level-AREALARG=SUB
rɨ1 ta2ʔu2ã1kɨ2=ma3 ŋe5ma2 **ta4=ʎu3**
TOP impossible=INFO there.ANA.ALL **1INCL.SBJ=arrive**
'Now that the water level has fallen, **you (generic) can't get** there.' [YCG HALDI]

(9) Context: 'It's important to take care of (the skin on) your face.'
*ŋe3ma2ã1kɨ2 e3ga4 i1ʔã3pa4te2e3gu2 nu2ʔa2ĩ1ra1 ã4kɨ5ʔĩ4, tau4ʔ ɨ2ą1ʔkɨ2 na43wa5* ***tɨ31ʔĩ3*** *i1gu3ʔĩ4*
ŋe3ma2ã1kɨ2 e3ga4 i1=ã3=pa4te2e3=gu2 nu2ʔa2=ĩ1ra1
thus if 1INCL.SBJ.SC=wear.inal=hat=COND here.LOC=sort.of
ã4kɨ4=ʔĩ4 tau4ʔ ɨ2ą1ʔkɨ2 na43=wa5 **tɨ31=ʔĩ3** i1=gu31=ʔĩ4
HESIT=SUB NEG sun 3=ALL **1INCL=ACC** 3.SBJ.SC=burn=SUB
'If you (generic) wear a hat like that here (i.e. wear a hat that has a brim), the sun doesn't **burn you (generic)** like that.' [CG27, C27 CCI]

(10) *messenger=wa5* ***tɨ31ʔna1*** *na1ka1gɨ4gu2 a4 wɨ43ʔi4 i4 du1ĩ3ʔĩ4 rɨ1 a3rɨ1 videollamada=kɨ5ra1ĩ1 ni4*
messenger=wa5 **tɨ31=na1** na1=ka1gɨ4=gu2 a4 wɨ43ʔi4 i4
Messenger=ALL **1INCL=RCP** 3.SBJ.SC=call=COND DET(IV) one DET(IV)
du1ĩ3ʔĩ4 rɨ1 a3rɨ1 videollamada=kɨ5ra1ĩ1 ni4
person(IV) TOP INFO SP:video.call=INFER 3.SBJ.COP
'When a person **calls you (generic)** on Messenger (formerly Facebook Messenger), it can be a video call.' [Veronica, LSC-VSC]

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The impersonal 1Incl does not need to include the speaker *or* the addressee. For example, in (7) the pronoun does not include the addressee because he is male, and in (6) it does not include the speaker, who has no plans to work in Lima.

There are no differences in pronominal form or the form of verb proclitics between the true first-person inclusive (1+2) use of the 1Incl and the impersonal use. However, there are differences in verbal number. If a verb has obligatory number marking in the plural, for example because it is a number-suppleting verb root (Chapter 16) or it takes the plural argument suffix *-e3* (Chapter 17), then a true 1+2 use of the 1Incl will count as plural and require the plural form of the verb root/stem. For example, (11) requires the plural form of 'go,' *ĩ43*, rather than the singular form, *ũ43*, because the subject is a true first-person inclusive.

(11) Context: Encouraging someone to leave with you
*ŋi51ã3, ngɨ3ɨ1ɨ1, ŋi51ã3, ŋe5ma2* ***ta4ʔĩ43***
ŋi51ã3 ngɨ3ɨ1ɨ1 ŋi51ã3 ŋe5ma2 **ta4=ĩ43**
INTJ:let's.go INTJ:yes INTJ:let's.go there.ANA.ALL **1INCL.SBJ=go.PLS**
'C'mon, yes, c'mon, **let's go** there.' [LVI, AFG-LVI]

In contrast, impersonal uses of the 1Incl *never* take the plural form of the verb root/stem. For example, in (12), both the verb *ɨ31e3* 'get in vehicle.SGS' and the verb *ũ43* 'go.SG' undergo obligatory number suppletion with plural first- and second-person subjects (to the forms *tʃo31ĩ1* 'get in vehicle.PL' and *ĩ43* 'go.PL,' respectively, as seen in 11). However, in (12), both verbs display the singular form of the root despite the '1Incl' subject.

(12) Context: 'If you (generic) want to go somewhere and your husband won't take you...'
***ti4ʔɨ31e3*** *rɨ1 ŋe5ma2* ***ta4ʔũ43***
**ti4=ɨ31e3** rɨ1 ŋe5ma2 **ta4=ũ43**
**1INCL.SBJ=get.in.vehicle.SGS** and there.ANA.ALL **1INCL.SBJ=go.SGS**
'You (generic) should **get in** a boat/car and you (generic) should **go** there.' [YCG, YCG-DGC-SCG]

The 1Incl form is *not* used for pronouns that are bound by the human indefinite *te1ʔe5* 'who?, someone, anyone.' Instead, pronouns that are coreferential with *te1ʔe5* and other human indefinite expressions take the 3(I) form, as discussed in §8.3.1.

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## 8.3 Indefinite pronouns

There are three main series of indefinite pronouns: the unmarked indefinites *tą2ʔkɨ4* 'what?/who?' and *te1ʔe5* 'who?' (§8.3.1); the choice indefinite *ʎe1ʔɨ̃4rɨ4ɨ2ʔɨ̃4* 'which one?/any' (§8.3.2); and the indefinite object pronoun *=ta2* 'a/some' (8.3.3).

Negation can scope either over or under indefinite pronouns, as discussed in Chapter 20.1.4. Although regular indefinites can be read as negative indefinites under the scope of negation, the usual negative indefinite pronouns are nominalized forms of the negative existential verb *tau2ʔ*. These are described in Chapter 20.3.4.1.

### 8.3.1 Unmarked indefinite pronouns *tą2ʔkɨ4* 'what?/who?' and *te1ʔe5* 'who?'

There are two basic indefinite pronouns: *tą2ʔkɨ4* 'something/what; someone/who,' which can be human or non-human, and *te1ʔe5* 'someone/who,' which always has human reference. They can function as either interrogative pronouns or indefinites. There are no obligatory syntactic differences between uses of these pronouns in content questions vs. indefinite declaratives. For example, (13) can be interpreted as either. *te1ʔe5* always triggers Class I agreement, as shown by the verbal agreement in (13).

(13) Context: I'm showing a group of people a picture of a man, who is not known to me. I say,
*te1ʔe5 nɨ31ʔɨ̃3 ta4kʷą1 i4 ɲa4a2 ɟa31tɨ1*
te1ʔe5 nɨ31=ʔɨ̃3 ta4=kʷą1 i4 ɲa4a2 ɟa31tɨ1
who? 3=ACC 3(I).SBJ=know DET(IV) DEM:PROX(IV) man(IV)
a. I am asking the group: 'Who knows this man?'
b. I hear a gasp when I reveal the picture, so I conclude: 'Someone knows this man.' (context volunteered by LWG)
[GE.LWG.20170614, GE.20170615.ECP]

Many 3(I) forms are the same as 1Incl/impersonal forms, including all grammatical-case forms and all main-clause verb inflection. This raises the question of whether the inflection occurring with *te1ʔe5* in (13) is actually 3(I) vs. is impersonal. However, it is clear that *te1ʔe5* 'who?' triggers Class I agreement because – in the forms which are **not** homophonous between the two pronouns, such as the inalienable and alienable possessive – the form agreeing with *te1ʔe5* is always 3(I), not 1Incl. For example, in (14), *te1ʔe5* binds the 3(I) alienable possessive pronoun

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*ti31ma2a1ri3*, while in (6), we saw that the impersonal alienable possessive pronoun is *to51ri3*.

(14) *te1ʔe5* ***ti31ma2a1ri3*** *ã4ki4 numero especial ã2ʔe3?*
te1ʔe5 **ti31ma2a1ri3** ã4ki4 numero especial ã3=e3
who?(I) **3(I).POSS** HESIT SP:number SP:special give.INANO=NMLZ(I)
'Who is going to sing / Is anyone going to sing (lit., give) their own special (musical) number?' [SCG, SCG-DGC-YCG]

When the noun class of a non-human indefinite referent is known (due to the semantic basis of noun classification), some people will add a relativizer to *tą1ʔa4ki4* as a marker of noun class. For example, all place names belong to Class III. Since the question in (15b) can only be about a place name, the speaker adds the Class III relativizer *=ne1* to the pronoun (as well as to the hesitation word in line a; see §8.4 on hesitation pronouns).

(15) a. *Be3tʃa1 na4ʔã3tʃi4ĩ3 i4- uni- este, ã4ki5ne1...*
Be3tʃa1 na4=ã3=tʃi4ĩ3 i4- uni- este-
Betsabe 3.SBJ=have=NI:house DET(IV)- HESIT- HESIT-
ã4ki4=ne1
HESIT=NMLZ(III)
'Betsabe lives in the- uni- um-, the where's-it-called,'

b. ***tą2ʔa4ki4ne1****, ki2a4na4?*
**tą2ʔa4ki4=ne1** ki2a4na4
**what?=NMLZ(III)** INTJ:tag
'What (street) is it, right?'
[DGG HALDI]

There is a unique form *te1ʔe1* 'who is he?', with tone 11, which is used to ask about the identity specifically of a human referent of Class II (Class II humans are always male). While *te1ʔe5* 'who?' functions as both predicate and argument, *te1ʔe1* 'who is he?' can only function as the predicate of a copular clause such as (16a). It cannot be an argument, even with a verb that is very similar to the copula, such as the existential (16b).

(16) a. ***te1ʔe1*** *ni4 ɟa4 ɟi2ma4?*
**te1ʔe1** ni4 ɟa4 ɟi2ma4
**who?(II)** 3(II).SBJ.COP DET(II) DEM.MULTI(II)
'Who is that guy?' [Anon, 20260326, note to LFG-Tia]

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b. ***te1ʔe1*** *na4ɟi2ma4*
***te1ʔe1** na4=ɟi2ma4
***who?(II)** 3(II).SBJ=exist(II)
(Intended reading: 'Who is there?') [DGG 2016.1.147]

### 8.3.2 Choice indefinite *ʎe1ʔĩ4ri4i2ʔĩ4* 'which one?/any'

The other series of indefinites has the Class IV/citation form *ʎe1ʔĩ4ri4i2ʔĩ4*. Items in this series are normally used as modifiers. They have the interrogative reading 'which one?,' as shown with the Class IV form in (17), and the indefinite reading 'any,' per the Class I token in (18). While these readings are conceptually similar to free relative clauses (e.g., the *whatever* clause in *Whatever she chose, I agreed to*), free relatives are actually formed with the unmarked indefinite (Chapter 23.3), not the choice indefinite.

(17) *na43gu2 i4ri3ʔĩ3ni3 **ʎe1ʔĩ4ri4ʔi2ʔĩ4** ta4 na4 ɟi1ʔĩ1ʔĩ4 i4 na4na31wɑ1ʔe2ʔĩ4.*
na43=gu2 i4ri3=ĩ3ni3 **ʎe1ʔĩ4ri4ʔi2ʔĩ4** ta4 na4 ɟi1ʔĩ1ʔĩ4 i4
3=LOC 3(V).SBJ=think **which(IV)** FUT COMP FOC.SC DET(IV)
na4=na31=wɑ1ʔe3=ʔĩ4
3(V).SBJ.SC=3(IV)=want=SUB
'She thought about which (of the two young men) she wanted (to marry).' [DGG, dft 1:13]

(18) ***ʎe1ʔe3ri5ʔe3****tʃa3pa3ʔa1wa5ma3re3 na1ku1gi2ta2e2ʔĩ4 ni3e3ri1 na4ku1gi2ta2e3e1tʃa1ne3ta2*
**ʎe1ʔe3ri5ʔe3**=tʃa3pa3ʔa1=wa5=ma3re3 na1=ku1gi2ta2e3=ʔĩ4
**which(I)**=team=ALL=just 3(IV).SBJ.SC=play.soccer=SUB
ni3=e3ri1 na4=ku1gi2ta2e3=e1tʃa1=ne3ta2
3=INFO 3.SBJ=play.soccer=CONT=pretend
'He'll play soccer on absolutely **any** team, he is just constantly playing soccer.' [Adriana, AFG-LVI]

In 'which one' questions, some people use the morphologically simpler form *ʎe1ʔĩ4*, which also means 'where is (NP)?' or 'what about (NP)?' in place of *ʎe1ʔĩ4ri4i2ʔĩ4*, as shown in (19). Chapter 27 provides more information about *ʎe1ʔĩ4* 'where is it/what about it/which one?'.

(19) Context: Cooking several fish
*ʎi2ri4ã4tʃi4 **ʎe1ʔe3** ti31ʔĩ3 tʃa3nu4ke1 di1?*

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ʎi2ri4ã4tʃi4 **ʎe1ʔe3** ti31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=nu4ke1 di1ʔ?
EPIST **which(I)** 3=ACC 1SG.SBJ=wrap INTJ:look
'Which one should I wrap now, look?' [20180628_002]

*ʎe1ʔĩ4ri4i2ʔĩ4* 'which one' is derived from *ʎe1ʔĩ4* 'which one/where is it' using the productive enclitic *=ri4i2* 'be the same kind' (Chapter 26.1.3) plus a relativizer. Because *ʎe1ʔĩ4* itself contains a relativizer, this means that tokens of 'which one' contain two different (frozen) instances of the relativizer – one on the stem *ʎe4*, and the other at the right edge. The two tokens always agree in noun class with one another and with the head of the noun phrase. (20) gives the full paradigm of noun class forms.

(20) a. Class I: *ʎe1ʔ=e3=ri4ʔi5=e3*
b. Class II: *ʎe1ʔ=ki3=ri4ʔi2=ki3*
c. Class III: *ʎe1ʔ=ne1=ri4ʔi2=ne1*
d. Class IV: *ʎe1=ʔĩ4=ri4ʔi2=ʔĩ4*
e. Class V: *ʎe4=ʔki3=ri4ʔi2=ʔki3*

Note that the Class III form in (20c) is irregular, because the Class III relativizer that appears on the stem takes the allomorph *=ne1* (which normally appears on disyllabic stems) rather than *=ʔĩ5ne1* (for monosyllabic stems). This irregularity is shared with the Class III form of 'where is NP,' which is also *ʎe1ʔne1* rather than **ʎe1ʔĩ5ne1*.

### 8.3.3 Indefinite object pronoun *=ta2* 'a/some'

There is a special series of pronouns which are used, with a limited set of verbs, to express indefinite third-person pronominal objects. These pronouns are both unusual in form (§8.3.3.1) and difficult to describe in meaning (§8.3.3.2).

#### 8.3.3.1 Form

The indefinite object pronouns undergo noun class agreement. They are mostly not phonologically related to the regular personal pronouns for their noun classes. They are also not (in general) phonologically related to the relativizers or demonstratives for their noun classes, or in fact, to any other pronominal, case, or noun class marker in the language. (21) gives the full paradigm of noun class forms. As always, I use the Class IV form, *=ta2*, as the citation form. Some speakers, such as DGG, use forms of all indefinite object pronouns that are composed of the forms in (21) plus an additional final vowel *q̃1*.

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(21) a. Class I: *ti31ʔne1*
b. Class II: *=ne1*, *=ne5* (variation)
c. Class III: *=ne5*
d. Class IV: *=ta2*
e. Class V: *=ne1*

Whether the indefinite object pronouns should be considered pronouns vs. case markers is difficult to say. The Class II, III, IV, and V forms can behave like case markers and encliticize to a full preverbal noun phrase denoting an indefinite object, as shown in (22).

(22) *Zadiana a4 no51ri3* ***pu3ra3ki4ta2*** *na4dau2*
Zadiana a4 no51ri3 **pu3ra3ki4=ta2** na4=dau2
Zadiana DET(IV) 3(IV).POSS **work=some(IV)** 3.SBJ=see/look.for
'Zadiana was looking for **a job** for herself.' [AFG, AFG-LVI]

However, the Class II-V indefinite object markers can also behave like pronouns and occur instead of an NP object. When this happens, they are realized as *proclitics* to the verb (before the first aspectual/directional proclitic position) rather than enclitics to another constituent (23). (Proclitic behavior can also occur when the object is realized as an NP, for example in 28 below; I am not sure what conditions this.)

(23) Context: Where do you gather *Astrocaryum chambira* (palm species for weaving hammocks)?
*ŋe3ma2ã1ki2* ***ta2tʃa3dau2*** *ta1 i4 dau4ʔtʃi2ta3a1ne1wa5*
ŋe3ma2ã1ki2 **ta2=tʃa3=dau2** ta1 i4
thus **some(IV)=1SG.SBJ=seee/look.for** also DET(IV)
dau4ʔtʃi2ta3=a1ne1=wa5
high.forest=area=ALL
'I also look for **it/some** like that, in the high forest.' [LGC HALDI]

The Class I indefinite object pronoun, on the other hand, never behaves as an enclitic or proclitic. It is always a free word, like Class I accusative pronouns (24).

(24) *pa31ʔa2, to1gu5ʔe3* ***ti31ʔne1*** *na1dau2*
pa31ʔa2 to1gu5ʔe3 **ti31ʔne1** na1=dau2
INTJ:c'mon other(I) **some(I)** IMP=see/look.for
'C'mon, look for **another one**.' [CG, C44 CCI]

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Additionally, indefinite object markers are not limited to objects. They can also occur with oblique NPs (25) or pronouns (26). In the corpus, this only occurs when the NP/pronoun is marked with the comitative case and is the object of an oblique object verb. However, Lilia accepted the structure with other oblique cases, and with true adjuncts not selected by an oblique object verb. For example, in (27) the indefinite 'object' marker appears on a locative adjunct marking the means of motion.

(25) ***uva=ma4ã2ta2*** *na4rɨ3ka1we3ĩ1ma3re3*
**uva=ma4ã2=ta2** na4rɨ3=ka1we3-ĩ1=ma3re3
**SP:grape=COM=some(IV)** 3.SBJ.AM=pick.fruit-DIR:down:PLO=just
'He just went and picked **some of the grapes**.' [Laura, LSC-VSC]

(26) Context: Speaker was holding a cookout to raise money. It was very successful. People constantly walked up to her and said...
*tʃo31ʔĩ5* ***na43ma4ã2ta2*** *pe3ta4e3*
tʃo31=ʔĩ5 **na43=ma4ã2=ta2** pe3=ta4e3
1SG=BEN **3=COM=some(IV)** 2PL.SBJ=buy/sell
'Y'all (please) **sell me some of it** (the meat).' [CG7, C3-C7 CCI]

(27) Context: Viewing several boats in harbor
*ʎu31e3gu2* ***ne5****tʃi3ʔũ43*
ʎu31e3=gu2 **ne5**=tʃi3=ũ43
canoe(III)=LOC **some(III)**=1SG.SBJ=go.SGS
'I've traveled in **some** of the canoes.' [LWG 2018.1.164]

Because the indefinite object pronouns can occur in the absence of an NP, I do not consider them case markers, but they are not much like other pronouns either. They do not co-occur with free pronominal objects or with object proclitics.

#### 8.3.3.2 Meaning

Indefinite object pronouns occur in three contexts. They are not obligatory in any of these contexts; it is always possible to use a regular third-person pronoun instead. In all three contexts, very often the indefinite object is possessed (e.g., 28, 22), but this is not obligatory (e.g., 25).

First, these pronouns mark the non-specific indefinite object of a verb of creation, such as *ɨ2* 'make' or *mu3* 'weave' (28). When the indefinite object pronoun appears on an NP in this sense, as in (28), there is no accusative. However, these verbs are morphologically causative transitives, meaning that we do not expect inanimate objects to be marked with the accusative.

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(28) *pe31rɨ3 õ43na3* ***ne5tʃa3ʔi2***
pe31rɨ3 õ43na3 **ne5=tʃa3=i2**
2PL.POSS cooked.food(III) **some(III)=1SG.SBJ=make**
'I'm going to make **food** for you guys.' [CG, C11-C14 CCI]

Second, indefinite object pronouns mark the non-specific indefinite object of an intensional object verb, meaning a verb that does not presuppose the existence of its object. A clear example of a verb in this category is *dau2* + PURP 'look for,' which we saw in (22) and (23) above. In Ticuna, *ta4e3* + PURP 'buy' also commonly behaves as an intensional object verb (possibly meaning something more like 'shop for' than 'buy'), as shown in (29). Many intensional object verbs in Ticuna, including both 'look for' and 'buy,' assign the purposive case to their objects. However, when an indefinite object pronoun appears on an NP in this use, there is no purposive case marker. This is surprising because, outside of this construction, the purposive is not subject to any differential case marking.

(29) *ɲu̯1ʔma5 ta31e3ɟa̯1 tʃo31ʔna1 tɨ3ʔã3ʔgu2 rɨ1 tʃo31rɨ3 tʃa3bo3ĩ1* ***ne5tʃa3ta4e3***
ɲu̯1ʔma5 ta31=e3ɟa̯1 tʃo31=na1 tɨ31=ʔĩ ã3=gu2 rɨ1
now 1INCL=sister 1SG=RCP 3(I)=ACC give:INANSGO=COND TOP
tʃo31rɨ3 tʃa3bo3ĩ1 **ne5=tʃa3=ta4e3**
1SG.POSS soap(III) **some(III)=1SG.SBJ=buy**
'Today when the sister (Amalia) pays me (lit. gives it to me), I'm going to buy myself **soap**.' [LVI, LFG-MFG-LVI]

Last, indefinite object pronouns can be used with any verb to express that the verb has a partitive object – i.e., that the event occurs with only a subset of the count referents (as in 30), or a part of the mass referent (as in 31), denoted by the NP. If a partitive object is introduced with an indefinite pronoun, anaphoric mentions of the object still use this pronoun (i.e., it does not stop counting as indefinite), as shown in (30). There is, again, no case marking on the partitive object (unless it is comitative, as I discuss next).

(30) *ka4ʔ nu5a2* ***tɨ31ʔne1*** *na1ʎe43 rɨ1* ***tɨ31ʔne1*** *ta4ŋ̟o̯1*
ka4ʔ nu5a2 **tɨ31ʔne1** na1=ʎe43 rɨ1 **tɨ31ʔne1**
INTJ:look here.ALL **some(I)** IMP=transport.INANSGO and **some(I)**
ta4=ŋ̟o̯1
1INCL.SBJ=eat
'Hey, bring **some of them** (fish) here and we'll eat **it/them/some**.' [CG, C39 CCI]

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(31) Context: 'They were eating lunch.'
*no51rɨ3 o4me4ma1tʃi3ɨ1kɨ2* ***ta2i5na1ŋ̰1gɨ4***
no51rɨ3 o4me4=ma1tʃi3=ɨ1kɨ2 **ta2=i5=na1=ŋ̰1=gɨ4**
3.POSS monkey.sp(IV)=meat=INFO **some(IV)=IPFV=3.SBJ.SC=eat=PL**
'They were **eating some** of their Woolly Monkey meat.' [NWG Brazil Trip]

All non-specific indefinite tokens, and most partitive tokens, of the indefinite object pronouns specifically mark either purposive adjuncts/oblique objects, or causative verb (accusative) objects. However, in the partitive use, these pronouns can also mark oblique objects, as was already shown in (26) and (27). (26) is repeated as an example of the oblique object/adjunct use of the partitive.

(26) Context: Speaker was holding a cookout to raise money. It was very successful. People constantly walked up to her and said...
*tʃo31ʔĩ5* ***na43ma4ã2ta2*** *pe3ta4e3*
tʃo31=ʔĩ5 **na43=ma4ã2=ta2** pe3=ta4e3
1SG=BEN **3=COM=some(IV)** 2PL.SBJ=buy/sell
'Y'all (please) sell me **some of it** (the meat).' [CG7, C3-C7 CCI]

Lilia allowed partitive uses of the indefinite object pronoun very freely. For example, while the indefinite object pronoun never occurs with intransitive verbs in the corpus, Lilia repeatedly found it acceptable to use with a partitive subject (32). She also found it acceptable for the indefinite object pronoun to co-occur with case marking on an object (33). Other speakers never produced these structures and they never occur in the corpus, but this is not necessarily evidence of ungrammaticality, because the indefinite object construction is low-frequency overall (240 tokens in the corpus, compared to 2066 of the accusative and 666 of the purposive).

(32) Context: I have several cows. Only a few of them mooed.
*tʃo31rɨ3 wo3ka1 rɨ1* ***ta2****ni4ka1*
tʃo31rɨ3 wo3ka1 rɨ1 **ta2**=ni4=ka1
1SG.POSS cow(IV) TOP **some(IV)**=3.SBJ=yell
'As for my cows, **some of them** mooed/bellowed.' [LWG 2018.1.144]

(33) *po3pe4ra1ʔĩ3* ***ta2****tʃa3dau2*
po3pe4ra1=ʔĩ3 **ta2**=tʃa3=dau2
book/paper(IV)=ACC **some(IV)**=1SG.SBJ=see
'I saw **some** of the books.' [LWG 2018.1.164]

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## 8.4 Hesitation forms

The main hesitation/filled pause word of Ticuna is *ã4kɨ4*. When the speaker does not remember a word or cannot think of a suitable word, they can use *ã4kɨ4* in place of either a verb root (34) or a noun root (35). If used as a noun, the form always behaves as alienable.

(34) Context: 'So earlier, the kids were crumbling up the cacao seeds.'
*ɟo43ʔni5 ŋe2ʔã4 tɨ31ʔĩ3 na4ʔ**ã4kɨ4**ta4ĩ2gɨ4ã4tʃi4*
ɟo43ʔni5 ŋe2ʔã4 tɨ31=ʔĩ3
in.the.meantime there.MED.LOC 3(I)
na4=**ã4kɨ4**=ta4ĩ2=gɨ4=ã4tʃi4
3.SBJ=**HESIT**=NI:container=PL=ACHV
'And in the meantime, they **did what's-it-called** to the ones that were in the basin (i.e., made them spill).' [SCG, SCG-YCG-DGC]

(35) Context: Discussing a dog; the dog has a name, but the speaker does not remember it
*ta4ã3 na4du1ɰ̃1ta3ã5ẽ2 a4 **ã4kɨ4***
ta4ã3 na4=du1ɰ̃1ta3=ã5ẽ2 a4 **ã4kɨ4**
NEG 3.SBJ=be.human/moral=NI:soul DET **HESIT**
'**What's-her-name** does not have a human soul.' [LFG, LFG-MFG-LVI]

I mentioned in §8.3 that when the speaker is asking a question about an object of known noun class, some people will use a relativizer on the word *tɰ̃2kɨ4* 'what'. This structure is extremely uncommon in the corpus materials (only one clear token). In contrast, it is much more common for speakers to use *ã4kɨ4* with a Class I, II, or III relativizer when trying to produce noun of known noun class, as shown in (36) for Class I and (37) for Class III (48 examples of Class I, II, or III relativizers on *ã4kɨ4*). The noun classes are known in these examples because all children's toys (36) are Class I and all machines (37) are Class III.

(36) *ku31rɨ3 **ã4kɨ5e3**a3rɨ1, monoa3rɨ1*
ku31rɨ3 **ã4kɨ4=e3**=a3rɨ1 mono=a3rɨ1
2SG.POSS **HESIT=NMLZ(I)**=INFO SP:monkey=INFO
'(Do you want) your thing, (your stuffed) monkey?' [CG, C34 CCI]

(37) *no51rɨ3 **ã4kɨ5ne1** ta4 ni4 tʃo31ʔna1 na1ʔã2ʔĩ5ne1, o3ra1a1rɨ3 da31ru5ĩ1 ta4 ni4*

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no51rɨ3 **ã4kɨ4=ne1** ta4 ni4 tʃo31=na1
3.POSS **HESIT=NMLZ(III)** FUT FOC 1SG=RCP
na1=ã3=ʔĩ5ne1 o3ra1=a1rɨ3 da31=ru5ĩ1 ta4
3.SBJ.SC=give.INANSGO=NMLZ(III) time=POSS lie.1D=AG/INST FUT
ni4
3.SBJ.COP
'She's going to give me her **thing (watch)**, (I'll use it) to show the time.' [LVI, AFG-LVI]

When *ã4kɨ4* bears the Class IV relativizer/general subordinator, it can be interpreted as standing in for a noun that is known to be Class IV. For example, in (38), this is the only interpretation possible of *ã4kɨ5ʔĩ4* because it occurs in apposition to a Class IV pronoun and determiner. However, *ã4kɨ5ʔĩ4* may also be interpreted as a hesitation word that is not specific to any syntactic category. For example, in (39) the speaker first asks a self-directed question, then realizes she does not remember the answer. She first fills her pause with *ã4kɨ5ʔĩ4*, then asks a question with no lexical nouns.

(38) *ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3 to31ʔĩ3 na4dau2 i4 nɨ31ma2 i4 **ã4kɨ5ʔĩ4** Don Lambert Anderson*
ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3 to31=ʔĩ3 na4=dau2 i4 nɨ31ma2 i4
then 1EXCL=ACC 3.SBJ=see DET(IV) 3(IV) DET(IV)
**ã4kɨ4=ʔĩ4** Don Lambert Anderson
**HESIT=NMLZ(IV)** Mr. Lambert Anderson
'Then he, **what's-his-name**, Mr. Lambert Anderson, met us-excl.' [DGG HALDI]

(39) *tɻ̃2ʔkɨ4gu2 mɻ̃1ʔe3 tʃa3ʔã3ne1gɨ1tʃi4rɻ̃1, rɨ1 **ã4kɨ5ʔĩ4**...tɻ̃2ʔkɨ4 ɻ̃1ʔna5?*
tɻ̃2ʔkɨ4=gu2 mɻ̃1ʔe3 tʃa3=ã3=ne1gɨ1=tʃi4rɻ̃1 rɨ1 **ã4kɨ4=ʔĩ4**
what?=LOC EPIST 1SG.SBJ=have=dream=actually and **HESIT=SUB**
tɻ̃2ʔkɨ4 ɻ̃1ʔna5
what? ALT
'What could I have dreamed about? **Um**...what was it?' [CG, C27 CCI]

There are also other hesitation words with similar shapes to *ã4kɨ4*, such as *ɨ2ʔkɨ4* and *ĩ1kɨ2*, but they are only used as underived verbs, as shown in (40); they do not occur with relativizers in the corpus.

(40) *to31wa5re5ʔĩ4 ɲa4a2gɨ5ʔĩ4ma4ã2 tʃo1gɨ1 tʃa1ʔ**ɨ2ʔkɨ5**ʔĩ4*

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to31wa5re5ʔĩ4 ɲa4a2=gɨ4=ʔĩ4=ma4ã2 tʃo1=gɨ1 tʃa1=**i2ʔkɨ4**=ʔĩ4
plant.sp QUOT=PL=NMLZ(IV)=COM 1SG=REFL 1SG.SBJ.SC=**HESIT**=SUB
'With (the plant) that is called *to31wa5re5ʔĩ4*, I **did what's-it-called** to myself (treated my skin).' [Grandma, C27 CCI]

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# 9 Case

In this chapter, §9.1 first discusses core cases, defined as those which primarily mark grammatical relations. §9.2 then discusses oblique cases, which primarily mark spatial and discourse relations.

The accusative case, which is a core case, alternates with zero in a system of differential object marking (DOM). I describe the DOM system in Chapter 10. Additionally, the 'allative' and 'locative' cases, which are oblique, are involved in a complex set of alternations conditioned by the transitivity and lexical aspect of the verb. The allative-locative alternation is discussed in Chapter 11.

## 9.1 Core cases

Five cases primarily mark grammatical relations. They are the nominative, which is zero-marked; the accusative, *=ʔĭ3*; the beneficiary case, *=ʔĭ5*; the recipient case, *=na1*; and the resultative case, *=ĩ1*. The accusative, beneficiary, and resultative cases form a near-minimal tone set.

### 9.1.1 Nominative

The nominative case is zero-marked. NP subjects have no case marking, regardless of the transitivity of the verb. For instance, the noun *ma3ma5* 'mother' is zero-marked both as the subject of the intransitive verb *ŋǫ1* 'appear' in (1) and as the subject of the transitive verb *mu2* 'send' in (2).

(1) *dɨ1ʔ, ma3ma5 i5ta3ʎo5ʔ*
dɨ1ʔ **ma3ma5** i5=ta3=ʎǫ1=ʔ
INTJ:look **mother** IPFV=3(I).SBJ.SC=appear=SUB
'Look, (your) **mother** is appearing (on the camera).' [adult, 2019 Child 16 Free Play 14:24]

(2) *to51rɨ3 **ma3ma5** ɟe5ma2 to31ʔĭ3 ta4mu2gɨ4*
to51rɨ3 **ma3ma5** ɟe5ma2 to31=ʔĭ3 ta4=mu2=gɨ4
1EXCL.POSS **mother** DEM.LOC:REM.PST 1EXCL=ACC 3(I).SBJ=send=PL
'**Our (excl.) mother** sent us (excl.) there.' [LCS ldt 38]

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For prosodic reasons, pronouns cannot be zero-marked; they always bear some enclitic (Chapter 8). In subject function, pronouns often appear with the topic enclitic =ma, as in (3) (this enclitic varies in tone). But =ma is not a nominative marker, even for pronouns. Subject pronouns can also take other enclitics, such as =i5ra1 'first' in (4).

(3) ***tʃo1ma1*** *ĩ31kɨ2, ɟo43ʔni5, na43ma4ã2 i5tʃi3de43a2*
**tʃo1=ma1** ĩ1kɨ2 ɟo43ʔni5 na43=ma4ã2 i5=tʃi3=de43ʔa2
**1SG=TOP** INFO meanwhile 3(I)=COM IPFV=1SGSBJ=talk
'**I**, meanwhile, talked to them.' [NWG, abs-nwg 37:08]

(4) *ɨ2ʔɨ4wa5* ***ku31i5ra1*** *na1ʔũ43*
ɨ2ʔɨ4=wa5 **ku31=i5ra1** na1ʔ=ũ43
firewood=ALL **2SG=first** IMP=go.SGS
'**First you** go get firewood! ' [LFG, 20180707 4:45]

### 9.1.2 Accusative

The accusative case has the form *=ʔĩ3*. It appears on all direct object pronouns, such as the third-person object pronoun in (5).

(5) *ma3 **ni31ʔĩ3** ku3dau2?*
ma3ri3 **ni31=ʔĩ3** ku3=dau2
PRF **3=ACC** 2SGSBJ=see
'Did you already see **it**? ' [TGC Sr., 20170622 6:51]

The accusative also appears on some noun phrase objects, such as the noun phrase *tʃo31ri3 ma3ma5* 'my mother' in (6).

(6) *tʃo31ri3* ***ma3ma5ʔĩ3*** *ku3dau2?*
tʃo31ri3 **ma3ma5=ʔĩ3** ku3=dau2
1SG.POSS **mother=ACC** 2SGSBJ=see
'Did you see my **mother**? ' [LWG noe 2:57]

Not all noun phrase objects bear the accusative. Instead, the distribution of the accusative on NPs is controlled by the system of differential object marking. I discuss the many conditioning factors of the DOM system in Chapter 10. They include the conjugation class of the verb, the animacy of the NP, and the noun class of the NP.

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### 9.1.3 Beneficiary

The beneficiary case marker is *=ʔĩ5* on monosyllabic stems (a minimal tone pair with the accusative). It has the allomorph *=a1ʔĩ5* on disyllabic and larger stems.

This case's most common function is to mark the beneficiary (7) or maleficiary (8) of an intransitive verb, i.e. a referent that is positively or negatively affected by the event.

(7) *ma3ri3 ta4* ***tʃo31ʔĩ5*** *ta4ri3ʔi2gi4 ti41ʔĩ4 ɟa4 da31ʔe2*
ma3ri3 ta4 **tʃo31=ʔĩ5** ta4ri3=i2=gi4 ti41ʔĩ4 ɟa4
PRF FUT **1SG=Iben** 3(I).SBJ=sprout=PL 3(I).SBJ.COP DET(I)
da31ʔe2
DEM:SPKR.PROX(I)
'Are these (plants) going to grow **for me** (to my benefit) now?' [MGW, 20170630, 2:08]

(8) *ma3ri3* ***tʃo31ʔĩ5*** *na4gu̱1 i4 tʃo31ri3 pu3ma3ra1*
ma3ri3 **tʃo31=ʔĩ5** na4=gu̱1 i4 tʃo31ri3 pu3ma3ra1
PRF **1SG=Iben** 3.SBJ=run.out DET(IV) 1sg.POSS perfume
'My perfume already ran out **on me** (to my detriment).' [RGW, 20170527]
add cite with current style

Beneficiaries of transitive verbs are normally marked with the purposive case, which is discussed in the section on oblique cases (§9.2). However, the 'intransitive' beneficiary case *can* sometimes appear on the beneficiary/maleficiary of a transitive verb. This construction leads to a reading involving possessor raising: the beneficiary-marked argument is interpreted as possessing the object of the transitive verb. This possessive reading can be made explicit by repeating the beneficiary argument as the possessor of the object, as in (9). Or it can be left implicit for lack of an NP object, as in (10).

(9) *ŋe5ma2 ta4* ***ti31ʔĩ5*** *na4na3na4 a4 wi3da1, ti31ma1a1ri3 cuatro-pi1ʔĩ3.*
ŋe5ma2 ta4 **ti31=ʔĩ5** na4=na3=na4 a4
DEM.LOC:MULTI FUT **3(I)=Iben** 3.SBJ=3.OBJ=transport.INANPLO DET(IV)
wi3da1 ti31ma1a1ri3 cuatro=pi1ʔĩ3
name 3(I).POSS SP:four=bag
'Wi3da1 will bring **him**$_i$ his$_i$ four bags there.' [TGC Jr., 20180622, 4:11]

(10) *ri1 ɟe4ma4ã1ki2 ne5na1a3ɟa1ʔu2ʔĩ4 no51ri3* ***ma3ma5ʔĩ5.***

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rɨ1 ɟe4ma4ã1kɨ2 ne5=na1=a3=ɟau1ʔ=ʔĩ4 no51rɨ3 **ma3ma5=ʔĩ5.**
and thus.REM.PST some(III)=3.SBJ.SC=AM=get=SUB 3.POSS **mother=Iben**
'Like that he went and took some of it (popcorn) **from his mother** (who had made it).' [SSG HALDI 12:52]

The beneficiary case is also involved in the expression of psychological predicates. Most of the time, when a Ticuna verb expressing a psychological state has two arguments, the verb is transitive. The experiencer appears as the subject, and the stimulus is marked with the accusative and acts as the object (Chapter 10.1).

However, some psych predicates are syntactically intransitive. These treat one argument as the subject, and the other as a beneficiary. Which argument of an intransitive psych predicate acts as the subject vs. the beneficiary varies with the verb. Some predicates, such as *me43* 'be good; like', treat the experiencer as a beneficiary (11).

(11) ***tʃo31ʔĩ5 na4me43ʔe5tʃi2*** *ga4 na4ʔ tʃa1ŋu5e3ẽ4ẽ3ta2e2ĩ4*
**tʃo31=ʔĩ5 na4=me43=ʔi5tʃi2** ga4 na4ʔ
**1SG=Iben 3.SBJ=good=really** COMP.REM.PST
tʃa1=ŋu1-e3-ẽ4ẽ3-ta2e3=ʔĩ4
1SGSBJ.SC=learn-PL-CAUS-ANTIP=SUB
'**I really liked** teaching (very lit., teaching was really good to me).' [SSG tsr]
add cite with current style

Other psych predicates, such as *o2* 'dislike/get tired of,' reverse this pattern. They treat the stimulus as a beneficiary (12). Note that in this example, the stimulus is semantically more like a maleficiary, but case assignment never distinguishes between the beneficiary and maleficiary roles.

(12) *ma3 **pe31ʔĩ5** ta4ʔo2*
ma3rɨ3 **pe31=ʔĩ5** ta4ʔ=o2
PRF **2PL=Iben** 1EXCL.SBJ=indifferent
'We've already gotten tired **of you all.**' [Free Play]
add cite with current style

### 9.1.4 Recipient

The recipient case has the form *=na1*. It marks the recipient for three transitive verbs of transfer: *ã3* 'give inanimate'', shown in (13); *na4* 'give plural inanimate'; and *mu2* 'give animate.'

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(13) *ĩ1ʔne1ã4ma4 doscientos=ta2ã4* ***ni̱31ʔna1*** *ti̱31ʔĩ3 tʃa3ʔã3*
ĩ1ʔne1ã4ma4 doscientos=ta2ã4 **ni̱31=na1** ti̱31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3ʔ=ã3
2.days.ago SP:200=Scalar.FOC **3=RCP** 3(I)=ACC 1SGSBJ=give.INAN
'The day before yesterday I gave **them** exactly 200 (soles).' [AYM, 20170527, 4:33]

In elicitation the recipient case is mostly judged unacceptable with recipients of other verbs of transfer, such as *ʎe43* 'transport:InamO' (14) and *mu2* 'send' (16). Instead, recipient NPs with these verbs take the beneficiary case, as in (15) and the acceptable form of (16), or the purposive case.

(14) **tʃo31ʔna1 na3ʎe43 ɟa1 tʃo43ku2e4ti̱3ʔĩ4*
*tʃo31=ʔna1 na3=ʎe43 ɟa1 tʃo43ku2e4ti̱3ʔĩ4
*1SG=RCP IMP>3.OBJ=transport.INANO DET(III) glasses(III)
(Intended: 'Bring me the glasses.') [LWG, 2024.1.62]
LWG's comment: Corrects to (15)

(15) *tʃo31ʔĩ5 nu5a2 na3ʎe43 ɟa1 tʃo43ku2e4ti̱37ĩ4*
tʃo31=ʔĩ5 nu5a2 na3=ʎe43 ɟa1 tʃo43ku2e4ti̱37ĩ4
1SG=Iben here:ALL IMP>3.OBJ=transport.INANO DET(III) glasses(III)
'Bring me the glasses here.' [LWG, 2024.1.62]

(16) *carta ku31ʔĩ5/*ku31ʔna1 tʃi̱3mu2ʔtʃa1ĩ1*
carta ku31=ʔĩ5/*ku31=ʔna1 tʃi̱3=mu2=tʃa1ĩ1
SP:letter 2SG=Iben/*2SG=RCP 1SBJ=send=PROSP
'I want to send you (BEN/*RCP) a/the letter.' ' [LWG 2024.1.62]

Besides the verb 'give,' verbs that express a manner of caused motion – such as 'throw', 'kick,' 'serve volleyball,' and so on – also mark their recipients with the recipient case, as shown in (17) and (18).

(17) *ku31ri̱3* ***ma3ma5na1*** *po4gi̱1ta2e3*
ku31ri̱3 **ma3ma5=na1** po4gi̱1ta2e3
2SG.POSS **mother=RCP** IMP=hit.volleyball
'Serve it (a volleyball) **to your mother**.' [CG37, Child 37-38 Free Play, 29:23]

(18) *arquera* ***tʃo31ʔna1*** *ti̱31ʔĩ3 na4ɲa43 ɟa4 pe3ru4ta1*
arquera tʃo31=ʔna1 ti̱31=ʔĩ3 na4=ɲa43 ɟa4 pe3ru4ta1
SP:goalie 1SG=RCP 3(I)=ACC 3.SBJ=throw DET(I) ball(I)
'The goalie threw **me** the soccer ball.' [LWG, 2024.1.62]

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However, recipient-case marking is limited to verbs which denote the manner of the caused motion. As already shown by (14) and (16) above, transitive verbs that entail motion by the theme, but don't entail anything about manner -- such as *ʎe43* 'transport' -- don't allow the recipient case.

Outside of its use to mark recipients with verbs of transfer, the recipient case also exists as part of oblique object constructions. It is assigned to the object of many oblique-object verbs, such as *dau2* + RCP 'take care of' (cf. *dau2* + ACC 'see') in (19) and *ka1* + RCP 'ask' (cf. *ka1* + ACC 'call') in (20).

(19) *ta4ma3* ***ni31gi1ɑ̃1ti3na1 na4dau2*** *ga4 Ko3we4na2ki1ɑ̃1gi4*
ta4ma3 **ni31=gi1=ɑ̃1ti3=na1 na4=dau2** ga4
NEG **3=REFL=yard=RCP 3.SBJ='see'** DET.REM.PST
Ko3we4na2=ki1ɑ̃1=gi4
Caballococha=from=PL
'The people of Caballococha didn't **take care of their yards**.' [HCG HALDI 16:36]

(20) ***tʃo31ʔna1 ta3ka1ʔgu2***, *"ku31ri3 ma3ma5, ku31ri3 pa3pa5 ta3ma4ʔe2ʔĩ4?"*
**tʃo31=ʔna1 ta3=ka1=ʔgu2** ku31ri3 ma3ma5 ku31ri3 pa3pa5
**1SG=RCP 3(I).SBJ.SC='call'=COND** 2sg.POSS mother 2sg.POSS father
ta3=ma4ʔ=e3=ʔĩ4
3(I).SBJ.SC=be.alive=PL=SUB
'She **asked me**, "Your mother, your father, are they still alive?"' [RGW, 20170527 7:32]

The recipient case can also express the source of a motion event (Chapter 11). It is the only primarily grammatical case which is also involved in the expression of motion and spatial relations.

### 9.1.5 Resultative

The resultative case has the form *=ĩ1*, forming a near-minimal tone triplet with the accusative and intransitive beneficiary cases. It appears exclusively in resultative secondary predication, marking the noun phrase which expresses the result state, as in (21) and (22).

(21) *ŋi1ma1 ri1 ma3ri3* ***we3ri5ĩ1*** *i3ɟa3ʔũ43.*
ŋi1=ma1 ri1 ma3ri3 **we3ri5=ĩ1** i3ɟa3ʔ=ũ43
3(V)=TOP TOP PRF **bird=RSLT** 3(V).SBJ='go'
'She had already turned (lit. went) **into a bird**.' [LWG jek 4:11]

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(22) *ã3e̱1ga3kɨ3ĩ1 ta4 na4na3ɟau1ʔgɨ4 i4 Ma3ri4no1.*
**ã3e̱1ga3kɨ3=ĩ1** ta4 na4=na3=ɟau1ʔ=gɨ4 i4 Ma3ri4no1
**leader=RSLT** FUT 3.SBJ=3.OBJ=get=PL DET(IV) name
'They're going to elect (lit. get) Marino **as the mayor**.' [LWG 2018.1.176]

There are also a few case-like markers which appear only on the objects of a single oblique-object verb. For example, the enclitic *=tʃi1* appears exclusively on the stimulus argument of the verb *ai1* 'hate.' These markers do not express grammatical relations with any predicate other than the single oblique-object verb involved, and therefore I do not consider them case.

## 9.2 Oblique cases

Four cases primarily mark spatial and discourse relations: the allative *=wa5*, the locative *=gu2*, the comitative *=ma4ã2*, and the purposive *=kɻ1*.

### 9.2.1 Allative

The allative case marker is *=wa5*. It appears primarily on spatial adjuncts and marks the goal of intransitive motion events, as in (23).

(23) ***Ko3we4na2wa5*** *ma3a3rɨ1 ta4ʔũ43.*
**Ko3we4na2=wa5** ma3rɨ3=a3rɨ1 ta4ʔ=ũ43
**Caballococha=ALL** PRF=INFO 3(I).SBJ=go.SGS
'She/he already went **to Caballococha**.' [MJP, 20180622 9:27]

It is acceptable to use a noun that denotes an object, rather than a place, as a goal (24).

(24) *ɟe5a2* ***camera=wa5*** *ta4ʔũ43, kɨ2a4na4*
ɟe5a2 **camera=wa5** ta4ʔ=ũ43 kɨ2a4na4
there.DIST.ALL **SP:camera=ALL** 3(I).SBJ=go.SGS INTJ:tag
'She went there **to the camera**, right?' [adult conversation]
add cite with current style

However, an object-denoting noun with *=wa5* is generally not read as a goal. Instead, with a motion verb like *ũ43* 'go,' this construction normally conveys that the subject undergoes motion toward the object, takes it, and then returns to the original location. It can often be translated as 'go get NP,' as in (25).

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(25) *ã4kɨ5ʔĩ4, **tʃo31ri3 galleta=wa5** kɨ2ã4 na1ʔũ43*
ã4kɨ5ʔĩ4 **tʃo31ri3 galleta=wa5** kɨ2a4na4 na1ʔ=ũ43
HESIT **1SG.POSS SP:cracker=ALL** INTJ:tag IMP=go.SGS
'Um go get **my crackers**, okay?'
(Very lit.: 'Um go to my crackers, okay?') [MA1, C5 CCI 2019]

'Allative' is only a label of convenience for *=wa5*, as it also marks many spatial adjuncts which are not goals. For example, *=wa5* also marks the source of intransitive motion events. In the source-marking use, the case marker is followed by the source enclitic *=ne4* (26).

(26) *a31, **Nueva Italia=wa5ne4** ũ31kɨ3 ni41ʔĩ4 a4 ɟi2ma4.*
a31 **Nueva Italia=wa5=ne4** ũ43=kɨ3 ni41ʔĩ4 a4
INTJ:news **place.name=ALL=SOURCE** go.SGS=NMLZ(II) 3.SBJ.COP DET(II)
ɟi2ma4
DEM.MULTI(II)
'Oh, he's the one that came **from Nueva Italia**.' [NWG, 20180613 26:05]

Beyond goal and source, *=wa5* can also mark ground (location) adjuncts, as in (27).

(27) ***Kɨ3ʔtʃi3tu1wa5** na4ngu5e3*
**Kɨ3ʔtʃi3tu1=wa5** na4=ngu1=e3
**Cushillococha=ALL** 3.SBJ=learn=PL
'They were educated **in Cushillococha.** [SSG HALDI 12:15]

In its goal, source, and ground uses, *=wa5* alternates with *=gu2* in a complex system of differential place marking. I provide a full description of this system in Chapter 11.

Besides these spatial adjunct types, some non-spatial adjuncts are also licensed by *=wa5*. For example, adjuncts denoting the language of a speech event take *=wa5* (28).

(28) ***ta3ga1wa5** tɨ31ʔĩ3 i3ʔu3gɨ1te2e3*
**ta3=ga1=wa5** tɨ31=ʔĩ3 i3ʔ=u3gɨ1te2e3
**1INCL=language=ALL** 3(I)=ACC IMP=count
'Count them **in our language**.' [Caregiver, Child11-Child14 Object Play, 9:04]

A few oblique-object verbs assign the allative case to their objects. One example is *pa1* + ALL 'fit (item of clothing), hug (person)', as shown in (29).

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(29) *no51ri3 da4ʔũ2, a3ma3li3a1, me31ã2ma4* ***na43wa5*** *a1pa5ʔĩ4*
no51ri3 da4ʔũ2 a3ma3li3a1 me31ã2ma4 **na43=wa5** a1=pą1=ʔĩ4
3.POSS shirt name well **3=ALL** 3.SBJ.SC.=hug=SUB
'Amalia's$_i$ shirt **fits her**$_j$ nicely.' [C45 Caregiver, C27 Free Play, 40:58]

### 9.2.2 Locative

The locative case marker is *=gu2*. This case marks the ground (30) of intransitive motion events. It also marks the means (31) of all motion events.

(30) ***na31ma1ma3re3gu2*** *tʃi3ʔũ43*
**na31=ma1=ma3re3=gu2** tʃi3ʔ=ũ43
**DFLT.POSS=path=just=LOC** 1SGSBJ=go.SGS
'(To get to Mochila,) I just walk **on the path**.' [SSG HALDI]

(31) *o3i1, ɟe3a2 bo3te1, te1ʔe5* ***na43gu2*** *ti4ʔũ43?*
o3i1 ɟe3a2 bo3te1 te1ʔe5 **na43=gu2** ti4ʔ=ũ43
INTJ:hey! DEM:DIST(IV) SP:boat(IV) who?(I) **3=LOC** 3(I).SBJ=go.SGS
'Hey, that boat, who went off **in it**?' [JRP, 20180707 3:57]

The locative is also used to mark the ground of verbless locative constructions, such as (32). These constructions are a type of nonverbal predication (Chapter 21), making the locative the only case marker which independently licenses nouns as nonverbal predicates.

(32) *tʃa3ti3re1gu2*
tʃa3=ti3re1=gu2
1SGSBJ=port=LOC
'I'm in the port.' [LWG tone frames 2017]

Although *=wa5* marks ground adjuncts with most non-motion verbs, *=gu2* can also appear in this function. Specifically, *=gu2* marks ground adjuncts in clauses headed by achievement verbs (verbs denoting an instantaneous change of state, Xref), such as *bu31* 'be born' in (33).

(33) ***Brasilgu2*** *na4bu31 i4 ɟe3a2 tʃo31ri3 ko3ri5*
**Brasil=gu2** na4=bu31 i4 ɟe3a2 tʃo31ri3 ko3ri5
**Brazil=LOC** 3.SBJ=born DET(IV) DEM:DIST(IV) 1SG.POSS mister(IV)
'That one, my husband, was born **in Brazil**.' [LGC HALDI 5:25]

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The alternation between *=gu2* marking ground adjuncts with achievement verbs, and *=wa5* marking them with other verbs, is just one of the many alternations between *=wa5* and *=gu2* found in the system of verb-controlled differential place marking (Xref).

*=gu2* also marks some nonspatial adjuncts. For example, *=gu2* licenses time adjuncts (34) and adjuncts expressing sizes and prices (35).

(34) ***diecisiete de juniogu2*** *ta4e3kạ1 nu5a2 tʃi1ʔɨ43e2ʔĩ4*
**diecisiete de junio**=gu2 ta4=e3kạ1 nu5a2
**SP:June.17=LOC** FUT=INFO DEM.LOC:SPKR.PROX
tʃi1ʔ=ɨ43e3=ʔĩ4
1SGSBJ.SC=embark=SUB
'So I'm going to get on the boat (to leave) here **on June 17.**' [RGW, 20170527 2:37]

(35) ***ɲụ1ʔre5gu2*** *a4 nge3a2 no51rɨ3 bo3ta1ã3?*
**ɲụ1ʔre5=gu2** a4 nge3a2 no51rɨ3 bo3ta1=ã3
**how.many=LOC** DET(IV) DEM:DyadPROX 3.POSS SP:boot=REP
'**How much** were those boots of his, reportedly?' [CG7, Child3-Child7 Free Play 11:30]

Outside adjuncts proper, a few oblique-object verbs assign *=gu2* to their objects. One example is the verb *ĩ3nɨ3* + LOC 'think about' (cf. *ĩ3nɨ3* + ACC 'hear'), in (36).

(36) *ku1ma1rɨ5ĩ1* ***ã3te4gu2*** *na1rɨ3ʔĩ3nɨ3e2ʔĩ4*
ku1=ma1=rɨ5ĩ1 **ã3=te4=∅=gu2** na1rɨ3ʔ=ĩ3nɨ3=e3=ʔĩ4
2SG=TOP=like **have=husband=NMLZ.ZERO=LOC** 3.SBJ.SC='hear'=PL=SUB
'Are they thinking **about getting married**, like you are?' [20170818, 9:55]
add speaker attribution

### 9.2.3 Comitative

The comitative case marker has the form *=ma4ã2*. It appears on adjuncts denoting instruments (37) and companions (38), especially human companions.

(37) *ø1ʔri3a1rɨ3* ***ɨ2ɨ1ĩ4ma4ã2*** *ta4na3tʃa4*
ø1ʔri3=a1rɨ3 **ɨ2ɨ1ĩ4=ma4ã2** ta4=na3=tʃa4
wound=POSS **medicine=COM** IMPERS.SBJ=3.OBJ=smear
'One smears it with wound **medicine** (i.e. antibiotic cream). ' [KGW, 20170527_004, 7:58]

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(38) *ŋe3ĩ1ka5, **ɋ1ʔi5ma4ã2** to31ʔĩ3 na1ɟau1ʔtʃi3kɨ1na3ʔã1*
ŋe3ĩ1ka5 **ɋ1ʔi5=ma4ã2** to31=ʔĩ3 na1=ɟau1ʔ=tʃi3kɨ1na3ʔã1
INTJ:let's.see **old.man=COM** 1EXCL=ACC IMP=take=image
'Let's see, take a picture of us **with grandpa**, young man.' [RGW, 20170527_002, 15:42]

Some oblique-object verbs assign the comitative case to their objects. Two examples are *ta4e3* + COM 'sell' (cf. *ta4e3* + PURP 'buy'), in (39), and *ʍɋ1* + COM 'manage, be in charge of' (cf. *ʍɋ1* + ACC 'know'), in (40).

(39) ***tʃo43ʔni5ma4ã2** na4a3ta4e3?*
**tʃo43ʔni5=ma4ã2** na4=a3=ta4e3
**fish=COM** 3.SBJ=AM=buy/sell
'Are they coming and selling **fish**?' [TGC, 20180628 3:14]

(40) *ku1ma1 tʃi4 ni41ʔĩ4 me31ã2 **na43ma4ã2 i2ku1kwa5ʔĩ4***
ku1=ma1 tʃi4 ni41ʔĩ4 me31ã2 **na43=ma4ã2 i2=ku1=kwɋ1=ʔĩ4**
2SG=TOP CNTF FOC well 3=COM VCL=2SGSBJ.SC='know'=SUB
'(Since you're older), you should be **taking charge of him** (your younger cousin) properly.' [free play]
add cite with current style

The comitative-instrumental case is also involved in nonverbal predicates with the verbs *ã3* 'have, use (inalienable noun)' and *=ɋ̃1* 'have, use (alienable noun)'; see Chapter 21.2 on these predicates.

### 9.2.4 Purposive

The purposive case has the form *=kɋ1*. It licenses adjuncts which describe the reason or purpose for the action of the verb. For instance, in (41) the purposive NP denotes a reason.

(41) *ĩ1ʔne1 rɨ3ã1 ã4kɨ5ʔĩ4 **carro=kɋ1** nge3ma2 na4nu4*
ĩ1ʔne1 rɨ3ã1 ã4kɨ5ʔĩ4 **carro=kɋ1** nge3ma2 na4=nu4
yesterday TOP HESIT **SP:car=PURP** DEM:MULTI 3.SBJ=angry
'The other day, um, that one (a child) got mad **because of the cars** (i.e., because he wasn't allowed to play with toy cars).' [free play]
add cite with current style

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Another common use of *=kɑ̨1* is to mark beneficiaries. This use normally appears in transitive clauses, such as (42), but sometimes is also found with intransitives (43).

(42) *pa2 ɟa31, ka4 ɟe5a2ma4 ngi1rɨ1 po3ʔi5* ***tʃau1ʔkɑ̨1*** *i1da4e3*
pa2 ɟa31 ka4 ɟe5a2=ma4 ngi1rɨ1 po3ʔi5 **tʃau1=kɑ̨1**
VOC:male INTJ DEM.LOC:DIST=toward 3(V).POSS plantain **1SG=PURP**
i1=da4=e3
IMP=slice=DIR:down.SG
'Young man, cut down her plantains over there **for me**.' [conversation]
add cite with current style

(43) *ta3ɟu3mɨ3e3gɨ4* ***pe31ʔkɑ̨1****, kɨ2a4na4, pa2 tʃau1e3ne2ẽ3gɨ4.*
ta4=ɟu3mɨ3e3=gɨ4 **pe31=kɑ̨1** kɨ2a4na4 pa2 tʃau1=e3ne2ẽ3=gɨ4
1INCL.SBJ=pray=PL **2PL=PURP** INTJ:tag VOC 1SG=brother=PL
'We're praying **for you**, right, brethren.' [Ana's Sermon]

*=kɑ̨1* can also appear on goal adjuncts in motion clauses. It generally marks goals that denote human or animate referents, and conveys that the figure underwent the motion toward the goal in order to interact with it, as in (44).

(44) ***tʃau1ʔkɑ̨1*** *ɟe5a2ne4 na4ʔũ43*
**tʃau1=kɑ̨1** ɟe5a2=ne4 na4ʔ=ũ43
**1SG=PURP** DEM.LOC:DIST=SOURCE 3.SBJ=go.SGS
'She's coming from over there **for me** (i.e. to me, to talk to me).' [free play]
add cite with current style

Apart from goal adjuncts, *=kɑ̨1* also appears on adjuncts denoting a person who holds an opinion or believes a proposition expressed by the verb. This use occurs in the corpus exclusively with pronouns, although people accept it with noun phrases. In almost all tokens, the adjunct is a first- or second-person singular pronoun and is topicalized. The construction can be paraphrased as 'in N's opinion' or 'as far as N knows'. For example, in (45), this use of the purposive appears on a second-person singular pronoun.

(45) *ɨ̃3ɨ̃3ɨ̃3,* ***ku31ʔkɑ̨1*** *ra3ã3 ni4do3ra3?*
ɨ̃3ɨ̃3ɨ̃3 **ku31=ʔkɑ̨1** ra3ã3 ni4=do3ra3
INTJ:yes **2SG=PURP** TOP 3.SBJ=lie
'Uh-huhhhh, **do you think** it's a lie/joke?' [Adriana, AFG-LVI]

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Many oblique-object verbs assign *=kạ1* to their objects. Two examples are *dau2* + PURP 'look for' (cf. *dau2* + ACC 'see') in (46) and *ta4e3* + PURP 'buy' (cf. *ta4e3* + COM 'sell') in (47).

(46) *di3ẽ3ru1kạ1 na4dau2gɨ4*
di3ẽ3ru1=kạ1 na4=dau2=gɨ4
**money=PURP** 3.SBJ='see'=PL
'They're looking for **money**.' [20170818]
add cite with current style

(47) *ma3rɨ3 ɨ1kɨ2 **na31ʔkạ1** na4ta4e3 ɟa1 ɟi2ma2 ĩ43.*
ma3rɨ3 ɨ1kɨ2 **na31=kạ1** na4=ta4e3 ɟa1 ɟi2ma2 ĩ43
PRF INFO **3=PURP** 3.SBJ=buy/sell DET(III) DEM.MULTI(III) house(III)
'So now they've bought **it**, the house.' [NWG Brazil Trip]

The purposive *=kạ¹* also licenses subordinate clauses of purpose. As these are involved in complex sentences, I describe them in Chapter 25.2.2, on subordination.

### 9.2.5 Comment on oblique cases

Besides the case markers I have just described, there are several other noun phrase enclitics which at least sometimes license adjuncts and could, therefore, be interpreted as oblique cases. One example is *we5* 'behind.' All of these enclitics convey meanings in the domain of space and motion. Thus, I discuss them in the chapter on motion events (Chapter 11).

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# 10 Differential object marking

Ticuna has a complex system of differential object marking. This system controls the distribution of the accusative case. It does not affect the distribution of other case markers, even on the objects of oblique object verbs.

Several factors act together to control differential object marking. I discuss each of these in the order given:

- The conjugation class of the verb (§10.1)
- The animacy of the object (§10.2)
- The noun class of the object (§10.3)

As well as differential marking with the accusative case, Ticuna also has many bivalent verbs which mark the patient with a case other than the accusative. These oblique-object verbs are discussed in Chapter §6.2.3.

The language also displays differential case marking on spatial adjuncts, which is based on different factors than DOM. Differential case marking of adjuncts is discussed in Chapter 11.

## 10.1 Differential accusative marking is conditioned by verb conjugation class

The most important factor controlling DOM is the conjugation class of the verb. Per Chapter 6.1.2, transitive verbs into Ticuna can be divided into two categories: causative verbs and psych verbs.

Causative verbs, such as *ɟau1ʔ* 'get,' do not always assign the accusative case. While many factors govern when the objects of these verbs receive the accusative, the most important is animacy. If the object of a causative is inanimate, it is zero-marked (1).

(1) *wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa4* ***nu2ta2*** *tʃa3ɟa1ʔu2*
wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa4 **nu2ta2** tʃa3=ɟau1ʔ
one DET(II) **rock(II)** 1SGSBJ=get
'I got a rock (no case).' [LWG 2017.3.191]

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In contrast, 'psych' verbs, such as *ku31ʔ* 'kick,' always assign the accusative case, even if the object is inanimate (2).

(2) *wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa4 nu2ta2ʔĩ3 tʃa3ku31ʔu3*
wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa4 nu2ta2=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=ku31ʔ
one DET(II) rock(II)=ACC 1SGSBJ=kick
'I kicked a rock (accusative).' [LWG 2017.3.191]

Because psych verbs always assign the accusative case, they are not affected by any of the other factors controlling DOM, such as the animacy and noun class of the object. These factors matter only to causative verbs.

## 10.2 Differential accusative marking is conditioned by object animacy

For objects of causative verbs, the distribution of the accusative case is governed by the object's position on an animacy hierarchy.

The animacy hierarchy ranks humans (and higher beings such as God, spirits, etc.) highest. Object noun phrases denoting humans are always marked with the accusative.[1] This applies regardless of the animacy of the **agent** of the clause: as long as the object is human, it takes the accusative whether the agent is human (3), an animal (4), or inanimate (5).

(3) *ɲa4a2 **du1ĩ3ʔĩ4*(ʔĩ3)** tʃa3ɟa1ʔu2*
ɲa4a2 **du1ĩ3ʔĩ4=*(ʔĩ3)** tʃa3=ɟa1ʔu2
DEM.PROX(IV) **person(IV)=*(ACC)** 1SGSBJ=get
'I accepted (lit. got) **this person** (accusative required).' [YCG 2017.4.11]

(4) *ko3wa4ru1 rɨ1 **Bi3tu5*(ʔĩ3)** nu5a2 na4ga4*
ko3wa4ru1 rɨ1 **Bi3tu5=*(ʔĩ3)** nu5a2 na4=ga4
horse TOP **Victoria=*(ACC)** here:ALL 3.SBJ=transport:ANIMO
'The horse carried **Victoria** (accusative required) here.' [LWG 2024.1.63]

(5) *wa3pu3ru1 rɨ1 **Bi3tu5*(ʔĩ3)** Ko3we4na1wa5 na4ga4*
wa3pu3ru1 rɨ1 **Bi3tu5=*(ʔĩ3)** Ko3we4na1=wa5
steamship TOP **Victoria=*(ACC)** Caballococha=ALL
na4=ga4
3.SBJ=transport:ANIMO
'The steamship carried **Victoria** (accusative required) to Caballococha.'

[1] Except if they belong to noun class II: see §10.3.2.

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[LWG 2024.1.62]

Animals rank below humans on the animacy hierarchy. If the object of a causative verb is an animal, the accusative is allowed but not obligatory (6–9). Like the accusative marking of human objects, this pattern is insensitive to the animacy of the agent (i.e. it is not an inverse) – it is the same for human (6–7), animal (8), and inanimate (9) agents.

(6) *wɨ43ʔi4 i4* ***ŋo1wa5(ʔĩ3)*** *tʃa3ɟa1ʔu2*
wɨ43ʔi4 i4 **ŋo1wa5=(ʔĩ3)** tʃa3=ɟa1ʔu2
one DET(IV) **fox(IV)=(ACC)** 1SGSBJ=get
'I got a **fox**.' [SSG 2017.3.195]

(7) *wɨ43ʔi4 i4 ai31(ʔĩ3) tʃi3mą1*
wɨ43ʔi4 i4 ai31=(ʔĩ3) tʃi3=mą1
one DET(IV) jaguar(IV)=(ACC) 1SGSBJ=kill.SGO
'I killed a jaguar.' [SSG 2017.3.195]

(8) *ko3wa4ru1 rɨ1 [tʃo31rɨ3 mai3ku5ʔĩ3 / ɲa4a2 mai3ku5] nu5a2 na4ga4*
ko3wa4ru1 rɨ1 [tʃo31rɨ3 mai3ku5=ʔĩ3 / ɲa4a2
horse TOP 1SG.POSS Squirrel.Monkey=ACC / DEM.PROX(IV)
mai3ku5] nu5a2 na4=ga4
Squirrel.Monkey(IV) here.ALL 3.SBJ=transport:ANIMO
'The horse brought a Squirrel Monkey[2] here.' [LWG 2024.1.63]

(9) *wa3pu3ru1 rɨ1 ɲa4a2 ko3wa4ru1(ʔĩ3) nu5a2 na4ga4*
wa3pu3ru1 rɨ1 ɲa4a2 ko3wa4ru1=(ʔĩ3) nu5a2
steamship TOP DEM.PROX(IV) horse(IV)=(ACC) here.ALL
na4=ga4
3.SBJ=transport:ANIMO
'The steamship brought this horse here.' [LWG 2024.1.62]

There is some evidence of a contrast in animacy between different animal species. While the accusative is acceptable with noun phrases denoting mammals, people sometimes find it ungrammatical with noun phrases that denote birds and invertebrates, as in (10–12). However, judgments here are variable. For example, SSG judged the accusative unacceptable with 'chicken' in (11), but LWG found it acceptable, and in fact volunteered it, with the same noun in (12).

[2]Small monkey species often kept as a pet.

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(10) *wɨ43ʔi4 i4 ã2(*ʔɪ̃3) tʃa3ɟa1ʔu2*
wɨ43ʔi4 i4 ã2=(*ʔɪ̃3) tʃa3=ɟa1ʔu2
one DET(IV) mosquito=(*ACC) 1SGSBJ=get
'I got (i.e. grabbed) a mosquito.' [SSG 2017.3.195]

(11) *wɨ43ʔi4 i4 o3ta5(*ʔɪ̃3) tʃi3mą1*
wɨ43ʔi4 i4 o3ta5=(*ʔɪ̃3) tʃi3=mą1
one DET(IV) chicken(IV)=(*ACC) 1SGSBJ=kill.SGO
'I killed a chicken.' [SSG 2017.3.195]

(12) *wa3pu3ru1 rɨ1 ɲa4a2 o3ta5gɨ4(ʔɪ̃3) nu5a2 na4ga4*
wa3pu3ru1 rɨ1 ɲa4a2 o3ta5=gɨ4=(ʔɪ̃3) nu5a2
steamship TOP DEM.PROX(IV) chicken=PL=(ACC) here:ALL
na4=ga4
3.SBJ=transport:ANIMO
'The steamship brought these chickens here.' [LWG 2024.1.62]

Inanimates occupy the lowest position on the animacy hierarchy. For nouns in noun classes II, III, and V, inanimate objects of causative verbs cannot be marked with the accusative, as shown in (13–14). This is the same even if the agent is also inanimate. The only time when the inanimate object of a causative receives the accusative is if it belongs to noun class I (cf. §10.3).

(13) *wɨ43ʔi4 i4 ta3ra5(*ʔɪ̃3) tʃa3ɟa1ʔu2*
wɨ43ʔi4 i4 ta3ra5=(*ʔɪ̃3) tʃa3=ɟa1ʔu2
one DET(IV) machete=(*ACC) 1SGSBJ=get
'I got a machete.' [SSG 2017.3.195]

(14) *wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa4 tɨ1e1(*ʔɪ̃3) tʃa3ɟa1ʔu2*
wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa4 tɨ1e1=(*ʔɪ̃3) tʃa3=ɟa1ʔu2
one DET(III) manioc(III)=(*ACC) 1SGSBJ=get
'I got a (piece of) manioc.' [SSG 2017.3.195]

This data indicates that nouns fall on the animacy hierarchy shown in Figure 10.1.

| Human > | Higher Animal > | Lower Animal > | Inanimate |
|---|---|---|---|
| Accusative obligatory | Optional | Questionably acceptable | Unacceptable |

Figure 10.1: Position on the animacy hierarchy vs. acceptability of the accusative, as object of a causative verb.

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Animacy is the only semantic property of the noun phrase which affects the assignment of the accusative. Definiteness does not matter. For example, while the human and inanimate objects in (3) and (13) above are indefinite, the human and inanimate objects in (15) and (16) are definite, since they are modified by the demonstrative *ɲa4a2*. The definite human object NP requires the accusative, just like the indefinite one (3, cf. 15); likewise, the definite inanimate object NP is ungrammatical with the accusative, the same as the indefinite one (13, cf. 16).

(15) *ɲa4a2 du1ĩ3ʔĩ4(*ʔĩ3) tʃa3ɟa1ʔu2*
ɲa4a2 du1ĩ3ʔĩ4=(*ʔĩ3) tʃa3=ɟa1ʔu2
DEM:SPKR.PROX(IV) person(IV)=(*ACC) 1SGSBJ=get
'I received **this person** as a guest.'[3] [YCG 2017.4.11]

(16) *ɲa4a2 ta3ra5*(ʔĩ3) tʃa3ɟa1ʔu2*
ɲa4a2 ta3ra5=*(ʔĩ3) tʃa3=ɟa1ʔu2
DEM:SPKR.PROX(IV) machete=*(ACC) 1SGSBJ=get
'I got this machete.' [YCG 2017.4.11)]

## 10.3 Differential accusative marking is conditioned by object noun class

For causative verbs, the noun class of the object also affects object marking. Noun class conditions the following behaviors of the object:

- For inanimates, whether the accusative is allowed
- Whether the accusative is realized on the NP vs. on an additional pronoun
- Whether preverbal NP objects co-occur with (i.e. are doubled by) object proclitics

The behaviors of each noun class are shown in Table 10.1.

As Table 10.1 indicates, Class I and Class V behave like each other in all applicable ways. I discuss these together, first. Class II is anomalous and I discuss it alone. But Class III and Class IV behave like each other again, and I describe them together.

[3]The verb *ɟau1ʔ* 'get, receive' will appear in all of these examples for expository reasons because it is one of a fairly small number of causative verbs that allows both animate and inanimate objects. In speaking of a person, it can be glossed 'receive as a guest' or 'get/pick up from location.' There are no syntactic differences between the 'get/receive guest' and 'get object' uses.

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Table 10.1: Differential object marking behavior of each noun class, as object of a causative verb

| Noun Class | Accusative Allowed on Inanimates | Accusative Marked Directly on NP | Preverbal Object Doubling |
|---|---|---|---|
| Class I | + | - | - |
| Class II | - | + | + |
| Class III | - | + | - |
| Class IV | - | + | - |
| Class V | N/A, no inanimates | - | - |

### 10.3.1 Classes I and V

Class I object NPs must always take the accusative, even if they are inanimate. However, the realization of the accusative on Class I NPs varies with animacy.

Animate class I NPs can take the accusative directly on the NP (17). Or, alternatively, they can use a structure where the NP is zero-marked and a coreferential pronoun is case-marked instead. In this structure, a Class I third person pronoun appears between the NP and the verb, and the **pronoun** takes the accusative enclitic (18).

(17) *da31ʔe2* ***bu3e3*(ʔĩ3)*** *tʃa3ɟa1ʔu2*
da31ʔe2 **bu3e3=*(ʔĩ3)** tʃa3=ɟa1ʔu2
DEM:SPKR.PROX(I) **child=*(ACC)** 1SGSBJ=get
'I received this **child**.' [YCG 2017.4.10]

(18) *da31ʔe2 bu3e3* ***ti31ʔĩ3*** *tʃa3ɟa1ʔu2*
da31ʔe2 bu3e3 **ti31=ʔĩ3** tʃa3=ɟa1ʔu2
DEM:SPKR.PROX(I) child(I) **3(I)=ACC** 1SGSBJ=get
'I received this **child**.' [YCG 2017.4.10]

Inanimate class I NPs also take the accusative, but the case can **only** be marked on a coreferential pronoun (19a). Attaching the accusative to the noun is ungrammatical (19b) and so is deleting it completely (19b).[4]

(19) a. *da31ʔe2 wo3ru3a1* ***ti31ʔĩ3*** *tʃa3ɟa1ʔu2*
da31ʔe2 wo3ru3a1 **ti31=ʔĩ3** tʃa3=ɟa1ʔu2
DEM:SPKR.PROX(I) mirror(I) **3(I)=ACC** 1SGSBJ=get
'I got this mirror.'

[4] It's not informative to ask whether retaining the pronoun but deleting the accusative is grammatical, since pronouns without case markers are always unacceptable (Chapter 8).

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b. **da31ʔe2 **wo3ru3a1/wo3ru3a1ʔĩ3** tʃa3ɟa1ʔu2*
*da31ʔe2 **wo3ru3a1/wo3ru3a1=ʔĩ3** tʃa3=ɟa1ʔu2
*DEM:SPKR.PROX(I) **mirror/mirror(I)=ACC** 1SGSBJ=get
(Intended reading: 'I got this mirror.')
[YCG 2017.4.10]

There are very few nouns in Class V. All of them are animate (Chapter 7.2). Class V NP objects behave like Class I animates – they may take the accusative themselves (20a), or they may take it on a separate pronoun following the NP (20b). In the NP + Pro=ACC structure, the pronoun agrees with the Class V NP in noun class.

(20) a. *wɨ43ʔi4 i4 **pa4kɨ3ʔĩ3** tʃa3ɟa1ʔu2*
wɨ43ʔi4 i4 **pa4kɨ3=ʔĩ3** tʃa3=ɟa1ʔu2
one DET(V) **young.woman(V)=ACC** 1SGSBJ=get
'I received a **young woman**.'

b. *wɨ43ʔi4 i4 pa4kɨ3 **ngi1ʔĩ3** tʃa3ɟa1ʔu2*
wɨ43ʔi4 i4 pa4kɨ3 **ngi1=ʔĩ3** tʃa3=ɟa1ʔu2
one DET(V) young.woman(V) **3(V)=ACC** 1SGSBJ=get
'I received a **young woman**.'
[SSG 2017.3.195, LWG 2017.3.183]

Class I and V object NPs can never be cross-referenced by object proclitics to the verb (Chapter 6.2). As one part of this pattern, Class I and V preverbal objects cannot be doubled by object proclitics. (21) shows this for a Class I noun, and (22) for a Class V noun.

(21) **wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa4 wo3ru3a1 **tʃa3na3ɟa1ʔu2***
wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa4 wo3ru3a1 **tʃa3=na3=ɟa1ʔu2**
one DET(I) mirror(I) **1SGSBJ=3.OBJ=get**
(Intended reading: 'I got a mirror.') [YCG 2017.4.1]

(22) **wɨ43ʔi4 i4 pa4kɨ3ʔĩ3 **tʃa3na3ɟa1ʔu2***
wɨ43ʔi4 i4 pa4kɨ3=ʔĩ3 **tʃa3=na3=ɟa1ʔu2**
one DET(V) young.woman=ACC **1SGSBj=3.OBJ=get**
'I received a young woman.' [SSG 2017.3.195]

### 10.3.2 Class II

Class II NP objects are ordinary in some ways and exceptional in others.

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They are ordinary in that they take the accusative only if they are human or animate (23), not if they are inanimate (24). This is the same as Classes III and IV, as discussed below.

(23) *wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa4 nge3ʔtɨ1i3kɨ3ʔĩ3 tʃa3ɟa1ʔu2*
wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa4 nge3ʔtɨ1i3kɨ3=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=ɟa1ʔu2
one DET(II) young.man(II)=ACC 1SGSBJ=get
'I received a young man.' [SSG 2017.3.195]

(24) *wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa4* ***do51wɨ1(*ʔĩ3)*** *tʃa3ɟa1ʔu2*
wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa4 **do51wɨ1=(*ʔĩ3)** tʃa3=ɟa1ʔu2
one DET(II) **manioc.bread(II)=(*ACC)** 1SGSBJ=get
'I got a piece of manioc bread.' [SSG 2017.3.195]

For Class II NP objects, the accusative must appear directly on the NP, as in (23). Unlike in Classes I and V, it cannot appear on an adjacent free pronoun (25). Again, this is the same as in Classes III and IV, as I'll show below.

(25) **wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa4 nge3ʔtɨ1i3kɨ3* ***nɨ31ʔĩ3*** *tʃa3ɟa1ʔu2*
wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa4 nge3ʔtɨ1i3kɨ3 **nɨ31=ʔĩ3** tʃa3=ɟa1ʔu2
*one DET(II) young.man(II) **3=ACC** 1SGSBJ=get
(Attempted reading: 'I received a young man .') [SSG 2017.3.195]

Class II object NPs can be cross-referenced by object proclitics on the verb. This is also the same as for Classes III and IV. However, here we see what is exceptional about Class II: the object proclitic is allowed even if the NP is before the verb (26). In some examples, people even judged the object proclitic obligatory with the preverbal object. (Lilia had this judgment consistently.) This is surprising because in all other noun classes, preverbal objects can **never** co-occur with object proclitics.

(26) *wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa4 do51wɨ1 tʃa3ʔ(na3)ɟa1ʔu2*
wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa4 do51wɨ1 tʃa3=(na3=)ɟa1ʔu2
one DET(II) manioc.bread(II) 1SGSBJ=(3.OBJ=)get
'I got a piece of manioc bread (object doubled by proclitic).'
(SSG 2017.3.195: acceptable with or without *na3=*; LWG 2024.1.63: only acceptable with *na3=*)

There is also an interaction between animacy and Class II object doubling. If a Class II object is animate, it can take the accusative (27a) or be doubled by a proclitic (27b), but not both (27a, 28).

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(27) a. *wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa4 nge3ʔtɨ1i3kɨ3ʔĩ3 tʃa3(*na3)ɟa1ʔu2*
wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa4 nge3ʔtɨ1i3kɨ3=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=(*na3=)ɟa1ʔu2
one DET(II) young.man(II)=ACC 1SGSBJ=(*3.OBJ=)get
'I received a young man.'

b. *wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa4 nge3ʔtɨ1i3kɨ3 tʃa3(na3)ɟa1ʔu2*
wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa4 nge3ʔtɨ1i3kɨ3 tʃa3(na3)ɟa1ʔu2
one DET(II) young.man(II) 1SGSBJ=(3.OBJ=)get
'I received a young man.'
[LWG 2024.1.63]

(28) *da2a2 nge3ʔtɨ1i3kɨ3(*ʔĩ3) tʃa3na3ɟa1ʔu2*
da2a2 nge3ʔtɨ1i3kɨ3(*=ʔĩ3) tʃa3na3ɟa1ʔu2
DEM(II) young.man(II)(*=ACC) 1SGSBJ=(3.OBJ)=get
'I received this young man.' [YCG 2017.4.10]

These examples show the other exceptional property of Class II: it's acceptable to leave Class II human objects zero-marked, even if they aren't doubled by proclitics. This pattern is seen in the form of (27)b with no proclitic (which is acceptable) and again in the grammatical form of (28). It's the only exception to the rule that human objects always take the accusative.

### 10.3.3 Classes III and IV

Class III contains only inanimate nouns. Class IV contains animates and inanimates. In these two noun classes, inanimates do not take the accusative (29–30). Class IV animates do take it, as shown by (31) (these examples are repeated from §10.2 above).

(29) *wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa1 tɨ1e1(*ʔĩ3) tʃa3ɟa1ʔu2*
wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa1 tɨ1e1(=*ʔĩ3) tʃa3=ɟa1ʔu2
one DET(III) manioc(=ACC) 1SGSBJ=get
'I got a piece of manioc (Class III).' [SSG 2017.3.195]

(30) *wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa1 ta3ra5(*ʔĩ3) tʃa3ɟa1ʔu2*
wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa1 ta3ra5(=*ʔĩ3) tʃa3=ɟa1ʔu2
one DET(IV) machete(=*ACC) 1SGSBJ=get
'I got a machete (Class IV).'
[SSG 2017.3.195]

(31) *ɲa4a2 du1ĩ3ʔĩ4*(ʔĩ3) tʃa3ɟa1ʔu2*

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ɲa4a2 du1ĩ3ʔĩ4=*(ʔĩ3) tʃa3=ɟa1ʔu2
DEM:SPKR.PROX(IV) person(IV)=*(ACC) 1SGSBJ=get
'I received **this person** (Class IV) as a guest.' [YCG 2017.4.11]

The NP + Pro=ACC structure found with Class I NP objects is ungrammatical for Classes III and IV NP objects. This holds regardless of animacy (32).

(32) **wɨ43ʔi4 [ɟa1 tɨ1e1 / i4 ta3ra5 / i4 ko3ra3pi3na1] nɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa3ɟa1ʔu2*
*wɨ43ʔi4 [ɟa1 tɨ1e1 / i4 ta3ra5 / i4
*one [DET(III) manioc(III) / DET(IV) machete(IV) / DET(IV)
ko3ra3pi3na1] nɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=ɟa1ʔu2
carpenter(IV)] 3=ACC 1SGSBJ=get
(Attempted reading: 'I got a piece of manioc (III) / a machete (IV) / a carpenter (IV).') [SSG 2017.3.195]

Structures with a preverbal NP object plus an object proclitic are also ungrammatical for noun classes III and IV (33).

(33) *wɨ43ʔi4 [ɟa1 tɨ1e1 / i4 ta3ra5 / i4 ko3ra3pi3na1] tʃa3(*na3)ɟa1ʔu2*
wɨ43ʔi4 [ɟa1 tɨ1e1 / i4 ta3ra5 / i4 ko3ra3pi3na1]
one [DET(III) manioc(III) / DET(IV) machete / DET(IV) carpenter(IV)]
tʃa3=(*na3=)ɟa1ʔu2
1SGSBJ=(*3.OBJ)=get
'I got a piece of manioc (III) / a machete (IV) / a carpenter (IV).' [SSG 2017.3.195]

## 10.4 Marking of pronominal objects

All of my description of DOM so far has concerned NP objects. For the pronominal objects of causative verbs, DOM is much simpler: it is controlled only by person and noun class.

### 10.4.1 Local persons

First and second person objects are always realized as free pronouns marked with the accusative case. This is shown by the attested examples in (34)-(35) for the 1sg and 2sg and for all of the plural local persons in the elicited examples (36)-(38).

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(34) *da2a2 pastor ma3ri3 nu5a2 tʃo31ʔĩ3 na4ga4*
da2a2 pastor ma3ri3 nu5a2 tʃo31=ʔĩ3
DEM.SPKR.PROX SP:pastor PRF DLOC:PROX 1SG=ACC
na4=ga4
3.SBJ=transport:ANIMO
'This pastor brought me here.' [NWG Trip 38:11]

(35) *ku31ri3 ɟo3ra5 ku31ʔĩ3 a3ga1ʔ?*
ku31ri3 ɟo3ra5 ku31=ʔĩ3 a3=ga4=ʔ
2SG.POSS owner 2SG=ACC AM=transport:ANIMO=SUB
'Is your boss going to come and take you with him/her?' [YCG, 2019C3-C7, 7:03]

(36) *ɟi1e2ma4 ri1 Bi3tu5 ti31ʔĩ3 na4ɟau1ʔgi4*
ɟi1e2ma4 ri1 Bi3tu5 ti31=ʔĩ3 na4=ɟau1ʔ=gi4
1INCL.TOP TOP personal.name 1INCL=ACC 3=receive=PL
'As for you and I, Victoria received us (inclusive).' [LWG 2024.1.64]

(37) *Bi3tu5 ri1 to31ʔĩ3 na4ɟau17gi4*
Bi3tu5 ri1 to31=ʔĩ3 na4=ɟau17=gi4
personal.name TOP 1EXCL=ACC 3=receive=PL
'As for Victoria, she received us (exclusive).' [LWG 2024.1.64]

(38) *Bi3tu5 ri1 pe31ʔĩ3 na4ɟa1ʔu2*
Bi3tu5 ri1 pe31=ʔĩ3 na4=ɟa1ʔu2
personal.name TOP 2PL=ACC 3=receive
'As for Victoria, she received you guys.' [LWG 2024.1.64]

### 10.4.2 Third person: Class I and V

Class I (39–40) and Class V (41) third-person pronominal objects look just like local pronouns. They are realized as free pronouns with the accusative case, not proclitics. Animacy does not matter to this pattern. (39–40) show the irrelevance of animacy for Class I; Class V contains only animates.

Note that (40) and following pronominal examples in this section have pronominal objects before the verb and a full NP after the verb. This structure is extremely common in Ticuna, and the behavior of the preverbal pronoun is exactly the same whether the NP is there or not (see Chapter 6.3). Therefore, I consider these examples to have pronominal rather than NP objects.

(39) *ma3ri3i1ʔki2 ti31ʔĩ3 na1ga4*

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ma3rɨ3=ɨ1ʔkɨ2 tɨ31=ʔĩ3 na1=ga4
PRF=INFO 3(I)=ACC IMP=transport:ANIMO
'Take him/her (Class I) away.' [2019C12 CG, 6:36]

(40) *Bi3tu5 rɨ1 tɨ31ʔĩ3 na4ɟa1ʔu2 ɟa4 [bu3e3 / tʃo31rɨ3 kɨ3ʔtʃi1]*
Bi3tu5 rɨ1 tɨ31=ʔĩ3 na4=ɟa1ʔu2 ɟa4 [bu3e3 / tʃo31rɨ3
personal.name TOP 3(I)=ACC 3=receive DET(I) [baby(I) / 1SGPOSS
kɨ3ʔtʃi1]
knife(I)]
'As for Victoria, she received him/her/it, [the baby (Class I) / my knife (Class I)].' [LWG 2024.1.64]

(41) *Bi3tu5 rɨ1 ŋi31ʔĩ3 na4ɟa1ʔu2 i4 ŋe4ma2 pa4kɨ3*
Bi3tu5 rɨ1 ŋi31=ʔĩ3 na4=ɟa1ʔu2 i4 ŋe4ma2
personal.name TOP 3(V)=ACC 3=receive DET(V) DEM.ANA(V)
pa4kɨ3
young.woman(V)
'As for Victoria, she received her (as a guest), that (anaphoric) young woman.' [LWG 2024.1.64]

For Classes I and V, it is ungrammatical either to replace the free preverbal pronoun with an object proclitic (42), or to use both the free preverbal pronoun and an object proclitic (43).

(42) **Bi3tu5 rɨ1 na4na3ɟa1ʔu2 [ɟa4 tʃo31rɨ3 kɨ37tʃi1 ɟa4 te5e3 / i4 ŋe4ma2 pa4kɨ3]*
*Bi3tu5 rɨ1 na4=na3=ɟa1ʔu2 ɟa4 tʃo31rɨ3 kɨ37tʃi1 ɟa4
*personal.name TOP 3.SBJ=3.OBJ=get DET(I) 1SG.POSS knife(I) DET(I)
te5=e3 / i4 ŋe4ma2 pa4kɨ3
sharp=NMLZ(I) / DET(V) DEM.ANA(V) young.woman(V)
(Intended reading: 'Victoria got it, my sharp knife [Class I] / that young woman [Class V].') [LWG 2024.1.64]

(43) a. **Bi3tu5 rɨ1 tɨ31ʔĩ3 na4na3ɟa1ʔu2 ɟa4 tʃo31rɨ3 kɨ3ʔtʃi1 ɟa4 te5e3*
*Bi3tu5 rɨ1 tɨ31=ʔĩ3 na4=na3=ɟa1ʔu2 ɟa4 tʃo31rɨ3 kɨ3ʔtʃi1
personal.name TOP 3(I)=ACC 3.SBJ=3.OBJ=get DET(I) 1SGPOSS knife
ɟa4 te5=e3
DET(I) sharp=NMLZ(I)
(Intended reading: 'Victoria got it, my sharp knife [Class I]') [LWG 2024.1.64]

b. **Bi3tu5 rɨ1 ŋi31ʔĩ3 na4na3ɟa1ʔu2 i4 ŋe4ma2 pa4kɨ3*

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*Bi3tu5 ri1 ŋji31=ʔĩ3 na4=na3=ɟa1ʔu2 i4 ŋe4ma2
*personal.name TOP 3(V)=ACC 3.SBJ=3.OBJ=get DET(V) DEM.ANA(V)
pa4ki3
young.woman(V)
(Intended reading: 'Victoria received her as a guest, that young woman [Class V]') [LWG 2024.1.64]

### 10.4.3 Third person: Classes II, III, and IV

Pronominal objects in noun classes II, III, and IV display exactly the opposite behavior to classes I and V. They can **only** be realized as object proclitics, as shown by the elicited examples in (44–45) for Class II, (46) for Class III, and (47) for Class IV. For the classes that contain animates, animacy again does not matter (47).

(44) Context: What happened to the young man (Class II)?
*Bi3tu5 ri1 ni31gi1ʔĩ1ta1wa5 na4na3ɟa1ʔu2*
Bi3tu5 ri1 ni31=gi1=ĩ1ta1=wa5 na4=na3=ɟau1ʔ
personal.name TOP 3=REFL=RN:at=ALL 3.SBJ=3.OBJ=get
'Victoria received him (Class II) in her own home.' [LWG 2024.1.64]

(45) Context: What happened to the handsaw (Class II)?
*Bi3tu5 ri1 na4na3ɟa1ʔu2*
Bi3tu5 ri1 na4=na3=ɟau1ʔ
personal.name TOP 3.SBJ=3.OBJ=get
'Victoria picked it (Class II) up.' [LWG 2024.1.64]

(46) *Bi3tu5 ri1 na4na3ɟa1ʔu2 ɟa1 ta31ʔĩ5ne1 ɟa1 ku31ri3 ngu31e3*
Bi3tu5 ri1 na4=na3=ɟau1ʔ ɟa1 ta31=ʔĩ5ne1 ɟa1
personal.name TOP 3.SBJ=3.OBJ=get DET(III) big=NMLZ(III) DET(III)
ku31ri3 ngu31e3
2SGPOSS canoe(III)
'Victoria picked it up, your big canoe (Class III)' [LWG 2024.1.64]

(47) *Bi3tu5 ri1 na4na3ɟa1ʔu2 i4 [nge3ma2 bu3ʔĩ4 / tʃo31ri3 ta3ra5]*
Bi3tu5 ri1 na4=na3=ɟau1ʔ i4 [nge3ma2 bu3ʔĩ4
personal.name TOP 3.SBJ=3.OBJ=get DET(IV) [DEM.ANA(IV) child(IV)
/ tʃo31ri3 ta3ra5]
1SGPOSS machete(IV)]
'Victoria picked him/her/it up, that child (Class IV) / my machete (Class IV).' [LWG 2024.1.64]

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The object proclitic structure is the only one that is acceptable with a pronominal object for Classes II-IV. It is ungrammatical to use a free pronoun instead of or in addition to the proclitic (48).

(48) Context: What happened to the handsaw (Class II)?
**Bi3tu5 rɨ1 nɨ31ʔĩ3 na4ɟa1ʔu2 / na4na3ɟa1ʔu2*
*Bi3tu5 rɨ1 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 na4=ɟau1ʔ / na4=na3=ɟau1ʔ
Victoria TOP 3=ACC 3.SBJ=get / 3.SBJ=3.OBJ=get
(Intended reading: 'Victoria picked it up.') [LWG 2024.1.64]

Recall that Class II (unlike Classes III and IV) does allow preverbal NP objects to be doubled by proclitics (§10.3.2). However, this doubling is allowed only if the preverbal realization is a zero-marked NP – see, for example, (27) – not if it is a pronoun (48).

## 10.5 Summary of differenital accusative marking

Accusative marking in Ticuna is conditioned by the conjugation class of the verb and the word class, animacy, and noun class of the object. The following tables summarize the conditioning factors for each conjugation class. Table 10.2 shows the rules for psych verbs (§10.1), which are based exclusively on the word class of the object. Table 10.3 shows the rules for causative verbs (§10.2-§10.4). These rules are much more complex, since they involve the animacy and noun class of the object as well as the word class.

Table 10.2: Factors conditioning accusative marking for psych verbs

| Object word class: | |
|---|---|
| Noun phrase | Always marked with accusative |
| Pronoun | Always realized as free word and marked with accusative |

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Table 10.3: Factors conditioning accusative marking for causative verbs

1. Object word class
    a) Noun phrase
    Noun class conditions:
        i. Whether accusative appears
        Class I, V: Always take accusative
        Class II, III, IV: Accusative based on animacy
        ii. How accusative is realized
        Class I, V: NP + Pro=ACC structure
        Class II, IV: NP=ACC structure
        Class III: No animates; never take accusative
        iii. Whether preverbal object NPs can be doubled by object proclitics
        Class I, III, IV, V: Doubling is ungrammatical
        Class II: Doubling is grammatical
    b) Pronoun
    Person and noun class condition:
        i. Realization as free accusative pronoun vs. proclitic
        First or second person: Pro=ACC
        Third person Class I, V: Pro=ACC
        Third person Class II, III, IV: Proclitic
2. Animacy
    a) Human object
    Class I, V: Accusative obligatory; NP=ACC or NP + Pro=ACC
    Class II: Accusative optional (interacts with object doubling); if present, NP=ACC only
    Class III: N/A, no human nouns
    Class IV: Accusative obligatory; NP=ACC only
    b) Inanimate object
    Class I: Accusative obligatory; NP + Pro=ACC only
    Class II, III, IV: Accusative ungrammatical
    Class V: N/A, no inanimates
    c) Non-human animate object
    Human pattern and inanimate pattern both acceptable

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# 11 The language of space

Ticuna has a very large inventory of lexical and grammatical resources for expressing motion and location in space. These include directionals and associated motion markers (Chapter 18), case markers that primarily convey spatial relations (Chapter 9.2), and demonstratives (Chapter 13.3; Skilton 2019, 2021b).

This chapter describes areas in the language of space which do not fit well within other chapters, for example because they are very irregular or involve resources from several different grammatical subsystems. I begin by describing the basic locative construction and the expression of intransitive motion events (§11.1). Next, with this background, I describe the language's extensive system of differential case marking of spatial adjuncts (§11.2). This system is conditioned exclusively by properties of the verb and causes alternations between the allative and locative cases in the same semantic roles.

In a separate system from the verb-conditioned case alternation, some other spatial nouns, such as the demonstratives equivalent to *here* and *there*, mark case exclusively via tone, rather than via segmental enclitics. Four other spatial nouns, such as 'nearby,' have allative and locative forms which are irregular in different ways. Locative demonstratives and other irregular spatial nouns are discussed in §11.3.

Finally, in §11.4, I consider the expression of topological relations. Rather than postpositions, Ticuna expresses topological relations using a system of spatial relational nouns, such as the inalienable noun *pe̱1e3* 'front/in front of.' Relational nouns take case-marking; they do not replace it (i.e., are not postpositions).

§11.2, and some content in other sections of the chapter, are adapted from Skilton & Obert (2022).

## 11.1 Simple intransitive expressions of motion and location

To express the static location of a person, place, or object, the most common strategy is to use the basic locative verb *ŋe2ʔma5* or its remote-past counterpart

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*ɟe2ʔma5*. These verbs are derived from the locative forms of the language's two anaphoric demonstratives (§11.3).

In the basic locative construction with *ŋe2ʔma5* ~ *ɟe2ʔma5*, the figure is the subject and the ground/location is an adjunct with the allative case (1). It is also possible to express static location using a verbless locative construction (cf. Chapter 21.6), but the basic locative verb is at least ten times more frequent in this use.

(1) *ma3ri3 Ki3ʔtʃi3tu1wa⁵ ta5ŋe2ʔma5*
ma3ri3 Ki3ʔtʃi3tu1=wa⁵ ta5=ŋe2ʔma5
PRF Cushillococha=ALL 3(I).SBJ=be.in.place
'By then he was in Cushillococha.' [ABS, 2015-06.039, tca_20170825_abs_ahs_elicit_001.wav]
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In the regular construction for an intransitive motion event, the *goal* of motion is marked with the allative *=wa5* only (2). The *source* of motion, on the other hand, is generally marked with the allative *=wa5* followed by the source enclitic *=ne5* (3). However, source is sometimes marked with *=wa5* alone (4).

(2) *ti31ma2a1ne1wa5 ta5ʔũ53*
ti31ma2=a1ne1=wa5 ta5=ũ53
3(I)=garden=ALL 3(I).SBJ=go.SG
'She went to her garden.' [LWG tau]

(3) *gu31ʔe2ma5 ta31e3ɟa1 ga5* ***Ka3ni3ma3ru1wa5ne5*** *ũ31e3*
gu31ʔe2ma5 ta31=e3ɟa1 ga5 **Ka3ni3ma3ru1=wa5=ne5**
DEM.REM.PST(I) 1INCL=sister DET.REM.PST **Canimaru=ALL=SOURCE**
ũ53=e3
go.SGS=NMLZ(I)
'that sister of ours who came **from Canimarú**' [NWG Brazil Trip]

(4) *ri1 ɟe5ma5* ***no31ʔẽ⁵wa⁵*** *i⁵na5ɟa3ɟi31 ga5 ta2ʔre5 ga5 ai31ru⁵gi5,* ***na31a1ni1wa⁵***
ri1 ɟe5ma5 **no31ʔẽ⁵=wa⁵** i⁵=na5=ɟa3=ɟi31
and DEM.ANA.REM.PST(IV) **grandmother(IV)=ALL** VCL=3.SBJ=AM=fall.PL
ga5 ta2ʔre5 ga5 ai31ru⁵=gi5 **na53=a1ni1=wa⁵**
DET.REM.PST two DET.REM.PST dog=PL **DFLT.POSS=belly=ALL**
'Then two dogs suddenly appeared (lit. fell) **from the old woman, from the belly**.' [LWG tak]

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The source of motion can also be marked with the recipient case *=na1*, as in (5). In the corpus materials, this strategy occurs only when the source is animate. However, consultants do accept it with inanimates (6).

(5) *nu2ã5ma5 ta5* ***ku31ʔna1*** *i5tʃi3ʔã1ku2tʃi5*
nu2a2=ã5ma5 ta5 **ku31=na1** i5=tʃi3=ã1-ku2tʃi5
here.LOC=toward FUT **2SG=RCP** VCL=1SG.SBJ=paddle-DIR:inward
'I'm going to paddle (a canoe) inward toward here, **away from you**.' [Laura, LSC-VSC]

(6) Context: My canoe began to sink, so I got in another and went back to shore.
*ʎu31e3na1 tʃi3ʔã1ga1tʃi3*
ʎu31e3=na1 tʃi3=ã1-ga1tʃi3
canoe=RCP 1SG.SBJ=paddle-DIR:away
'I'm paddling away from the canoe.' [LCS.20160621]
add cite in current style

All manner-of-motion verb roots, such as *ŋa53* 'run' and *ã1* 'paddle boat,' take /i/-class inflection (Chapter 6.1.2) in citation form, as well as in full clauses where the goal of motion is not expressed. However, if the goal *is* expressed, then the root motion verb must take /a/-class inflection instead (7). This rule applies only to root motion verbs, not to motion stems with a directional suffix, such as *-ku2tʃi* 'DIR:inward' in (5).

(7) *ta31ʔtɨ5wa5* ✓*tʃa3ʔã1* / **tʃi3ʔã1*
ta31ʔtɨ5=wa5 ✓tʃa3=ã1 / *tʃi3=ã1
Amazon.River=ALL ✓1SG.SBJ.A=paddle / *1SGSBJ.I=paddle
'I paddled a boat to the (main course of the) Amazon River.' [DGG 2017.3.71]

The *ground* of motion takes the locative *=gu2* (8). When only the ground is expressed, the verb takes /i/-class inflection (not /a/-class).

(8) *na5ʔta5a2gu2 tʃi3ʔã1*
na5=ʔta5a2=gu2 tʃi3=ã1
DFLT.POSS=lake=LOC 1SG.SBJ.I=paddle
'I paddled a boat on the lake.' [DGG 2017.3.71]

To express the *direction* of a path, in contrast to the source or goal as a point, the enclitic *=ã5ma5* ~ *=ma5* 'toward' is added to the source/goal adjunct (9).

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(9) Context: Where is Feijoal (a Ticuna community in Brazil)?
*ɟa5ĩ2ʔi1ra3ʔĩ5ta2ã5, **Benjaminwa5ã5ma5.***
ɟa5ĩ2=ʔi1ra1=ʔĩ5=ta2ã5 **Benjamin=wa5=ã5ma5**
far.away=sort.of=SUB=only **Benjamin.Constant=ALL=toward**
'It's a little bit farther away **in the direction of Benjamin Constant** (a multi-ethnic town in Brazil).' [YCG HALDI]

## 11.2 Differential case marking of spatial adjuncts

The system for marking spatial adjuncts described in §11.1 is not the full story of spatial adjunct case-marking in Ticuna. Instead, the §11.1 system applies only to intransitive verbs of motion and location that do not take any verb-classifier proclitics. If a verb has one of these proclitics, is transitive, or is not a motion verb, then the spatial adjuncts of the clause are subject to a different, complex set of differential case marking rules.

The main form of differential case marking consists of alternation between the allative and locative cases. There is also a less complex alternation between the locative case and zero.

### 11.2.1 The allative-locative alternation

The allative-locative alternation affects static location adjuncts for all verbs. It also affects goal and ground adjuncts for verbs of motion and placement.

The alternations on these adjunct types are conditioned by three properties of the verb: presence of an *i2=*/*i5=* verb classifier (§11.2.1.1), lexical aspect (§11.2.1.2), and transitivity (§11.2.1.3). Properties of the noun are not relevant.

#### 11.2.1.1 Conditioned by verbal proclitics

Certain Ticuna verbs always take a proclitic consisting of the vowel /i/ before the subject proclitic in the citation form. I refer to these proclitics as verb classifiers. For some verbs with a classifier, such as *tạ1* 'discard,' this proclitic has tone 5 (10). For others, such as the homophonous verb 'bury,' it has tone 2 (11).

(10) **(i⁵)tʃa3na3tạ1*
*(i⁵=)tʃa3=na3=tạ1
*(VCL)=1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=discard.SG
'I discarded it.' [LWG, tca_20170725_lwg_ahs_elicit_001.wav]

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(11) **(i2)tʃa3na3tą1*
*(i2=)tʃa3=na3=tą1
*(VCL)=1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=bury.SG
'I buried it.' [DGG, tca_20170725_dgg_ahs_elicit_001.wav]
add cites in current style

There are several dozen verb roots where, as with 'discard' and 'bury,' the *i2=/i5=* proclitic is associated with the root and appears whenever it does. Additionally, certain directionals – such as *-ʔɨ2tʃi5* 'outward' – also cause the verb to take an *i2=/i5=* proclitic as part of the exponence of the directional construction (Chapter 18.1). When a verb stem includes one of these directional suffixes, the stem can require *i2=/i5=* even if the root does not (Chapter 18.1.1.1). I gloss tokens of *i2=/i5=* which participate in the exponence of directionals as DIR rather than VCL.

If a verb stem takes the proclitic *$i^5$=* in its citation form, as either a verb classifier or a directional, then – when the verb appears with a spatial adjunct – it assigns the allative case marker *=$wa^5$* to the adjunct. The *$i^5$=* proclitic deletes, as shown for *tą1* 'discard' in (12).

(12) **(na31ma3$wa^5$) tʃa3na3tą1*
*(na53=ma3=$wa^5$) tʃa3=na3=tą1
*(DFLT.POSS=path=ALL) 1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=discard.SG
'I discarded it *(on the path) (allative).' [LWG, tca_20170725_lwg_ahs_elicit_001.wav]
add cite in current style

Likewise, if a verb takes the proclitic *i2=* in its citation form, then when it appears with a spatial adjunct, it always assigns it the locative case marker *=gu2*. Exactly as with *i5=*, the *i2=* proclitic deletes when an adjunct is assigned *=gu2*, as shown for 'bury' in (13).

(13) **(ĩ31ą̃1tɨ3gu2) tʃa3na3tą1*
*(ĩ31ą̃1tɨ3=gu2) tʃa3=na3=tą1
*(yard=LOC) 1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=bury.SG
'I buried it *(in the yard) (locative).' [DGG, tca_20170725_dgg_ahs_elicit_001.wav,]
add cite in current style

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To sum up, verbs in the category represented by 'discard' must take either *i5=* or an allative adjunct, and verbs in the category with 'bury' must take either *i2=* or a locative adjunct. This pattern indicates that these verbs require a spatial adjunct with a particular case value – locative or allative. This requirement can be satisfied either by the presence of a case-marked noun phrase, or by the presence of *i2=* and *i5=* proclitics. I analyze these proclitics as locative (*i2=*) and allative (*i5=*) pronouns which absorb the verb's requirement for an allative or locative phrase. The allative or locative phrase is obligatory and has a morphological realization as a proclitic. In Ticuna, these two properties are otherwise only properties of core arguments (subjects and objects), meaning that it is debatable whether the location phrases that occur with *i2=* and *i5=* verbs are really adjuncts, or just additional arguments with different case marking.

Like other parts of the language's verb classification system (Chapter 6), whether a verb takes a VCL proclitic has some correlation with semantics. For example, all intransitive posture verbs, such as 'stand' and 'sit,' take VCL proclitics. However, it is much less clear what conditions whether a verb with a VCL proclitic will require an allative phrase vs. a locative phrase. To return to *tɑ1* 'discard' and *tɑ1* 'bury,' these two roots are homophonous, belong to the same conjugation class, and belong to the same object syntax class. However, 'discard' requires an allative phrase, while 'bury' requires a locative phrase.

Some verb roots and stems have *i2=/i5=* proclitics which do *not* delete in the presence of a location adjunct, or where the deletion is variable. For these verbs, the assignment of case to the location adjunct still follows the rule just given: *i2=* verbs assign the locative to location adjuncts, while *i5=* verbs assign the allative. Two examples of verb roots with this behavior are *ga1* 'swallow' and *pi5* 'wipe,' which both take *i5=* in the citation form, assign *=wa5* to location adjuncts, and yet cannot delete the *i5=* in the presence of the adjunct (14–15).

(14) *tʃo1pa5ta3wa$^{5}$ *(i$^{5}$)tʃa3na3ga1*
tʃau1=pa5ta3=wa$^{5}$ *(i$^{5}$=)tʃa3=na3=ga1
1SG=house=ALL (*VCL=)1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=swallow
'I swallowed it (a pill) in my house.' [LWG 2017.3.28]

(15) *tʃo1pa5ta3wa$^{5}$ *(i$^{5}$)tʃa3na3pi5*
tʃau1=pa5ta3=wa$^{5}$ *(i$^{5}$=)tʃa3=na3=pi5
1SG=house=ALL (*VCL=)1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=wipe
'I wiped it in my house.' [LWG 2017.3.28]

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#### 11.2.1.2 Conditioned by lexical aspect

In an extremely typologically unusual pattern, the allative-locative alternation can also be controlled by the lexical aspect of the verb.

Specifically, if the clause describes a non-motion event and the verb is an achievement, then adjuncts expressing the location (i.e., ground) of the event take the locative case. Using the allative case is ungrammatical, as shown in (16–18).The three verbs in these examples – *pu3* 'shatter', *gau51ʔ* 'rip', and *ɟu2* 'die' – are all clearly achievements because they pass the language-internal tests for achievements defined in Chapter 14.2.2.[1]

(16) *na5pa5ta3[✓/*wa⁵] ni5pu31 ɟa1 da31a1 po3ra5tu1*
na5=pa5ta3[✓gu2/*wa⁵] ni5=pu31 ɟa1 da31a1 po3ra5tu1
3=house=[✓LOC/*ALL] 3.SBJ=shatter DET(III) DEM.PROX(III) plate(III)
'This plate shattered in his/her house.' [LWG 20170628-002

(17) *ti3re1[✓gu2/*wa⁵] tʃo31ri3 dau⁵ĩ2 na5ri3gau⁵1*
ti3re1=[✓gu2/*wa⁵] tʃo31ri3 dau⁵ĩ2 na5ri3=gau⁵1
port=ALL[✓=LOC/*=ALL] 1SG.POSS shirt 3.SBJ=rip
'My shirt ripped in the port.' [LWG 20170628-002

(18) *ĩ31ɑ̃1ti3[✓gu2/*wa⁵] na5ɟu2 i5 ku3ru3ru⁵*
ĩ31ɑ̃1ti3[✓=gu2/*=wa⁵] na5=ɟu2 i5 ku3ru3ru⁵
yard=ALL[✓=LOC/*=ALL] 3.SBJ=die DET(IV) frog(IV)
'The frog died in the yard.' [DGG 20170626-001]
add cite in current style

In contrast, if the verb of a non-motion clause is not an achievement, then all adjuncts expressing the location/ground of the event take the *allative* case. Using the locative is ungrammatical. This is shown for a stative verb in (19), an activity in (20), and an accomplishment in (21). See Chapter 14.2 for evidence of the lexical aspect of these verbs.

(19) *na5pa5ta3[✓wa⁵/*gu2] Bi3tu⁵ ri1 no⁵1ri3 ma3ma⁵ʔĩ3 na5ʎe5tʃa1ĩ1*

[1]For example, these verbs are all unacceptable as the complement of the phasal verb *i2gi5* 'begin', unacceptable with the distributive *=tʃi1gi1* when all of their arguments are interpreted as singular, and unacceptable with the achievement-deriving enclitic *=ã5tʃi5*.

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na5=pa5ta3=[✓wa$^{5}$/*gu2] Bi3tu$^{5}$ ri1 no$^{5}$1ri3 ma3ma$^{5}$=ʔĩ3
3=house=[✓ALL/*LOC] Victoria TOP 3.POSS mother=ACC
na5=ʎe5tʃa1ĩ1
3.SBJ=love/miss
'Victoria missed her mother in her house.' [LWG 20170628-001]

(20) *na53pa5ta3[✓wa$^{5}$/*gu2] na5wi3ɟa3e3*
na53=pa5ta3=[✓wa$^{5}$/*gu2] na5=wi3ɟa3e3
DFLT.POSS=house=[✓ALL/*LOC] 3.SBJ=sing
'He sang in the house.' [LWG 20170628-001]

(21) *Ka3ru1 ri1 ti3re1[✓wa$^{5}$/*gu2] wi53ʔi5 ɟa1 ʎu31e3 na5ʔi2*
Ka3ru1 ri1 ti3re1=[✓wa$^{5}$/*gu2] wi53ʔi5 ɟa1 ʎu31e3 na5=i2
Carlos TOP port=[✓ALL/*LOC] one DET(III) canoe(III) 3.SBJ=make
'Carlos made a canoe in the port.' [ECP, 20170629-002]
add cite in current style

While verbs with *i2=* and *i5=* proclitics belong to a variety of lexical aspect classes, they are not subject to lexical aspect-based case alternations. Instead, they assign location adjuncts the case associated with their /i/ proclitic. For example, the verb *tʃi5* 'stand' takes the verb classifier proclitic *i2=*. Based on language-internal tests of lexical aspect, it is also a stative verb. If 'stand' followed the lexical aspect-controlled case-marking pattern, it would mark location phrases with allative *=wa$^{5}$*, like other statives, such as *ʎe5tʃa1ĩ1* 'love/miss a person' in (20). However, 'stand' instead follows the morphological pattern. Like other verbs that bear the *i2=* verb classifier, such as *tg̱a1* 'bury' in (13), it marks locations with *=gu2*.

(22) *ĩ31g̃1ti3[✓gu2/*wa$^{5}$] tʃa3tʃi5*
ĩ31g̃1ti3=[✓gu2/*wa$^{5}$] tʃa3=tʃi5
yard=[✓ALL/*LOC] 1SG.SBJ=stand
'I stood in the yard.' [ABS, tca_20170725_abs_i2i5.txt]

Conversely, *ʎu3* 'arrive' is an achievement, but it takes the verb classifier *i5=*. Therefore, it assigns the ground/goal where the subject arrives the allative case (23), rather than the locative case of other achievements.

(23) *ɲa5a2a1ri3 cumpleanoswa5 na1ʎu2ʔĩ5*
ɲa5a2=a1ri3 cumpleanos=wa5 na1=ʎu3=ʔĩ5
DEM.PROX(IV)=POSS SP:birthday=ALL 3.SBJ.SC=arrive=SUB
'S/he has arrived at this one's birthday party.' [C10-C13 CCI, CG]

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In other words, when morphology – i.e., the presence of a verb classifier – conditions a different case assignment than lexical aspect, the morphologically conditioned case wins out.

#### 11.2.1.3 Conditioned by transitivity

As discussed in §11.1, intransitive verbs of motion assign the allative case to the goal of motion and the locative case to the ground of motion (8). *Transitive* verbs of caused motion and placement have exactly the opposite pattern. They assign the locative to the goal of motion (24) and the allative to the ground of motion (25). Reversing the case assignment to the intransitive pattern leads to a reversal in the interpretation of the roles, as shown by the comment on (25).

(24) *ku31tʃi⁵ĩ1[✓gu2/*wa⁵] tʃa3na3ʔi53 i5 wi53ʔi5 i5 tʃo3ka1*
ku31=tʃi⁵ĩ1=[✓gu2/*wa⁵] tʃa3=na3=i53 i5 wi53ʔi5
2SG=house=[✓LOC/*ALL] 1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=put.INAN DET(IV) one
i5 tʃo3ka1
DET(IV) bag(IV)
'I dropped off (lit. put) a bag at your house.' [DGG 20170626-002]

(25) Context: On a field, I played soccer.
*campo[✓wa⁵/*gu2] ti31ʔĩ3 tʃa3ku31ʔu3 ɟa5 pe3ru5ta1*
campo=[✓wa⁵/*gu2] ti31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=ku31ʔ ɟa5 pe3ru5ta1
SP:field[✓ALL/*LOC] 3(I)=ACC 1SG.SBJ=kick DET(I) ball(I)
'I kicked the ball on the field.'
AHS: Can you say this with *campogu2* (ground = locative)?
LWG: That means you were somewhere else and you kicked the ball onto the field (i.e., goal). [LWG 20170623-002]
add cite in current style

The transitive pattern applies to all verbs of placement. For example, *i53* 'put.INAN', *nu5* 'put.INAN.PL', *mu2* 'put.ANIM', *gi1* 'put/pour something grainy', *ba2* 'put/pour liquid,' and so on all follow the pattern shown in (24–25).

For verbs of caused motion, on the other hand, the transitive pattern only applies if the verb entails something about the *manner* in which the agent causes the motion, as with *ku31ʔ* 'kick', *ɲa1* 'throw', *ne5ʔ* 'flick,' and so on. Verbs that entail caused motion but do **not** entail a specific manner of causation – such as *ʎe53* 'transport.INAN,' *na1* 'transport.INAN.PL,' and *ga5* 'transport.ANIM' – do not participate in this pattern. Instead, they behave like intransitive verbs, marking the motion goal with the allative and the ground with the locative (26).

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(26) *baɲowa⁵ ta5na3ŋe53 e3ga5ʔ*
baɲo=wa⁵ ta5=na3=ŋe53 e3ga5ʔ
SP:bathroom=ALL IMPERS.SBJ=3.OBJ=transport.INANSgO INFO
'One takes it (toilet paper) to the bathroom.' [FA1 = Neli, 2019 C27 CCI, 35:37]

The verb root *mu2* participates in the transitivity-based pattern in multiple different ways. This does not occur with other verbs and is due to the verb's participation in multiple verb root suppletion sets (Chapter 16.2). Specifically, *mu2* has three senses: 'put (animate being),' 'give (animate being),' and 'send' (which can have an inanimate or animate object). The 'put' sense marks the goal of motion with the locative, since as a verb of placement, it belongs to the core set of verbs undergoing this alternation (27). However, the 'send' sense is not a verb of placement and does not entail anything about the means of caused motion. Therefore, it marks the goal with the allative (28).

(27) *ɟe2ʔa5ta2ã5 ma3rɨ3 **ĩ53gu2** ku3tʃa1mu2tʃi5re5ʔĩ5*
ɟe2ʔa5=ta2ã5 ma3rɨ3 **ĩ53=gu2** ku31=ʔĩ3
there.DIST.LOC=only PRF **house=LOC** 2SG=ACC
tʃa1=mu2=tʃi5rę1=ʔĩ5
1SG.SBJ.SC=put.ANIM=ANTIPRF=SUB
'I dropped you off (lit. put you) right there **in the house** (and yet now you're following me).' [Edith, DGC-SCG-YCG]

(28) mo5ʔĩ2 ta5 wi31ʔi5 Corina **escuelawa5** tʃa1na3mu2ʔĩ5
mo5ʔĩ2 ta5 wi31ʔi5 Corina **escuela=wa5**
tomorrow FUT CONT.FOC Corina **SP:school=ALL**
tʃa1=na3=mu2=ʔĩ5
1SG.SBJ.SC=3.OBJ=send=SUB
'Tomorrow, on the other hand, I'm sending Corina **to school** (because she didn't go today).' [Lizeth, LFG-MFG-LVI]

### 11.2.2 The locative-zero alternations

It is usually acceptable to delete the locative *=gu2* from spatial adjuncts that would normally take it. For example, in (29), the adjunct *na5ĩ1ta1* 'next to her' would normally take *=gu2* because it is the ground of a motion event. However, in this token, the adjunct has no case marking.

(29) *pa31ʔa2, **na5ĩ1ta1** rɨ3ɟu3ʔna2ʔĩ5*

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pa31ʔa2 **na5=ɨ̃1ta1** rɨ3=ɟu3ʔna2=ʔĩ5
INTJ:c'mon **3=RN:at** IMP=jump.up.and.down=SUB
'C'mon, jump up and down next to her.' [C25-C29, CG25]

Deletion of *=gu2* can occur on both ground adjuncts (29, 30) and goal adjuncts (31). It does not seem to be sensitive to the reason that the verb assigns *=gu2*. For example, in (30), the adjunct *lanchapę̣1e3* 'the prow of the ship' would normally take *=gu2* because the verb, *ą̃ų̃* 'stay,' takes a *i2=* verb classifier. In contrast, in (31), the adjunct *na5e2ru5* 'his/her head' would normally take *=gu2* because it is the goal of a placement event. Despite the different conditioning, *=gu2* is deleted in both examples.

(30) ***lanchapę̣1e3*** *na1ʔãũ5ʔ wa31ʔi5 a5 nɨ31ma2 wa31ʔi5 a5 Mi3ʔtu5ka1*
**lancha=pę̣1e3** na1=ą̃ų̃=ʔ wa31ʔi5 a5 nɨ31ma2
**SP:ship=prow** 3SBJ.SC=stay.SG=SUB CONT.FOC DET(IV) 3(IV).TOP
wa31ʔi5 a5 Mi3ʔtu5ka1
CONT.FOC DET(IV) Mixtuca
'Mixtuca, on the other hand, stayed on the prow of the ship.' [Adriana, AFG-LVI]

(31) *biblia* ***na5e2ru5*** *tʃa3ʔɨ53*
biblia **na5=e2ru5** tʃa3=ɨ53
SP:bible **3=head** 1SG.SBJ=put.INAN
'I put the Bible (on top of) his/her head.' [Neli, C27 CCI]

Although deletion of *=gu2* is acceptable, it is extremely infrequent in the corpus materials. For example, there are 190 tokens of *ɨ53* 'put.INAN' in the corpus, but only two – (31) and one other – which delete *=gu2* from a goal adjunct. Most corpus examples of deletion involve adjuncts that have spatial relational nouns (§11.4), such as *ɨ̃1ta1* 'at' in (29). However, adjuncts without spatial relational nouns can still undergo deletion of *=gu2* (30–31).

In contrast to the locative, it is unacceptable to delete the allative *=wa5*. This is totally unattested in the corpus materials and was rejected in elicitation (32).

(32) *Kɨ3ʔtʃi3tu1*(wa⁵) na5ʔũ53*
Kɨ3ʔtʃi3tu1=*(wa⁵) na5=ũ53
Cushillococha=*(ALL) 3.SBJ=go.SG
'S/he went to Cushillococha.' [DGG 20170823-001]
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### 11.2.3 Summary of differential marking of spatial adjuncts

Table 11.1 summarizes all of the factors conditioning the allative-locative and locative-zero alternations on spatial adjuncts. Since only motion verbs have goal adjuncts, Table 11.1 only lists goal marking for motion verbs.

Table 11.1: Conditioning of the allative-locative and locative-zero alternations

| Conditioning factor | Case(s) assigned | Note |
|---|---|---|
| Verb has classifier in citation form | | |
| *i2=* | Ground: Locative<br>Goal: Allative | *i2=* deletes with locative |
| *i5=* | Ground: Allative<br>Goal: Locative | *i5=* deletes with allative |
| Verb is a verb of motion, placement, or caused motion | | |
| Intransitive | Ground: Locative<br>Goal: Allative | |
| Transitive | Ground: Allative<br>Goal: Locative | |
| Verb does *not* denote motion, placement, or caused motion | | |
| Achievement | Locative | |
| State, activity, accomplishment | Allative | |
| Alternation with zero case marking | | |
| Adjunct takes locative | Case can be deleted | |
| Adjunct takes allative | Cannot be deleted | |

## 11.3 Tonal case marking of spatial adjuncts

Certain spatial nouns mark the allative and locative cases using tone, rather than segmental case enclitics. This occurs regularly in locative demonstratives and the pronoun 'where?,' and irregularly in four other nouns.

### 11.3.1 Locative demonstratives and 'where?'

Ticuna has six locative demonstratives, and all six take tonal rather than segmental case marking. I exemplify this with the speaker-distal locative demonstrative *ɟe5a2 ~ ɟe2ʔa5* 'there (distal).' In environments where a regular noun would take

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the allative case – for example, with the basic locative verb – this demonstrative has the form *ɟe5a2*, with the tone melody 52 (33). However, in environments where a regular noun would take the locative case – such as with a verb of placement – the form is *ɟe2ʔa5*, with the melody 25 (34).

(33) ***ɟe5a2*** *na5ŋe2ʔma5gɨ5 rɨ3ã3 ka1ʔni5, Natanielagɨ5*
**ɟe5a2** na5=ŋe2ʔma5=gɨ5 rɨ3ã3 ka1ʔni5 Nataniela=gɨ5
**there.DIST.ALL** 3.SBJ=be.in.place=PL TOP INTJ Nataniela=PL
'They're **over there**, right, Nataniela and her friends.' [C11-C15 CG]

(34) *ɟe2ʔa5 ku3na3ʔɨ53*
**ɟe2ʔa5** ku3=na3=ɨ53
**there.DIST.LOC** 2SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=put.INAN
'You, put it down **over there**.' [C50-C51 CG]

For locative demonstratives, the allative tone melody is always 52, with no glottal stop between the two syllables, and the locative tone melody is always 25, with a glottal stop in the first syllable coda. This pattern has one exception: in the locative, the proximal locative demonstrative 'here' is 22, rather than 25. Table 11.2 summarizes the tonal case marking pattern for locative demonstratives. See Skilton (2019) for discussion of the meaning of locative demonstratives.

Table 11.2: Tonal case marking of locative demonstratives

| Allative Form | Locative Form | Gloss |
|---|---|---|
| nu5a2 | nu2a2 | 'here near me' |
| ŋe5a2 | ŋe2ʔa5 | 'here between us' |
| ɟe5a2 | ɟe2ʔa5 | 'there far from me' |
| nu5ma2 | nu2ʔma5 | 'here around me' |
| ŋe5ma2 | ŋe2ʔma5 | 'there near you; there (anaphoric)' |
| ɟe5ma2 | ɟe2ʔma5 | 'there (anaphoric)' – remote past clauses only |

The interrogative/indefinite pronoun *ʎe1ʔta5* 'where?/somewhere' also participates in tonal case marking, but the tone pattern is not exactly the same as in locative demonstratives. Instead, 'where?' takes the melody 15 in the allative (35) but 12 in the locative (36). In other words, the assocation of tone 5 with the allative and tone 2 with the locative persists in 'where?', but the alternation occurs on the second syllable, rather than the first.

(35) ***ʎe1ʔta5*** *na5ʔũ53?*

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**ʎe1ʔta5** na5=ũ53
**where.ALL** 3.SBJ=go.SG
'**Where** did s/he go?' [CG35 CCI]

(36) *ku31rɨ3 nąi̯1ɟa5e3 na5 **ʎe1ʔta2** tɨ31ʔĩ3 ku1a3nu1ʔĩ5?*
ku31rɨ3 nąi̯1=ɟa5e3 na5 **ʎe1ʔta2** tɨ31=ʔĩ3
2SG.POSS tie=NI:hair COMP **where?.LOC** 3(I)=ACC
ku1=a3=nu5=ʔĩ5
2SG.SBJ.SC=AM=put.INAN.PL=SUB
'Your hair clips, **where** did you go and leave (lit. put) them?' [Lizeth, LFG-MFG-LVI]

Locative demonstratives and 'where?' sometimes occur in constructions where a regular noun could not take case marking. For example, both locative demonstratives and 'where?' can take the enclitic *=kɨ1ą̃1* 'originating from,' which does not co-occur with case on regular nouns. In caseless environments, locative demonstratives (37) and 'where?' (38) always occur in the allative form.

(37) *tʃo31rɨ3 pa3pa5 ta1 **nu5a2kɨ1ą̃1**.*
tʃo31rɨ3 pa3pa5 ta1 **nu5a2=kɨ1ą̃1**
1SG.POSS father also **here.ALL=originating.from**
'My father was also **from here** (Cushillococha).' [LGC HALDI]

(38) *ŋe3ma2 ra3ã1 **ʎe1ʔta5kɨ1ą̃1** ni5?*
ŋe3ma2 ra3ã1 **ʎe1ʔta5=kɨ1ą̃1** ni5
DEM.ANA(IV) TOP.REP **where.ALL=originating.from** 3SBJ.COP
'**Where** is that guy supposed to be from?' [Adriana, LFG-AVI]

People also always use the allative of demonstratives and 'where?' as the citation form. Together, these facts indicate that for nouns which take tonal case marking, the allative is the default or least marked form.

### 11.3.2 Other spatial nouns

In addition to locative demonstratives and 'where,' there are three other spatial nouns which have tonally and segmentally irregular allative forms: the equivalents to 'upriver,' 'inside,' and 'nearby.' All of these nouns have regular locative forms where *=gu2* attaches to the caseless form (i.e., the citation form and the host of non-case enclitics). However, in the irregular allative form of each noun, either the syllable *na2* or the string *ma5na2* is added to the caseless stem, rather

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Table 11.3: Spatial nouns with irregular allative forms

| Caseless Form | Irregular Allative Form | Gloss |
|---|---|---|
| dau3ʔke2 | dau3ʔke5na2 | ‘upriver; west’ |
| ai31ʔe3pe1 | ai31ʔe3pe5na2 | ‘inside (of a closed space)’ |
| ʎai1ka2 | ʎai1ka2ma5na2 | ‘nearby’ |

than the allative *=wa5*. Then, the penultimate syllable becomes tone 5. Table 11.3 provides the caseless form and allative form of each irregular spatial noun.

As an example of the alternations in Table 11.3, the allative of ‘nearby’ occurs in the irregular form in (39), and the allative of ‘upriver’ occurs in the irregular form (with the source enclitic, which otherwise never occurs without *=wa5*) in (40).

(39) *Tabatingaa1rɨ3* ***ʎai1ka2ma5na2*** *na5ŋẽ2ʔma5*
Tabatinga=a1rɨ3 **ʎai1ka2ma5na2** na5=ŋẽ2ʔma5
Tabatinga=POSS **near.ALL** 3.SBJ=be.in.place
‘It is near Tabatinga.’ [YCG HALDI]

(40) *ŋe5ʔgu2ma3 nu5a2 na1ʎu3gɨ5gu2 i5 ŋe3ma2 israelitagɨ5, i5 ŋe5a2ma5* ***dau3ʔke5na2ne5*** *ĩ31ʔĩ5*
ŋe5ʔgu2ma3 nu5a2 na1=ʎu3=gɨ5=gu2 i5 ŋe3ma2
when here.ALL 3.SBJ.SC=arrive=PL=COND DET(IV) DEM.ANA(IV)
israelita=gɨ5 i5 ŋe5a2=ma5 **dau3ʔke5na2=ne5**
Israelita=PL DET(IV) there.MED.ALL=toward **upriver.ALL=SOURCE**
ĩ53=ʔĩ5
go.PL=SUB
‘when the Israelitas (a Peruvian ethno-religious group) arrived here, when they arrived **from there in the west/upriver**’ [HCG HALDI]

Irregular allative forms can be (and usually are) used as adjuncts without any case marking, as in (39–40). However, they can also take regular *=wa5* (41). Additionally, at least some of the irregular allative forms can take *=gu2* and can appear in caseless environments. This suggests that in these nouns, the allative form acts as a second competing stem for the entire paradigm (42).

(41) *ʎai1ka2ma5na2wa5 na5ŋẽ2ʔma5*
ʎai1ka2ma5na2=wa5 na5=ŋẽ2ʔma5
near.ALL=ALL 3SBJ=be.in.place
‘It is nearby.’ [DGG 2017.2.132, Anon 2026/05/07]

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(42) *ʎai1ka2ma5na2gu2 tʃa3na3ʔi53*
ʎai1ka2ma5na2=gu2 tʃa3=na3=i53
near.ALL=LOC 1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=put.INAN
'I put it inside.' [Anon 2026/05/07]

It is also possible to form the allative of the nouns in Table 11.3 regularly, i.e. by using the locative/caseless stem and the regular allative *=wa5*. (In other words, the locative also acts as a second competing stem for the entire paradigm.) This is shown for 'inside' in (43), where the allative appears as concatenative *ai31ʔe3pe1=wa5* rather than suppletive *ai3ʔe3pe5na1(=wa5)*.

(43) Context: Where is the Ticuna community of Bellavista, Peru?
***ai31ʔe3pe1wa5****ã5ma5ĩ1kɨ2 ŋe5ma2, ta5ã3 Ta53ʔtɨ5wa5 na5ŋẽ2ʔma5.*
**ai31ʔe3pe1=wa5**=ã5ma5=ĩ1kɨ2 ŋe5ma2 ta5ma3 Ta53ʔtɨ5=wa5
**inside=ALL**=toward=INFO there.ANA.ALL NEG Amazonas=ALL
na5=ŋẽ2ʔma5
3.SBJ=be.in.place
'It's **in the interior** there, it's not on the Amazonas.' [YCG HALDI]

The term 'downriver' is also irregular, but in a different way than 'upriver.' Specifically, 'downriver' has the allative form *ta2wa5ã5ma5*, with *wa5* appearing within the word rather than as an enclitic, and the locative form *ta2gu2ã5ma5*, with *gu2* appearing in the same location. Case enclitics never appear at the end of the word (i.e., in addition to the internal *gu2/wa5* syllable). People usually feel that *ta2wa5ã5ma5* is the citation form. While this could be segmented as *ta2=wa5=ã5ma5* (root=ALL=toward), speakers do not recognize *ta2* as a root. Furthermore, the demonym 'person from downriver, Brazilian' is *ta2gu2kɨ1ɰ̃1* rather than the predicted **ta2wa5ã5ma5kɨ1ɰ̃*.

## 11.4 Spatial relational nouns

To express where one referent (the figure) is located relative to another referent (the ground), people use the basic locative construction (§11.1). The figure noun appears as the subject of the basic locative verb *ŋe2ʔma5 ~ ɲe2ʔma5*. The ground noun appears as a location adjunct. It *can* simply have the allative case (44).

(44) Context: Topological Relations Picture Series 67 (Bowerman & Pederson 1992)
*nai31wa⁵ na5ŋe2ʔma5 i5 mu3ru3ku3tu1*

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**nai31=wa⁵** na5=ŋẽ2ʔma5 i5 mu3ru3ku3tu1
**tree=ALL** 3.SBJ=be.in.place DET(IV) bird.sp(IV)
'The owl is in the tree.' [LWG 2018.1.56]

The allative case appears to express nothing about *how* the figure and ground are related in space (e.g., it is acceptable in almost every item of Bowerman & Pederson 1992). To express topological relationships between the figure and ground, the ground noun takes a spatial relational noun as a possessum. For example, in (45), the ground takes the relational noun *e5tɨ1* 'in front,' which is inalienably possessed. The relational noun is followed by the allative.

(45) *po3tʃi3ɟu1 rɨ1 me3tʃa1e5tɨ1wa⁵ na5ŋẽ2ʔma5*
po3tʃi3ɟu1 rɨ1 **me3tʃa1=e5tɨ1=wa⁵** na5=ŋẽ2ʔma5
cup TOP **table=RN:above=ALL** 3.SBJ=be.in.place
'The cup is on the table.' [ABS 2018.1.58]

Spatial relational nouns are nouns – not postpositions – because they have exactly the same syntax as possessed nouns. Some of these nouns are inalienably possessed, while others are alienable. Many spatial relational nouns, alienable or inalienable, also have readings as part terms (in which they are arguments, not adjuncts). For example, *e5tɨ1* 'RN:above' also means 'upper surface (of an object), roof.' Table 11.4 provides a list of spatial relational nouns and their corresponding part-term readings.

*we5* 'behind' generally does not co-occur with case (although it can). Instead, the bare form appears as an adjunct (46). All other spatial relational nouns generally do co-occur with case.

(46) *tʃo31rɨ3 po3ʔi5 **pe31we5** tɨ31ʔɨ̃3 a3ɟa1ʔu2!*
tʃo31rɨ3 po3ʔi5 **pe31=we5** tɨ31=ʔɨ̃3 a3=ɟau1ʔ
1SG.POSS plantain(I) **2PL=RN:behind** 3(I)=ACC IMP.AM=grab
'(I want him) to go **behind/following you guys** and pick up my plantains!' [CG7, C3-C7 CCI]

(47–49) are textual examples of spatial relational nouns in relational-noun (47–48) and part-term (49) functions. (30) is an additional example of noun *pɐ̨1e3* 'in front (relational noun), front part/prow (part term)' functioning as a part term.

(47) *ɟe3a2ma5**pɐ̨1e3**wa5 ki3ɟɨ51ʔɐ̃5tʃi5*
ɟe3a2=ɐ̃5ma5=**pɐ̨1e3**=wa5 ki3=ɟɨ51-ʔɐ̃5tʃi5
DEM.DIST(IV)=CONTRAST=**RN:in.front**=ALL 2SG.SBJ=dance-ACHV
'You should dance for a second **in front of that other one**.' [C11-C15 CG]

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Table 11.4: Spatial relational nouns

| Item | Syntax | Relational noun reading | Part term reading |
|---|---|---|---|
| e5tɨ1 | inalienable | 'above' | 'upper surface; roof' |
| tɨ5ĩ1 | inalienable | 'below' | 'lower surface; lower half; interior lining' |
| ɲa1ʔtɨ3 | alienable | 'below' | – |
| pe̱1e3 | inalienable | 'in front of' | 'front end, point' |
| we5 | inalienable | 'behind, after' | – |
| ĩ1ta1 | inalienable | 'at N, next to N, at N's house/habitual place (human N)' | – |
| ta3nɨ3 | inalienable | 'among' | – |
| kɨ3wa3 | inalienable | 'beside' | 'side' |
| ai31ʔe3pe1 | alienable | 'inside' | 'interior part' |
| ŋa3ĩ3 | alienable | 'in the middle of' | 'middle part, center' |

(48) *tau2ʔta5ã2 ɟu3ra1**tɨ5ĩ1**gu2 tɨ31ʔĩ3 ku3wo1gɨ5*
tau2ʔta5ã2 ɟu3ra1=**tɨ5ĩ1**=gu2 tɨ31=ʔĩ3 ku3=wo1=gɨ5
NEG.FUT floor=RN:**under**=LOC 3(Ī)=ACC 2SG.SBJ=discard.PL=PL
'You shouldn't throw them away (so that they land) **under the floor**.' [CG, C10-C13 object play]

(49) *na5a3rɨ1 ma3 na5 na5**tɨ5ĩ1**ma5ã2 ɟe5a2 na1ʌu2ʔ*
na5=a3rɨ1 ma3 na5 na5=**tɨ5ĩ1**=ma5ã2 ɟe5a2
3=INFO PRF COMP 3=**underside**=COM there.DIST.ALL
na1=ʌu3=ʔ
3.SBJ.SC=arrive=SUB
'Now s/he's arrived there with his/her **shorts** (lit. **bottoms**).' [DGC, 20180628_003]

There are a few additional nouns which have the same syntax as spatial relational nouns – that is, which are usually possessed, and which alternate between part-term-like and relational meanings – but which denote meanings which are not spatial. The clearest examples are the inalienable nouns *tʃi3ga1* and *ʔtʃa1wa5*. *tʃi3ga1* is an inalienable noun meaning 'story, date, celebration' in the part-term sense, and 'about' in the relational-noun sense (50). It can occur with case markers, but generally does not, like *=we5* 'behind.'

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(50) *ta31ga1wa5 tʃi5* ***we3u5tʃi3ga1*** *pi1de53ʔa2gɨ5ʔĩ5* ***we3ri5gɨ5tʃi3ga1***
ta31=ga1=wa5 tʃi5 **we3u5=tʃi3ga1** pi1=de53ʔa2=gɨ5=ʔĩ5
1.INCL=language=ALL CNTF **parrot.sp=RN:about** 2PL.SBJ.SC=talk=PL=SUB
**we3ri5=gɨ5=tʃi3ga1**
**bird=pl=RN:about**
'You guys should be talking in our language **about parrots**, **about birds**.'
[C50-C51 CG]

*ʔtʃa1wa5* is an inalienable noun which, as a part term, refers to a barrier or child gate installed in a doorway (note that the /wa5/ syllable is part of the stem; it is not the allative case). In the relational noun sense, *ʔtʃa1wa5* means something like 'so that N does not come in' or 'to avoid dealing with N' (51). It never co-occurs with case markers, although I do not have negative data on this point.

(51) *pe31ʔtʃa1wa5 ta5 ɟe5a2ma5 tʃa3ʔũ53*
pe31=ʔtʃa1wa5 ta5 ɟe5a2=ã5ma5 tʃa3=ũ53
2PL=RN:against FUT there.DIST.ALL=toward 1SG.SBJ=go.SG
'I'm going to go over there **to avoid you guys**.' [C37-C38 CG]

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# 12 Noun and classifer incorporation

I define 'incorporation' as a process which compounds a verb stem and a nominal element into a single syntactic and prosodic word. Both noun incorporation and classifier incorporation are productive processes in Ticuna.

Noun incorporation occurs when verb stems are compounded with nouns. I describe this process in §12.1. Classifier incorporation occurs when verb stems are compounded with noun classifiers, and I describe it in §12.3. (See Chapter 5 for more on the distinction between nouns and noun classifiers.)

Both noun and classifier incorporation are optional. I discuss factors which raise/lower the probability of incorporation in §12.4.

To illustrate the alternations between incorporated and unincorporated forms, and because of the need for negative data to illustrate which syntactic positions cannot incorporate, this chapter relies more on elicited data than earlier or later chapters in the book.

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## 12.1 Noun incorporation

Noun incorporation in Ticuna is a form of possessor raising. It occurs when a possessive noun phrase acts as the subject or object of a verb.

When there's no incorporation, the possessive noun phrase is a syntactically and prosodically independent phrase. For example, in (1) the possessive noun phrase is *tʃau1=ne3*, with the first person pronoun *tʃau1* acting as the possessor and the inalienable noun *ne3* 'son' acting as the possessum. This phrase is the subject of the verb *na4ri3ʌu31* 's/he fell.' I'll call this an 'analytic' structure.

(1) *ta4ma3 tʃa3pu3ra3k+4 e3ri4 tʃau1ne3 na4ri3ʌu31*
ta4ma3 tʃa3=pu3ra3k+4 e3ri4 tʃau1=ne3 na4ri3=ʌu31
NEG 1SGSBJ=work because 1SG=son 3.SBJ=fall.SG
' I'm not working because my son took a fall. ' [ECP 2017.2.38]

When incorporation occurs, the possessum attaches to the verb stem rather than the possessor. The possessor then takes the argument position formerly occupied by the possessor. If this is a position, such as subject, that triggers verb

agreement, the verb will now agree with the possessor and not with the possessum. For example, in (2) the noun *ne3* 'son' incorporates into the verb and forms one Prosodic Word with it. The former possessor of the subject, which is the first person singular pronoun, becomes the subject. Therefore, the verb takes 1SG rather than third-person subject agreement.

(2) *ta4ma3 tʃa3pu3ra3kɨ4 e3rɨ4 tʃa3rɨ3ʎu31ne3*
ta4ma3 tʃa3=pu3ra3kɨ4 e3rɨ4 tʃa3rɨ3=ʎu31=ne3
NEG 1SGSBJ=work because 1SGSBJ=fall=NI:son
'I'm not working because I had my son take a fall.' [ECP 2017.2.38]

In other words, noun incorporation in Ticuna does not simply incorporate the possessum noun into the verb, it also raises the possessor noun from an adjunct to an argument position. To emphasize the possessor raising, my translations/glosses of clauses with incorporation will also raise the possessors, as in (2) above.

In the following two subsections, I discuss what properties the noun (possessum) and verb must have for incorporation to occur. As the fact that both (1) and (2) are acceptable show, incorporation is never obligatory (except, in some situations, for part terms). I discuss the factors that control the probability of incorporation in §12.4.

### 12.1.1 Requirements of noun incorporation: The noun

Noun incorporation places very few requirements on the lexical and morphological properties of the noun. As long as the noun is possessed, it does not matter if it is alienable vs. inalienable, where it is on the animacy hierarchy, whether it is a loan, or whether it is morphologically derived.

It is possible to incorporate two nouns into the same verb, and it is even possible to incorporate a noun that has modifiers (however, the modifiers cannot be stranded). Incorporated nouns are also accessible to anaphora later in the discourse.

#### 12.1.1.1 Both alienable and inalienable nouns can be incorporated

The introductory example (2) already showed that inalienable nouns like *ne3* 'son' can undergo incorporation. Inalienable nouns make up the vast majority of incorporated nouns in the corpus, but alienable nouns can undergo incorporation too.

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Incorporation of alienable nouns involves a slightly different construction than incorporation of inalienables. To see the differences, start by considering the analytic construction in (3).

(3) *ta4ma3 tʃa3pu3ra3kɨ4 e3rɨ4 tʃo31rɨ3 no31ʔẽ5 ti4dą2we1*
ta4ma3 tʃa3=pu3ra3kɨ4 e3rɨ4 tʃo31rɨ3 no31ʔẽ5 ti4=dą2we1
NEG 1SGSBJ=work because 1SG.POSS grandmother 3(I).SBJ=sick
'I'm not working because my grandmother is sick.' [LWG 2017.2.40]

In this sentence the possessive noun phrase *tʃo31rɨ3 no31ʔẽ5* 'my grandmother' is the subject of the verb *ti4dą2we1* 's/he (Class I) is sick.' Within the possessive noun phrase, the possessive 1sg pronoun forms a separate prosodic word from the alienable noun *no31ʔẽ5* 'grandmother' – we can tell this because, for example, both *tʃo31rɨ3* and *no31ʔẽ5* have contour tones on the first syllable, and contour tones are only allowed on the first syllable of the Prosodic Word (Chapter 3.4.3). This is the ordinary way to form a possessive noun phrase headed by an alienable noun.

Now consider the incorporated equivalent of (3), which is (4).

(4) *ta4ma3 tʃa3pu3ra3kɨ4 e3rɨ4 tʃi3dą2we1a1rɨ3 no31ʔẽ5ą̃1*
ta4ma3 tʃa3=pu3ra3kɨ4 e3rɨ4 tʃi3=dą2we1=a1rɨ3
NEG 1SGSBJ=work because 1SGSBJ=sick=AL.INCORP
no31ʔẽ5=ą̃1
grandmother=AL.INCORP
'I'm not working because I had my grandmother get sick.' [LWG 2017.2.40]

There is no longer a possessive noun phrase in (4), and the verb of the second clause has first person agreement, showing that the former 1sg possessor of 'grandmother' has raised to the subject position. ALL this looks just like the incorporation of an inalienable noun that we saw in (2).

While the possessor raising is the same in the alienable and inalienable constructions, the verb stem looks different when an alienable noun is incorporated. In (4), the alienable noun *no31ʔẽ5* 'grandmother' doesn't attach directly to the verb root. Instead, the morpheme *=a1rɨ3* attaches to the verb stem, it's followed by the alienable noun, and then an additional morpheme *=ą̃1* attaches to the noun.

Phonologically, incorporated alienable nouns still behave as an independent prosodic word from the verb. ALL alienable nouns have initial stress in isolation (Chapter 3.5.1), and when they are incorporated, they retain this stress both

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phonetically and phonologically. Phonetically, the initial syllable of an alienable incorporate still has increased duration; phonologically, it still undergoes processes, like dissimilation of tone 1 to tone 5 in (5), which apply only to stressed syllables.

(5) *na4ta31a1rɨ3 ʎu5ą̃1*
na4=ta43=a1rɨ3 ʎu̧1=0=ą̃1
3.SBJ=big=AL.INCORP attend.school=NMLZ.ZERO=AL.INCORP
'She is highly educated (lit. has a big education).' [C27 CCI]

Incorporated alienable nouns aren't **morphologically** independent, though - they are part of the verb. When a verb undergoes incorporation of an alienable noun, enclitics that normally attach to the verb stem instead attach after the noun and the *=ą̃1* morpheme that licenses the incorporation. For example, the enclitic *=e1tʃa1* 'constantly' attaches in this position in (6).

(6) *tʃo1ma1 rɨ1 tʃi3dą̇2we1a1rɨ3 no31ʔẽ5ą̃1e1tʃa1*
tʃo1ma1 rɨ1 tʃi3=dą̇2we1=a1rɨ3
1SG.TOP TOP 1SG.SBJ=sick=AL.INCORP
no31ʔẽ5=ą̃1=e1tʃa1
grandmother=AL.INCORP=constantly
'I'm always having my grandmother get sick.' [LWG 2024.1.76]

One could argue in (6) that the noun is postverbal, and that the constituent *=ą̃1=e1tʃa1* is an independent word. This is a reasonable analysis syntactically, but it does not work prosodically, because *=ą̃1* is not stressed, and therefore cannot be a word-initial syllable given the rest of what we know about the language's word prosody (Chapter 3.5). If *=ą̃1* were stressed, tone 1 dissimilation (Chapter 4.2.1) would apply between the tone 1 syllable of *=ą̃1* and the initial tone 1 syllable of *=e1tʃa1* 'constantly'. But dissimilation doesn't apply in LWG's production of this word, or corpus productions and LWG's productions of comparable verbs, and she found attempts to apply dissimilation here unacceptable. This indicates that the prosodic word constituency of the verb in (6) is as shown in (7). (Like other inflectional proclitics, *tʃi3=* is extrametrical in (7).)

(7) tʃi3 [dą̇2we1=a1rɨ3]$_{\text{PrWd}}$ [no31ʔẽ5=ą̃1=e1tʃa1]$_{\text{PrWd}}$

To sum up, 'incorporation' of alienable nouns causes possessor raising and turns the verb stem and incorporate into a single morphological word. Unlike incorporation of inalienables, it doesn't turn the verb stem and incorporate into a single prosodic word. However, because of these other similarities, I still refer to it as incorporation.

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#### 12.1.1.2 Nouns of any animacy can be incorporated

Incorporation can occur with nouns anywhere on the animacy hierarchy. The above examples have already shown that it's possible with human nouns such as 'son' and 'grandmother'. (8) shows that incorporation also occurs with non-human animate nouns.

(8) a. Analytic construction:
*Ka3ru1ʔɨ3na3 tʃi3mą1*
Ka3ru1=ʔɨ3na3 tʃi3=mą1
Carlos=domestic.animal 1SGSBJ=kill.SGO
'I killed Carlos' domestic animal.' [SSG 2016.1.78, LCS 2016.1.72]

b. Incorporated equivalent:
*Ka3ru1ʔĩ3 tʃi3mą1ʔɨ3na3*
Ka3ru1=ʔĩ3 tʃi3=mą1=ʔɨ3na3
Carlos=ACC 1SGSBJ=kill.SGO=NI:domestic.animal
'I killed Carlos' domestic animal.' [SSG 2016.1.78, LCS 2016.1.72]

This example makes another point besides the acceptability of incorporation with nonhuman animates. It involves object incorporation (see more below on the types of arguments that can incorporate). In object incorporation, the possessor raises to be the object of the incorporating verb, rather than the subject. Unlike raising to subject, raising to object doesn't affect agreement in this example, but it does affect the case marking of the object. The new object (formerly the possessor) is human; given the conjugation class of the verb, under the language's system of animacy-based DOM (Chapter 10), this means that it must be marked with the accusative. Therefore, the incorporated form of (8) has the accusative even though the analytic form does not.

Inanimate nouns can also be incorporated, as shown in (9) and (10). Inanimate nouns that are part terms, such as 'arm' in (9), are especially likely to undergo incorporation (§12.4.2.1). Additionally, part terms can be incorporated into a greater variety of verbs than other nouns (§12.1.2.2.2). However, it's still entirely possible to incorporate inanimates that are not part terms, such as 'necklace' in (10).

(9) a. Analytic construction:
*tʃau1tʃa4kɨ1ʔi3ʔĩ3 na4dau2 i4 du3tu3ru1*
tʃau1=tʃa4kɨ1ʔi3=ʔĩ3 na4=dau2 i4 du3tu3ru1
1SG=arm=ACC 3.SBJ=see
'The doctor examined my arm.''

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b. Incorporated equivalent: *du3tu3ru1 rɨ1 tʃo31ʔĩ3 na4dau2tʃa4kɨ1ʔɨ3*
du3tu3ru1 rɨ1 tʃo31=ʔĩ3 na4=dau2=tʃa4kɨ1ʔɨ3
doctor TOP 1SG=ACC 3.SBJ=see=NI:arm
'The doctor gave me an arm exam.''
[SSG 2018.1.112]

(10) a. Analytic construction:
*ĩ1ne1 rɨ1 Bi3tu5tʃa1gɨ3ʔĩ3 tʃa3dau2*
ĩ1ne1 rɨ1 Bi3tu5=tʃa1gɨ3=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=dau2
yesterday TOP Victoria=necklace=ACC 1SGSBJ=see
'Yesterday I looked at Victoria's necklace.''

b. Incorporated equivalent:
*ĩ1ne1 rɨ1 Bi3tu5ʔĩ3 tʃa3dau2tʃa1gɨ3*
ĩ1ne1 rɨ1 Bi3tu5=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=dau2=tʃa1gɨ3
yesterday TOP Victoria=ACC 1SGSBJ=see=NI:necklace
'Yesterday I looked at Victoria's necklace.''
[LWG 2018.1.104]

#### 12.1.1.3 Borrowed or code-switched nouns can be incorporated

In noun incorporation, the verb, noun, or both can be a recent Spanish borrowing/code-switch. For example, LWG described a picture of cartoon chameleons changing color to match their background as shown in (11). She used the Spanish verb root *cambia* 'change' and incorporated the Spanish noun *color* 'color,' using the alienable noun incorporation construction. Both the verb and noun here are borrowed from Spanish with no phonological adaptation.

(11) *na4**cambia**a1rɨ3 **color**ą̃1gɨ4*
na4=**cambia**=a1rɨ3 **color**=ą̃1=gɨ4
3.SBJ=**SP:change**=AL.INCORP **SP:color**=AL.INCORP=PL
'They had their color change.' [LWG, tca_20170804_lwg_ahs_elicit_001.wav, 1:03]

This example with both a loan verb and a loan noun is unusual, but it is very common for one root in a verb+noun incorporated stem to be borrowed. If the borrowed root is the noun, it will always be incorporated with the alienable noun construction, as in (12). This is because all borrowed nouns are alienable (Chapter 7.1.2).

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(12) *i2na4ʎu31a1ri3* ***pilaq̃1***
i2=na4=ʎu31=a1ri3 **pila**=q̃1
VCL=3.SBJ=fall.SG=AL.INCORP **SP:battery**=AL.INCORP
'It had its batteries fall out.' [2019_C20-C23_CCI, CG20, 19:08]

If the **verb** is borrowed but the noun is native vocabulary and inalienable, then it will attach directly to the verb stem, just as if the verb was native vocabulary. For instance, ABS described the chameleon cartoon from (11) by saying (13).

(13) *na4**cambia**ʔi4ne1*
na4=**cambia**=ʔi4ne1
3.SBJ=**SP:change**=NI:body
'It had its body change.'' [ABS, tca_20170722_abs_ahs_elicit_002.wav, 1:27]

#### 12.1.1.4 Derived nouns can be incorporated

Morphologically derived nouns can be incorporated as well. Since all morphologically derived nouns are alienable, incorporation of a derived noun always uses the alienable construction.

(14) provides an attested example of incorporating a morphologically derived noun. Here Laura is describing a soccer ball. She holds a different soccer ball, indicates the logo, and says 'It looked exactly like this one.' She then explains,

(14) *e3ri4 ma3ri3 i5ta4ɟi2a1ri3* ***ɲa4a2ri5i3ʔi4q̃1***
e3ri4 ma3ri3 i5=ta4=ɟi2=a1ri3
because PRF VCL=3(I).SBJ=wear.off=AL.INCORP
**ɲa4a2=ri5i3=ʔi4**=q̃1
**DEM:SPKR.PROX=like=NMLZ(IV)**=AL.INCORP
'(It looked the same) because it had already had its part like this (logo) wear off.' [Laura, LSC-VSC 19:34]

The incorporated noun *ɲa4a2ri5i3ʔi4* is derived from the demonstrative *ɲa4a2* 'this near me,' the nominal enclitic *=r+5i1* 'like' and the class IV nominalizer *=7i4*. On its own this constituent would mean 'the one like this (speaker-proximal).' Since incorporation is a possessor-raising process, the incorporated noun in (14) is interpreted as referring to 'the **part** like this,' i.e. the logo, of the other ball. It doesn't matter that the incorporate is morphologically complex and derived with a nominalizer; since it's possessed, it can still incorporate.

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In the previous example, the incorporated noun was marked with overt nominalizing morphology, but it's also possible to incorporate a **zero** nominalization of a verb. (15) gives an attested example of nominalizing one verb, then incorporating it into another – the verb *tʃi31e2* 'be bad' incorporates the noun *ĩ3nɨ3* 'thoughts, intentions,' which is a zero nominalization (Chapter 26.3) of the verb root *ĩ3nɨ3* 'think.' There is no overt nominalizing morphology on *I3n+3* 'think,' but it still appears in exactly the same construction as would be used to incorporate an underived alienable noun.

(15) *tɨ̰1ʔkɨ3a3rɨ1 ma3rɨ3 na4tʃi31e2a1rɨ3* ***ĩ3nɨ3****ɰ̃1?*
tɨ̰1ʔkɨ3=a3rɨ1 ma3rɨ3 na4=tʃi31e2=a1rɨ3
what's.wrong=INFO PRF 3.SBJ=bad=AL.INCORP
**ĩ3nɨ3**=∅=ɰ̃1?
**think=ZERO.NMLZ**=AL.INCORP
'What's gone wrong that s/he has bad **intentions**?' [2019_C20-C23_CCI, CG23, 8:37]

Another example of incorporating a zero nominalization has already appeared above in (5). That attested example involves incorporation of the noun *ʎɨ̰1* 'education,' a zero nominalization of the verb *ʎɨ̰1* 'attend school, learn.'

The verbs *ĩ3nɨ3* 'think' and *ʎɨ̰1* 'attend school' are used quite often as zero nominalizations, but the acceptability of (5) and (15) isn't just due to exceptional lexical properties of these particular roots. You can form identical constructions with verbs that are not conventionally used as zero nominalizations in Ticuna, such as *pe43* 'sleep' in (16).

(16) *nɨ31ma2 na4me31a1rɨ3 pe31ɰ̃1*
nɨ31ma2 na4=me43=a1rɨ3 pe31=0=ɰ̃1
3.TOP 3.SBJ=good=AL.INCORP sleep=ZERO.NMLZ=AL.INCORP
'He sleeps well (lit. has good sleep).' [LWG 2016.1.162]

#### 12.1.1.5 Two nouns can be recursively incorporated into a single verb stem

When the incorporated argument of the verb contains a noun phrase with recursive possession (e.g."the $\text{roof}_{\text{Noun 1}}$ of the $\text{house}_{\text{Noun 2}}$ of the old $\text{man}_{\text{Noun 3}}$"), it is possible to apply noun incorporation recursively – first to the possessum, then to the less deeply embedded possessor. This creates verb stems which contain two different incorporated nouns in a possessor-possessum relationship.

For recursive noun incorporation to be possible, one of the two incorporated nouns needs to possess the other – that is, the underlying structure of the noun

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phrase must be that Noun 1 (N1) possesses Noun 2 (N2) which possesses Noun 3 (N3). When the two possessed nouns are incorporated in this structure, the most deeply embedded noun, which is N1, raises to the argument position. The two less embedded ones, N2 (possessum of N1, possessor of N3) and Noun 3 (possessum of N3; original argument) both attach to the verb stem. Additionally, recursive incorporation can affect either the subject or the object, as long as the other argument-structure requirements of incorporation are met. Recursive subject incorporation is shown in (17) and recursive object incorporation appears in (18). The two incorporates can appear in either order, as the examples demonstrate.

(17) a. *tʃa3ʎu5mɐ̨1kɨ3wa3*
tʃa3=ʎu̯1=mɐ̨1=kɨ3wa3
1SGSBJ=hurt=NI:hand=NI:side

b. *tʃa3ʎu̯1kɨ3wa3mɐ̨1*
tʃa3=ʎu̯1=kɨ3wa3=mɐ̨1
1SGSBJ=hurt=NI:side=NI:hand

'I have pain in the side of my hand.' [LWG 2016.1.161]

(18) a. *tʃa3ʔi2pa4ta3e4tɨ1*
tʃa3=i2=pa4ta3=e4tɨ1
1SGSBJ=make=NI:house=NI:top.surface

b. *tʃa3ʔi2e4tɨ1pa4ta3*
tʃa3=i2=e4tɨ1=pa4ta3
1SGSBJ=make=NI:top.surface=NI:house

'I roofed the house.' [LWG 2016.1.161]

I have been presenting elicited examples in order to illustrate all the possibilities of recursive incorporation, so it's worth mentioning that the process also occurs in texts. (19) is an example of recursive noun incorporation targeting the subject in a conversation. It's structurally almost identical to (17a), with an V-N2-N3 order.

(19) *tʃa3ʎu̯1ta3tʃi5nɑ̨1ʔã3kɨ5ra1ĩ1*
tʃa3=ʎu̯1=ta3=tʃi5nɑ̨1ʔã3=kɨ5ra1ĩ1
1SGSBJ=hurt=NI:shin=NI:bone=INFER
'The bone of my shin hurts.' [2019_C27_CCI, Caregiver, 17:57]

In examples where both N2 and N3 are inalienable, such as (17–19), Lilia found constructions that incorporated just one noun to be questionably acceptable. She felt that incorporating neither noun was better than incorporating only one (20).

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(20) a. **tʃau1kɨ3wa3 rɨ1 na4ʎu̯1mę̱1*
*tʃau1=kɨ3wa3 rɨ1 na4=ʎu̯1=mę̱1
*1SG=side TOP 3.SBJ=hurt=NI:hand

b. *??tʃo1mę̱1 rɨ1 na4ʎu̯1kɨ3wa3*
??tʃo1=mę̱1 rɨ1 na4=ʎu̯1=kɨ3wa3
??1SG=hand TOP 3.SBJ=hurt=NI:side

c. ✓*tʃau1kɨ3wa3mę̱1 na4ʎu̯1*
✓tʃau1=kɨ3wa3=mę̱1 na4=ʎu̯1
✓1SG=side=hand 3.SBJ=hurt

'The side of my hand hurts.' [LWG 2024.1.77]

Recursive noun incorporation is also possible with alienable nouns, as shown by the attested example in (21). The underlying object in (21) is "the strings$_{N3}$ of the belongings$_{N2}$ of other people$_{N1}$." The noun *ku5nɨ1* 'string' is inalienable, but *tą2kɨ4* 'belongings' (a use of the indefinite pronoun 'what') is alienable. In the incorporating verb stem, the inalienable Noun 3 'string' appears closest to the root, followed by the *=a1rɨ3* morpheme which licenses alienable incorporation, followed by the alienable noun/pronoun *tą2kɨ4* 'belongings/what?'.

(21) ŋe3ma2ga1gu2 to1 da4ĩ1ku5nɨ1a1rɨ3 tą2kɨ4ą̃1gɨ5ʔĩ4
ŋe3ma2=ga1gu2 to1 da4-ĩ1=ku5nɨ1=a1rɨ3
DEM:Multi(IV)=fault other(IV) slice-DIR:across.PLO=NI:string=AL.INCORP
tą2kɨ4=ą̃1=gɨ4=ʔĩ4
belongings=AL.INCORP=PL=SUB
'Because of that guy, she (has to work at a job where she) cuts off the strings of other people's belongings.' [Victoria, LFG-MFG-LVI 37:40]

(22) is a simpler elicited example of recursive incorporation involving alienable nouns. It involves the alienable noun *ko4nɨ3* 'tongue' possessing the inalienable part term *kɨ3wa3* 'side.' The incorporated verb has the same Verb-N3-N2 structure as (21).

(22) *tʃa3ʎu5kɨ3wa3a1rɨ3 ko4nɨ3ą̃1*
tʃa3=ʎu̯1=kɨ3wa3=a1rɨ3 ko4nɨ3=ą̃1
1SGSBJ=hurt=NI:side=AL.INCORP tongue=AL.INCORP
'The side of my tongue hurts.' [LWG 2024.1.78]

When Noun 2 is alienable, incorporating just the inalienable Noun 3 is acceptable (23)a, although LWG commented that incorporating both nouns, as in (22), is better. Incorporating just the alienable Noun 2 is not acceptable (23)b.

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(23) a. *tʃo31rɨ3 ko4nɨ3 rɨ1 na4ʎu̯1kɨ3wa3*
tʃo31rɨ3 ko4nɨ3 rɨ1 na4=ʎu̯1=kɨ3wa3
1SG.POSS tongue TOP 3.SBJ=hurt=NI:side

b. **tʃau1kɨ3wa3 rɨ1 na4ʎu5a1rɨ3 ko4nɨ3ą̃1*
*tʃau1=kɨ3wa3 rɨ1 na4=ʎu̯1=a1rɨ3 ko4nɨ3=ą̃1
*1SG.POSS=side TOP 3.SBJ=hurt=AL.INCORP tongue=AL.INCORP
(Intended reading: 'The side of my tongue hurts.') [LWG 2024.1.78]

The examples shown so far only involve clauses where Noun 3 is inalienable. What about clauses where Noun 3 is alienable? In that case, you cannot incorporate both nouns, regardless of order, and you also cannot incorporate only one noun, regardless of whether it is Noun 2 or Noun 3. (24) shows this for an inalienable Noun 2, *mę1* 'hand,' possessing an alienable Noun 3, *ŋa3ĩ3* 'middle.'

(24) a. **tʃa3ʎu5a1rɨ3 ŋa3ĩ3mę1ą̃1*
*tʃa3=ʎu̯1=a1rɨ3 ŋa3ĩ3=mę1=ą̃1
*1SGSBJ=hurt=AL.INCORP middle=hand=AL.INCORP

b. **tʃa3ʎu5mę1a1rɨ3 ŋa3ĩ3ą̃1*
*tʃa3=ʎu̯1=mę1=a1rɨ3 ŋa3ĩ3=ą̃1
*1SGSBJ=hurt=NI:hand=AL.INCORP middle=AL.INCORP

c. **tʃo1mę1 na4ʎu5a1rɨ3 ŋa3ĩ3ą̃1*
*tʃo1=mę1 na4=ʎu̯1=a1rɨ3 ŋa3ĩ3=ą̃1
*1SG=hand 3.SBJ=hurt=AL.INCORP middle=AL.INCORP

d. **ŋa3ĩ3 tʃa3ʎu5mę1*
ŋa3ĩ3 tʃa3=ʎu̯1=mę1
middle 1SGSBJ=hurt=hand
(Intended reading: 'The middle of my hand hurts.') [LWG 2024.1.78]

#### 12.1.1.6 Nouns with non-possessor modifiers cannot be incorporated

The last four sections have given a long list of properties which do not matter to incorporation. However, there is one major constraint, based on noun properties, on incorporation: **nouns with modifiers**, besides possessors, cannot be incorporated.

Besides the possessor, there are never any modifiers to an incorporated noun left in the noun phrase after incorporation. If a noun is quantified and/or is modified by something other than a possessor, then it cannot be incorporated at all. (25) shows this for a preverbal quantifier, (26) for a postverbal quantifier, (27) for a relative clause, and (28) for a demonstrative.

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(25) **ta2ʔre4 tʃa3ʔi2pa4ta3*
*ta2ʔre4 tʃa3=i2=pa4ta3
*two 1SGSBJ=make=NI:house
(Intended reading: 'I built two houses.')
(LWG 2016.1.161)
Comment: This should be *ta2ʔre4 ɟa1 tʃau1pa4ta3 tʃa3ʔi2* 'I built my two houses' (with independent noun phrase)

(26) **Bi3tu5 ri1 na4ɟu2ĩ3na3 i4 ta2ʔre4*
*Bi3tu5 ri1 na4=ɟu2=ĩ3na3 i4 ta2ʔre4
*Victoria TOP 3.SBJ=die=NI:domestic.animal DET(IV) two
(Intended reading: 'Victoria had two of her domestic animals die.') [LWG 2024.1.77]

(27) **ti31ʔĩ3 na4ʔi2a1ri3 tʃu2ʔtʃi4 a1 ta31ʔĩ5ne1ą̃1*
*ti31=ʔĩ3 na4=i2=a1ri3 tʃu2ʔtʃi4 a1
*3(I)=ACC 3.SBJ=make=AL.INCORP arrow(III) DET(III)
ta43=ʔĩ5ne1=ą̃1
big=NMLZ(III)=AL.INCORP
(Intended reading: 'He$_i$ makes his$_j$ big arrows') [LWG 2024.1.77]

(28) **da31ʔe2ʔĩ3 tʃa3ʔi2tʃa1gi3*
*da31ʔe2=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=i2=tʃa1gi3
*DEM:PROX(I)=ACC 1SGSBJ=make=NI:necklace
(Intended reading: 'I made this necklace.') [LWG 2024.1.76]

Lilia commented that while (28) can't mean 'I made this necklace,' it does have an acceptable reading as 'I made this one's necklace,' with the demonstrative referring to someone that possesses the necklace. This is a good example of the generalization that when the verb undergoes incorporation, anything remaining in the position of the incorporated argument (e.g., in object position with an incorporated transitive) will be interpreted as a raised possessor, not as a modifier of the object.

### 12.1.2 Requirements of noun incorporation: The verb

Noun incorporation is lax on the lexical properties of the incorporated noun in Ticuna, but strict on the rest of the clause. It places many requirements on the lexical properties of the verb, and on the syntactic position of the noun. ALL the same requirements apply to alienable and inalienable nouns, but I will illustrate them with inalienable nouns for simplicity's sake.

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To incorporate an argument, a verb must be either a stative intransitive, an unaccusative intransitive, a causative transitive, or a psych transitive verb.

Stative and unaccusative intransitives can incorporate their subjects. Causative and psych transitives can incorporate only their objects – that is, incorporation always applies to the internal argument of the verb. Additionally, psych transitives have extra restrictions on object incorporation that do not apply to any other type of incorporating verb. Unergative intransitives, as well as oblique object verbs (Chapter 6), cannot incorporate any of their arguments.

I will now explore the details of these requirements for each argument structure class of verbs, starting with intransitives.

#### 12.1.2.1 Intransitive verbs can incorporate their subjects, as long as they are not unergative

Stative intransitives can always incorporate their subjects. The many examples with the stative verb *ʎu1* 'hurt' above have already given many examples of incorporation of stative intransitive subjects, but (29) gives one more with the stative verb *ʎe1ti1ʔi1* 'be a teenager/young adult, speaking of a man.' Statives also have other shared properties besides their ability to incorporate subjects; these are described in Chapter 14.2.1.

(29) *na4ʎe1ti1ʔi3ne3 ma3ĩ1ki2 i4 ɲa4a2 Ewin*
na4=ʎe1ti1ʔi3=ne3 ma3=ĩ1ki2 i4 ɲa4a2 Ewin
3.SBJ=young.of.man=NI:son PRF=INFO DET(IV) DEM:PROX(IV) Edwin
'As for this one, Edwin, he has a teenage son.' [DGG, 20170527_002]
add current style cite

Unaccusative intransitives like *ʎu31* 'fall' and *ɟu2* 'die' can also incorporate their subjects. This occurs with an inalienable subject *ne3* 'son' in (2) above, and with an alienable subject, *ma3ma5* 'mother,' in (30).

(30) *na2ti4ri4 ɲu1ʔma5 i4 ɟe3a2 tʃo31ri3 ko3ri5 ri1, ma3 na4ɟu2a1ri3 ma3ma5ã1*
na2ti4ri4 ɲu1ʔma5 i4 ɟe3a2 tʃo31ri3 ko3ri5 ri1 ma3
but now DET(IV) DEM:DIST(IV) 1SG.POSS husband(IV) TOP PRF
na4=ɟu2=a1ri3 ma3ma5=ã1
3.SBJ=die=AL.INCORP mother=AL.INCORP
'But as for that one, my husband, he's already had his mother die.' [LGC HALDI 5:33]

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Unergative intransitives, such as *do3ra3* 'lie,' *ũ43* 'go/walk,' *au3ʔ* 'cry,' and so on, cannot incorporate their subjects (31–32). This is the only language-internal evidence of an unaccusative/unergative distinction.

(31) **tʃi3do3ra3ne3*
*tʃi3=do3ra3=ne3
*1SGSBJ=lie=NI:son
(Intended reading: 'My son lies / I had my son lie.') [LCS 2016.1.58]

(32) **ma3rɨ3 i2tʃi3ʔũ31a3kɨ1*
*ma3rɨ3 i2=tʃi3=ũ43=a3kɨ1
*PRF VCL=1SGSBJ=walk.SGS=NI:child
(Intended reading: 'My child can walk now / I have a toddler.') [LWG 2018.1.145]

There is an exception to the ban on incorporation of unergative subjects. If the unergative verb is read as habitual, then incorporation becomes acceptable, presumably because habits are states rather than dynamic processes. For instance, the verb *ʎu̯1* 'learn' generally behaves as unergative, and people reject incorporation of the subject. However, in the corpus example in (33), the subject of this verb **is** incorporated. The structure is possible because *ʎu̯1* here has the habitual/stative reading 'be enrolled, habitually attend school' rather than the dynamic reading 'learn.' (34) is a parallel elicited example that incorporates the subject of *au3ʔ* 'cry' with a habitual reading; 'cry,' like 'learn', doesn't otherwise allow incorporation.

(33) Context: People who have come from the Andes to Caballococha don't want to leave because...
*nu5a2 na4ʎu5e3a3kɨ1gɨ4*
nu5a2 na4=ʎu̯1-e3=a3kɨ1=gɨ4
here.ALL 3.SBJ=learn-PL=NI:child=PL
'They have kids going to school here.' [SSG HALDI 4:28]

(34) Context: I have an infant that is constantly crying.
*tʃa3ʔau3ʔne3*
tʃa3=au3ʔ=ne3
1SGSBJ=cry=NI:son
'I have a colicky son.' [LWG 2018.1.146]

Incorporating the subject of an unergative with a habitual/stative interpretation is not common in texts, and in metalinguistic discussion, these examples

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require detailed context to be consistently judged acceptable. When I've offered them without context, people were about equally likely to accept or reject them.

#### 12.1.2.2 Transitives can incorporate their objects, with more restrictions

Many transitive verbs can incorporate their objects, but they generally have more restrictions than intransitives.

Whether object incorporation is possible with any given transitive verb phrase depends on (a) the object syntax class of the verb and (b) the animacy of the object. Specifically, causative transitive verbs can incorporate any object §12.1.2.2.1, but psych transitive verbs can only incorporate inanimate objects §12.1.2.2.2.

Transitive verbs can never incorporate their subjects §12.1.2.2.3. When a verb stem is derived with the morphological causative, it can incorporate only the most deeply embedded argument – the causee for a causative of an intransitive, and the patient (not the causee) for the causative of a transitive §12.1.2.2.4. Oblique object verbs can never incorporate any of their arguments §12.1.2.2.5.

**12.1.2.2.1 Causative transitives can incorporate any object** Causative transitive verbs can incorporate their direct objects without regard to any lexical properties of the verb or noun. For example, the causative transitive *tɑ̨1* 'discard' incorporates the animate object *te4* 'husband' in (35), and the causative transitive *ɟau1ʔ* 'wash' incorporates the inanimate object *ĩ3ma3* 'interior surface, inside' in (36).

(35) *wo5e1ta2ã4 i5**tɑ̨1te4**tʃi1gi1ma3re2ʔe3ʔã3 ti41ʔĩ4*
wo5e1=ta2ã4 i5=**tɑ̨1**=**te4**=tʃi1gi1=ma3re3=ʔe3=ʔã3
simply=only VCL=**discard.SGO**=**NI:husband**=DISTRIB=just=NMLZ(I)=REP
ti41ʔĩ4
3(I).SBJ.COP
'Reportedly, she's just constantly (getting married and then) **leaving her husbands**.' [AFG-LVI]
speaker attribution

(36) *na3**ɟa1ʔu3ma3**gi5ʔ ni41ʔĩ4 a4 ɲu̱1ʔma5.*
na3=**ɟau1ʔ**=**i3ma3**=gi4=ʔ ni41ʔĩ4 a4
IMPERS.SBJ>3.OBJ=**wash**=**NI:interior.surface**=PL=SUB FOC DET(IV)
ɲu̱1ʔma5
now
'(Because the water in the tank is dirty), you (generic) have to **wash the inside** (of the tank) now.' [2019 C27 CCI, FA2, 20:55]

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**12.1.2.2.2 Psych transitives can incorporate only inanimate objects** Psych transitive verbs, such as *dau2* 'see,' are banned from incorporating animates, whether human or non-human (37–38). People correct these examples to the equivalent analytic structures, as shown in (39).

(37) **Bi3tu5ʔĩ3 tʃa3dau2ne3*
*Bi3tu5=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=dau2=ne3
*Victoria=ACC 1SGSBJ=see=NI:son
(Intended reading: 'I saw Victoria's son.') [LWG 2018.1.105]

(38) **Bi3tu5ʔĩ3 tʃi3dau2gɨ4ʔĩ3na3 / *tʃi3dau2ʔĩ3na3gɨ4*
*Bi3tu5=ʔĩ3 tʃi3=dau2=gɨ4=ʔĩ3na3 /
*Victoria=ACC 1SGSBJ=see=PL=NI:domestic.animal /
*tʃi3=dau2=ʔĩ3na3=gɨ4
*1SGSBJ=see=NI:domestic.animal=PL
(Intended reading: 'I saw Victoria's domestic animals.')
Comment: You should say (39) instead. [LWG 2018.1.105]

(39) *Bi3tu5ʔɨ3na3ʔĩ3 tʃi3dau2gɨ4*
Bi3tu5=ʔɨ3na3=ʔĩ3 tʃi3=dau2=gɨ4
Victoria=domestic.animal=ACC 1SGSBJ=see=PL
'I saw Victoria's domestic animals.' [LWG 2018.1.105]

Psych transitive verbs **can** incorporate inanimate objects, but this happens rarely. It is most consistently accepted, and is even sometimes preferred over an analytic structure, when the incorporated psych object is a part term.[1] Both inalienable (40–41) and alienable (42) part terms can be incorporated when functioning as the objects of psych verbs.

(40) *nɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa3rɨ3ŋɨ2ma3**e5ga1***
nɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3rɨ3=ŋɨ2ma3=**e5ga1**
3=ACC 1SGSBJ=forget=**NI:name**
'I forget his **name**.' [YCG HALDI 5:51]

(41) *du3tu3ru1 rɨ1 Bi3tu5ʔĩ3 me31ã2ma3 ni4ŋo4gɨ2**tʃa4kɨ1ʔɨ**3tʃi1gɨ1*
du3tu3ru1 rɨ1 Bi3tu5=ʔĩ3 me31ã2ma3
doctor TOP Victoria=ACC well

[1] I consider terms for intangible properties of a person, such as *e5ga1* 'name' in (40), to be part terms based on their incorporation behavior.

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ni4=ŋo4gɨ2=**tʃa4kɨ1ʔɨ3**=tʃi1gɨ1
3.SBJ=touch.to.perceive=**NI:arm**=DISTRIB
'The doctor carefully examined Victoria's **arm** (by touching it).' [LWG 2018.1.105]

(42) *dentista rɨ1 tʃo31ʔĩ3 na4dau2a1rɨ3* ***ko4nɨ3ą̃1***
dentista rɨ1 tʃo31=ʔĩ3 na4=dau2=a1rɨ3 **ko4nɨ3**=ą̃1
SP:dentist TOP 1SG=ACC 3.SBJ=see=AL.INCORP **tongue**=AL.INCORP
'The dentist examined my **tongue** (by looking at it).' [LWG 2018.1.105]

Inanimate nouns that are not part terms vary in their acceptability as incorporated objects of psych verbs. For example, the inalienable nouns *ga1* 'words, voice, language' and *pa3ne3* 'written document' are perfectly acceptable in this position (43–44). In contrast, incorporating the inalienable noun *ʔtʃi5ru2* 'clothes' into a psych verb is strange (45).

(43) *ku31ʔĩ3 tʃa3ʔĩ3nɨ3**ga1***
ku31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=ĩ3nɨ3=**ga1**
2SG=ACC 1SGSBJ=hear=**NI:voice**
'I can hear your **voice** (lit. I can voice-hear you).' [overheard May 2024]

(44) *tʃa3rɨ3ŋɨ2ma3**pa3ne3***
tʃa3rɨ3=ŋɨ2ma3=**pa3ne3**
1SGSBJ=forget=**NI:document**
'I forgot my **ID** (lit. I document-forgot).' [SSG 2018.1.112]

(45) **i2tʃa3rɨ3ngɨ2ma3ʔ**tʃi5ru2***
*i2=tʃa3rɨ3=ngɨ2ma3=**ʔtʃi5ru2**
*VCL=1SGSBJ=forget=**NI:clothes**
(Intended reading: 'I forgot my clothes.') [LWG 2018.1.125]

As discussed in Chapter 6.2, certain transitive verbs display a mismatch between their semantics and their object syntax class. That is, verbs can be morphologically psych but semantically causative, such as *ku31ʔ* 'kick.' They can also be morphologically causative but semantically psych, such as *ŋu31gɨ1* 'check, examine.'

Both types of mismatch transitive verbs are subject to the incorporation rules for **psych verbs**. To start, mismatch psych verbs such as 'kick' – despite their causative semantics – are still subject to the incorporation rules for other psych verbs. They can incorporate part terms (46a), but unlike morphologically causative verbs – such as *tą1* 'discard' in (35) – they cannot incorporate animates or non-part inanimates (46b–46c).

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(46) a. *ku31ʔĩ3 tʃa3ku31ʔku1tɨ2*
ku31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=ku31ʔ=ku1tɨ2
2SG=ACC 1SGSBJ=kick=NI:foot
'I kicked your foot / I kicked you in the foot.'

b. **ku31ʔĩ3 tʃa3ku31ʔwe3ĩ1*
*ku31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=ku31ʔ=we3ĩ1
*2SG=ACC 1SGSBJ=kick=NI:vehicle
(Intended reading: 'I kicked your motorcycle.')

c. **ku31ʔĩ3 tʃa3ku31ʔa3kɨ1*
*ku31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=ku31ʔ=a3kɨ1
*2SG=ACC 1SGSBJ=kick=NI:child
(Intended reading: 'I kicked your child.')

[LWG 2024.1.79]

Mismatch causative verbs like *ŋu31gɨ1* 'examine' display the overall object syntax of causatives. However, in incorporation, they behave like psych verbs rather than causatives. That is, they allow incorporation of part term objects, such as 'skin' in (47a) . But incorporating animate objects or non-part-term inanimate objects is unacceptable (47b–47c).

(47) a. *tʃo31ʔĩ3 i5na4ŋu31gɨ1tʃa1mɨ1ʔi3*
tʃo31=ʔĩ3 i5=na4=ŋu31gɨ1=tʃa1mɨ1ʔi3
1SG=ACC VCL=3.SBJ=examine=NI:skin
'They examined my skin.'

b. **tʃo31ʔĩ3 i5na4ŋu31gɨpa3ne3*
*tʃo31=ʔĩ3 i5=na4=ŋu31gɨ=pa3ne3
*1SG=ACC VCL=3.SBJ=examine=NI:document
(Intended reading: 'They examined my ID.')

c. **ku31ʔĩ3 i5tʃa3ŋu31gɨ1e3ɟa1*
*ku31=ʔĩ3 i5=tʃa3=ŋu31gɨ1=e3ɟa1
*2SG=ACC VCL=1SGSBJ=examine=NI:sister
(Intended reading: 'I examined your sister.') [LWG 2024.1.79]

**12.1.2.2.3 Transitive verbs cannot incorporate their subjects** In line with the cross-linguistic generalization that agents cannot be incorporated, neither causative nor psych transitive verbs can incorporate their subjects (48–49). People consistently interpret the would-be incorporated subject as an object – that is, if (48)

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is acceptable, it is only acceptable on the reading 'I cut down the daughter of the orange tree.'

(48) **na3ra4ɲa1 tʃa3tu31ʔa3kɨ1*
*na3ra4ɲa1 tʃa3=tu31ʔ=a3kɨ1
*orange 1SGSBJ=cut.tree=NI:daughter
(Intended reading: 'My daughter cut down the orange tree.') [LWG 2024.1.79]

(49) **tʃo31ʔĩ3 ku3dau2ne3*
*tʃo31=ʔĩ3 ku3=dau2=ne3
*1SG=ACC 2SGSBJ=see=NI:son
(Intended reading: 'Your son saw me.') [LWG 2024.1.79]

**12.1.2.2.4 Derived causative verbs can incorporate one argument** Verbs that are derived with the morphological causative *-ʔẽ4ẽ3* can also undergo incorporation. When *-ʔẽ4ẽ3* attaches to an intransitive verb, it derives a transitive verb which behaves – in every way – like an underived causative transitive (Chapter 6.2.1). They can incorporate the object, i.e. causee, whether it is animate (51) or not (50). The incorporated noun always appears before the causative suffix.

(50) *ku3na3ta31**ga1**ʔẽ4ẽ3*
ku3=na3=ta43=**ga1**-ʔẽ4ẽ3
2SGSBJ=3.OBJ=big=**NI:voice**-CAUS
'You turn up the volume, lit. make its **voice** loud.' [Veronica, LSC-VSC]

(51) *tʃo31ʔĩ3 ni4dạ2we1**ne3**ʔẽ4ẽ3*
tʃo31=ʔĩ3 ni4=dạ2we1=**ne3**-ʔẽ4ẽ3
1SG=ACC 3.SBJ=sick=**NI:son**-CAUS
'S/he made my **son** get sick.' [SSG 2016.1.80]

When the causative attaches to a transitive root, the resulting verb has three arguments: the causer, the causee (i.e., the embedded agent), and the patient. It is acceptable to incorporate the patient of a causative of a transitive (52–53), but not the causee (54). This is a special instance of the ban on incorporating agents.

(52) *ai2ʔkɨ4ma4 ɲụ1ʔma5 ma3rɨ3 tɨ3tʃa3**bị2we3ta1ʔẽ4ẽ3***

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ai2ʔkɨ4ma4 ɲu̯1ʔma5 ma3rɨ3
truly now PRF
tɨ3=tʃa3=**bi̯2=we3ta1-ʔẽ4ẽ3**
3(I)OBJ=1SGSBJ=**carry.on.back=NI:basket-CAUS**
'These days, I don't really make her (free) carry baskets (incorporated) any more.' [DGC, YCG-SCG-DGC]

(53) *tʃau1a3kɨ1ʔĩ3 tʃa3ɟau1ʔtʃi5ru2ʔẽ4ẽ3*
tʃau1=a3kɨ1=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=ɟau1ʔ=ʔtʃi5ru2-ʔẽ4ẽ3
1SG=child=ACC 1SGSBJ=wash=NI:clothes-CAUS
'I made my child (free) wash her clothes (incorporated).' [LCS 2016.1.60]

(54) **na3ra4ɲa1 tʃa3tu31ʔẽ4ẽ3a3kɨ1 / *tʃa3tu31a3kɨ1ʔẽ4ẽ3*
*na3ra4ɲa1 tʃa3=tu31-ʔẽ4ẽ3=a3kɨ1 /
*orange 1SGSBJ=cut.tree-CAUS=NI:child /
*tʃa3=tu31=a3kɨ1-ʔẽ4ẽ3
*1SGSBJ=cut.tree=NI:child-CAUS
(Intended reading: 'I made my child (incorporated) cut down the orange tree (free).') [LWG 2024.1.79]

**12.1.2.2.5 Oblique object verbs cannot incorporate any argument** I use the term 'oblique object verbs' for verbs/senses of verbs that assign an oblique case, rather than the accusative case, to their patients (Chapter 6). Oblique object verbs cannot incorporate their oblique-marked internal arguments. For example, while *dau2* in the sense 'see' assigns the accusative to its internal argument and can incorporate, *dau2* in the sense 'take care of' assigns the recipient case to its patient (55)a. It therefore cannot incorporate the patient, and this holds whether the raised possessor takes the recipient case or the accusative case (55)b. It is also ungrammatical to incorporate the agent (55)c.

(55) a. *Diandra=ne3na1 ku3dau2*
Diandra=ne3=na1 ku3=dau2
Diandra=son=RCP 2SGSBJ=take.care
'You take care of Diandra's son.'

b. **Diandra=na1 / *Diandra=ʔĩ3 ku3dau2ne3*
*Diandra=na1 / *Diandra=ʔĩ ku3=dau2=ne3
*Diandra=RCP / *Diandra=ACC 2SBJ=take.care=NI:son
(Intended reading: 'You take care of Diandra's son.')

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c. **nɨ31ʔna1 tʃa3dau2a3kɨ1*
*nɨ31=ʔna1 tʃa3=dau2=a3kɨ1
*3=RCP 1SGSBJ=see=NI:child
(Intended reading: 'My child takes care of him/her.')
[LWG 2024.1.80]

Incorporating inanimate patients is also unacceptable. This is shown in (56): in the sense 'sell,' the verb *ta4e3* assigns the purposive case to its object, and therefore cannot incorporate it.

(56) a. *na43ʔtʃi5ru2kạ1 na4ta4e3*
na43=ʔtʃi5ru2=kạ1 na4=ta4e3
DFLT.POSS=clothes=PURP 3.SBJ=sell
'S/he sells clothing.'

b. **na4ta4e3ʔtʃi5ru2*
*na4=ta4e3=ʔtʃi5ru2
*3.SBJ=sell=NI:clothing
(Intended reading: 'S/he sells clothing.')
[LWG 2024.1.79]

It is unclear to me whether the unacceptability of subject incorporation with oblique-object verbs comes from the ban on incorporation of transitive subjects vs. the ban on incorporation of unergative subjects (if they are different).

### 12.1.3 Requirements of noun incorporation: Summary

Any possessed noun in Ticuna can potentially undergo incorporation – including human nouns, borrowings, and morphologically derived nouns – as long as it does not have other (non-possessor) modifiers §12.1.

Incorporation follows an absolutive pattern, targeting the subjects of intransitives and the objects of transitives. However, there are splits among both intransitive and transitive verbs based on argument structure. Only stative and unaccusative intransitives can incorporate their subjects; unergatives can't §12.1.2.1.

Among verbs that have two arguments, transitive causative verbs can always incorporate their objects §12.1.2.2.1. Psych transitive verbs do participate in incorporation, but it is restricted exclusively to inanimate part terms §12.1.2.2.2. This also applies to both types of 'mismatch' verbs. Agents §12.1.2.2.3, including the embedded agents of morphological causatives §12.1.2.2.4, can never incorporate. Neither can any argument of an oblique object verb §12.1.2.2.5. These verb

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phrase-related restrictions mean that noun incorporation is less frequent in text than might be expected from its (very minimal) requirements on the noun.

## 12.2 Semantic and pragmatic issues in noun incorporation

In this section I discuss two issues involving incorporated nouns, and how much they are like other, non-incorporated nouns. These are whether incorporated nouns an be read as generic, and whether they are accessible to anaphora.

### 12.2.1 Incorporated nouns can have generic readings

Besides the possessor-raising type of noun incorporation, there is also a limited process of incorporation of un-possessed nouns with generic readings.

An example of generic noun incorporation is the stem *ɟau1ʔtʃi5ru2* 'do laundry,' which is derived from the verb *ɟau17* 'wash' plus the incorporated inalienable noun *ʔtʃi5ru2* 'clothing'. While this verb can have an object (the possessor of the clothes), more often it is used without an object, like in (57).

(57) Context: What are you doing?
*i5tʃa3ɟau1ʔtʃi5ru2*
i5=tʃa3=ɟau1ʔ=ʔtʃi5ru2
IPFV=1SGSBJ=wash=NI:clothes
'I'm doing laundry.' [LWG 2024.1.81]

The stem *ɟau1ʔtʃi5ru2* "do laundry" is very conventional and perhaps lexicalized. But the generic incorporation process is not limited to lexicalized stems. At least for causative transitive verbs, it seems to be productive, as shown by examples like (Ex) and (Ex).

(58) Context: Steps to building a new house within the extended household/compound.
*ku3na3ʔi2ma3ĩ1ʔi5ra1*
ku3=na3ʔ=i2=ma3ĩ1=ʔi5ra1
2SGSBJ=3.OBJ=make=NI:path=First
'First you should make a path toward it (lit. its path).' [RGW, 20170527_002]

(59) Context: I might write this on a sign advertising my business.
*tʃa3me43ʔẽ4ẽ3a1ri3 tʃa3pa3tu1ã̰1*

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tʃa3=me43-ʔẽ4ẽ3=a1rɨ3 tʃa3pa3tu1=ą̃1
1SGSBJ=good-CAUS=AL.INCORP shoe=AL.INCORP
'I do shoe repairs.' [LWG 2024.1.81]

There are a few conventional stems where a psych verb (rather than a causative transitive) incorporates an object with a generic reading. Examples include *u3=tʃi3ga1* (say=NI:story) 'narrate' and *dau2=ma3tɨ4* (see=NI:letter) 'read.' However, Lilia found attempts to form new stems using a psych verb and generic noun unacceptable, as in (60).

(60) Context: Describing the job of a lab technician at a hospital
**i5ni4dau2gɨ1*
*i5=ni4=dau2=gɨ1
*IMPF=3.SBJ=see=NI:blood
(Intended reading: 'They are doing blood exams.') [LWG 2024.1.81]

Thus, it seems most likely that generic object incorporation is only productive with causative transitives. There is no evidence of any kind that generic subject incorporation exists.

Last, when a verb incorporates a generic object, the object is banned from having any modifiers, just like in possessor-raising noun incorporation. Constructions with a specific free noun and a generic incorporated object – type IV in Mithun's (1984) typology – are ungrammatical (61) or receive interpretations where the specific is the possessor of the generic (62).

(61) **ma3rɨ3 ta4na3me43ʔẽ4ẽ3we3ĩ1 ɟa1 mo3to1*
*ma3rɨ3 ta4=na3=me43-ʔẽ4ẽ3=we3ĩ1 ɟa1 mo3to1
PRF 1EXCL.SBJ=3.OBJ=good-CAUS=NI:vehicle DET(III) motorcycle(III)
(Intended reading: 'We vehicle-repaired the motorcycle.') [LWG 2024.1.82]

(62) *juane tʃa3ʔɨ2we3mɨ1*
juane tʃa3=ɨ2=we3mɨ1
SP:juane 1SGSBJ=make=NI:food
(Intended reading: 'I cooked the juane [a food].')
Only acceptable reading: 'I made the juane's food.'
Comment: This sounds like the juane is a person and you cooked for them. [LWG 2024.1.82]

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### 12.2.2 Incorporated nouns are accessible to anaphora

Incorporated nouns are accessible to anaphora later in the discourse, even if their only mention has been in an incorporated construction. The anaphoric device can be an anaphoric demonstrative (63b), a pronoun (64b), or an agreement proclitic with no co-occurring pronoun (65).

(63) a. *ta4ma3 tʃa3pu3ra3kɨ4 e3rɨ4 tʃa3rɨ3ʎu31**ne3***
ta4ma3 tʃa3=pu3ra3kɨ4 e3rɨ4 tʃa3rɨ3=ʎu31=**ne3**
NEG 1SGSBJ=work because 1SGSBJ=fall=**NI:son**
'I'm not working because I had my **son**$_i$ (incorporated) take a fall.'

b. ***ɟi2ma4** rɨ1 ni4bɨ3ɟe1pa3ra1*
ɟi2ma4 rɨ1 ni4=bɨ3ɟe1=pa3ra1
DEM:MULTI TOP 3.SBJ=snap=NI:leg
'As for **that one**$_i$, he broke his leg.' [ECP 2017.2.38]

(64) a. *ta4ma3 tʃa3pu3ra3kɨ4 e3rɨ4 tʃi3dą̃2we1a1rɨ3 **no31ʔẽ5**ą̃1.*
ta4ma3 tʃa3=pu3ra3kɨ4 e3rɨ4 tʃi3=dą̃2we1=a1rɨ3
NEG 1SGSBJ=work because 1SGSBJ=sick=AL.INCORP
**no31ʔẽ5**=ą̃1
**grandmother**=AL.INCORP
'I'm not working because I had my **grandmother**$_i$ get sick.'

b. *rɨ1 na1 tɨ31ʔĩ3 na4ʔɨ2*
rɨ1 na1 tɨ31=ʔĩ3 na4=ɨ2
and cold/flu 3(I)=ACC 3.SBJ=do
'**She**$_i$ has a cold (lit., a cold is affecting her$_i$).' [LWG 2017.2.40]

(65) *tʃa3na3ɟau1**ʔtʃi5ru2** rɨ1 **na4**ʔɨ2ą1ʔɨ5tʃi2*
tʃa3=na3=ɟau1ʔ=**ʔtʃi5ru2** rɨ1 **na4**=ɨ2ą1=ʔɨ5tʃi2
1SGSBJ=3.OBJ=wash=**NI:clothes** and **3.SBJ**=dirty=really
'I washed his/her clothes$_i$ and they$_i$ were really dirty.' [LWG 2016.1.162]

Although people find anaphora to incorporated nouns acceptable, the structure rarely if ever occurs in text. This reflects the information-structural properties of incorporation – as discussed in §12.4 below, incorporation tends to occur when the **possessor** of a noun is a topic or focus, not when the **noun** is. Since the possessor/raised argument is more information-structurally prominent to begin with, it is much more likely to be mentioned again than the incorporated noun.

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## 12.3 Classifier incorporation

Classifier incorporation is an entirely different process from noun incorporation in Ticuna. Noun incorporation centers on possessor raising. Classifier incorporation does not. Instead, it occurs when a verb incorporates a noun classifier that characterizes the size, shape, or physical properties of one of the arguments. For example, in (66) the verb *ɟau1ʔ* 'take' incorporates the classifier *pɨ1ʔɨ3*, which classifies round objects. The classifier and the demonstrative *gu31ʔe2* 'that one' both refer to a marble. In noun incorporation, this coreference between a demonstrative and an incorporated noun wouldn't be possible, because of the ban on stranding modifiers §12.1.1.6.

(66) gu31ʔe2 tɨ31ʔɨ̃3 ku1ɟau1ʔpɨ1ʔɨ3
gu31ʔe2 tɨ31=ʔɨ̃3 ku1=ɟau1ʔ=pɨ1ʔɨ3
DEM:DIST(I) 3(I)=ACC 2SGSBJ=take=CLF:round
'You take that one (CLF:round).' [C12 TOT]

Noun classifiers have many of the same prosodic and morphosyntactic properties as inalienable nouns (Chapter 7.4), including the ability to incorporate into verbs without any licensing morphology.

However, unlike inalienable nouns, noun classifiers cannot be possessed by other nouns. When they occur in the noun phrase, they can only attach to the **modifiers** of the head noun. They can't attach directly to the head as its possessum (Chapter 7.4). This means that – unlike in noun incorporation – clauses where the verb incorporates a classifier, like (67) and (69), don't alternate with clauses where the classifier is possessed by the internal argument. Structures where an argument possesses the classifier are simply ungrammatical, as shown by (68) for a nominal possessor and (70) for the default possessor (Chapter 8.1).

(67) *ɟi2ma2 na3ra4ɲa1 rɨ1 na4me31pɨ1ʔɨ3*
ɟi2ma2 na3ra4ɲa1 rɨ1 na4=me43=pɨ1ʔɨ3
DEM:MULTI(III) orange(III) TOP 3.SBJ=good=CLF:round
'That orange (CLF:round) is good.' [LWG 2017.2.50]

(68) **ɟi2ma2 na3ra4ɲa1pɨ1ʔɨ3 rɨ1 na4me43*
*ɟi2ma2 na3ra4ɲa1=pɨ1ʔɨ3 rɨ1 na4=me43
*DEM:MULTI(III) orange(III)=CLF:round TOP 3.SBJ=good
(Intended reading: 'That orange is good.') [LWG 2017.2.50]

(69) *na4ta43me4na2ã3ʔɨ5tʃi2*

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na4=ta43=me4na2ã3=ʔɨ5tʃi2
3.SBJ=big=CLF:stick=really
'It (CLF:stick) is really big.' [LWG 2017.2.50]

(70) **na43me4na2ã3 na4ta43ʔɨ5tʃi2*
*na43=me4na2ã3 na4=ta43=ʔɨ5tʃi2
*DFLT.POSS=stick 3.SBJ=big=really
(Intended reading: 'It (CLF:stick) is really big.') [LWG 2017.2.50]

Classifiers only vary in position – that is, can appear on either the verb or the noun phrase – if the noun phrase includes numerals or quantifiers. In that case, the classifier can occur on the numeral, the verb, or both, as shown in (71). But it still does not attach to the head noun, as would be the case in noun incorporation.

(71) a. *ta2ʔre4pɨ1ʔɨ3 ɟa1 na3ra4ɲa1 na4rɨ3ɟi31(pɨ1ʔɨ3)*
ta2ʔre4=pɨ1ʔɨ3 ɟa1 na3ra4ɲa1 na4rɨ3=ɟi31=(pɨ1ʔɨ3)
two=CLF:round DET(III) orange(III) 3.SBJ=fall.PLS=(CLF:round)
b. *ta2ʔre4 ɟa1 na3ra4ɲa1 na4rɨ3ɟi31pɨ1ʔɨ3*
ta2ʔre4 ɟa1 na3ra4ɲa1 na4rɨ3=ɟi31=pɨ1ʔɨ3
two DET(III) orange(III) 3.SBJ=fall.PLS=CLF:round
'Two oranges (CLF:round) fell.' [LWG 2024.1.80]

Given that classifier incorporation doesn't involve an alternation between more and less analytic structures, it would be fair to say that it's not incorporation. However, in Ticuna it looks morphosyntactically fairly similar to noun incorporation, and I choose to call it 'incorporation' to highlight these similarities.

### 12.3.1 Argument structure restrictions

With intransitive verbs, classifier incorporation can characterize the subject of statives, as shown in (72) below and (67–69) above. It can also characterize the subject of an unaccusative intransitive, as with 'fall' in (71) above and 'roll' in (73) below.

(72) *na4ʔi51ra1pɨ1ʔɨ3 na2tɨ4rɨ4 na4mai2ku4ra2*
na4=i51ra1=pɨ1ʔɨ3 na2tɨ4rɨ4 na4=mai2ku4ra2
3.SBJ=small=CLF:round but 3.SBJ=sweet
'It's small (CLF:round) but it's sweet [speaking of a fruit].' [DGG Yard 15:08]

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(73) *ta4di4ʔpɨ1ʔɨ3gɨ4*
ta4=di4ʔ=pɨ1ʔɨ3=gɨ4
3(I).SBJ=roll=CLF:round=PL
'They're (CLF:round) rolling around [speaking of marbles].' [2019 TOT C2, CG, 2:45]

Classifier incorporation can also characterize the object of a transitive. This is allowed for both causative transitives and psych transitives. The examples with *ɟau1ʔ* 'take' in (66) above and *kʉ1* 'push' in (74) below demonstrate classifier incorporation with causative transitives. For psych transitives, see (75), where *u3gɨ1* 'count' undergoes classifier incorporation, and (76), where it occurs with *dau2* 'see.'

(74) *tɨ31ʔĩ3 i5na4kʉ1ʔu2tʃi4pɨ1ʔɨ3ma3re3*
tɨ31=ʔĩ3 i5=na4=kʉ1-ʔɨ2tʃi4=pɨ1ʔɨ3=ma3re3
3(I)=ACC DIR=3.SBJ=push-DIR:outward.SGO=CLF:round=just
'She's just going to push it (CLF:round) out [speaking of a ball].'
[Caregiver, C20-C23 CCI]

(75) *e3ĩ1ka5 ku31rɨ3ta2ã4 tɨ31ʔĩ3 i3ʔu3gɨ1pɨ1ʔɨ3*
e3ĩ1ka5 ku31rɨ3=ta2ã4 tɨ31=ʔĩ3 i3=u3gɨ1=pɨ1ʔɨ3
let's.see 2SGPOSS=only 3(I)=ACC IMP=count=CLF:round
'Let's see, count your own (beads) (CLF:round).' [Caregiver, 2019 CCI C44, 44:36]

(76) *nɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa3dau2ta4tʃi3nɨ1*
nɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=dau2=ta4tʃi3nɨ1
3=ACC 1SGSBJ=see=CLF:rectangular
'I saw it (CLF:rectangular) [speaking of a coin].' [LWG 2024.1.80]

Classifier incorporation of the subject is not allowed for unergative subjects, or for any transitive subject. This is shown by (77) for an unergative, (78) for a causative transitive, and (79) for a psych transitive.

ALL of the classified arguments in the following examples are inanimate, because only inanimates have classifiers in Ticuna. Therefore, nothing can be said about whether classifier incorporation, like object incorporation, is sensitive to animacy.

(77) *ta4ma3 na4pu3ra3kɨ4(*ta4tʃi3nɨ1)*

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ta4ma3 na4=pu3ra3kɨ4=(*ta4tʃi3nɨ1)
NEG 3.SBJ=work=(*CLF:rectangular)
'It (*CLF:rectangular) isn't working [speaking of a table saw].' [LWG 2024.1.80]

(78) *ɟi2ma4 ʎe3tɨ1ʔi3kɨ3ʔĩ3 na4wai1ʔ(*ta4tʃi3nɨ1)*
ɟi2ma4 ʎe3tɨ1ʔi3kɨ3=ʔĩ3 na4=wai1ʔ=(*ta4tʃi3nɨ1)
DEM.MULTI(II) young.man(II)=ACC 3.SBJ=injure=(*CLF:rectangular)
'It (*CLF:rectangular) injured that young man [speaking of a table saw].' [LWG 2024.1.80]

(79) *ɲa4a2 po3pe4ra1 rɨ1 tʃau1tʃi3ga1ʔĩ3 ni4ʔu3(*pɨ1ʔɨ3)*
ɲa4a2 po3pe4ra1 rɨ1 tʃau1=tʃi3ga1=ʔĩ3 ni4=u3=(*pɨ1ʔɨ3)
DEM.PROX(IV) book(IV) TOP 1SG=story=ACC 3.SBJ=say=(*CLF:round)
'This book/paper (*CLF:round) tells my story.' [LWG 2024.1.80]

### 12.3.2 Incorporating both a noun and a classifier

It's possible to incorporate both a noun and a classifier into the same verb. In this structure, the classifier must come first, followed by the noun. This shown in the corpus example in (80). The order Verb-Noun-Classifier is ungrammatical (81).

(80) *tu2tu4**pɨ1ʔɨ3e2ru4** ɨ4 no51rɨ3 micro*
tu2tu4=**pɨ1ʔɨ3=e2ru4** ɨ4 no51rɨ3 micro
spiky=**CLF:round=NI:head** DET(IV) 3.POSS SP:microphone
'Her microphone has a spiky **head (CLF:round)**.' [2019 C27 CCI, FA2, 17:49]

(81) *da31ʔe2 tʃo43ʔni5 rɨ1 ta4dau4tʃi5ɨ3gɨ1 / *ta4dau4gɨ1tʃi5ɨ3*
da31ʔe2 tʃo43ʔni5 rɨ1 ta4=dau4=tʃi5ɨ3=gɨ1 /
DEM.PROX(I) fish(I) TOP 3(I)=red=CLF:liquid=NI:blood /
*ta4=dau4=gɨ1=tʃi5ɨ3
*3(I).SBJ=red=NI:blood=CLF:liquid
'This fish has red blood (CLF:liquid).' [LWG 2017.2.88, LWG 2024.1.80]

Alienable nouns can also incorporate alongside classifiers. Like inalienables, they display a Verb=Classifier=Noun order, with the alienable noun incorporation morphology occurring between the classifier and noun root (82).

(82) *na4tu2tu4pɨ1ʔɨ3a1rɨ3 o2g̃1*

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na4=tu2tu4=pɨ1ʔɨ3=a1rɨ3 o2=ą̃1
3.SBJ=spiky=CLF:round=AL.INCORP fruit=AL.INCORP
'It (breadfruit) has spiky fruit (CLF:round).' [LWG 2024.1.81]

## 12.4 Optionality of incorporation

### 12.4.1 Classifier incorporation

Classifier incorporation is always optional: all of the examples in §12.3 were also accepted without the classifiers. It's difficult to estimate how frequent it is, since people don't use classifiers every time they produce a classified noun, and there's also no good way to identify in the corpus which verbs could undergo classifier incorporation.

My impression is that classifier incorporation actually occurs in less than 25% of the tokens where it could occur. The main factors conditioning its occurrence seem to be lexical, with certain verbs and classifiers being more likely than others to undergo incorporation. For example, the verb *nu37* 'be short' incorporates classifiers much more often than other stative verbs, and the classifier *pɨ1ʔɨ3* 'CLF:round' is incorporated much more often than other classifiers (although it also classifies a disproportionately large number of nouns).

### 12.4.2 Noun incorporation

The occurrence of noun incorporation in text seems to be conditioned by two factors. One factor is whether the noun is a part term §12.4.2.1. When part terms can incorporate, they almost always do, especially human body part terms. The other main conditioning factor is information structure §12.4.2.2. When the possessor of a noun is information-structurally prominent, the possessum will tend to incorporate, which raises its more prominent possessor to an argument position.

#### 12.4.2.1 Part terms prefer to be incorporated

If a possessed noun is a body part term, and is in a syntactic position that allows incorporation, then incorporation is the default way to realize it (83)a. Analytic structures are degraded or ungrammatical (83)b.

(83) Q: What did you do? A:

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a. *tʃau1gɨ1 tʃa3ɟau1ʔmɐ̨1*
tʃau1=gɨ1 tʃa3=ɟau1ʔ=mɐ̨1
1SG=REFL 1SGSBJ=wash=NI:hand
'I washed my hands (incorporated).'

b. *#/* tʃo1ʔmɐ̨1 tʃa3ɟa1ʔu2*
#/* tʃo1=mɐ̨1 tʃa3=ɟa1ʔu2
#/* 1SG=hand 1SGSBJ=wash
(Intended reading: 'I washed my hands (free).')

[LWG 2018.1.18, LWG 2024.1.81]

If the body part term is extracted in a focus construction, analytic structures – where the body part is realized as a free noun – become acceptable. However, this requires a syntactic focus construction, as in (84a). The fact that the body part is new information, i.e. is focused in terms of information structure, is not enough to license its occurrence as a free noun, per the judgment in (84b). Additionally, **even when** there is information-structural focus on the body part, incorporation is still acceptable (84c).

(84) Q: What did you wash? A:

a. *tʃo1mɐ̨1 ni41ʔi4 i5tʃa1ɟa1ʔu5ne1*
tʃo1=mɐ̨1 ni41ʔi4 i5=tʃa1=ɟau1ʔ=ne1
1SG=hand(III) FOC IPFV=1SGSBJ.SC=wash=NMLZ(III)
'I washed *my hands* (focused, free).'

b. *#/*tʃo1ʔmɐ̨1 tʃa3ɟa1ʔu2*
#/* tʃo1=mɐ̨1 tʃa3=ɟa1ʔu2
#/* 1SG=hand 1SGSBJ=wash
(Intended reading: 'I washed my hands (free).')

c. *i5tʃa3ɟau1ʔmɐ̨1*
i5=tʃa3=ɟau1ʔ=mɐ̨1
IPFV=1SGSBJ=wash=NI:hand
'I washed my hands (incorporated).'

[LWG 2018.1.18]

Incorporation also seems to be the most common way to realize terms for parts of non-human beings, such as the plant part term *a5tɨ2* 'leaf' in (85) and the object part term *pɐ̨1ʔe3* 'front (part)' in (86).

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(85) *ta4ma3 na1mu4a5tɨ2ʔĩ4 ɲa5tʃa3ʔ*
ta4ma3 na1=mu4=a5tɨ2=ʔĩ4 ɲa5tʃa3ʔ
NEG 3.SBJ.SC=many=NI:leaf=SUB 1SG.QUOT.SC
'It doesn't have many leaves, as I was saying.'
(C27 CCI, CG, 15:01)

(86) Q: What does the boat look like?

a. *na4ɟau5ʔpɛ̨1ʔe3*
na4=ɟą̨u1=pɛ̨1ʔe3
3.SBJ=blue/green=NI:front
'It has a blue prow.'

b. *na4ɟą̨u1 i4 na4ʔpɛ̨1ʔe3*
na4=ɟą̨u1 i4 na4=pɛ̨1ʔe3
3.SBJ=blue/green DET(IV) 3=front(IV)
'It has a blue prow.' [LWG 2024.1.81]

In elicitation, people always volunteer an incorporated form first with plant and object parts. For example, (86a) was Lilia's volunteered response to the context question. However, analytic constructions are judged acceptable with plant/object part terms (86b) and do occur in the corpus, as shown in (87).

(87) *tɨ4tʃa3kɨ1ʔɨ3a5tɨ2 ta1 ŋe5ma2 ta4 tʃa3ta5e3*
tɨ4=tʃa3kɨ1ʔɨ3=a5tɨ2 ta1 ŋe5ma2 ta4 tʃa3=ta5e3
cotton=arm/branch=leaf also there.ANA FUT 1SG=leave.in.water.SGO
'I'm also going to soak the cotton leaves there.' [C27 CCI, FA1, 14:55]

Alienable nouns are incorporated much less often than inalienable nouns overall. However, for part terms that happen to be alienable, Lilia still found incorporation much better than analytic constructions (88).

(88) Q: What did you do? A:

a. *tʃau1gɨ1 tʃa3ɟau1ʔa1rɨ3 ko4nɨ3ą̃1*
tʃau1=gɨ1 tʃa3=ɟau1ʔ=a1rɨ3 ko4nɨ3=ą̃1
1SG=REFL 1SGSBJ=wash=AL.INCORP tongue=AL.INCORP
'I brushed (lit. washed) my tongue (incorporated).'

b. *??/* tʃo31rɨ3 ko4nɨ3 tʃa3ɟa1ʔu2*
tʃo31rɨ3 ko4nɨ3 tʃa3=ɟau1ʔ
1SG.POSS tongue 1SGSBJ=wash
(Intended reading: 'I brushed my tongue (free)'.)
[LWG 2024.1.81]

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#### 12.4.2.2 Possessor more information-structurally prominent than possessum

For nouns that are not part terms, incorporation seems to be conditioned by the information-structural prominence of the noun vs. of its possessor. If the possessor of a noun is a topic or focus and the possessum is not, then the possessum will undergo incorporation. This is seen in (89), which is repeated from (30) above.

(89) *na2ti4ri4 ɲu1ʔma5 i4 ɟe3a2 tʃo31ri3* ***ko3ri5*** *ri1, ma3 na4ɟu2a1ri3* ***ma3ma5****ɑ̃1*
na2ti4ri4 ɲu1ʔma5 i4 ɟe3a2 tʃo31ri3 **ko3ri5** ri1 ma3
but now DET(IV) DEM:DIST(IV) 1SG.POSS **man(IV)** TOP PRF
na4=ɟu2=a1ri3 **ma3ma5**=ɑ̃1
3.SBJ=die=AL.INCORP **mother**=AL.INCORP
'But as for that one, my husband, he's already had his mother die.' [LGC HALDI 5:33]

In (89), *ɟe3a2 tʃo31ri3 ko3ri5* 'that one my husband' is a (contrastive) topic, as marked morphologically by *ri1* TOP. This constituent is also the continuing topic of later sentences in the discourse. In contrast, the possessum *ma3ma5* 'mother' is not in a focus or topic position and is not mentioned before or after in the discourse. Since this makes the possessor more information-structurally prominent than the possessum, the possessum is incorporated.

I overheard another example of the information-structural conditioning of incorporation in September 2017. As I was recording tone-frames with Lilia, the SD card in the audio recorder malfunctioned. I was examining the recorder to see why, when Lilia's brother walked into the room and saw me looking stressed. Lilia immediately explained the situation to him by saying (90).

(90) *na4tʃi31e2a1ri3 maquina=ɑ̃1*
na4=tʃi31e2=a1ri3 maquina=ɑ̃1
3.SBJ=bad=AL.INCORP SP:machine=AL.INCORP
'She had her machine break.' [overheard speech Sep 8 2017]

In the context of (90), the implicit question under discussion is what I (possessor) am doing, not what the machine (possessum) is doing. Therefore the possessum is incorporated and the pronoun denoting the possessor raises to subject.

To sum up, the constraint driving noun incorporation of non-part terms is that information-structurally prominent nouns preferentially function as arguments, not as the possessors of arguments. This is in line with the possessor-raising qualities of noun incorporation in the language.

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As a final note, this discussion of optionality does not apply to the possessive verbs *ã3* 'have (inalienable)' or *ʌe4* 'not have.' With these verbs, incorporation of the possessum/internal argument is always obligatory. They are discussed in more detail in Chapter 21.2.

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# 13 Noun phrase syntax

In Ticuna, complex noun phrases can contain the following modifiers:

- Quantifiers, including numerals (§13.1)
- Determiners (§13.2)
- Demonstratives (§13.3)
- Possessors (§13.4)
- Pronouns (functioning as modifiers) (§13.5)
- The word equivalent to 'other,' which does not clearly belong to any of the above categories (§13.6)
- Relative clauses

Adjectives are not included in this list because there is no evidence for a class of adjectives (Chapter 5). Meanings expressed by adjectives in other languages are expressed by subject relative clauses instead.

Modifiers other than relative clauses normally precede the head noun, while relative clauses normally follow the noun. Relative clauses are discussed in their own chapter (Chapter 23). I discuss each of other the modifier types in the same order just given.

Noun phrases can contain multiple modifiers, e.g. both a quantifier and a demonstrative. In a noun phrase with multiple modifiers, the order is generally [Quantifier Determiner Demonstrative Possessor Noun]. I discuss the ordering of each modifier class relative to others as I introduce the classes.

## 13.1 Quantifiers

### 13.1.1 Quantifiers other than numerals

Other than numerals, all quantifiers in Ticuna are derived from other lexical items, primarily from verbs. All of the deverbal quantifiers, and a few that are

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not deverbal, undergo noun class agreement. Chapter 7 provides the full noun class agreement paradigm of quantifiers.

Cross-linguistically, one of the basic divisions among quantifiers is the strong vs. weak contrast (Milsark 1974). Some quantifiers can occur in the argument noun phrase of an existential construction, i.e. are weak, and some can't, i.e. are strong.

The strong quantifiers of Ticuna are *gu5ʔĩ4* 'all,' *wɨ43ʔi4tʃi1gɨ1* 'every,' and *nɨ31ma2ʔĩ4* 'partitive some.' The weak quantifiers are *mu1ʔĩ4* 'many,' *no31ʔre5* 'few,' *ɲu̯1ʔre5* 'how many/a few,' and numerals. (1) shows the acceptability of each of these in an existential. Since these examples involve a Class II noun, they have Class II (not Class IV/citation) forms of the quantifiers.

(1) Context: I call your store and ask if you have handsaws.
*na4ɟi2ma4 ɟa4 [✓mu1kɨ3ma3 / ✓no31re5kɨ3 / ✓ta2ʔre4ta2ma4 / ✓ɲu̯1ʔre5 / #gu5kɨ3ma3 / #wɨ43ʔi4tʃi1gɨ1 / #nɨ31ma2kɨ3] ɟa4 tʃe3ra1*
na4=ɟi2ma4 ɟa4 [✓mu1kɨ3=ma3 / ✓no31re5kɨ3 /
3.SBJ=exist(II) DET(II) [✓many(II)=INFO / ✓few(II) /
✓ta2ʔre4=ta2ma4 / ✓ɲu̯1ʔre5 / #gu5kɨ3=ma3 / #wɨ43ʔi4tʃi1gɨ1 /
✓two=just / ✓how.many?/few / #all(II)=INFO / #every /
#nɨ31ma2kɨ3] ɟa4 tʃe3ra1
#SOME ] DET(II) handsaw(II)
'There are [✓many / ✓a few / ✓exactly two / ✓a few / #all / #every / #some of the] handsaws.' [DGG 2017.2.175, LWG 2017.2.181]

The language also has a negative existential quantifier *ta2ʔu2ʔĩ4* 'none.' It's impossible to classify this quantifier as strong or weak. It can't appear in a positive existential construction like (1), but this is because all negative existential statements need to be formed with the negative existential verb, as in (2). See Chapter 20 for more on negative quantifiers.

(2) Context: Same as (1)
*na4ta2ʔu2ma3 ɟa4 tʃe3ra1*
na4=ta2ʔu2=ma3 ɟa4 tʃe3ra1
3.SBJ=neg.exist=INFO DET(II) handsaw(II)
'There are no handsaws.' [DGG 2017.2.175]

Mass nouns do not combine with *wɨ43ʔi4tʃi1gɨ1* 'every,' *mu1ʔĩ4* 'many,' *no31ʔre5* 'few,' *ɲu̯1ʔre5* 'how many,' or numerals, except under coerced portion readings (discussed in Skilton 2021a). Instead of 'many, 'few,' and 'how many,' mass nouns

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combine with the mass noun quantifiers *ta31ʔĩ4* 'a lot,' *i51ra3ʔĩ4* 'a little' and *(na3)ɲu̱1ʔra3ĩ3ʔĩ4* 'how much.' Mass nouns *are* acceptable with 'all,' 'partitive some,' and 'none.' See Chapter 7.3 for further details.

Now that all quantifiers have been introduced, Table 13.1 lists all quantifiers (other than numerals) in their citation forms; the other lexical items which they are related to; and whether they quantify count nouns, mass nouns, or both.

The derivation of numerals is discussed in the next subsection, alongside other properties of numerals.

### 13.1.2 Quantifier syntax

Syntactically, quantifiers are nearly always the first element of the noun phrase. They come before other prenominal modifiers like demonstratives (3) and possessors (4).

(3) *gu5ʔĩ4ma3 i4 ŋe3ma2 wi3ɟa3e3gi4*
gu5ʔĩ4=ma3 i4 ŋe3ma2 wi3ɟa3e3=gi4
all(IV)=INFO DET(IV) DEM.ANA(IV) song=PL
'all of those (anaphoric) songs' [Ana's Sermon 14:43]

(4) *gu5ʔĩ4ma3 i4 no51ri3 ã4ki4*
gu5ʔĩ4=ma3 i4 no51ri3 ã4ki4
all(IV)=INFO DET(IV) 3.POSS stuff(IV)
'all of her things' [NWG Brazil Trip 11:04]

While quantifiers normally come before demonstratives, they *can* come after. The relative order of demonstrative and quantifier is determined by the scope of the quantifier. If the quantifier scopes over the demonstrative, i.e. picks out a subset of the set of referents indexed by the demonstrative, then the quantifier comes first (5).

(5) Context: I have six marbles and two of them are blue.
*[✓no31ʔre5ta2ma4 ɟa4 da31ʔe2 / *da31ʔe2 ɟa4 no31ʔre5ta2ma4] pe3ti4ka1 ri1 ta4ɟau5ʔra1pi1ʔi3*
[✓no31ʔre5=ta2ma4 ɟa4 da31ʔe2 / *da31ʔe2 ɟa4
[✓few=Scalar.FOC DET(I) DEM:SPKR.PROX(I) / *DEM:SPKR.PROX(I) DET(I)
no31ʔre5=ta2ma4] pe3ti4ka1 ri1 ta4=ɟa̱u̱1=ʔi1ra1=pi1ʔi3
few=Scalar.FOC] marble(I) TOP 3(I).SBJ=blue/green=a.little=CLF:ball
'[✓Just a few of these marbles] / [*These just a few marbles] are blue.'
[LWG 2018.1.135]

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Table 13.1: Quantifiers (other than numerals) and their properties

| Quantifier | Related lexical item(s) | Quantifier's relationship to root lexical item | Count N | Mass N |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Deverbal quantifiers | | | | |
| *gu5ʔĩ4* 'all' | *gu̱1* 'run out, be finished' | nominalization of verb | ✓ | ✓ |
| *mu1ʔĩ4* 'many' | *mu4* 'be many, be numerous (count noun)' | nominalization of verb | ✓ | ✗ |
| *ta31ʔĩ4* 'a lot' | *ta43* 'be big (count), be a lot (mass)' | nominalization of verb | ✗ | ✓ |
| *no31ʔre5* 'few' | *no31ʔre5* 'be few (count)' | identical to verb | ✓ | ✗ |
| *i51ra3ʔĩ4* 'a little' | *i51ra1* 'be small (count), be a little (mass)' | nominalization of verb | ✗ | ✓ |
| *ta2ʔu2ʔĩ4* 'none' | *tau2ʔ* 'negative existential' | nominalization of verb | ✓ | ✓ |
| *ɲu̱1ʔre5* 'how many; some/a few (non-partitive)' | *ɲu̱1ʔre5* 'exist how many' | identical to verb | ✓ | ✗ |
| *(na3)ɲu1ʔra3ĩ3ʔĩ4* 'how much' | *ɲu̱1ʔra3ĩ1* 'be what color/size (count), exist how much (mass)' | nominalization of verb | ✓ | ✗ |
| Quantifiers that are not related to verbs | | | | |
| *nɨ31ma2ʔĩ4* 'some of the (partitive)' | *nɨ31ma2* 'third person pronoun' | pronoun + relativizing enclitic | ✓ | ✗ |
| *wɨ43ʔi4tʃi1gɨ1* 'every' | *wɨ43ʔi4* 'one (numeral)' | numeral + distributive enclitic *=tʃi1gɨ1* | ✓ | ✗ |

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If the quantifier scopes under the demonstrative, i.e. characterizes the cardinality of the set indexed by the demonstrative, then the demonstrative comes first (6).

(6) Context: I have two marbles and both of them are blue.
*[*ta2ʔre4 ɟa4 da31ʔe2 / ✓da31ʔe2 ɟa4 ta2ʔre4] pe3tɨ4ka1 rɨ1 ta4ɟau5ʔra1pɨ1ʔɨ3*
[*ta2ʔre4 ɟa4 da31ʔe2 / ✓da31ʔe2 ɟa4 ta2ʔre4]
two DET(I) DEM:SPKR.PROX(I) / ✓DEM:SPKR.PROX(I) DET(I) two
pe3tɨ4ka1 rɨ1 ta4=ɟą̰u̯1=ʔɨ1ra1=pɨ1ʔɨ3
marble(I) TOP 3(I).SBJ=blue/green=a.little=CLF:ball
'[*Two of these marbles / ✓These two marbles] are blue.'
LWG's comment: 'You could say *ta2ʔre4 ɟa4 da31ʔe2* (two of these) if other ones were here' [partitive, i.e. high scope, reading of quantifier] [LWG 2018.1.135]

The order of quantifier and demonstrative is only flexible if the quantifier is weak. Strong quantifiers must come before demonstratives (7).

(7) Context: I have two marbles and both of them are blue.
*[✓gu5ʔã4ma4 ɟa4 da31ʔe2 / *da31ʔe2 ɟa4 gu5ʔã4ma4] pe3tɨ4ka1 rɨ1 ta4ɟau5ʔra1pɨ1ʔɨ3*
[✓gu5ʔã4ma4 ɟa4 da31ʔe2 / *da31ʔe2 ɟa4
[✓all DET(I) DEM:SPKR.PROX(I) / *DEM:SPKR.PROX(I) DET(I)
gu5ʔã4ma4] pe3tɨ4ka1 rɨ1 ta4=ɟą̰u̯1=ʔɨ1ra1=pɨ1ʔɨ3
all] marble(I) TOP 3(I).SBJ=blue/green=a.little=CLF:ball
'[✓All of these marbles / *These all marbles] are blue.' [LWG 2018.1.135]

In the same way, when negation and quantifiers occur together, the higher-scoping element comes first (8).

(8) a. Context: One of my marbles fell off the table; the others didn't.
*ta4ma3 gu5ã3ma3 ɟa4 pe3tɨ4ka1 ta4rɨ3ɟɨ31*
ta4ma3 gu5ã3ma3 ɟa4 pe3tɨ4ka1 ta4rɨ3=ɟɨ31
NEG all DET(I) marble(I) 3(I).SBJ=fall.PLS
'Not all of the marbles fell.' (negation scopes over 'all')

b. Context: I picked up all of my marbles, then put all of them down again. None fell.
*gu5ã3ma3 ɟa4 pe3tɨ4ka1 ta4ma3 ta4rɨ3ɟɨ31*

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gu5ã3ma3 ɟa4 pe3tɨ4ka1 ta4ma3 ta4rɨ3=ɟi31
all DET(I) marble(I) NEG 3(I).SBJ=fall.PLS
'All the marbles failed to fall.' ('all' scopes over negation)
[LWG, 2017.3.20]

Besides the lexicalized quantifiers, you can productively derive quantifiers in at least two ways.

First, you can use the clitic *=ɛ̃1pɨ3* 'quantity.' This clitic can attach to a single modifier (as seen in the formation of derived numerals, §13.1.3) or to an entire complex noun phrase, like the relative clause in (9).

(9) Context: How many people attended the church service on your trip?
*Comunidad Cristiana=wa5 i5ʌ̃u3gɨ4ʔĩ5ʔĩ4**ɛ̃1pɨ1** ni4ʔĩ4*
Comunidad Cristiana=wa5
church.name=ALL
i5=ʌ̃u3=gɨ4=ʔĩ4=ʔĩ4=**ɛ̃1pɨ1** ni4ʔĩ4
VCL=arrive=PL=DIR:back.and.forth=NMLZ(IV)=**quantity** 3.SBJ.COP
'It was the **same number** of (people) as attend the Christian Community Church.' [NWG Brazil Trip 30:54]

Two, you can use the clitic *=ra3ĩ1* 'kind' on a quantifier to derive an expression like 'two/many/all kinds' (10). Derived quantifiers are first in the NP, just like the regular deverbal ones. Quantifiers with *=ra3ĩ1* are discussed in Chapter 26.1.2.4.

(10) *ta2ʔre4ra3ĩ3ʔĩ4 a4 de43ʔa2 a4 nge5ma2ʔ*
**ta2ʔre4=ra3ĩ1=ʔĩ4** a4 de43ʔa2 a4 nge5ma2
**two=look.like=NMLZ(IV)** DET(IV) word(IV) DET(IV) there.ANA.ALL
'There are **two kinds** of words there, i.e. those two words are a minimal tone pair.' [LVI, AFG-LVI]

### 13.1.3 Numerals

The language has four native-vocabulary words that are true numerals: *wɨ43ʔi4* 'one,' *ta2ʔre4* 'two,' *to1ma2ɛ̃1pɨ3* 'three' and *ã3gɨ4mɨ1kɨ3* 'four.'

Of these, *wɨ43ʔi4* 'one' and *ta2ʔre4* 'two' are monomorphemic, but the higher numerals are morphologically complex. The numeral *to1ma2ɛ̃1pɨ3* 'three' is derived with the productive enclitic *ɛ̃1pɨ3* 'quantity'; the base is probably best interpreted as the word *to1* 'other' plus the syllable *=ma2*, which occurs on almost all

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quantifiers (with no meaning change). The numeral *ã3gɨ4mɨ1kɨ3* is clearly morphologically derived from the word *mɨ1kɨ3* 'companion,' as shown in (11). However, when asked about this relationship, consultants always judged that 'four' does not synchronically include 'companion.'

(11) *ã3=gɨ4=mɨ1kɨ3*
ã3=gɨ4=mɨ1kɨ3
have.inal=PL=companion
'they have companions'

Most Cushillococha speakers use primarily the native vocabulary numerals for 'one' and 'two,' and primarily Spanish borrowings for 'three' and 'four.' For quantities above four, speakers will very occasionally form morphologically complex Ticuna numerals. These numerals are in base five and based on the word 'hand.' (12) gives one speaker's paradigm for the numerals five through ten.

(12) a. *gu5ʔmɛ̨1ɛ̨̃1pɨ3*
gu5=mɛ̨1=ɛ̨̃1pɨ3
all=hand=quantity
'five (lit. whole hand number)'

b. *nai5mɛ̨1wa5a1rɨ3 wɨ43ʔi4, nai5mɛ̨1wa5a1rɨ3 ta2ʔre4,*
nai5=mɛ̨1=wa5=a1rɨ3 wɨ43ʔi4 nai5=mɛ̨1=wa5=a1rɨ3
other(III)=hand(III)=ALL=POSS one other(III)=hand(III)=ALL=POSS
ta2ʔre4
two
'six (lit. one on the other hand), seven (lit. two on the other hand),'

c. *nai5mɛ̨1wa5a1rɨ3 to1ma3e1pɨ3, nai5mɛ̨1wa5a1rɨ3 ã3gɨ4mɨ1kɨ3*
nai5=mɛ̨1=wa5=a1rɨ3 to1ma3e1pɨ3
other(III)=hand(III)=ALL=POSS three
nai5=mɛ̨1=wa5=a1rɨ3 ã3gɨ4mɨ1kɨ3
other(III)=hand(III)=ALL=POSS four
'eight (lit. three on the other hand), nine (lit. four on the other hand),'

d. *nai5mɛ̨1wa5a1rɨ3 gu5mɛ̨1ɛ̨̃1pɨ3*
nai5=mɛ̨1=wa5=a1rɨ3 gu5=mɛ̨1=ɛ̨̃1pɨ3
other(III)=hand(III)=ALL=POSS all=hand=quantity
'ten (lit. five on the other hand)'

need speaker attribution

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As well as being very morphologically complex, expressions for quantities above five are far more variable between speakers than other lexical items. For example, (13) and (14) give two alternative forms for 'five' – different from (12) - from a narrative and a conversation respectively. (14) also includes an alternative form for 'ten.'

(13) *wɨ43ʔi4mɻ1ɻ̃1pɨ1a1rɨ3 gɻ1*
wɨ43ʔi4=mɻ1=ɻ̃1pɨ1=a1rɨ3 gɻ1
one=hand=quantity=POSS all
'five, lit. all of the number of one hand' [SSG tsr 5:24]

(14) *wɨ43ʔi4mɻ1ɻ̃1, no51rɨ3 gu5ʔmɻ1ɻ̃1pɨ3*
wɨ43ʔi4=mɻ1ɻ̃1 no51rɨ3 gu5=mɻ1=ɻ̃1pɨ3
one=hand=quantity 3.POSS all=hand=quantity
'five (lit. one hand number), ten (lit. all of the hands number)' [Laura, LSC-VSC 61:36]

The numerals 'five' to 'ten' are inconsistent probably because people rarely use them. I have only ever heard or recorded these numerals being used in metalinguistically focused contexts, like addressing the video camera or correcting children's use of Spanish numerals. Anderson (1963) lists morphologically complex expressions for numerals up to twenty, but I have never heard or recorded any numerals above ten.

There are some nouns that have shape classifiers (Chapter 7.4.1). If a noun has a classifier, numerals will sometimes bear it (15), but this is not obligatory (16).

(15) Context: Child says, *to1?* '(Should I flick) another (marble)?' Caregiver says,
*ngɨ31, **ta2ʔre4pɨ1ʔɨ3***
ngɨ31 **ta2ʔre4=pɨ1ʔɨ3**
yes **two=CLF:sphere**
'Yes, (flick) **two**' [2019 C1 TOT 10:17]

(16) *ɟi31ʔe2ma4ma4ã2 a3rɨ1 na1ne4ʔẽ1, ta2ʔre4ma4ã2*
ɟi31ʔe2ma4=ma4ã2 a3rɨ1 na1=ne4ʔẽ1 ta2ʔre4=ma4ã2
DEM.MULTI(I)=COM INFO IMP=flick two=COM
'Flick it with those, **with the two** (marbles)' [CG, 2019 C1 TOT 10:17]

Classifiers can also appear on Spanish numerals (17). They are just as optional on Spanish numerals as on native-vocabulary ones (18).

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(17) *cincopɨ1ʔi3 nge2ʔa4 nɨ5a3gɨ1*
cinco=pɨ1ʔi3 nge2ʔa4 nɨ31=ʔĩ5 a3=gɨ1
SP:five=CLF:sphere there.DIST.LOC 3=BEN IMP>3.OBJ=put.round/grainy
'Put five (pieces of fruit) in there for him/her.' [Veronica, LSC-VSC 41:48]

(18) *once(pɨ1ʔi3) ʄa1 ta31ʔi3*
once(=pɨ1ʔi3) ʄa1 ta31ʔi3
SP:eleven(=CLF:sphere) DET(III) Pouteria.caimito(III)
'eleven caimito fruits'
(LWG 2024.1.37)

Quantifiers other than numerals rarely take classifiers in texts, but Lilia judged many quantifier + classifier constructions acceptable, such as (19).

(19) *mu1pɨ1ʔi5ne1 ʄa1 ta31ʔi3 nu2ʔa2 tʃa3na4*
mu4=pɨ1ʔi3=ne1 ʄa1 ta31ʔi3 nu2ʔa2
many=CLF:sphere=NMLZ(III) DET(III) P.caimito(III) here.LOC
tʃa3=na4
1SG.SBJ=transport.INANPLO
'I brought a lot of caimitos.' [LWG 2024.1.37]

The only quantifiers that do not allow classifiers are the anaphoric derived quantifier *ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3ɛ̃1pɨ3* 'the same amount/number as' (20) and the negative quantifier *ta2ʔu2ʔĩ4* 'none' (21).

(20) Context: Some guests arrived; I brought the same number of caimitos to them as there were people (so everyone could have one).
*tʃo1ma1 rɨ1 ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3ẽ1pɨ3(*pɨ1ʔi3) ta1 ʄa1 ta31ʔi3 ŋe5ma2 tʃa3ʎe43*
tʃo1ma1 rɨ1 ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3=ẽ1pɨ3(=*pɨ1ʔi3) ta1 ʄa1
1SG.TOP TOP then=quantity=(*CLF:sphere) also DET(III)
ta31ʔi3 ŋe5ma2 tʃa3=ʎe43
Pouteria.caimito(III) there.ANA.ALL 1SG.SBJ=transport.INANO
'I brought that same number of caimitos.' [LWG 2024.1.3ʔ]

(21) **ta2ʔu2ʔĩ4mɨ1 / *tau2ʔmɨ3ʔĩ4 i4 da5ũ2*
*ta2ʔu2ʔĩ4=mɨ1 / *tau2ʔ=mɨ1=ʔĩ4 i4
*none(IV)=CLF:soft.mass / *NEG.EXIST=CLF:soft.mass=NMLZ(IV) DET(IV)
da5ũ2
shirt(IV)
(Intended reading: ''none of the shirts'') [LWG 2024.1.37]

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Acceptability with a numeral or other quantifier is a reliable test for whether a bound nominal morpheme is a classifier or an inalienable noun (in Ticuna, these categories are morphologically very similar; Chapter 7.4). For example, the morpheme *(ʔ)tʃi5ru2* 'cloth, clothing' is an inalienable noun. It is semantically generic and seems classifier-like in some other ways (e.g., it has certain incorporated uses which resemble classifier incorporation), but it cannot appear on a numeral (22). In contrast, the morpheme *mɨ1*, which classifies clothing, mattresses, dough, mud, and other undifferentiated masses, *can* appear on a numeral in the same position (23). This indicates that *mɨ1* is a classifier, while *(ʔ)tʃi5ru2* is a noun.

(22) **ta2ʔre4ʔtʃi5ru2 i4 da5ũ2*
*ta2ʔre4=ʔtʃi5ru2 i4 da5ũ2
*two=clothing DET(IV) shirt(IV)
(Intended reading: 'two shirts') [LWG 2024.1.37]

(23) *ta2ʔre4mɨ1 i4 da5ũ2*
ta2ʔre4=mɨ1 i4 da5ũ2
two=CLF:soft.mass DET(IV) shirt(IV)
'two shirts' [LWG 2024.1.37]

## 13.2 Determiners

Ticuna nouns are often introduced by determiners. There are just two sets of determiners: *(ɟ)a4* 'DET' (and its equivalents for other noun classes), and *ga4* 'DET.REM.PST'. The alternation between *(ɟ)a4* and *ga4* is controlled by the temporal reference of the clause (Chapter 15), not by properties of the noun phrase.

In terms of phonology and morphology, determiners are not independent words. They generally act as enclitics to the preceding word, form one stress domain with it, and can undergo word-internal phonological processes triggered by it, such as /oa/ assimilation (Chapter 4.1.2). However, unlike other clitics, people can repeat them alone and judge them to be complete words. Therefore, as in all practical orthographies of Ticuna, I write determiners with a space. Determiners display noun class agreement and significant sociolinguistic variation in form within each noun class (§13.2.1).

Syntactically, determiners are obligatory in two environments: to introduce the noun in a quantifier phrase (§13.2.2), and to introduce postverbal noun phrases (§13.2.3). There are certain environments where determiners are optional, for example to introduce non-quantificational, pre-verbal *subjects*; however, the only

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environment where determiners are unacceptable is to introduce non-quantificational, preverbal *objects*.

The function of determiners is exclusively syntactic and is not related to definiteness. This is clear from the fact that there is only one set of temporally neutral determiners, and this same set appears on both very clearly definite noun phrases (e.g., NPs containing strong quantifiers, anaphoric demonstratives, or possessors) and very clearly indefinite noun phrases (e.g., NPs containing uses of *wi43ʔi4* 'one' as an indefinite article, NPs in existential constructions). (Chapter 29 provides further information on definiteness and indefiniteness.) The function of determiners also cannot be related to deixis, since exactly the same determiners appear with all of the language's four different exophoric demonstratives (§13.3). I refer to these markers as 'determiners' because they occupy the same syntactic position as determiners in other languages (e.g. Salish languages, Matthewson 1996). They have little in common semantically with definite or indefinite determiners in English.

### 13.2.1 Determiners display sociolinguistic variation

Determiners undergo noun class agreement, as discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.2. Apart from the agreement, they also display sociolinguistic variation in their segmental form.

The Class I and Class II determiners vary between [ɟa4] and [a4] (with no onset). The two classes appear to pattern together, i.e. the onset is not more associated with one class than the other. The form with the onset seems to occur more often for older speakers and in older written materials.

The Class III determiner varies between [ɟa1], with an onset, and [a1], without one. This is a minimal tone pair with the Class I/II form (most Class III forms are in minimal tone pairs with Class II). As for Classes I/II, the form with the onset seems to appear more for older speakers and materials.

The Class IV determiner varies between [a4] and [i4], i.e. with two different vowel qualities. Having [a4] as the Class I/II variant does not deterministically mean that someone has (or does not have) [a4] as their Class IV variant. For people who do have both of these variants, the only distinction among determiners for the different noun classes is tone.

Last, the Class V determiner is always cited as [i4], but this class is so small and rarely used that it would not be possible to detect variation.

I render determiners in examples exactly as the speaker produced them, and gloss them according to the other concord on the noun phrase. Thus, the variation should be apparent in this grammar.

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### 13.2.2 Determiners are obligatory in quantifier phrases

Quantifiers never combine directly with nouns. Instead, there is always a determiner between the quantifier and the next element of the noun phrase. This goes for both strong quantifiers (24) and weak ones (25).

(24) *gu5e3ma3 *(a4) wo3ru3a1 ta4me43*
gu5e3=ma3 *(a4) wo3ru3a1 ta4=me43
all(I)=INFO *(DET(I)) mirror(I) 3(I).SBJ=good
'All of the mirrors are good.' [ABS 2017.3.174]

(25) *e3ga4 no31ʔre5ta2ma4 *(ɟa4) pe3tɨ4ka1 i1pu31ʔgu2 rɨ1 ma3rɨ3 na4me43*
e3ga4 no31ʔre5=ta2ma4 *(ɟa4) pe3tɨ4ka1 i1=pu31=ʔgu2 rɨ1
if few=just *(DET(I)) marble(I) 3.SBJ.SC=shatter=COND TOP
ma3rɨ3 na4=me43
PRF 3(I).SBJ=good
'If a few of the marbles break, it's okay.' [DGG 2017.3.178]

The requirement for determiners in quantifier phrases also holds regardless of the properties of the noun phrase. The determiner is obligatory for both inanimate (24–25) and animate (26) nouns; for both common nouns (24–26) and pronouns (27); for both count nouns (24–26)and mass nouns (28); and for nouns with other modifiers (29), as well as those with no other modifiers.

(26) *gu5e3ma3 *(i4) du1ĩ3ʔĩ4gɨ4 rɨ1 ni4me31kɨ3ma3*
gu5e3=ma3 *(i4) du1ĩ3ʔĩ4=gɨ4 rɨ1 ni4=me43=kɨ3ma3
all(I)=INFO *(DET(IV)) person(IV)=PL TOP 3.SBJ=good=NI:habit
'All of the people are morally good.' [ABS 2017.3.174]

(27) *gu5e3ma3 *(a4) ɟi1ʔe2ma4 ti4me31kɨ3ma3*
gu5e3=ma3 *(a4) ɟi1ʔe2ma4 ti4=me43=kɨ3ma3
all(I)=INFO *(DET(IV)) 1INCL.TOP 1INCL.SBJ=good=NI:habit
'All of us are morally good.' [ABS 2017.3.174]

(28) *gu5ʔĩ4ma3 *(i4) de43ʔa5 rɨ1 na4me43*
gu5ʔĩ4=ma3 *(i4) de43ʔa5 rɨ1 na4=me43
all(IV)=INFO *(DET(IV)) water(IV) TOP 3.SBJ=good
'All of the water is good.' [ABS 2017.3.174]

(29) *gu5ʔĩ4ma3 *(i4) ɲa4a2 na4pa4te2e3 rɨ1 ni4me43*
gu5ʔĩ4=ma3 *(i4) ɲa4a2 na4=pa4te2e3 rɨ1 ni4=me43
all(IV)=INFO *(DET(IV)) DEM.PROX(IV) 3=hat TOP 3.SBJ=good
'All of these hats are good.' [ABS 2017.3.174]

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### 13.2.3 Determiners are obligatory in all postverbal noun phrases

Postverbal noun phrases also need to be introduced by determiners, even if they are not quantified. This holds whether the postverbal noun phrase is the subject (30); the object of a psych verb (31); the object of a causative verb object (32); or an adjunct (33).

(30) *ta4me43 *(ɟa4) wo3ru3a1*
ta4=me43 *(ɟa4) wo3ru3a1
3(I).SBJ=good *(DET(I)) mirror(I)
'The mirror is good.' [DGG 2017.3.162]

(31) *tɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa3dau2 *(ɟa4) Bi3tu5*
tɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=dau2 *(ɟa4) Bi3tu5
3(I)=ACC 1SGSBJ=see *(DET(I)) Victoria
'I saw Victoria.' [DGG 2017.3.162]

(32) *tʃa3na3ɟa1ʔu2 *(i4) de43ʔa5*
tʃa3=na3=ɟa1ʔu2 *(i4) de43ʔa5
1SGSBJ=3.OBJ=get *(DET(IV)) water(IV)
'I got water.' [DGG 2017.3.162]

(33) *na43gu2 tʃa3rɨ3ʔĩ3nɨ3 *(i4) a3e̊1ga3kɨ3*
na43=gu2 tʃa3rɨ3=ĩ3nɨ3 *(i4) a3e̊1ga3kɨ3
3=LOC 1SGSBJ=think *(DET(IV)) political.leader(IV)
'I thought about the mayor.' [DGG 2017.3.163]

If a noun phrase is postverbal and it also contains a quantifier, it takes two determiners. One determiner introduces the quantifier, and the other introduces the noun. Both determiners are obligatory (34).

(34) *ma3rɨ3 i5na4ʎu3gɨ4 i4 no31ʔre5 *(i4) a3e̊1ga3kɨ3*
ma3rɨ3 i5=na4=ʎu3=gɨ4 i4 no31ʔre5 *(i4) a3e̊1ga3kɨ3
PRF VCL=3.SBJ=arrive=PL DET(IV) few *(DET(IV)) leader
'A few of the political leaders have arrived now.' [ABS 2017.3.174]

Determiners can also introduce noun phrases that are *neither* postverbal *nor* quantified. For example, a common way to propose a candidate understanding "Do you mean X?" is with a determiner followed by a noun phrase, as in (35b).

(35) a. Victoria: *nɨ31ma2 rɨ1 ta1 ŋe5 na4ʔũ43 i4 ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3ʔ?*
'Did he also go there then?'

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b. Adriana: ***a4 Mi3ʔtu4ka1?***
**a4 mi3ʔtu4ka1**
**DET(IV) Mi3ʔtu4ka1**
'(You mean) **Mi3ʔtu4ka1**?'

c. Victoria: ((ingressive))
'Yes'

[AFG-LVI 52:01]

One place where determiners do *not* typically occur is on preverbal noun phrases without quantifiers. But while preverbal subject NPs rarely have determiners, it is acceptable to use them in this environment, especially if there is a word before the preverbal subject which the determiner can cliticize to. For example, in (36), the speaker uses a determiner with the preverbal NP 'my father.' It cliticizes to the temporal adverb *ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3* 'then.'

(36) *rɨ1 ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3* ***i4 tʃo31rɨ3 pa3pa5*** *we5na1ma3 to31ma4ã2 ɟe5a2ma4 na4ʔũ43*
rɨ1 ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3 **i4 tʃo31rɨ3 pa3pa5** we5na1=ma3 to31=ma4ã2
and then **DET(IV) 1SG.POSS father** again=INFO 1EXCL=COM
ɟe5a2=ma4 na4=ũ43
DEM.DIST.ALL=toward 3.SBJ=go.SGS
'Then **my father** went there with us again.' [HCG hbu 1;31]

The only environment where determiners are *not* acceptable is introducing preverbal object NPs. These cannot combine with determiners, even if there is a preceding word to host the determiner, such as the subject in (37).

(37) *E3mi5 (*i4) Bi3tu5ʔĩ3 ta4dau2*
E3mi5 (*i4) Bi3tu5=ʔĩ3 ta4=dau2
Emi (*DET(IV)) Victoria=ACC 3(I).SBJ=see
'Emi saw Victoria.' [ABS 2017.3.188]

One possible explanation for the restriction on the determiner in (37) is prosodic. Recall from the beginning of this section that determiners are not prosodically independent words; they cliticize to the preceding word and form a stress domain with it. However, determiners never cliticize to the final word of a syntactically topicalized or focused constituent (perhaps because these constituents project their own prosodic phrase). Most preverbal material in Ticuna, other than preverbal objects, is either topicalized or focused (Chapter 28). This – rather than syntactic position – may prevent it from hosting the determiner.

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## 13.3 Demonstratives

There are six nominal demonstratives (equivalents to *this/that*). Table 13.2 shows the citation (Class IV) form, a gloss and an English paraphrase for each demonstrative. See Skilton (2019, 2021b, 2023a) for further information about the semantics and pragmatics of each demonstrative, as well as evidence supporting the glosses and paraphrases in Table 13.2. See Chapter 7 for the noun class agreement paradigm of demonstratives, and see Chapter 11 for the locative demonstratives (equivalents to *here/there*).

Table 13.2: Demonstratives

| DEM | Gloss | Paraphrase |
|---|---|---|
| ɲa4a2 | Speaker-Proximal (SPKR.PROX) | 'this near me,' referent within reach for speaker |
| ŋe3a2 | Dyad-Proximal (DYAD.PROX); Medial (MED) | 'this between us,' referent typically between speaker and addressee; can also be in middle distance from speaker; behind Regional, least frequently used exophoric demonstrative |
| ɟe3a2 | Speaker-Distal (SPKR.DIST) | 'that far from me,' referent out of reach for speaker |
| ɲo4ma4 | Regional (Region) | 'this around me,' referent encloses speaker (e.g. house, piece of land); occurs only in fixed expressions; very low frequency |
| ŋe3ma2 | Three readings and glosses: | |
| | 1. Addressee-Proximal (ADDR.PROX) | 'that near you,' referent within reach for addressee |
| | 2. Invisible (INVIS) | 'that (invisible),' speaker doesn't see referent |
| | 3. Anaphoric (ANA) | 'that (anaphoric),' unmarked anaphor |
| ɟe4ma4 | Remote Past Anaphoric (REM.PST) | 'that (anaphoric),' in remote past clauses only |

Within the noun phrase, demonstratives always precede possessors, whether the possessor is alienable (38) or inalienable (39).

(38) *[✓ɲa4a2 tʃo31rɨ3 ta3ra5 / *tʃo31rɨ3 ɲa4a2 ta3ra5] rɨ1 ni4bɨ3ɟe1*

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[✓ɲa4a2 tʃo31ri3 ta3ra5 / *tʃo31ri3 ɲa4a2
[✓DEM.PROX(IV) 1SG.POSS machete / *1SG.POSS DEM.PROX(IV)
ta3ra5] ri1 ni4=bi3ɟe1
machete(IV)] TOP 3.SBJ=snap.1D
'This machete of mine snapped.' [LWG 2024.1.38]

(39) *[✓ɲa4a2 tʃo1pa1 / *tʃo1pa1 ɲa4a2] ri1 na43ma4ã2 tʃa3ta4e3*
[✓ɲa4a2 tʃo1=pa1 / *tʃo1=pa1 ɲa4a2] ri1
[✓DEM.PROX(IV) 1SG=hammock / *1SG=hammock DEM.PROX(IV)] TOP
na43=ma4ã2 tʃa3=ta4e3
3=COM 1SGSBJ=sell
'I sold this hammock of mine.' [DGG 2017.2.85]

When a demonstrative is used as a modifier, no determiner can appear between it and the noun (40). Using a determiner in this environment leads to an interpretation of the demonstrative as the predicate of a presentative construction 'Here's/There's the N', not as a modifier (41).

(40) *da31ʔe2 *(ɟa4) wo3ru3a1*
da31ʔe2 *(ɟa4) wo3ru3a1
DEM.PROX(I) *(DET(I)) mirror(I)
(Intended reading: 'this mirror') [DGG 2017.3.163]

(41) *a31, **da31ʔe2 ɟa4 di3ẽ3ru1** ri1, ta2a3ta4e3 i4 ŋe3ma2 ni31ʔĩ5 ta2ʔu2ʔĩ4*
a31, **da31ʔe2 ɟa4 di3ẽ3ru1** ri1 ta2=a3=ta4e3
INTJ:yes **DEM.PROX(I) DET(I) money(I)** TOP some(I)=IMP.AM=buy
i4 ŋe3ma2 ni31=ʔĩ5 ta2ʔu2=ʔĩ4
DET(IV) DEM.ANA(IV) 3=BEN neg.exist=NMLZ(IV)
'Okay, **here's the money**, go and buy whatever s/he needs.' [DGG HALDI 37:43]

Demonstratives are not in the same syntactic position as determiners. Instead, they co-occur with determiners. Any NP which would require a determiner without a demonstrative, for example because it is quantified, still requires one with a demonstrative. This is shown by (29), repeated from §13.2.2.

(29) *gu5ʔĩ4ma3 *(i4) ɲa4a2 na4pa4te2e3 ri1 ni4me43*
gu5ʔĩ4=ma3 *(i4) ɲa4a2 na4=pa4te2e3 ri1 ni4=me43
all(IV)=INFO *(DET(IV)) DEM.PROX(IV) 3=hat TOP 3.SBJ=good
'All of these hats are good.' ' [ABS 2017.3.174]

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## 13.4 Possessors

We have already seen a great deal of information about possession in Chapter 7.1. To summarize, there are two types of nouns – alienable and inalienable – and they can be distinguished by how they behave in possessive constructions.

In alienable possession, the possessor and possessum are independent prosodic words. The possessor comes first. If it's a pronoun, it appears in a special possessive form for alienable possession (42); if it's a full NP, it has the enclitic *=a1ɾi3* (43). Either way, there is no determiner between the possessor and possessum.

(42) *ti31ma2a1ɾi3 (*ɟa4) wo3ru3a1 ɾi1 ti4pu31*
ti31ma2a1ɾi3 (*ɟa4) wo3ru3a1 ɾi1 ti4=pu31
3(I).POSS (*DET(I)) mirror(I) TOP 3(I).SBJ=shatter
'His/her mirror shattered.' [LWG 2018.2.32]

(43) *Bi3tu5a1ri3 (*ɟa4) wo3ru3a1 ɾi1 ti4pu31*
Bi3tu5=a1ri3 (*ɟa4) wo3ru3a1 ɾi1 ti4=pu31
Victoria=POSS (*DET(I)) mirror(I) TOP 3(I).SBJ=shatter
'Victoria's mirror shattered.' [LWG 2024.1.38]

In inalienable possession, the possessum is not an independent word. Instead it cliticizes to the last element of the possessor and they form a single prosodic word (i.e., stress domain). There is no possessive marking on the possessor and there is also no determiner between the possessor and possessum.

(44) ✓*tʃau1pa4te2e3 / *tʃo31ɾi3 pa4te2e3*
✓tʃau1=pa4te2e3 / *tʃo31ɾi3 pa4te2e3
1SG=hat / *1SG.POSS hat
'my hat' [ABS 2017.2.80]

When a demonstrative and a possessor appear together, the demonstrative comes first. There is no determiner between it and the possessor (45).

(45) ***da31ʔe2 ku31ɾi3 mu3ɲe4ka1ma4ã2** ko3wa4ru1 i5to1e3*
**da31ʔe2 ku31ɾi3 mu3ɲe4ka1**=ma4ã2 ko3wa4ru1
**DEM.PROX(I) 2SG.POSS doll(I)**=COM horse
i5=to1-e3
DIR=sit-DIR:into.vehicle
'Get on the rocking horse with **this doll of yours**.' [2019 C34 CCI, CG 7:30]

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You can also use a quantifier, demonstrative and possessor all together. The quantifier and demonstrative can appear in either order depending on the quantifier scope, but the possessor will always be closest to the noun (46–47). As discussed in §13.2.2, a determiner will always appear between the quantifier and the next modifier.

(46) *gu5ʔĩ4ma3 i4 ɲa4a2 tʃo31rɨ3 dau2kɨ3 rɨ1 ni4pu31*
gu5ʔĩ4=ma3 i4 ɲa4a2 tʃo31rɨ3 dau2kɨ3 rɨ1 ni4=pu31
all(IV)=INFO DET(IV) DEM.PROX(IV) 1SG.POSS mirror(IV) TOP 3.SBJ=shatter
'All of these mirrors of mine shattered.' [LWG 2018.2.32]

(47) *ɲa4a2 ta2ʔre4 i4 tʃau1pa4te2e3 rɨ1 na4me43*
ɲa4a2 ta2ʔre4 i4 tʃau1=pa4te2e3 rɨ1 na4=me43
DEM.PROX(IV) two DET(IV) 1SG=hat TOP 3.SBJ=good
'These two hats of mine are fine.' [LWG 2018.2.32]

## 13.5 Pronouns

In Ticuna third-person pronouns appear quite often as modifiers of nouns. In this construction the pronoun comes first, then a determiner, then the noun. (48) is an attested example of the Pronoun + DET + Noun construction, and (49) is an elicited example showing that deleting the determiner is ungrammatical.

(48) *ŋe3ma2kạ1 wa31ʔi5ʔã3 ni4* ***tɨ31ma2 ɟa4 ti3a1ʔã3*** *colagu2ʔã3 nɨ3ta1tʃi4ʔẽ4ẽ2ʔĩ4ʔã3*
ŋe3ma2kạ1 wa31ʔi5=ʔã3 ni4 **tɨ31ma2 ɟa4 ti3a1=ʔã3**
that's.why CONT.FOC=REP FOC **3(I) DET(I) aunty(I)=REP**
cola=gu2=ʔã3 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 ta1=tʃi4-ʔẽ4ẽ3=ʔĩ4=ʔã3
SP:line=LOC=REP 3=ACC 3(I).SBJ.SC=stand-CAUS=SUB=REP
'Supposedly, that's why **she**, **aunty**, made him/her stand in line.' [Edith, YCG-SCG-DGC 7:12]

(49) *tɨ31ma2 *(ɟa4) Bi3tu5 nu5a2 ta4ʎu3*
tɨ31ma2 *(ɟa4) Bi3tu5 nu5a2 ta4=ʎu3
3(I).TOP *(DET(I)) Victoria here.ALL 3(I).SBJ=arrive
'She, Victoria, arrived here.' [ABS 2017.3.174]

I've described the pronoun in this structure as modifying the noun, but there's not much evidence that the noun – rather than the pronoun – is the head. The opposite analysis is also possible: the Pro + DET + N construction could also be

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treated as a type of appositive construction where the noun is apposed to the pronoun. The reason this is plausible is that nominal appositives to nouns also exist and have the same N1 + DET + N2 structure, as shown in (50).

(50) *E3mi5 i4 pu3ri3tʃi4a1 rɨ1 Limagu2 na4bu31*
E3mi5 i4 pu3ri3tʃi4a1 rɨ1 Lima=gu2 na4=bu31
Emi DET(IV) police TOP Lima=LOC 3.SBJ=be.born
'Emi, a police officer, was born in Lima.' [SSG 2017.3.133]

Pronoun-Noun is the only acceptable order of the constituents in a modified pronoun construction (51).

(51) *[✓tɨ31ma2 ɟa4 o2ʔõ4 / *o2ʔõ4 ɟa4 tɨ31ma2] ta4ʔa3ʔu3*
[✓tɨ31ma2 ɟa4 o2ʔõ4 / *o2ʔõ4 ɟa4 tɨ31ma2] ta4ʔ=au3ʔ
[✓3(I).Pro DET(I) baby(I) / *baby(I) DET(IV) 3(I).Pro] 3(I).SBJ=cry
'S/he, the baby, cried.' ' [LWG 2024.1.38]

## 13.6 'Other'

The equivalent to English 'other' or 'different' is *to1* (in Class IV). This word undergoes suppletive noun class agreement that is unrelated to the agreement on quantifiers, demonstratives, or pronouns. The term's syntax is also idiosyncratic: it has the same syntactic position as a quantifier. That is, like quantifiers, 'other' occurs first in the noun phrase and must be followed by a determiner (52).

(52) *to1 *(i4) ta3ra5*
to1 *(i4) ta3ra5
other(IV) *(DET(IV)) machete(IV)
'other machete' [LWG 2017.1.196, 2024.1.38]

Also like quantifiers, 'other' typically occurs before possessors (53, 54a). The opposite order is possible, but occurs less in texts and is judged less natural, as indicated by the comment on (54b).

(53) *ɟi2ma2 **nai5** ta1 ɟa1 tʃo31rɨ3 ta4e3pa4ta3ʔɨ̃1*
ɟi2ma2 **nai5** ta1 ɟa1 tʃo31rɨ3 ta4e3=pa4ta3ʔɨ̃1
DEM.ANA(III) **other(III)** also DET(III) 1SG.POSS buy/sell=building
'also that other store of mine' [NWG Brazil Trip 10:45]

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(54) a. *to1 i4 tʃo31rɨ3 ta3ra5*
to1 i4 tʃo31rɨ3 ta3ra5
other(IV) DET(IV) 1SG.POSS machete(IV)
b. *tʃo31rɨ3 to1 i4 ta3ra5*
tʃo31rɨ3 to1 i4 ta3ra5
1SG.POSS other(IV) DET(IV) machete(IV)
'my other machete'
Comment: These are both good, but *to1 i4 tʃo31rɨ3 ta3ra5* is better [LWG 2024.1.38]

Further mirroring quantifiers, 'other' can appear either before demonstratives (55) or after them (53, 56).

(55) *ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3 i4* ***to1 i4 ŋe3ma2*** *tʃau1ne3 rɨ1, profesor ni4ʔĩ4*
ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3 i4 **to1 i4 ŋe3ma2** tʃau1=ne3 rɨ1
then DET(IV) **other(IV) DET(IV) DEM.ANA(IV)** 1SG=son TOP
profesor ni4ʔĩ4
SP:teacher 3.SBJ.COP
'Then **other that son of mine**, he's a teacher.'
(ABS HALDI 27:03)

(56) Context: Protagonist thought about marrying two different men
*rɨ1 ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3 tʃi4* ***ŋe3ma2 to1 i4 ʎe3ʔtɨ̨2ʔĩ4*** *i4 i1ʎɨ̨2ʔĩ4ma4ã2 ta1ʔã3te4gu2*
rɨ1 ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3 tʃi4 **ŋe3ma2 to1** i4 ʎe3ʔtɨ̨2ʔĩ4
and then CNTF **DEM.ANA(IV) other(IV)** DET(IV)
i4 i1=ʎɨ1=ʔĩ4=ma4ã2 ta1=ã3=te4=gu2
young.man(IV) DET(IV) 3.SBJ.SC=fat=NMLZ(IV)=COM
rɨ1
3(I).SBJ=have=NI:husband=COND
'But if she had married **that other young man**, the fat one' [YCG Fortune Teller 3:56]

Quantifiers can also combine with 'other.' Either order of the quantifier and 'other' is acceptable (57).

(57) Context: 'Three young women arrived. I knew one of them, but…'
*[to1 i4 ta2ʔre4 / ta2ʔre4 i4 to1] i4 pa1ʔĩ4 rɨ1 ta4ma3 nɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa3ɱa1*

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[to1 i4 ta2ʔre4 / ta2ʔre4 i4 to1] i4
[other(IV) DET(IV) two / two DET(IV) other(IV)] DET(IV)
pa1ʔĩ4 rɨ1 ta4ma3 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=ʍa̱1
young.woman(IV) TOP NEG 3=ACC 1SG.SBJ=know
'The **other two / two other** young women, I didn't know them.' [LWG 2024.1.38]

No other modifier within the NP, except for quantifiers and 'other,' has all of these behaviors (requiring a determiner before the next constituent, being ordered flexibly with demonstratives, being ordered flexibly with possessors).

In contrast to 'other,' 'same' is usually expressed using the anaphoric demonstrative *ŋe3ma2* plus the enclitic *=ta2ma4* ~ *=ta2ã4* 'only, just, same' (Chapter 28.4.2). The anaphoric 'same' constituent behaves syntactically like an ordinary demonstrative, not like 'other': that is, it does not take a determiner introducing the noun (58).

(58) *ŋe3ma2ta2ma4 ta3ra5ʔĩ3 ta3dau2*
ŋe3ma2=ta2ma4 ta3ra5=ʔĩ3 ta3=dau2
DEM.ANA(IV)=just machete=ACC 1INCL.SBJ=see
'We (you and I) are looking at the same machete.' [LWG 2017.2.196]

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# 14 Aspect and modality

Ticuna has a very rich system for expressing grammatical aspect. Several of the aspectual markers also (potentially) convey modality. In contrast, the language has essentially no verbal expression of tense: exactly the same verb forms are used for present vs. past temporal reference.

There is a single time marker, the second-position clitic *ta4* FUT, which (outside attitude reports), conveys that the proposition is in the future from utterance time. Besides this, all non-aspect temporal marking occurs in the *noun phrase*, as described in Chapter 15.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. In §§14.1–14.5, I describe aspect marking. Then, in §14.6, I describe the expression of modality. Nominal tense is described in Chapter 15.

## 14.1 Introduction to aspect

Ticuna has five grammatical aspect markers (markers that relate the time of the event and the time for which the assertion is made). These are the proclitic *i5=* 'Imperfective,' the free word *ma3rɨ3* 'Perfect,' and the enclitics *=tʃi4rɛ̨1* 'Antiperfect,' *=tʃa1ĩ1* 'Prospective,' and *=e5ga1* 'Weak Prospective.' The imperfective and *ma3rɨ3* are orders of magnitude more frequent than all other aspect markers. While there is an imperfective and a perfect, there is no perfective marker.

There are also other markers that primarily convey information about the internal structure of the event or the number of times it occurs, such as *=e1tʃa1* 'Continuous,' *=wɑ̨1e3* 'Habitual,' *=ã4ʃi4* 'Achievement,' and the aspectual readings of verbal number markers such *=tʃi1gɨ1* 'Distributive.' These are described in §14.4.

Because there is extensive interaction between lexical and grammatical aspect, this section begins with a description of lexical aspect classes and diagnostics (§14.2). I discuss grammatical/viewpoint aspect markers in §14.3 and event-structure 'aspect' markers in §14.4. In §14.5, I discuss the aspectual interpretation of predicates that do not have any aspect marking (which is most predicates in discourse).

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## 14.2 Lexical aspect

ALL predicates in Ticuna fall into four lexical aspect classes: statives, activities, accomplishments, and achievements (cf. Vendler 1957). There is no evidence for semelfactives as a distinct class. I do not give every possible piece of evidence for lexical aspect classes in this section, only enough to outline each class. A great deal more evidence for each class appears in §14.3 when I discuss grammatical aspect markers – such as *i5=* IPFV, *ma3ɾɨ3* PRF, and *=tʃi4ɾɛ1* ANTIPRF – that have different readings on different lexical aspect classes.

### 14.2.1 Statives

Stative verbs are most easily identified by their interactions with the enclitic *=ã⁴tʃi⁴* 'Achievement.' This enclitic appears on stative predicates, activities, and accomplishments. On dynamic predicates, *=ã4tʃi4* compresses the time interval for which the predicate holds into an extremely short or instantaneous time (i.e., makes non-achievements into achievements). It can be glossed in English as 'in/for a moment.'

On stative predicates, on the other hand, *=ã⁴tʃi⁴* 'ACHV' still has the 'in/for moment' reading, but it also allows an inceptive reading. (1) and (2) illustrate this with the stative predicates *ã³pa⁴te²e³* 'wear a hat' and *dau⁴* 'be red.' The (i) glosses represent the inceptive readings, and the (ii) glosses represent the time compression readings. *=ã⁴tʃi⁴* never leads to inceptive readings with dynamic predicates.

(1) *tʃa³ʔã³pa⁴te²e³ʔã⁴tʃi⁴.*
tʃa³=ã³=pa⁴te²e³=ʔã⁴tʃi⁴
1SG.SBJ=have=hat=ACHV
   a. 'I put on a hat (lit. began to wear a hat).' [LWG: 2017.2.152; ABS: 2017.2.156]
   b. 'I wore a hat for an instant.' [ABS: 2017.2.156]

(2) *na⁴dau⁴e³ma³ʔã⁴tʃi⁴.*
na⁴=dau⁴=e³ma³=ʔã⁴tʃi⁴
3.SBJ=red=light=ACHV
   a. 'It became red.'
   b. 'It was red for an instant.' (speaking of a traffic light)
   [LWG: 2017.2.152]

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The inceptive reading shown in (1b) and (2b) is *also* available to stative predicates that do not have any aspectual marking. For example, this is the most natural interpretation of stative predicate with a clock or calendar time adverbial, such as *to²ku⁴tʃi⁴gu²* 'at noon' in (3).

(3) *to²ku⁴tʃi⁴gu² rɨ¹ ni⁴dạ¹we¹ i⁴ Bi³tu⁵*
to²ku⁴tʃi⁴=gu² rɨ¹ ni⁴=dạ¹we¹ i⁴ Bi³tu⁵
noon=LOC TOP 3.SBJ=sick DET(IV) Victoria(IV)
a. ??'As of noon, Victoria was sick.'
b. ✓'At noon, Victoria became sick.'
[LWG: 2017.3.54]

Other diagnostic properties of stative predicates include readings of the verbal number enclitics *=e¹tʃa¹* 'Continuous' and *=tʃi¹gɨ¹* 'Distributive,' which quantify events or participants with eventive predicates, but quantify times at which the state holds with stative predicates.

### 14.2.2 Achievements

Achievements share many unique properties. The clearest is that achievements are unacceptable with *=tʃi¹gɨ¹* 'DISTRIB' when all of their arguments as singular. (4) and (5) demonstrates this for the achievements *bɨ3* 'break, snap (intransitive)' and *ʎẹ1* 'drop.' ALL other verb classes are acceptable with the distributive when all of their arguments are singular.

(4) *#Ka³ru¹ rɨ¹ ni⁴bɨ³ɟe¹pa³ra¹tʃi¹gɨ¹.*
#Ka³ru¹ rɨ¹ ni⁴=bɨ³-ɟe¹=pa³ra¹=tʃi¹gɨ¹
#Carlos TOP 3.SBJ=snap-in.half=NI:leg=DISTRIB
(Attempted reading: 'Carlos, he broke his leg bit by bit.') [DGG: 2017.2.115; ECP: 2017.2.121]

(5) *#tʃo³¹rɨ³ po³ra⁴tu² i⁵na⁴ʎe⁵tʃi¹gɨ¹.*
#tʃo³¹rɨ³ po³ra⁴tu² i⁵=na⁴=ʎẹ¹=tʃi¹gɨ¹
#1SG.POSS plate VCL=3.SBJ=drop=DISTRIB
(Attempted reading: 'S/he dropped my plate bit by bit.') [LWG: 2017.2.119; ECP: 2017.2.121]

Additionally, when all of the arguments of achievements are singular, they cannot be complements of *ɨ²gɨ⁴* 'begin' and cannot take the imperfective clitic *i⁵=*. And *regardless* of argument number, achievements mark location adjuncts with *=gu2* LOC rather than *=wa5* ALL, as described in Chapter 11. Last, achievements are usually not acceptable with *=ã4tʃi4* ACHV.

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### 14.2.3 Activities

Achievements are very easy to distinguish from other lexical aspect classes in Ticuna due to their many unique properties. It is more difficult to identify activities vs. states, and activities vs. accomplishments.

However, activities *can* be identified by their interactions with *=ã4tʃi4* 'ACHV.' When an activity takes *=ʔã⁴tʃi⁴*, it leads to a 'for a short time' timeframe reading, as shown in (6), (7), and (8). There is no inceptive reading, unlike with states, and there is also no implication that a change of state occurred during the short timeframe, unlike with accomplishments (§14.2.4).

(6) *i⁵ni⁴de⁴³ʔa²ã⁴tʃi⁴*
i⁵=ni⁴=de⁴³ʔa²=ã⁴tʃi⁴
IPFV=3.SBJ=talk=ACHV
'S/he was talking for a short time.' [LWG: 2017.2.152, ABS: 2017.2.157]

(7) *na⁴pu³ra³kɨ⁴ã⁴tʃi⁴*
na⁴=pu³ra³kɨ⁴=ã⁴tʃi⁴
3.SBJ=work=ACHV
'He worked for a short time.' [LWG: 2017.2.152, ABS: 2017.2.157]

(8) *nɨ³¹ʔɨ̃³ tʃa³dau²ã⁴tʃi⁴*
nɨ³¹=ʔɨ̃³ tʃa³=dau²=ã⁴tʃi⁴
3=ACC 1SG.SBJ=see=ACHV
'I saw it for an instant (e.g. while passing over it in an airplane).' [SSG: 2016.1.112]

### 14.2.4 Accomplishments

Accomplishments most clearly contrast with achievements in their behavior with *=ã⁴tʃi⁴* 'ACHV.' When *=ã4tʃi4* appears on an accomplishment, the predicate receives the reading that the entire event denoted by the predicate, *including the culmination/change of state*, occurred within the short time interval, as shown in (9) and (10). If the predicate denotes an event that cannot be compressed into an extremely short or instantaneous time interval (e.g., 'build a house'), this reading can result in *=ã4tʃi4* being unacceptable.

(9) *ɟi²ma⁴ wai⁵ra⁴ na⁴tu³¹ʔã⁴tʃi⁴*
ɟi²ma⁴ wai⁵ra⁴ na⁴=tu³¹ʔ=ã⁴tʃi⁴
DEM.MULTI(II) açaí(II) 3.SBJ=fell.tree=ACHV
'He cut down the/that açaí tree in a short time.' [LWG: 2017.2.152]

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(10) *ɟi2ma² mo³to¹ na⁴me⁴³ẽ⁴ẽ³ã⁴tʃi⁴*
ɟi2ma² mo³to¹ na⁴=me⁴³-ẽ⁴ẽ³=ã⁴tʃi⁴
DEM.MULTI(III) motorcycle(III) 3.SBJ=good-CAUS=ACHV
'He fixed the/that motorcycle in a short time.' [LWG: 2017.2.152]

To sum up the contrast between activities and accomplishments, *=ã4tʃi4* 'for/in an instant' compresses the total duration of activities, but compresses specifically the time to culmination with accomplishments.

## 14.3 Grammatical aspect

This section describes the five grammatical aspect markers introduced just under §14.1 – the proclitic *i5=* 'Imperfective'; the free word *ma3ɾi3* 'Perfect'; and the enclitics *=tʃi4ɾẹ1* 'Antiperfect,' *=tʃa1ĩ1* 'Prospective,' and *=e5ga1* 'Weak Prospective' – in that order. I then discuss the future marker *ta4*, which is not aspectual but fits better here than in the section on modality because it has a temporal meaning component.

#### 14.3.0.1 Imperfective *i5=*

The proclitic *i⁵=* 'IPFV' appears to the left of any subject and object proclitics to the verb (11), in the same slot as the directional/verb classifier markers *i²=* and *i⁵=*. Due to this location, it never co-occurs with the directionals/verb classifiers.[1]

(11) Context: Child is audibly crying. Another adult says to caregiver,
*tạ2ʔkɨ4kạ1 ni4ʔĩ4 **i5**na1ʔa3ʔu2ʔ?*
tạ2ʔkɨ4=kạ1 ni4ʔĩ4 **i5**=na1=au3ʔ=ʔ
what=PURP FOC **IPFV**=3.SBJ.SC=cry=SUB
'Why is she crying?' [MA1, C4-C9 CCI]

*i⁵=*

Turning to the semantics of the imperfective, *i5=* IPFV appears on predicates denoting states, activities, and accomplishments. Except in contexts involving distributive quantification, it does not appear on achievements (12).

[1] This does not lead to any reduction in expressive potential for verbs that have directionals/verb classifiers, because verbs do not need the imperfective marker in order to be contextually interpreted as imperfective. See §14.5.

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(12) *#i5ni4bi3ɟe1pa3ra1*
#i5=ni4=bi3ɟe1=pa3ra1
#IMPF=3.SBJ=snap=NI:leg
(Intended reading: 'S/he was breaking his/her leg.')
[ECP 2017.2.170]

To understand the aspectual value of $i^5$=, I look first to its readings with activities (13) and accomplishments (14). With these lexical aspects classes, $i^5$= requires that the event of the verb was ongoing as of topic time, as shown by the acceptable contexts in (14a) and (13a). It is not acceptable to use the imperfective when the event time and topic time are the same, per the unacceptable contexts in (14b) and (13b).

(13) *ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ Bi³tu⁵ʔĩ¹ta¹wa⁵ tʃa¹ʌu³ʔgu², ri¹* ***i⁵ta⁴ʔa³ʔu³****.*
ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ Bi³tu⁵=ʔĩ¹ta¹=wa⁵ tʃa¹=ʌu³=gu² ri¹
when Victoria(I)=RN:at=ALL 1SG.SBJ.SC=arrive=COND TOP
**i⁵=ta⁴=au³ʔ**
**IPFV=3(I).SBJ=cry**
Contexts:

a. ✓'When I arrived at Victoria's place, she **was crying**.'
(She began crying before I arrived and possibly continued crying afterward.)

b. #'When I arrived at Victoria's place, she **cried**.'
(She began crying when/because I arrived.)

[DGG: 2017.3.26]

(14) *ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ Bi³tu⁵ʔĩ¹ta¹wa⁵ tʃa¹ʌu³ʔgu², ri¹ wi⁴³ʔi⁴ i⁴ carta* ***i⁵ta⁴ʔi²****.*
ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ Bi³tu⁵=ʔĩ¹ta¹=wa⁵ tʃa¹=ʌu³=gu² ri¹ wi⁴³ʔi⁴
when Victoria(I)=RN:at=ALL 1SG.SBJ.SC=arrive=COND TOP one
i⁴ carta **i⁵=ta⁴=i²**
DET(IV) SP:letter **IPFV=3(I).SBJ=make**
Contexts:

a. ✓'When I arrived at Victoria's place, she **was writing a letter**.'
(She began writing before I arrived and possibly continued and/or finished afterward.)

b. #'When I arrived at Victoria's place, she **wrote a letter**.'
(She began writing the letter when/because I arrived.)

[DGG: 2017.3.26]

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It is also not possible to use the imperfective *alone* to describe a situation where the event occurs entirely before the topic time (e.g., where Victoria completes writing the letter before I arrive). These situations are normally described with *ma3ɾi3*, but it is acceptable to use *ma3ɾi3* plus the imperferfective (§14.3.1).

Looking to the imperfective with states, recall from §14.2.1 that stative predicates with zero aspect marking can have two readings: (a) an inceptive or change-of-state reading (like *it turned red*) and (b) a truly stative durative reading (*it was red*). Marking a stative predicate with the imperfective forces the durative reading and makes the inceptive reading unavailable (15).

(15) *ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ Bi³tu⁵ʔĩ¹ta¹wa⁵ tʃa¹ʌu³ʔgu², ɾi¹* ***i⁵ta⁴ʔã³pa⁴te²e³****.*
ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ Bi³tu⁵=ʔĩ¹ta¹=wa⁵ tʃa¹=ʌu³=ʔgu² ɾi¹
when Victoria(I)=RN:at=ALL 1SG.SBJ.SC=arrive=COND TOP
**i⁵=ta⁴=ã³=pa⁴te²e³**
**IPFV=3(I).SBJ=have=NI:hat**
Contexts:

a. ✓ 'When I arrived at Victoria's place, she **was wearing** a hat.'
(She was wearing the hat before I arrived and possibly continued wearing it afterward.)

b. # 'When I arrived at Victoria's place, she **put on** a hat.'
(She put it on when/because I arrived.)

[DGG: 2017.3.38]

The imperfective is not used in generic or habitual statements; these have either no aspect marking, or dedicated habitual morphology such as *=wa̱1e3* HABIT. Thus, the semantics of the imperfective category is somewhat more aligned with 'progressive' aspects than with 'imperfective' aspects. However, it is unlike the English 'progressive' (and other 'progressives') in that it is compatible with states.

*i5=* 'IPFV' is an aspect marker only. It has no tense value, i.e. no deictic (rather than relational) temporal meaning component. Predicates with the imperfective are compatible with any temporal reference, as shown by the examples in (16). There is also no evidence of a modal meaning component.

(16) a. Context: Earlier, I visited A³ri⁵.
*ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ A³ri⁵ĩ¹ta¹wa⁵ tʃa¹ʌu³ʔgu², ŋe³ma² wai⁵ra⁴* ***i⁵na⁴tu³¹ʔu³****.*
ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ A³ri⁵=ĩ¹ta¹=wa⁵ tʃa¹=ʌu³=gu² ŋe³ma² wai⁵ra⁴ **i⁵=na⁴=tu³¹ʔ**
when A3ri5=RN:at=ALL 1SG.SBJ.SC=arrive=COND DEM.Multi(IV)
açai(IV) **IPFV=3.SBJ=fell.tree**

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'When I arrived at A³ri⁵'s place, he **was cutting** down that açai tree.' [ECP: 2017.2.171]
(Past temporal reference)

b. Context: You arrive at my house and ask what I'm doing right now. I say,
*na³ra⁴ɲa¹* ***i⁵tʃa³tu³¹ʔu³***.
na³ra⁴ɲa¹ **i⁵=tʃa³=tu³¹ʔ**
orange **IPFV=1SG.SBJ=fell.tree**
'**I'm cutting** down (the) orange tree.' [DGG: 2017.2.172]
(Present temporal reference)

c. Context: You are visiting me now, and you ask what I will be doing the next time that you visit. I say,
*ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ we⁵na¹ nu⁵ma² ku¹ʔũ⁴³gu², rɨ¹ da³¹a¹ na³ra⁴ɲa¹ rɨ¹* ***i⁵tʃa³na³tu³¹ʔu³***.
ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ we⁵na¹ nu⁵ma² ku¹=ũ⁴³=gu² rɨ¹
when again here.Region.ALL 2SG.SBJ.SC=go.SG=COND TOP
da³¹a¹ na³ra⁴ɲa¹ **rɨ¹ i⁵=tʃa³=na³=tu³¹ʔ**
DEM.PROX(III) orange(III) TOP **IPFV=1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=fell.tree**
'When you come here again, I **will be cutting** down this orange (tree).' [DGG: 2017.2.173]
(Future temporal reference)

### 14.3.1 Perfect *ma3rɨ3*

The aspectual marker *ma³rɨ³* 'PRF' is a prosodically free word which typically appears immediately before the verb (and before the object if there is one). It combines with predicates of all lexical aspect classes and has significantly different aspectual contributions with each class. The term 'perfect' is the closest conventional viewpoint aspect label, but it is far from a perfect match (no pun intended) to the meaning of *ma3rɨ3*.

#### 14.3.1.1 States

With stative predicates, *ma³rɨ³* has two aspectual requirements. First, *ma³rɨ³* requires that the state holds at the topic time. This is shown by the minimal pair of acceptable and unacceptable contexts for utterances with *ma³rɨ³* in (17). This immediately tells us that *ma3rɨ3* is not a perfective (as usually defined, i.e. event time before topic time).

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(17) *ma³rɨ³ tʃi³dạ2we¹*
ma³rɨ³ tʃi³=dạ2we1
PRF 1SG.SBJ=sick
'I've gotten sick.'
Contexts:
a. ✓: I am sick now.
b. #: I've been sick recently. Now I am recovering, but my voice is still hoarse.
[ABS: 2017.2.67]

Second, *ma³rɨ³ also* requires that the state of the predicate hold at TT *as the result of a change of state*. Because of this property, attempts to combine *ma³rɨ³* with individual-level predicates lead to readings of the predicates as stage-level, as shown by (18) and (19).

(18) *ma³rɨ³ tʃa³ɟạu̯¹e⁴tɨ¹.*
ma³rɨ³ tʃa³=ɟạu̯¹=e⁴tɨ¹
PRF 1SG.SBJ=blue=NI:eye
'My eyes got blue.'
Contexts:
a. ✓: Previously my eyes were not blue, but then I had an operation and my eyes became blue.
b. #: My eyes have been blue ever since I was born.
need page number

(19) *ma³rɨ³ tʃa³ʌe³¹.*
ma³rɨ³ tʃa³=ʌe³¹
PRF 1SG.SBJ=female
'I got to be a woman.'
Contexts:
a. ✓: I was previously a man and became a woman (i.e., I made a gender transition).
b. #: I have always been a woman.
[DGG: 2017.3.103]

#### 14.3.1.2 Achievements and accomplishments

With a telic verb, i.e. an achievement or accomplishment, *ma³rɨ³* is effectively a resultative perfect. It requires that the *post-state* of the verb holds at the topic

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time. That is, the reading is like the reading with states, but it targets the post-state of the culmination, rather than targeting the entire eventuality.

For example, the achievement *gau⁵¹ʔ* 'rip (intransitive)' denotes an instantaneous change of state where a patient goes from whole to ripped. Being whole is the pre-state, and being ripped is the post-state. Therefore, it is unacceptable to use this verb plus *ma³rɨ³* to describe a scenario where a patient *changed from whole to ripped* at some time, but is not ripped at topic time (20).

(20) *ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ ku³¹ʔĩ¹ta¹wa⁵ tʃa¹ʌu³ʔgu², **ma³rɨ³** na⁴rɨ³gau⁵¹ i⁴ tʃo³¹rɨ³ dau⁵ʔĩ⁴.*
ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ ku31=ʔĩ¹ta¹=wa⁵ tʃa¹=ʌu3=ʔgu² **ma³rɨ³** na⁴rɨ³=gau⁵¹
when 2SG=RN:at=ALL 1SG.SBJ.SC=arrive=COND **PRF** 3.SBJ=rip
i⁴ tʃo³¹rɨ³ dau⁵ʔĩ⁴
DET(IV) 1SG.POSS shirt(IV)
'When I arrived at your place, my blouse was ripped.'
Contexts:
a. ✓: As I was leaving my house at 7:00am, my shirt ripped. I did not have time to fix it before I arrived at your house at 10:00am.
b. #: As I was leaving my house at 7:00am, my shirt ripped. I got some needle and thread and temporarily fixed the tear before I arrived at your house at 10:00am. You can still tell that the shirt tore earlier, but there is not currently a gap in the fabric.
[LWG: 2017.3.47, ECP: 2017.3.35]

Likewise, the accomplishment *me⁴³ẽ⁴ẽ³* 'make good, fix' denotes a gradual change of state where a patient goes from broken (pre-state) to working (post-state). Because being in working order is the post-state, this predicate is only acceptable with *ma3rɨ3* if the theme works at topic time (21a). It is unacceptable to use this verb with *ma³rɨ³* to describe a scenario where the patient *changed from broken to working* at some time before topic time, but is no longer working at topic time (21b). It is also unacceptable to use *ma3rɨ3* with this verb if the event is *in progress* at topic time, as shown by the scenarios in (21c, d).

(21) *ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ Ka³ru¹ĩ¹ta¹wa⁵ tʃa¹ʌu³ʔgu², **ma³rɨ³** tʃo³¹rɨ³ mo³to¹ na⁴me⁴³ẽ⁴ẽ³.*
ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ Ka³ru¹=ĩ¹ta¹=wa⁵ tʃa¹=ʌu³=gu² **ma³rɨ³** tʃo³¹rɨ³
when Carlos=RN:at=ALL 1SG.SBJ.SC=arrive=COND **PRF** 1SG.POSS
mo³to¹ na⁴=me⁴³-ẽ⁴ẽ³
motorcycle 3.SBJ=good-CAUS
'When I arrived, Carlos had fixed my motocar.'
Contexts:

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a. ✓: My motocar was in working order when I arrived.
b. #: Carlos fixed my motocar the day before I arrived, but then it became damaged again. When I arrived, it was not in working order.
c. #: When I arrived, I saw Carlos at work on my motocar. He was actively working on it, but it was not yet in working order.
d. #: When I arrived, Carlos was not actively working on my motocar. He had done some of the work necessary to fix it; but it was not yet completely in working order.

[ABS: 2017.3.67; LWG: 2017.3.68]

#### 14.3.1.3 Activities

With activities, *ma³ri̵³* conveys that the event begins either before or at topic time. There is no implication about whether it is ongoing vs. in progress. This is illustrated by the minimal pair of contexts in (22).

(22) *ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ concurso=wa⁵ tʃa¹ʎu³ʔgu², **ma³ri̵³** na⁴pa⁴e²ta³ i⁴ Bi³tu⁵.*
ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ concurso=wa⁵ tʃa¹=ʎu³=gu² **ma³ri̵³**
when SP:contest=ALL 1SG.SBJ.SC=arrive=COND **PRF**
na⁴=pa⁴e²ta³ i⁴ Bi³tu⁵
3.SBJ=play.music DET(IV) Victoria(IV)
'When I arrived at the (musical) contest, Victoria played/was playing music.'
Contexts:
a. ✓: Victoria participated in a music contest where she was scheduled to play music exactly once. She started playing music at the same time as I arrived at the contest.
b. ✓: Victoria participated in a music contest where she was scheduled to play music exactly once. She started playing music before I arrived at the contest and was still playing music when I arrived.

[LWG: 2017.2.68, ABS: 2017.2.66]

#### 14.3.1.4 With negation

When *ma3ri̵3* occurs with negation, the collocation is interpreted like English *not any more*, i.e. as meaning that the predicate held at some point before the topic time, but does not hold at topic time. Additionally, if the negation marker is a free word, *ma3ri̵3* always comes before negation. This is shown for *ma3ri̵3* with

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the negation of a stative predicate in (23), and with the negation of an activity in (24).

(23) Context: Speaker is talking about renovations of his house. He says, "I put those planks over there because they're not good for anything." Then he says,
*ma³rɨ³ ta⁴ma³ tʃo³¹ʔĩ⁵ na⁴me⁴³*
ma³rɨ³ ta⁴ma³ tʃo³¹=ʔĩ⁵ na⁴=me⁴³
PRF NEG 1SG=Iben 3.SBJ=good
'They're not useful to me anymore.' [SSG House Description]

(24) Context: Christian sermon. Speaker paraphrases Luke 14:26 ('Anyone who does not abandon their children cannot be My servant') and then says,
*ma³rɨ³ ta⁴ma³ na³¹ʔkạ¹ ta¹ʔo³¹e⁵ga¹ã⁵ẽ²gɨ⁵ʔ i⁴ to³1ne³gɨ⁴*
ma³rɨ³ ta⁴ma³ na⁴³=kạ¹ ta¹=o³¹e⁵ga¹ã⁵ẽ²=gɨ⁴=ʔĩ⁴ i⁴
PRF NEG 3(IV)=PURP 1.EXCL.SBJ.SC=worry=PL=SUB DET(IV)
to³1=ne³=gɨ⁴
1.EXCL=son=PL
'(So) **we no longer worry** about our sons (because we know this verse).'
[Ana's Sermon, 12:56]

There is also a special relationship between *ma3rɨ3* and the aspectual negation *tau4ta2* 'not yet' (Chapter 20.2). *tau4ta2* 'not yet' is a common way to answer a polar question that includes ***ma³rɨ³***, as shown in (25) (although the plain negation *ta⁴ma³* is also acceptable). However, using *tau4ta2* 'not yet' and *ma3rɨ3* together in the same clause is ungrammatical (26).

(25) a. MGW: *ku¹na³cambia? **ma³rɨ³** ta⁴ i⁴ ɲa⁴a²?*
ku¹=na³=cambia=ʔĩ⁴ **ma³rɨ³** ta⁴ i⁴ ɲa⁴a²
2SG.SBJ.SC=3.OBJ=SP:change=SUB PRF FUT DET(IV) DEM.PROX(IV)
'(At that point,) will you have replaced this (part of motocar)?'

b. JL: *tau⁴ta¹*
not.yet
'Not yet.'
[20170630 0:30]

(26) *ma³rɨ³ tau⁴ta2 tʃi³dạ2we¹*
ma³rɨ³ tau⁴ta2 tʃi³=dạ2we¹
PRF not.yet 1SG.SBJ=sick
(Attempted reading: 'I have not yet become sick.') [YCG: 2017.3.111]

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Given the interactions with negation, as well as the widely varying behavior of *ma3rɨ3* with different aspectual classes, it may be better analyzed as a temporal focus marker – like English *already* or Spanish *ya* – than as an aspectual marker. Note that *ma3rɨ3* is also frequently used as an interjection (Chapter 31.2), which may further support this analysis.

Whether or not *ma³rɨ³* should be analyzed as aspect, it clearly *cannot* be analyzed as tense, because it is compatible with absolute past, present, and future temporal reference (27–29). There is also no evidence that *ma3rɨ3* has a modal meaning component.

(27) Context: You last came to my town one year ago. I say to you,
*ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ nu⁵a² ku¹ʔũ⁴³gu², **ma³rɨ³** Betania=wa⁵ tʃa³ʔũ⁴³.*
ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ nu⁵a² ku¹=ũ⁴³=gu² **ma³rɨ³** Betania=wa⁵
when here.ALL 2SG.SBJ.SC=go.SG=COND **PRF** Betania=ALL
tʃa³=ũ⁴3
1SG.SBJ=go
'When you came here, I **had gotten** back from Betânia (such that I was here when you arrived).' [LWG: 2017.2.165; ECP: 2017.2.167]
(Past temporal reference)

(28) Context: You arrive at my house and ask what I'm doing right now. I say,
***ma³rɨ³** na³ra⁴ɲa¹ tʃa³tu³¹ʔu³.*
**ma³rɨ³** na³ra⁴ɲa¹ tʃa³=tu³¹ʔ
**PRF** orange 1SG.SBJ=cut.tree
'**I've (just) cut** down the orange (tree).' [DGG: 2017.2.172]
(Present temporal reference)

(29) Context: You are visiting me now, and you ask what I will be doing the next time that you visit. I say,
*ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ we⁵na¹ nu⁵ma² ku¹ʔũ⁴³gu², rɨ¹ da³¹a¹ na³ra⁴ɲa¹ rɨ¹ **ma³rɨ³** tʃa³na³tu³¹ʔu³.*
ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ we⁵na¹ nu⁵ma² ku¹=ũ⁴³=gu² rɨ¹
when again here.Region.ALL 2SG.SBJ.SC=go.SG=COND TOP
da³¹a¹ na³ra⁴ɲa¹ rɨ¹ **ma³rɨ³** tʃa³=na³=tu³¹ʔ
DEM.PROX(III) orange(III) TOP **PRF** 1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=cut.tree
'When you come here again, I **will have cut** down this orange (tree).' [DGG: 2017.2.173]
(Future temporal reference)

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### 14.3.2 Antiperfect *=tʃi4rɐ̨1*

The enclitic *=tʃi⁴rɐ̨¹* appears on the verb of verbal predicates, on the predicate nominal in copular clauses, and on topic or adjunct noun phrases (scoping over the noun property). Semantically, *=tʃi⁴rɐ̨¹* is essentially the inverse of *ma³rɨ³*, which is why I refer to it as the 'antiperfect.' As with *ma3rɨ3*, its readings vary between lexical aspect classes.

#### 14.3.2.1 Statives

With stative predicates, *=tʃi⁴rɐ̨¹* requires that the state held, then stopped holding, before topic time, as in (30). On a predicate nominal, the interpretation is the same as for a stative verb (31).

(30) *Bi³tu⁵ rɨ¹ no⁵¹rɨ³ ma³ma⁵ʔɪ̃³ na⁴ŋe⁴tʃa¹ɪ̃¹**tʃi⁴rɐ̨¹**.*
Bi³tu⁵ rɨ¹ no⁵¹rɨ³ ma³ma⁵=ʔɪ̃³ na⁴=ʌe⁴tʃa¹ɪ̃¹**=tʃi⁴rɐ̨¹**
Victoria TOP 3.POSS mother=ACC 3.SBJ=love=**ANTIPRF**
'Victoria, she **used to love** her mother (but she doesn't any more).' [ABS: 2017.2.156, LWG: 2017.2.156]

(31) *da²a² du³tu³ru¹**tʃi⁴rɐ̨¹** ni⁴ʔĩ⁴.*
da²a² du³tu³ru¹**=tʃi⁴rɐ̨¹** ni⁴=ĩ⁴
DEM.PROX(II) doctor=**ANTIPRF** 3.SBJ=COP
'This (man) used to be a doctor.' [LWG: 2017.2.56]

On a *topic or adjunct* nominal, *=tʃi4rɐ̨1* leads to the interpretation that the property of the noun phrase (e.g., the noun property, or the possession relation conveyed by a possessor) held, but stopped holding, before topic time. There is no implication about the event time of the main predicate, only the noun property. (32) and (33) show this for topic and adjunct noun phrases respectively.

(32) *tʃau¹te⁴tʃi⁴rɐ̨¹ rɨ¹ na⁴me³¹kɨ³ma³.*
tʃau¹=te⁴=tʃi⁴rɐ̨¹ rɨ¹ na⁴=me⁴³=kɨ³ma³
1SG=husband=ANTIPRF TOP 3.SBJ=good=NI:character
'**My former husband**, he was a good person.' [LWG: 2017.2.60]

(33) Context: I am giving you instructions for the game of musical chairs. When the music starts playing, we will both move. Then you will go to the place where I am now.
*ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ musica pa³i²ʔgu², rɨ¹ **tʃau¹tʃi⁵ka¹tʃi⁴rɐ̨¹wa⁵** ku³ʔũ⁴³.*

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ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ musica pa³i²=ʔgu² rɨ¹ **tʃau¹=tʃi⁵ka¹=tʃi⁴rẹ¹=wa⁵**
when SP:music resound=COND TOP **1SG=place=ANTIPRF=ALL**
ku³=ũ⁴³
2SG.SBJ=go.SG
'When (the) music plays, you go to **my old place**.' [LWG: 2017.2.60]

#### 14.3.2.2 Achievements and accomplishments

On telic predicates (achievements and accomplishments), *=tʃi⁴rẹ¹* means that the culmination of the event took place, but the post-state of the achievement did *not* hold at topic time, for example because the culmination was reversed. (34) illustrates this for an achievement and (35a) illustrates it for an accomplishment. Accomplishments with *=tʃi4rẹ1* also have an alternative reading that involves interruption, rather than reversal. The interruption conveys that the agent began to do the event, but they stopped before they were able to cause the culmination, as shown in (35b)..

(34) *na⁴rɨ³gau⁵¹ʔtʃi⁴rẹ¹.*
na⁴rɨ³=gau⁵¹=tʃi⁴rẹ¹
3.SBJ=rip=ANTIPRF
'It (a shirt) used to be ripped.' [DGG: 2017.2.160]
Context offered by consultant: You're looking at the shirt. You know it ripped, but where? (mimes inspecting it) (i.e. you can't tell where it ripped because the tear is so completely mended)

(35) *tʃo³¹rɨ³ mo³to¹ na⁴me⁴ẽ⁴ẽ³tʃi⁴rẹ¹*
tʃo³¹rɨ³ mo³to¹ na⁴=me⁴³-ẽ⁴ẽ³=tʃi⁴rẹ¹
1SG.POSS motorcycle 3.SBJ=good-CAUS=ANTIPRF
'He fixed my motocar, but...'
Contexts:
a. Reversal reading: He fixed my motocar. It worked for a while, but then it broke again.
b. Interruption reading: He almost fixed my motocar, but then he stopped before he was done.
[LWG: 2017.2.156; ABS: 2017.2.157]

#### 14.3.2.3 Activities

When *=tʃi⁴rẹ¹* 'ANTIPRF' appears on an activity, it conveys that the state of the activity has ended as of topic time (36). There is also a possible interpretation

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that the activity was habitual and the agent has ceased to have the habit (37).

(36) *ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ nu⁵a² ku¹ŋu³ʔgu², Ka³ru¹ rɨ¹ na²a¹ne¹wa⁵ na⁴pu³ra³kɨ⁴tʃi⁴rẹ¹.*
ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ nu⁵a² ku¹=ŋu³=gu² Ka³ru¹ rɨ¹
when here.ALL 2SG.SBJ.SC=arrive=COND Carlos(II) TOP
na²=a¹ne¹=wa⁵ na⁴=pu³ra³kɨ⁴=tʃi⁴rẹ¹
3(II)=garden=ALL 3.SBJ=work=ANTIPRF
'When you arrived, Carlos had stopped working in his garden.' [ABS: 2017.2.157]

(37) *i⁵¹ra¹ga¹ã¹kɨ²² tʃi³de⁴³ʔa²tʃi⁴rẹ¹*
i⁵¹ra¹=ga¹=ã¹kɨ²² tʃi³=de⁴³ʔa²=tʃi⁴rẹ¹
small=NI:voice=ADVBZ 1SG.SBJ=talk=ANTIPRF
'I used to talk in a low voice (now I talk normally).' [LWG: 2017.2.156, ABS: 2017.2.157]

The cessation implication of *=tʃi4rẹ1* with activities is very similar to its reading with states, but entirely different from its interpretation with accomplishments. Thus, readings with *=tʃi4rẹ1*, alongside readings with *ma3rɨ3*, are good tests for the activity-accomplishment distinction.

#### 14.3.2.4 With negation

Recall from §14.3.1 that, with negation, *ma³rɨ³* means 'not anymore,' rather than contributing (resultative) perfect aspect. *=tʃi⁴rẹ¹*, despite its other similarities to *ma³rɨ³*, does *not* share this behavior. When a predicate marked with *=tʃi⁴rẹ¹* is negated, the negation targets only the predicate, scoping under *=tʃi⁴rẹ¹*.

To understand this, suppose that both external and internal negation of *=tʃi⁴rẹ¹* were possible. The external negation would mean 'it is not the case that Verb held and ceased to hold.' This would would be compatible with the verb never having held, or with the verb holding at all times. Internal negation, on the other hand, would mean '(Not Verb) held and ceased to hold before Topic Time' (i.e., now Verb holds).

The minimal pair of contexts in (38) show that only the internal negation reading is possible. The unacceptable context in (38a) supports an external negation reading, i.e. one where the negation targets the aspectual contribution of *=tʃi⁴rẹ¹*, because the question under discussion is about times when the subject did and did not believe. The acceptable context in (38b) supports the internal negation reading, since the state of not-believing held and then ended.

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(38) *ta⁴ma³ na⁴ɟa³ʔõ²tʃi⁴rɛ̨¹.*
ta⁴ma³ na⁴=ɟa³=õ²=tʃi⁴rɛ̨¹
NEG 3.SBJ=3.OBJ=believe=ANTIPRF
'S/he used to not believe (in the Christian God).' [SSG: 2017.4.36-37]
Contexts:
a. #: There's a rumor going around that someone stopped believing in God, but it's not true. S/he has always believed. (~ English 'It's not true that she USED TO believe')
b. ✓: S/he didn't believe in God before, but believes now.

It is acceptable to use *=tʃi4rɛ̨1* in clauses with either past or present temporal reference (39a, b). However, the marker is unacceptable with future temporal reference (39c), at least on the main predicate.

(39) a. Context: I last visited your town two years ago. You tell me,
*ŋɛ̃⁴ʔgu²ma³ nu⁵a² ku¹ʔũ⁴³gu², Betania=wa⁵* ***tʃa³ʔũ⁴³tʃi⁴rɛ̨¹.***
ŋɛ̃⁴ʔgu²ma³ nu⁵a² ku¹=ũ⁴³=gu² Betania=wa⁵
when here.ALL 2SG.SBJ.SC=go.SG=COND Betania=ALL
**tʃa³=ũ⁴³=tʃi⁴rɛ̨¹**
**1SG.SBJ=go.SG=ANTIPRF**
'When you came here, **I had almost gone** to Betânia (e.g. I got part of the way there, but then had to turn back, before you arrived).' [LWG: 2017.2.165, ECP: 2017.2.167]
(Past temporal reference)
b. Context: I arrive at your house and ask what you're doing right now. You say,
*na³ra⁴ɲa¹ tʃa³tu³¹ʔtʃi⁴rɛ̨¹.*
na³ra⁴ɲa¹ tʃa³=tu³¹ʔ=tʃi⁴rɛ̨¹
orange 1SG.SBJ=cut.tree=ANTIPRF
'**I've almost cut** down the orange tree (e.g. I've chopped it some, but it hasn't fallen yet).' [DGG: 2017.2.173]
(Present temporal reference)
c. Context: You are visiting me right now. Telling you about what I will be doing the next time you visit, I say,
*#ŋɛ̃⁴ʔgu²ma³ we⁵na¹ nu⁵ma² ku¹ʔũ⁴³gu², rɨ¹ da³¹a² na³ra³ɲa¹*
***tʃa³tu³¹ʔtʃi⁴rɛ̨¹.***

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#ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ we⁵na¹ nu⁵ma² ku¹=ũ⁴³=gu² rɨ¹
#when again here.Regional.ALL 2SG.SBJ.SC=go.SG=COND TOP
da³¹a² na³ra³ɲa¹ tʃa³=tu³¹ʔ=**tʃi⁴rɛ̨¹**
DEM.PROX(III) orange(III) 1SG.SBJ=cut.tree=**ANTIPRF**
(Attempted reading: 'When you come in here again, **I will have almost** cut down this orange tree.') [DGG: 2017.2.173]

Even though *=tʃi4rɛ̨1* is banned on the *main* predicate in clauses with future temporal reference, the marker can appear on noun phrases in clauses with future topic times, such as the adjunct in (40). Note that in this example, *both* the topic time of the main clause *and* the topic time of the adjunct – i.e., the point when the house is described as 'my old place' – are in the absolute future. Therefore, *=tʃi4rɛ̨1* is capable of having a future topic time, just not when it attaches to a verb (as in 39c).

(40) Context: I am currently renting a house in Caballococha. When I go back to my country, another woman is going to move into that house, replacing me.
*tʃau¹tʃi⁵ka¹tʃi⁴rɛ̨¹wa⁵ ta⁴ na⁴ʌu³.*
tʃau¹=tʃi⁵ka¹=tʃi⁴rɛ̨¹=wa⁵ ta⁴ na⁴=ʌu³
1SG=place=ANTIPRF=ALL FUT 3.SBJ=arrive
'She will arrive at my old place.' [LWG: 2017.4.30, SSG: 2017.4.36]

Since the only absolute temporal restriction on *=tʃi4rɛ̨1* is limited to the future, and future temporal reference has various other unusual properties, the restriction does not represent evidence that *=tʃi4rɛ̨1* is tense.

### 14.3.3 Prospectives *=tʃa1ĩ1* PROSP and *=e5ga1* WEAK.PROSP

There are two enclitics that convey prospective aspect, i.e. that the situation at topic time (pre-state) is expected to lead to the predicate happening at a later time. The two prospectives are *=tʃa1ĩ1* PROSP and *=e5ga1* WEAK.PROSP. The difference between them appears to be modal: with *=tʃa1ĩ1*, the pre-state makes the predicate necessary, but with *=e5ga1*, the pre-state only makes the predicate *possible*. Neither marker seems to have significant interactions with lexical aspect.

Syntactically, *=tʃa1ĩ1* and *=e5ga1* seem to have the same distribution as *=tʃi⁴rɛ̨¹*. They appear on non-copular verbs, as shown by (41) for the prospective and (41) for the weak prospective. The markers can also appear on the predicate nominal in copular clauses (42, 43), and on topic noun phrases (44), scoping over the noun property.

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(41) *tɨ³¹ma²ma⁴a² i²ta⁴to³¹e¹gu¹tʃa¹ɨ̃¹.*
tɨ³¹ma²=ma⁴a² i²=ta⁴=to⁴³-e¹gu¹=tʃa¹ɨ̃¹
3(I)=COM VCL=1EXCL.SBJ=plant-DIR:circle=PROSP
'We want to plant it in a circle.' [RGW, 20170527_002, 20:09]
*Sabado=gu² Kɨ³ʔtʃi³tu¹wa⁵ tʃa³ʔũ⁴³e⁵ga¹.*
Sabado=gu² Kɨ³ʔtʃi³tu¹=wa⁵ tʃa³=ũ⁴³=e⁵ga¹
Saturday=LOC Cushillococha=ALL 1SG.SBJ=go.SG=WEAK.PROSP
'On Saturday I might go to Cushillococha.' [Overheard 2017/07/05]

(42) Context: I am planning to start a new job. I introduce to you one of the people who will be working with me.
*da²a² tʃo¹mɨ¹kɨ³tʃa¹ɨ̃¹ ni⁴ʔĩ⁴.*
da²a² tʃau1=mɨ¹kɨ³=tʃa¹ɨ̃¹ ni⁴ʔĩ⁴
DEM.PROX(II) 1SG=companion=PROSP 3.SBJ.COP
'This is my future co-worker.' [LWG: 2017.2.56]

(43) *Bi³tu⁵ rɨ¹ du³tu³ru¹e⁵ga¹ ni⁴ʔĩ⁴.*
Bi³tu⁵ rɨ¹ du³tu³ru¹=e⁵ga¹ ni⁴ʔĩ⁴
Victoria TOP doctor=WEAK.PROSP 3.SBJ.COP
'Victoria is going to be/wants to be a doctor.' [LWG: 2017.3.55]

(44) *da²a² du³tu³ru¹tʃa¹ɨ̃¹ / du³tu³ru¹e⁵ga¹ rɨ¹ po²ra⁴ã¹kɨ² na⁴ʎu̯¹ʔu⁵tʃi².*
da²a² du³tu³ru¹=tʃa¹ɨ̃¹ / du3tu3ru1=e5ga1 rɨ¹ po²ra⁴=ã¹kɨ²
DEM.PROX(II) doctor=PROSP / doctor=WEAK.PROSP TOP strong=ADVBZ
na⁴=ʎu̯¹ʔɨ⁵tʃi²
3.SBJ=learn=really
'This future doctor, he really studies hard.' [LWG: 2017.3.55]

While the two prospectives are syntactically identical, they are not semantically identical. *=tʃa1ɨ̃* PROSP can be used with almost any predicate, as long as it is in the future of topic time. For example, *=tʃa1ɨ̃* PROSP can describe people's desires (45), deontic obligations (46), and circumstantial (rather than deontic) needs (47).

(45) *da²a² a³ɲo¹gɨ⁴ ŋe⁵ma²ne⁴ ũ³¹kɨ³, I³tʃi⁴tu²wa⁵* ***tʃa³=postula=tʃa¹ɨ̃¹***
da²a² a³ɲo¹=gɨ⁴ ŋe⁵ma²=ne⁴ ũ⁴³=kɨ³
DEM.PROX(II) year(II)=PL there.ANA.ALL=SOURCE go.SG=NMLZ(II)
I³tʃi⁴tu²=wa⁵ tʃa³=postula=tʃa¹ɨ̃¹
Iquitos=ALL 1SG.SBJ=SP:apply=PROSP
'Next year[2], **I want to apply** (to be a policeman) in Iquitos.' [20170818

[2]Literally: 'in the one that comes from these years.'

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Conversation: 10:10]

(46) Context: A child's friends come and ask her to play with them. But her mother has ordered her to do chores.
*tau²ʔã¹kɨ²ma³ ŋe⁵ma² i⁴ʔũ⁴³ na⁴³we⁵ e³rɨ⁴ i⁵na⁴bi⁴ʔi²tʃi⁴tʃa¹ɾ̃i3ʔ.*
tau²ʔã¹kɨ²ma³ ŋe⁵ma² i⁴=ũ⁴³ na⁴³=we⁵ e³rɨ⁴
impossible there.Anan.ALL 3(V).SBJ=go.SG 3=RN:behind because
i⁵=na⁴=bi⁴ʔi²tʃi⁴=tʃa¹ɾ̃i1=ʔ
VCL=3(V).SBJ.SC=sweep=PROSP=SUB
'She can't follow them there (to play) because she has to sweep.' [DGG Chore Girl: 2:23]

(47) Context: Commenting on the behavior of a toddler
*na⁴wi¹ʔɟa¹tʃa¹ɾ̃i¹.*
na⁴=wi¹ʔɟa¹=tʃa¹ɾ̃i¹
3.SBJ=urinate=PROSP
'She has to urinate.' [DGG: 20170527 Conversation 5:25]

Additionally, *=tʃa1ɾ̃i* PROSP can also be used in situations that are not obviously modal, such as to make predictions about a natural process (48) or an event that is outside the subject's control (49). Additionally, the prospective does not have restrictions on the temporal distance of the predicate (i.e., how far in the future the event is). It can describe an event that will happen in a few moments (46), a few days or weeks (48), or an unknown date in the distant future (49).

(48) *ɲu̱¹ʔma⁵ ta¹ ʍa³¹ʔi⁵ na⁴ʔo¹ʔtʃa¹ɾ̃i¹*
ɲu̱¹ʔma⁵ ta¹ wa³¹ʔi⁵ na⁴=o¹=tʃa¹ɾ̃i¹
now also CONT.FOC 3.SBJ=bear.fruit=PROSP
'This one is also about to fruit now (speaking of a plant).' [DGG: DGG Yard Description 8:59]

(49) Context: We should be happy even if bad things happen to us.
*e³rɨ⁴ nɨ³¹ʔɾ̃i³ ta⁴dau²gɨ⁴tʃa¹ɾ̃i¹, ʍɨ⁴³ʔi⁴ i⁴ ʎu¹ne³ʔɾ̃i⁴wa⁵.*
e³rɨ⁴ nɨ³¹=ʔɾ̃i³ ta⁴=dau²=gɨ⁴=tʃa¹ɾ̃i¹ wɨ⁴³ʔi⁴ i⁴ ʎu¹ne³ʔɾ̃i⁴=wa⁵
because 3=ACC 1INCL.SBJ=see=PL=PROSP one DET(IV) day(IV)=ALL
'Because one day, we're going to see Him (God).' [Ana's Sermon 8:04]

The other prospective, *=e5ga1*, has only about one-sixth the token frequency of *=tʃa1ɾ̃i1* (29 corpus tokens of *=e5ga1* vs. 166 of *=tʃa1ɾ̃i1*). It can – like the regular prospective – be used with predicates denoting plans and desires (50), natural processes (51), and unscheduled/unpredictable events outside the participants'

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control (52). However, the weak prospective never occurs in corpus materials for deontic obligations.

(50) Context: Refusing to give addressee the 25 soles he has requested
*veintidos ɟi1ʔĩ1ʔ ku31ʔĩ5 ŋe2ʔma4 tʃa1ʔi2**e5ga3**ʔ*
veintidos ɟi1ʔĩ1ʔ ku31=ʔĩ5 ŋe2ʔma4
SP:22 FOC.SC 2SG=BEN there.ADDRPROX.LOC
tʃa1=i2=**e5ga1**=ʔ
1SG.SBJ.SC=make=**WEAK.PROSP**=SUB
'I'm going to put down **22** for you there.' [AYM, 20170527_002]

(51) Context: Describing speaker's husband's ongoing illness
*ta4ma3 me31ã2 ni4=ʎu1ne1ĩ1 ri1 na4ɟu2**e5ga1***
ta4ma3 me31ã2 ni4=ʎu1ne1=ĩ1 ri1
NEG well 3.SBJ=dawn=see.weather.event and
na4=ɟu2=**e5ga1**
3.SBJ=die=**WEAK.PROSP**
'He got worse as the dawn came and **he might die**.' [DGG HALDI]

(52) Context: Amalia says, 'Your dog was growling at me.' Laura laughs and then says,
*o3ɛ̃ʔna5 ʎi2ri4ã4tʃi4 ku31ʔĩ3 na4ŋɔ̃**e5ga1***
o3ɛ̃ʔna5 ʎi2ri4ã4tʃi4 ku31=ʔĩ3 na4=ŋɔ̃=**e5ga1**
INTJ:news EPIST 2SG=ACC 3.SBJ=bite=**WEAK.PROSP**
'Oh okay, (you thought) it **might** bite you.' [Laura, LSC-VSC]

The fact that *=e5ga1* does not appear in contexts of strong deontic/circumstantial obligation is the primary evidence that it contrasts with *=tʃa1ĩ1* in modal force.[3] Further evidence for this analysis comes from the types of pre-state that each prospective marker can describe. (53–55) were elicited to provide evidence that the prospective markers are compatible with any temporal reference, which they do. However, the comments on the *=e5ga1* prospectives in these examples also shed light on the felicity conditions of the weak prospective. It is acceptable if the subject has been planning the action (53), but not if they have actually taken steps toward it (54–55).

(53) Context: I last came to your town two years ago. You tell me,
*ŋɛ̃⁴ʔgu²ma³ nu⁵a² ku¹ʔũ⁴³gu², Betania=wa⁵ tʃa³ʔũ³¹ʔtʃa¹ɛ̃¹ / tʃa³ʔũ43e5ga1.*

[3]Tests aiming to determine whether *=tʃa1ĩ1* predicates entail *=e5ga1* predicates did not yield clear judgments.

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ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ nu⁵a² ku¹=ũ⁴³=gu² Betania=wa⁵
when here.ALL 2SG.SBJ.SC=go.SG=SUB Betania=ALL
tʃa³=ũ43=tʃa¹ɨ̃¹ / tʃa3=ũ43=e5ga1
1SG.SBJ=go.SG=PROSP / 1SG.SBJ=go.SG=WEAK.PROSP
'When you came here, I was going to go to Betânia.' [LWG: 2017.2.164]
Speaker's comment on form with *=e5ga1*: 'You were just barely planning it'
(Past temporal reference)

(54) Context: I arrive at your house and ask what you're doing. You say, *na³ra⁴ɲa¹ tʃa³tu³¹ʔtʃa¹ɨ̃¹ / tʃa3tu31ʔe5ga1.*
na³ra⁴ɲa¹ tʃa³=tu³¹ʔ=tʃa¹ɨ̃¹ / tʃa3=tu31ʔ=e5ga1
orange 1SG.SBJ=cut.tree=PROSP / 1SG.SBJ=cut.tree=WEAK.PROSP
'I'm going to cut down the orange tree.' [DGG: 2017.2.172]
Speaker's comment on form with *=tʃa¹ɨ̃¹*: good if you have the axe in hand
Speaker's comment on form with *=e5ga¹*: *not* good if you have the axe in hand
(Present temporal reference)

(55) Context: You are telling me about what will happen the next time I visit you.
*ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ we⁵na¹ nu⁵ma² ku¹ʔũ⁴³gu², da³¹a¹ na³ra⁴ɲa¹ rɨ¹ tʃa³na³tu³¹ʔtʃa¹ɨ̃¹ / tʃa3tu31ʔe5ga1.*
ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ we⁵na¹ nu⁵ma² ku¹=ũ⁴³=gu²
when here.Regional.ALL 2SG.SBJ.SC=go.SG=SUB DEM.PROX(III)
da³¹a¹ na³ra⁴ɲa¹ rɨ¹ tʃa³=na³=tu³¹ʔ=tʃa¹ɨ̃¹
orange(III) TOP 1SG.SBJ=cut.tree=PROSP /
/ tʃa3=tu31ʔ=e5ga1
1SG.SBJ=cut.tree=WEAK.PROSP
'When you come in here again, this orange tree, I'm going to cut it down.' [DGG: 2017.2.173]
Speaker's judgment on form with *=e5ga¹*: not acceptable if you will be preparing to cut
(Future temporal reference)

Neither prospective entails that the pre-state actually leads to the event of the predicate. Whether the pre-state successfully causes the event (56a), or whether it fails to (56b), both prospectives are acceptable.

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(56) Context: You hear that when you last visited me one year ago, I was thinking about building a house. You ask me if I built the house. I say,
*ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ nu⁵a² ku¹ŋẽ²ʔma⁴gu², ĩ⁴³pa⁴ta³ne⁵ tʃa³ʔi²ʔ**tʃa¹ĩ¹** / tʃa³ʔi²ʔ**e5ga¹**.*
ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ nu⁵a² ku¹=ŋẽ²ʔma⁴=gu² ĩ⁴³pa⁴ta³=ne⁵
when here.ALL 2SG.SBJ.SC=be.in.place=SUB house(III)=some(III)
tʃa³=i²=**tʃa¹ĩ¹** / tʃa3=i2=**e5ga1**
1SG.SBJ=make=**PROSP** / 1SG.SBJ=make=**WEAK.PROSP**
'When you were here last year, I **was going to build** a house.'
I can continue this by saying either:

a. *ri¹ ma³ri³ tʃa³na³ʔi².*
ri1 ma3ri3 tʃa3=na3=i2
and PRF 1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=make
'...And now I've built it.'

b. *na²ti⁴ri¹ tʃi³dạ2we¹ã⁴ma⁴ ri¹ ta⁴ma³ tʃa³na³ʔi².*
na²ti⁴ri¹ tʃi³=dạ2we¹=ã⁴ma⁴ ri¹ ta⁴ma³ tʃa³=na³=i²
but 1SG.SBJ=sick=Concessive and NEG 1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=make
'...But despite my plans, I got sick and I didn't build it.'

[LWG: 2017.3.106, based on Bohnemeyer (2002)]

Additionally, the two prospectives also do not contrast in temporal remoteness. They are both acceptable in the context of a plan for the same date (57).

(57) Context: It is Wednesday afternoon. I live in Caballococha. You ask if you can make an appointment with me on either Friday or Saturday. I say that you should come Friday, because:
*Sabado=gu² Ki³ʔtʃi³tu¹wa⁵ tʃa³ʔũ⁴³e⁵ga¹ / tʃa³ʔũ³¹ʔtʃa¹ĩ¹.*
Sabado=gu² Ki³ʔtʃi³tu¹=wa⁵
Saturday=LOC Cushillococha=ALL
tʃa³=ũ⁴³=e⁵ga¹ / tʃa3=ũ43=tʃa1ĩ1
1SG.SBJ=go.SG=WEAK.PROSP / 1SG.SBJ=go.SG=PROSP
'I'm going to go to Cushillococha on Saturday.' [Overheard with *=e⁵ga¹* 2017/07/05; accepted with *=tʃa1ĩ1* by LWG: 2017.2.155]

### 14.3.4 Future *ta4*

The future marker *ta4* is, syntactically, a second-position clitic. It is banned from co-occurring with many markers of negation, and instead forms negation-modal portmanteaus (Chapter 20.4). *Ta4* FUT shares both of these properties with the counterfactual *tʃi4* (§14.6.2).

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The semantics of *ta⁴* FUT are very different from those of other markers discussed in this section. Specifically, *ta⁴* is not purely a viewpoint aspect. It also has an an absolute future meaning component, because it cannot have a topic time in the past of utterance time (58), or a topic time that is the same as utterance time (59). The topic time can *only* be in the future of utterance time, per (60) and the comment on (59). There is an exception to this in attitude reports (discussed next).

(58) Context: You last visited my town two years ago. I tell you,
*#ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ nu⁵a² ku¹ʔũ⁴³gu², Betania=wa⁵ ta⁴ tʃa³ʔũ⁴³.*
#ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ nu⁵a² ku¹=ũ⁴³=gu² Betania=wa⁵ ta⁴
#when here.ALL 2SG.SBJ.SC=go.SG=COND Betania=ALL FUT
tʃa³=ũ⁴³
1SG.SBJ=go.SG
(Attempted reading: 'When you came here, I was going to go to Betânia.')
[LWG: 2017.2.164, ECP: 2017.2.167]
(Past temporal reference)

(59) Context: You arrive at my house and ask what I'm doing. I say,
*na³ra⁴ɲa¹ ta⁴ tʃa³tu³¹ʔu³.*
na³ra⁴ɲa¹ ta⁴ tʃa³=tu³¹ʔ
orange FUT 1SG.SBJ=cut.tree
'I'm going to cut down the orange tree.' [DGG: 2017.2.172]
(appropriate if I am by the tree preparing to cut it down, or if I am telling you the plan inside my house, but *not* if I am cutting now)
(Present temporal reference)

(60) Context: You are visiting me now, and you ask what I will be doing the next time that you visit. I say,
*ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ we⁵na¹ nu⁵ma² ku¹ʔũ⁴³gu², rɨ¹ da³¹a¹ na³ra⁴ɲa¹ rɨ¹ ta⁴ tʃa³na³tu³¹ʔu³.*
ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ we⁵na¹ nu⁵ma² ku¹=ũ⁴³=gu² rɨ¹
when again here.Regional.ALL 2SG.SBJ=go.SG=COND TOP
da³¹a¹ na³ra⁴ɲa¹ rɨ¹ ta⁴ tʃa³=na³=tu³¹ʔ 'When you
DEM.PROX(III) orange(III) TOP FUT 1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=cut.tree
come in here again, I will cut down the orange tree.' [DGG: 2017.3.173]
(Future temporal reference)

The only context where *ta⁴* is allowed with absolute past temporal reference is in attitude reports and indirect speech reports. In an attitude report/indirect

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speech report, topic time of the attitude holding is in the absolute past, *ta⁴* may occur in the complement of the attitude verb. When *ta⁴* is present in this context, it conveys that the attitude is about a time in the *relative* future of the attitude (61), rather than the *absolute* future of utterance time. Note that *ta⁴* is never obligatory in this type of context, even if the attitude is about the absolute future (62).

(61) Context: The Nativity story.
*E³ro³de¹ rɨ¹ na⁴³gu² na⁴rɨ³ʔĩ³nɨ³ ga⁴ ɲu¹ʔã¹kɨ² **(ta⁴)** ŋe³tʃu⁴tʃu¹ʔĩ³ na⁴ʔ ɟa¹ma⁵ʔĩ⁴.*
E³ro³de¹ rɨ¹ na⁴³=gu² na⁴rɨ³=ĩ³nɨ³ ga⁴ ɲu¹ʔã¹kɨ² **(ta⁴)**
Herod TOP 3=LOC 3.SBJ=think DET.REM.PST how? **(FUT)**
ŋe³tʃu⁴tʃu¹=ʔĩ³ na⁴ʔ ɟa¹=mą̰¹=ʔĩ⁴
Jesus=ACC COMP 3.SBJ.SC=kill=SUB
'(When Jesus was born,) Herod thought about how he **would (lit. will)** kill him.' [DGG: 2017.3.101]

(62) Context: It is August. When I arrived in town in May, I wanted it to rain a lot in September, so that the river would be high when I left in September (making my travel easier).
*ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ mayo=gu² nu⁵a² tʃa¹ʎu³ʔgu², rɨ¹ tʃa³na³¹ʔwą̰¹e² na⁴ po²ra⁴ã¹kɨ² **(ta⁴)** na¹pu²ʔĩ⁴ i⁴ septiembre=gu².*
ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ mayo=gu² nu⁵a² tʃa¹=ʎu³=gu² rɨ¹
when May=LOC here.ALL 1SG.SBJ.SC=arrive=COND TOP
tʃa³=na⁴³=wą̰¹e² na⁴ po²ra⁴=ã¹kɨ² **(ta⁴)** na¹=pu³=ʔĩ⁴
1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=want COMP strong=ADVBZ **(FUT)** 3.SBJ.SC=rain=SUB
i⁴ septiembre=gu²
DET(IV) September(IV)=LOC
'When I arrived here in May, I wanted it to rain hard in September (lit. that it **will** rain hard in September).' [LWG: 2017.3.98, DGG: 2017.3.101]

Additionally, *ta⁴* is not a prospective aspect. Evidence for this analysis comes from multiclausal discourses where (a) a temporal subordinate clause has a future topic time and (b) the main clause contains *ta⁴* FUT and no other aspectual marking. In this type of discourse, the subordinate clause and main clause events can be read as overlapping (63–64). In contrast, when this type of discourse has a prospective aspect marker in the main clause, the main clause event is read as occurring after the subordinate clause event, as shown by (53–55). This shows that *ta⁴* does not independently shift the event time forward of a contextually relevant future topic time.

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(63) *ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ nu⁵a² ku¹ʌu³ʔgu², rɨ¹ **ta⁴** tʃa³nu²ʔma⁴ta²ã⁴.*
ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ nu⁵a² ku¹=ʌu³=gu² rɨ¹ **ta⁴**
when here.ALL 2SG.SBJ.SC=arrive=COND TOP **FUT**
tʃa³=nu²ʔma⁴=ta²ã⁴
1SG.SBJ=here.Regional.LOC=Scalar.FOC
'When you arrive, I will be right here.' (i.e. I will wait here for you) [LWG: 2017.2.155]

(64) Context: Speaker is discussing the planned construction of a cinderblock wall
*ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ ta⁴ na¹ʔɨ²ɰ̃¹ʔĩ̃⁴, me³¹ã² a3rɨ⁵, da³¹a¹, da³¹a¹ʔĩ̃³ **ta⁴** na⁴da²we³nɨ²ʔĩ̃⁴ ni⁴¹ʔĩ̃⁴ a3rɨ1.*
ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ ta⁴ na¹=ɨ²=ɰ̃¹=ʔĩ̃⁴ me³¹ã² a3rɨ⁵ da³¹a¹
when FUT 3.SBJ.SC=make=3>3.SC=SUB well INFO DEM.PROX(III)
da³¹a¹=ʔĩ̃³ **ta⁴** na⁴=da²we³nɨ²=ʔĩ̃⁴ ni⁴¹ʔĩ̃⁴ a3rɨ1 'When he
DEM.PROX(III)=ACC **FUT** 3(V).SBJ.SC=watch=SUB FOC INFO
makes it properly, she will observe this (wall), this one.' (i.e. she will watch while he builds the wall) [MAG House Description 3:30]

The modal content of *ta⁴* FUT seem to be similar to that of *=tʃa¹ĩ¹* PROSP. Like *=tʃa¹ĩ¹* PROSP, *ta⁴* FUT can be used to talk about scheduled and unscheduled events, naturally occurring events, desires, and obligations. ALL of these suggest that *ta4* is a strong/necessity modal. The only clear modal difference between the two markers is that people often use *ta⁴* to issue directives or commands, as shown by the positive command in (65) and by the negative directive (or perhaps negative deontic modal statement) in (66). In contrast, people *never* use *=tʃa1ĩ1* to issue commands in the corpus.

(65) Context: Soccer coach addressing players on field
*pe³¹gɨ¹na¹ **ta⁴** pe¹dau²gɨ⁵ʔĩ̃⁴!*
pe³¹=gɨ¹=na¹ **ta⁴** pe¹=dau²=gɨ⁴=ʔĩ̃⁴
2PL=REFL=RCP **FUT** 2PL.SBJ.SC=take.care=PL=SUB
'You guys **should guard / need to guard / guard** (lit. take care of) each other!' [Soccer 20170613 8:05]

(66) Context: Preacher to member of Christian congregation
*ɲɯ̲¹ʔma⁵ rɨ¹ **ta⁴** ta⁴ʔũ² ku¹ʔã³ne²ʔĩ̃⁴!*
ɲɯ̲¹ʔma⁵ rɨ¹ **ta⁴** ta⁴ʔũ² ku¹=ã³ne3=ʔĩ̃⁴
now TOP **FUT** Prohib 2SG.SBJ.SC=be.ashamed=SUB
'Now **you shouldn't be ashamed / don't be ashamed** (before God)!' [Ana's Sermon]

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## 14.4 Event-structure markers

In addition to the viewpoint aspect markers described in §14.3, Ticuna also has a variety of aspect-like markers that convey information about the internal structure of events. These include *=ã4tʃi4* 'in/for an instant,' the inchoative sense of *=tʃi1gɨ1* DISTRIB, the habitual/repeated action sense of the directional *-ɨ4ʔĩ4* 'back and forth,' the enclitic *=e1tʃa1* 'constantly,' and the habitual markers *-tɑ̨1* 'HABIT' and *=wɑ̨1e3* 'HABIT' (derived from the verb 'want'). Of these forms, I have already described *=ã4tʃi4* in §14.2; I describe the aspectual use of the distributive in Chapter 17.3; and I cover the aspectual sense of the 'back and forth' directional in Chapter 18. Therefore, this section discusses only *=e1tʃa1* 'constantly' and the habituals.

### 14.4.1 *=e1tʃa1* 'constantly'

The event-structural marker *=e1tʃa1* appears on verbs (67), on nominal predicates (68), and occasionally, on pronouns and demonstratives that are not functioning as nominal predicates (69).

(67) *pu3e1tʃa1kɨ5ra1ĩ3ʔ*
pu3=e1tʃa1=kɨ5ra1ĩ1=ʔ
rain=CONT=INFER=SUB
'Looks like it's raining on and off.' [20170527]
speaker attribution

(68) Context: 'Alex acts like him/her, the person that sits on the front of a boat.'
*A3le1e1tʃa1 ni4ʔĩ4, ŋɨ3*
A3le1=e1tʃa1 ni4ʔĩ4 ŋɨ3
Alex=CONT 3.SBJ.COP yes
'That's what Alex is always doing (lit., that is always Alex), yeah.' [LVI, AFG-LVI]

(69) Q: 'Did you grow up in this house?' A: 'Yes, right here...' *wo5e3 nu5a2**e1tʃa1**, ta4gu2ma3 ʎe1ʔta5 ta4ʔĩ43*
wo5e3 nu5a2=**e1tʃa1** ta4gu2ma3 ʎe1ʔta5 ta4=ĩ43
simply here=**CONT** never where?.ALL 1EXCL.SBJ=go.PL
'(We have) always been right here, we've never gone (to live) anywhere else.' [YCG HALDI]

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With dynamic predicates, such as *pu3* 'rain' in (67), *=e1tʃa1* conveys that the event happens a large number of times. In general, the repeated events occur with breaks between them, in a similar form, and over a relatively short timeframe, such as a one-hour recording in (70) or an evening in (71).

(70) Context: Speaker has been yawning frequently during recording *nu2a2 tʃi3tʃo4e1tʃa1 dɨ1ʔ*
nu2a2 tʃi3=tʃo4=e1tʃa1 dɨ1ʔ
here.LOC 1SG.SBJ=open.mouth=CONT INTJ:look!
'Wow, I keep yawning here.' [CG22, CCI]

(71) Context: Child fell asleep in his aunt's house and was surprised when he woke up. He asks who left him there. Aunt responds, "you did this to yourself, because..." *ɟe5a2ma4 ɟa3na5ɨ̃1ta1wa5 ku31ʔɨ̃3 tʃa1mu2**e1tʃa3**ʔɨ̃4*
ɟe5a2=ma4 ɟa3na5=ɨ̃1ta1=wa5 ku31=ʔɨ̃3
there.DIST.ALL=toward Janet=RN:at=ALL 2SG=ACC
tʃa1=mu2=**e1tʃa1**=ʔɨ̃4
1SG.SBJ=send=**CONT**=SUB
'(Each time you fell asleep,) I kept sending you over there to Janet's place (where you should have been).' [C27 CCI, Neli]

In contrast, with a stative predicate, *=e1tʃa1* is interpreted as meaning that the state holds without any breaks, *not* that the state holds a large number of times. We have already seen this in (69), where the clause with a demonstrative and *=e1tʃa1* conveys a stative 'always be here' meaning. (72) provides another corpus example of this reading, this time on a locative verb. (73) is an elicited example showing this reading with a stative predicate that is not location-related.

(72) Context: 'I want to stop traveling and work on renovating my house...'
*na4 ŋe3ma2ã1kɨ2 ma3 nu5a2 tʃa1ŋe2ʔma4**e1tʃa3**ʔɨ̃4kạ1*
na4 ŋe3ma2ã1kɨ2 ma3 nu5a2 tʃa1=ŋe2ʔma4=**e1tʃa1**=ʔɨ̃4=kạ1
COMP thus PRF here.ALL 1SG.SBJ.SC=be.place=**CONT**=SUB=PURP
'So that I can be/live here all the time.' [SSG HALDI]

(73) *tʃa3ʔã3pa4te2e3e1tʃa1*
tʃa3=ã3=pa4te2e3=e1tʃa1
1SG.SBJ=have.inal=hat=CONT
'I'm always wearing a hat.' [LWG 2017.2.119, ECP 2017.2.121]
LWG comment: 'You wear it 24 hours a day.'
ECP judgment: Not true if you take it off at home.

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### 14.4.2 Habitual *=wa̱1e3* and *-ta̱1*

These two markers convey that the event of the verb happens regularly or routinely. Habitual *=wa̱1e3*, which is derived from the verb *=wa̱1e3* 'want,' is much more frequent than habitual *-ta̱1*.

In the corpus materials, *=wa̱1e3* occurs 36 total times on a wide variety of different verbs. It is compatible with both dynamic verbs, such as *au3ʔ* 'cry' (an activity) in (74) and *tʃai4ʔ* 'jump, splatter, speaking of a liquid' in (75), and stative verbs, such as *ʎe4tʃa1ĩ1* 'love' in (76).[4] There is not an obvious difference in interpretation between dynamic and stative stems.

(74) Context: Prompting a child to say they behaved properly
tʃa1bu31ʔgu2 rɨ1 tau4ʔ tʃa3ʔau3ʔ**wa̱1e3**ma3re3
tʃa1=bu31=ʔgu2 rɨ1 tau4ʔ tʃa3=au3ʔ=**wa̱1e3**=ma3re3
1SG.SBJ.SC=young=SUB TOP INTENS 1SG.SBJ=cry=**Habit**=just
'When I was little, I wasn't a crybaby.' [CG18 2019 CCI]

(75) ta31wa5 na4tʃai4ʔ**wa̱1e3**ʔi5tʃi2
ta31=wa5 na4=tʃai4ʔ=**wa̱1e3**=ʔi5tʃi2
1.INCL=All 3.SBJ=jump.liquid=HABIT=really
'It (a boiling liquid) keeps jumping toward us a lot (so I'm going to cover it).' [CG32, C31-C32 CCI]

(76) "pa2 ma3mi5, i5ku1ʎe4tʃa1ĩ1**we̱1e2**ʔĩ4 re3ka̱1 ni4" ɲa4a2ʔ
pa2 ma3mi5 i5=ku1=ʎe4tʃa1ĩ1=**we̱1e3**=ʔĩ4 re3ka̱1 ni4
VOC SP:mother IPFV=2SG.SBJ.SC=love=**habit**=SUB that's.why FOC
ɲa4a2ʔ
3.SBJ.QUOT.SC
"'Mom, it's because you're affectionate", she said.' [Lizeth, LFG-MFG-LVI]

In contrast to the variety of verbs that take *=wa̱1e3*, the other habitual, *-ta̱1*, occurs only eight total times in the corpus. Seven of eight tokens are on the verb *do3ra3-ta̱1* (lie-HABIT) 'be a liar.' However, people do accept the *-ta̱1* habitual on other verbs, and there is one token of the suffix on a verb other than *do3ra3*. This token, which also seems to involve deletion of the object, is shown in (77).

(77) Context: 'Back then (when I moved here) it wasn't like now, when there aren't any (cultivated fields near the town). Back then...'

[4] Note that 'love' in (76) also has the imperfective, but was still glossed as stative by the transcriber (*Mamí, eres amorosa*) rather than as an activity (i.e., it seems to mean 'be affectionate' rather than 'do things to show affection').

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*ɟe4ʔgu4ma4 ga4 du1ĩ3ʔĩ4gɨ4 rɨ1 na4to31e3gɨ4**tą1**ʔi5tʃi2*
ɟe4ʔgu4ma4 ga4 du1ĩ3ʔĩ4=gɨ4 rɨ1
then.REM.PST DET.REM.PST person=PL TOP
na4=to31-e3=gɨ4-**tą1**=ʔi5tʃi2
3.SBJ=plant-PLSBJ=PL-**HABIT**=really
'Back then people really liked to plant crops / were really always planting crops (nearby).' [SSG HALDI]

## 14.5 Interpretation of predicates with zero aspectual marking

In §14.3, I showed that Ticuna does not have a grammatical marker of perfective aspect. However, in a context that makes relevant a specific, punctual topic time (e.g., with a time adverbial or temporal subordinate clause describing a punctual event), verbs with **no** aspectual marking tend to be interpreted as perfective. We see this for the verbs in the main clauses of each of (78).[5] In contrast, an imperfective interpretation of these verbs would allow that the event of wearing the hat, breaking the leg, or cutting down the tree began before the topic time expressed by the subordinate clause and potentially continued afterward.

(78) a. *ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ nu⁵a² ku¹ʌu³ʔgu², tʃa³ʔã³pa⁴te²e³.*
ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ nu⁵a² ku¹=ʌu³=gu² tʃa³=ã³=pa⁴te²e³
when here.ALL 2SG.SBJ=arrive=COND 1SG.SBJ=have.inal=hat
'When you arrived here, I put on (lit. had) a hat.' [ABS: 2017.2.158]
Judgment: I put on the hat at precisely the moment you arrived. (State)

b. *ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ nu⁵a² ku¹ʌu³ʔgu², Ka³ru¹ rɨ¹ ni⁴bɨ³ɟe¹pa³ra¹.*
ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ nu⁵a² ku¹=ʌu³=gu² Ka³ru¹ rɨ¹
when here.ALL 2SG.SBJ=arrive=COND Carlos TOP
ni⁴=bɨ³ɟe¹=pa³ra¹
3.SBJ=snap=NI:leg
'When you arrived here, Carlos broke his leg.' [DGG, LWG, ABS]
page numbers
Judgment: He broke his leg at precisely the moment you arrived.

[5] Judgments in (78) were collected by asking the consultant to repeat the sentence and judge whether the main clause event happened before, after, or at the same time as the subordinate clause event.

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(Achievement)

c. *ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ nu⁵a² ku¹ʌu³ʔgu², ŋe³ma² wai⁵ra⁴ na⁴tu³¹ʔu³.*
ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ nu⁵a² ku¹=ʌu³=gu² ŋe³ma² wai⁵ra⁴
when here.ALL 2SG.SBJ=arrive=COND DEM.ANA(IV) açaí(IV)
na⁴=tu³¹ʔ
3.SBJ=cut.tree
'When you arrived here, he cut down that açaí tree.' [ECP: 2017.2.171]
Judgment: He began cutting at precisely the moment you arrived.
(Accomplishment)

The perfective interpretation for unmarked verbs only occurs if there is a relevant punctual topic time. In an out-of-the-blue context, stative verbs with no aspect marking are preferentially interpreted as *imperfective* (79). Dynamic, durative verbs with no aspect can be read as either perfective or imperfective in this context (80, 81).

(79) Context: *tɑ̨¹ʔa⁴kɨ⁴ na⁴ŋu³pe⁴tɨ¹?* 'What happened / is happening?'
*tʃa³ʔã³pa⁴te²e³.*
tʃa³=ã³=pa⁴te²e³
1SG.SBJ=have.inal=hat
a. 'I'm wearing a hat.'
b. #'I was wearing/wore a hat.' (Judged false if I am not wearing a hat at the moment of speech.)

need citation in current style

(80) *na⁴a³ʔu³.*
na⁴=au³ʔ
3.SBJ=cry
a. 'He's crying (right now).'
b. 'He cried.'

need citation in current style

(81) *da³¹a¹ na³ra⁴ɲa¹ tʃa³tu³¹ʔu³.*
da³¹a¹ na³ra⁴ɲa¹ tʃa³=tu³¹ʔ
DEM.PROX(III) orange(III) 1SG.SBJ=cut.tree
a. 'I'm cutting down this orange tree (right now).'
b. 'I cut down this orange tree.'

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## 14.6 Modality

This section describes modal categories which either (a) are expressed by grammatical markers that convey *only* modality (not tense or aspect information), or (b) are not grammaticalized in Ticuna. These consist of deontic modality (§14.6.1), counterfactual modality (§14.6.2), and ability or circumstantial modality (§14.6.3). Deontic and counterfactual modality are expressed by modal predicates and second-position clitics respectively. Ability or circumstantial modality does not have any obligatory grammatical marking; people mostly express it using unmarked verb forms.

Besides deontic and counterfactual modals, all other modal markers also convey either temporal information or negation. Modals with temporal content include *ta4* FUT (§14.3.4), as well as *=tʃa1ɨ̃* PROSP and *=e5ga1* WEAK.PROSP (§14.3.3). Negative modals, such as *tau2ʔã1kɨ2ma3* 'impossible,' are discussed in Chapter 20.3.5.

*Epistemic* modality is expressed using epistemic adverbs. They are unrelated to the deontic and counterfactual modals and are described in Chapter 30.

### 14.6.1 Deontic modals

Ticuna has two deontic modals, *na³¹ʔwa̱¹e²* and *na⁴me⁴³*. *na31ʔwa̱1e3* is derived from the lexical verb *=wa̱1e3* 'want' and expresses deontic necessity, like English *be required*. *na4me43* is derived from the verb *me43* 'be good' and expresses deontic possibility, like English *be allowed*. Neither deontic modal can be used to express circumstantial possibility.

In this section, first I describe the syntax of the deontic modals and show that the strong deontic modal, *na³¹ʔwa̱¹e²*, is syntactically different from the attitude predicate 'want.' Then, I show that these modals express deontic modality (rather than another type of modality) and that they have different force or strength.

#### 14.6.1.1 Syntax of deontic modals

Both deontic modals, *na³¹ʔwa̱¹e²* and *na⁴me⁴³*, are independent predicates that introduce a subordinate clause. The subordinate clause always has the form of a complement clause (Chapter 25.2.1), meaning that it takes subordinate-clause inflection, bears the subordinator *=ʔɨ̃4* (triggering the nominalizer tone circle), and is typically introduced by a complementizer such as *na4* COMP, as shown in (82), or *ni4* FOC, shown in (83).

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(82) Context: You're not allowed to get your medicine from any other clinics, says the doctor.
*na³¹ʔwa̱¹e² na⁴ʔ ku³¹rɨ³ ɨ³ʔɨ¹ʔɨ̃³ nu⁵a²ta2ã4 ku¹ɟa¹ʔu⁴ʔɨ̃¹ʔɨ̃⁴*
na³¹ʔwa̱¹e² na⁴ʔ ku³¹rɨ³ ɨ³ʔɨ¹ʔɨ̃³ nu⁵a²=ta2ã4
deontic.necessity COMP 2SG.POSS medicine here.ALL=only
ku¹=ɟau¹ʔ-ɨ⁴ʔɨ̃⁴=ʔɨ̃⁴
2SG.SBJ.SC=get-DIR:back.and.forth=SUB
'You have to get your medicine from right here.' [Conversation 2017/05/27]

(83) Context: It's dangerous in Umariaçu II (a Ticuna community in Brazil).
*ta⁴ma³ na⁴me⁴³ ni⁴¹ʔĩ⁴ pi¹tʃo³¹ɨ̃³ʔ*
ta⁴ma³ na⁴me⁴³ ni⁴¹ʔĩ⁴ pi¹=tʃo31ɨ̃¹=ʔɨ̃⁴
NEG deontic.possibility FOC 2PL.SBJ.SC=get.in.vehicle.PL=SUB
'You guys shouldn't leave (i.e. to go there).' [Ana's Sermon]

There are no clear syntactic differences between the deontic modal sense of *na4me43* and the sense 'be good.' For example, (84) is clearly a deontic modal use of *na⁴me⁴³* and (85) is clearly a use as a regular stative predicate, but in both examples, the complement clause is syntactically identical (introduced by *i4* DET).

(84) Context: Child asking grandma for permission to eat a fish.
*na¹me³¹ʔɨ̃⁴ i⁴ tʃo⁴³ʔni⁵ tɨ³¹ʔɨ̃³ tʃa¹ŋõ⁵ʔ*
na¹me⁴³ʔɨ̃⁴ i⁴ tʃo⁴³ʔni⁵ tɨ³¹=ʔɨ̃³ tʃa¹=ŋõ¹=ʔ
deontic.possibility.SUB DET(IV) fish(I) 3(I)=ACC 1SG.SBJ.SC=eat=SUB
'Am I allowed to eat the fish?' [ABS based on Conversation 2017/05/19]

(85) Context: I attended a meeting yesterday with Carlos. When other people spoke against me in the meeting, Carlos spoke on my behalf, and I'm happy about this.
*na⁴me⁴³ʔe⁵tʃi² i⁴ Ka³ru¹ na⁴ʔ tʃau¹e⁵tɨ²wa⁵ ɟa¹de⁴³ʔa²ʔɨ̃⁴.*
na⁴=me⁴³=ʔɨ⁵tʃi² i⁴ Ka³ru¹ na⁴ʔ tʃau¹=e⁵tɨ²=wa⁵
3.SBJ=good=really DET(IV) Carlos(IV) COMP 1SG=above=ALL
ɟa¹=de⁴³ʔa²=ʔɨ̃⁴
3.SBJ.SC=talk=SUB
'It was good that Carlos spoke up for me.' [YCG: 2017.2.123]

Deontic *na³¹ʔwa̱¹e²* 'be required,' on the other hand, is syntactically different from *=wa̱¹e²* 'want.' Understanding this requires some review of the syntax of *=wa̱1e3* 'want.' As discussed in Chapter 21.3, when *wa̱1e3* is used as the verb 'want

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NP,' it cliticizes to a noun phrase or pronoun denoting the thing wanted. When it is used in the sense 'want Complement,' the verb obligatorily cliticizes to the third person pronoun *na43*, creating the stem *na31ʔwa̱1e3*. This stem then takes a subject proclitic which denotes the subject of the 'want' attitude, as shown in (86).

(86) Context: The speaker has just called the addressee with a secret message.
*ta⁴ma³ tʃa³na³¹ʔwa̱¹e² i⁴ nu⁵a² ku³¹ma⁴ã² tʃi¹de⁴³ʔa²tʃa¹ʔɪ̃³ʔɪ̃⁴*
ta⁴ma³ tʃa³=na31=ʔwa̱¹e² i⁴ nu⁵a² ku³¹=ma⁴ã²
NEG 1SG=3=want DET(IV) here.ALL 2SG=COM
tʃi¹=de⁴³ʔa²=tʃa¹ʔɪ̃¹=ʔɪ̃⁴
1SG.SBJ.SC=talk=PROSP=SUB
'I don't want to talk to you over the phone (lit. here).' [DGG, luz]

The stem *na31ʔwa̱1e3* can also appear with **no** subject proclitic. Without a proclitic, it is obligatorily interpreted as a strong deontic modal, rather than as 'want' (87).

(87) *na³¹ʔwa̱¹e² na⁴ na¹pe³¹ʔɪ̃⁴ i⁴ Ka³ru¹*
na³¹ʔwa̱¹e² na⁴ na¹=pe⁴³=ʔɪ̃⁴ i⁴ Ka³ru¹
deontic.necessity COMP 3.SBJ.SC=sleep=SUB DET(IV) Carlos(IV)
a. 'Carlos is required to sleep.'
b. #'I/you/she/he/we/they want Carlos to sleep.'
[LWG: 2017.3.97]

In general, *na³¹ʔwa̱¹e²* without subject proclitics allows only the deontic modal interpretation (per 87), and *na³¹ʔwa̱¹e²* with first- or second-person subject proclitics allows only an attitude interpretation (88). However, there is one area of ambiguity between the uses. *na³¹ʔwa̱¹e²* with third-person subject proclitics allows either the 'want' or the deontic modal interpretation (89).

(88) *tʃa³na³¹ʔwa̱¹e² na⁴ na¹pe³¹ʔɪ̃⁴ i⁴ Ka³ru¹*
tʃa³=na⁴³=ʔwa̱¹e² na⁴ na¹=pe⁴³=ʔɪ̃⁴ i⁴ Ka³ru¹
1SG.SBJ=3=want COMP 3.SBJ.SC=sleep=SUB DET(IV) Carlos(IV)
a. 'I want Carlos to sleep.'
b. #'Carlos is required to sleep.'
[LWG: 2017.3.97]

(89) *Ka³ru¹ rɨ¹, na⁴na³¹ʔwa̱¹e² na⁴ na¹pe³¹ʔɪ̃⁴*
Ka³ru¹ rɨ¹ na⁴=na⁴³=ʔwa̱¹e² na⁴ na¹=pe⁴³=ʔɪ̃⁴
Carlos TOP 3.SBJ=3=want COMP 3.SBJ.SC=sleep=SUB

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a. ‘Carlos, he wants to sleep.’
b. ‘Carlos, he is required to sleep.’
[LWG: 2017.3.97]

Negation of *na³¹ʔwa̱¹e3* conveys that the modal proposition is acceptable, but not required (i.e., negation of necessity), as shown by (90). Negation of *na4me43* conveys that the modal proposition is unacceptable (i.e., negation of possibility), per (91). The negative modals can also be used to express the negation of possibility (Chapter 20.3.5).

(90) Context: In Colombia and Brazil, it is legally required to wear a helmet when you ride a motorcycle. But in Peru, helmets are optional.
*ta⁴ma³ ai²ʔkɨ⁴ma⁴ na⁴na³¹ʔwa̱¹e² na⁴ tɨ³¹ʔĩ5 na¹ŋẽ²ʔma⁵ʔĩ⁴.*
ta⁴ma³ ai²ʔkɨ⁴ma⁴ na⁴=na31ʔwa̱¹e² na⁴ tɨ³¹=ʔĩ5
NEG true 3.SBJ=deontic.necessity COMP IMPERS=BEN
na¹=ŋẽ²ʔma4=ʔĩ⁴
3.SBJ.SC=be.in.place=SUB
‘You (generic) don’t truly have to wear (lit. have) it.’ [LWG 2017.3.88]

(91) Context: Telling children not to touch the cameras
*ŋe3ʔrɨ5ma2, ŋe3rɨ5ma2, **ta4ã3 na4me43** na4 nɨ5nɨ3pe1dau31ʔĩ4 a4 ŋe3ma2*
ŋe3ʔrɨ5ma2 ŋe3rɨ5ma2 **ta4ã na4me43** na4
INTJ:leave.it.alone INTJ:leave.it.alone **NEG deontic.possibility** COMP
nɨ31=ʔĩ5 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 pe1=dau43=ʔĩ4 a4 ŋe3ma2
3=BEN 3=ACC 2PL.SBJ.SC=touch=SUB DET(IV) DEM:ADDRPROX(IV)
‘Leave it alone, leave it alone, you’re not allowed to touch it, it’s hers.’
[LVI, LFG-MFG-LVI]

#### 14.6.1.2 Deontic modals are only deontic

The two deontic modals can only be used to make deontic modal claims, i.e. claims about what is possible/necessary given some rules or norms, and teleological modal claims, i.e. claims about what is possible/necessary given an agent’s goals. They cannot be used to talk about pure circumstantial modality, i.e. what is possible/necessary given circumstances other than norms or goals.

I will start with contexts that clearly involve deontic necessity. *na³¹ʔwa̱¹e²* is the only modal that is used in the corpus (92) or is volunteered in elicitation (93) in deontic necessity contexts. Consultants usually do accept *na⁴me⁴³* in these contexts, but they state that *na³¹ʔwa̱¹e²* is better when asked to choose.

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(92) Context: Caregiver giving directive to child
*ma3rɨ3 ku31rɨ3 tarea ta4 ta1, **na31ʔwa̱1e3** ni4ʔĩ4 ku1ʔi2ʔ*
ma3rɨ3 ku31rɨ3 tarea ta4 ta1 **na31ʔwa̱1e3** ni4ʔĩ4
PRF 2SG.POSS SP:homework FUT also **deontic.necessity** FOC
ku1=ɨ2=ʔ
2SG.SBJ.SC=do=SUB
'As for your homework, **you're going to have to do it** now.' [CG36]

(93) Context: In Colombia and Brazil, when you ride a motorcycle, you are legally required to wear a helmet.
*na³¹ʔwa̱¹e² na⁴ i¹ʔã³pa⁴te²e²ʔɨ̃⁴.*
na³¹ʔwa̱¹e² na⁴ i¹=ã³=pa⁴te²e³=ʔɨ̃⁴
deontic.necessity COMP IMPERS.SBJ.SC=have=hat/helmet=SUB
'You (generic) have to wear a helmet.'
[YCG: 2017.3.91, 2017.3.123; ECP 2017.2.125; DGG 2017.2.135]
*na³¹ʔwa̱¹e²* volunteered by 2/3 consultants (1/3 volunteered the verb *mu¹gɨ²* 'require')
*na⁴me⁴³* accepted by 2/3 consultants, rejected by 1/3

In contexts that involve weak deontic necessity (i.e., a strong but not ironclad necessity claim), such as (94), both *na³¹ʔwa̱¹e²* and *na⁴me⁴³* are accepted and volunteered.

(94) Context: Your friend has just begun learning to ride a motorcycle. You advise her,
*na⁴me⁴³ ni⁴¹ʔĩ⁴ i⁴ me³¹ã³ma³ i4 ku¹ɲa³ɲa⁴3ẽ⁴ẽ²ʔɨ̃⁴ i⁴ ku³¹rɨ³ mo³to¹.*
na⁴me⁴³ ni⁴¹ʔĩ⁴ i⁴ me³¹ã³ma³ i⁴
deontic.possibility FOC DET(IV) well/slowly DET(IV)
ku¹=ɲa³=ɲa⁴3-ẽ⁴ẽ3=ʔɨ̃⁴ i⁴ ku³¹rɨ³ mo³to¹
2SG.SBJ.SC=3.OBJ=move.vehicle-CAUS=SUB DET(IV) 2SG.POSS motorcycle
'You should drive your motorcycle slowly.'
[LWG: 2017.2.138, YCG: 2017.3.124]
(*na⁴me⁴³* volunteered by one participant, *na³¹ʔwa̱¹e²* by the other)

In contexts that support only deontic possibility, such as (95) and (96), *na⁴me⁴³* is acceptable and *na³¹ʔwa̱¹e²* is much less acceptable.

(95) Context: The secondary school has a soccer team for girls. Martha is old enough to play on the team if she wants to, but it is not required.
*Martha rɨ¹, na⁴me⁴³ ni⁴¹ʔĩ⁴ na⁴³wa⁵ na⁴ ĩ³nɨ³ka̱¹we³ʔɨ̃⁴.*

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Martha rɨ¹ na⁴me⁴³ ni⁴¹ʔĩ⁴ na⁴³=wa⁵ na⁴ ĩ³nɨ³kɑ̰¹we¹=ʔĩ⁴
Martha TOP deontic.possibility FOC 3=ALL COMP play=SUB
'Martha, she is allowed to play on it (the team).' [LWG: 2017.3.138, YCG 2017.3.124]
(Both consultants volunteer *na⁴me⁴³*, reject *na³¹ʔwɑ̰¹e²*)

(96) Context: Discussing a child's shirt. The shirt is suitable for wearing at night, but no one is required to wear it
*tʃɨ31ta1kɨ2 ni4* ***na1me31ʔĩ4*** *i4 na43gu2 i1ku5ʔĩ4 Les3li1ga1ʔna4 ŋẽ4ʔgu2ã3rɨ5ĩ1 i1ʔĩ1ʔ*
tʃɨ31ta1kɨ2 ni4 **na1me31ʔĩ4** i4 na43=gu2
at.night FOC **deontic.possibility.SC** DET(IV) 3=LOC
i1=kɥ̰1=ʔĩ4 Les3li1=ga1ʔna4 ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3=rɨ5ĩ1
IMPERS.SBJ.SC=don.clothing=SUB Lesli=according.to thus=like
i1ʔ=ĩ1=ʔ
SBJ.REL=COP=SUB(IV)
'According to Lesli, **you (generic) should** wear clothes which are like that at night.' [Adriana, AFG-LVI]

*na³¹ʔwɑ̰¹e²* and *na⁴me⁴³* can also be used in teleological contexts, which express necessity or possibility relative to an agent's goals. (97) is an elicited example showing the acceptability of *na4me43* in a teleological context, and (98) is a corpus example of teleological *na³¹ʔwɑ̰¹e²*. It is unclear how or whether these modals contrast in teleological contexts.

(97) Context: Santa Rita de Mochila is not located on the main course of the Amazonas. To go there, you must get dropped off on the Amazonas and walk through the forest. There is no other route.
*na⁴ Mochila=wa⁵ i¹ŋu²ʔĩ⁴kɑ̰¹,* ***na⁴me⁴³*** *ni⁴¹ʔĩ⁴ na⁴ na³¹ma³gu²ma³re³ i¹ʔũ³¹ʔĩ⁴*
na⁴ Mochila=wa⁵ i¹=ŋu³=ʔĩ⁴=kɑ̰¹ **na⁴me⁴³** ni⁴¹ʔĩ⁴
COMP Mochila=ALL IMPERS=arrive=SUB=PURP **deontic.possibility** FOC
na⁴ na43=ma³=gu²=ma³re³ i¹=ũ⁴³=ʔĩ⁴
COMP DFLT.POSS=path=LOC=just IMPERS.SBJ=go.SG=SUB
'To get to Mochila, you need to go by path.' [LWG: 2017.3.153, YCG: 2017.3.124]
(one consultant volunteers *na⁴me⁴³*, one volunteers *na³¹ʔwɑ̰¹e²*)

(98) Context: Addressee wants to unblock his cell phone. His fingerprints have been associated with the phone number; now no one else can block/unblock it.

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***na31ʔwa̱1e3*** *na4ʔ ku1ma1ta2ã4 na4, na4ĩ1ta1wa5 ku1na3ʌ́e31ʔ, ɲa5ta3gɨ5ʔ a4 ti3a1*
**na31ʔwa̱1e3** na4ʔ ku1=ma1=ta2ã4 na4 na4=ĩ1ta1=wa5
**deontic.necessity** COMP 2SG=TOP=only COMP 3=RN:at=ALL
ku1=na3=ʌ́e43=ʔ ɲa5ta3gɨ5ʔ a4 ti3a1
2SG.SBJ.SC=3.OBJ=transport.INAN.SG=SUB 3(I).SBJ.QUOT.SC DET(I) aunty(I)
'(To unblock your phone,) you have to take it to his place (the phone store) yourself, as aunty said.' [AYM, 20170527]

Speakers sometimes make deontic modal statements using the impersonal pronoun, but without any explicit modal marking. (99) and (100) are positive- and negative-polarity examples of this strategy.

(99) Context: 'You guys are going to the forest with dad and I'm not coming, because...'
*nu2a2ta2ã4 bu3e3ma4ã2* ***ta4rɨ3ʔą̃ų̃1***
nu2a2=ta2ã4 bu3e3=ma4ã2 **ta4rɨ3=ą̃ų̃1**
here.LOC=only baby=COM **IMPERS.SBJ=stay.SG**
'**I have to stay** (lit. **you [generic] stay**) here with the baby.' [CG11-14 CCI]

(100) Context: 'I don't know grandpa's ATM PIN.'
*ɲu1ʔã1kɨ2a3rɨ1 nɨ3****i1dau2ʔ***
ɲu1ʔã1kɨ2=a3rɨ1 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 **i1=dau2=ʔ**
how?/in.no.way=INFO 3=ACC **IMPERS.SBJ.SC=see=SUB**
'**You (generic) shouldn't look** (lit. **you don't look**) at them (other people's ATM PINs) in any circumstances.' [YCG, SCG-YCG-DGC]

### 14.6.2 Counterfactual modality

The second-position clitic *tʃi4* CNTF appears in all counterfactual conditionals (Chapter 25.1.2.2). This marker also has various other uses outside of clearly counterfactual conditionals. With present or past temporal reference (§14.6.2.1), it can express counterfactual modality in a monoclausal utterance; express epistemic uncertainty; or make a deontic modal statement about a counterfactual event. The deontic modal use is frequently interpreted as a directive and can even co-occur with imperative inflection. With future temporal reference (§14.6.2.2), on the other hand, the counterfactual expresses that the event is unlikely.

Counterfactual *tʃi4* can also appear in questions. This seems to convey that the question is difficult to answer, rather than conveying modality (§14.6.2.3). In addition to the counterfactual *tʃi4*, the adverb *ta2ʔa2* 'almost' can also be used to express counterfactual modality (§14.6.2.4).

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#### 14.6.2.1 Counterfactual *tʃi4* with present/past temporal reference

*tʃi4* appears in all counterfactual conditionals. In a counterfactual conditional, i.e. a conditional with present or past temporal reference that concerns an unrealized event, it may appear either in one clause or both clauses. (101) is an example of a counterfactual with *tʃi4* in the consequent clause only.

(101) *ti31ʔĩ3 i1ʔi̱2gu2 ri1e3ka̱1 na4ʔ me31ã2 **tʃi4**ã3 dobleã̱1gi5ʔĩ4 ki2a4na4*
ti31=ʔĩ3 i1=i2=gu2 ri1=e3ka̱1 na4ʔ me31ã2
3(I)=ACC 1INCL.SBJ.SC=make=COND/SUB TOP=INFO COMP well
**tʃi4**=ã3 doble=ã̱1=gi4=ʔĩ4 ki2a4na4
**CNTF**=REP SP:double=have=PL=SUB INTJ:tag
'If we had done it ourselves, we would really have made double the money, right?' [2019 CCI, C3-C7]
need speaker attrib

In addition to counterfactual conditionals, *tʃi4* can also appear in present/past conditionals where the truth of the antecedent clause is unknown. For example, the context of (102) is that the speaker filled bags with water, than placed them in her chest freezer to freeze into ice. Simultaneously, she removed popsicles from the freezer because she wanted them to soften. She has not checked on the state of either the ice or the popsicles when she says (102), yet the conditional contains *tʃi4* CNTF in both the antecedent and the consequent. This can only convey that the truth of the antecedent is uncertain, not that the antecedent is false/unrealized.

(102) *ma3ri3 **tʃi4**i2ʔki4 na1do31ta3ni3tʃa3ra1gu2 **tʃi4** ma3 ɲo4ʔki4 ni31ʔĩ5 ni4tai2gi4 **tʃi4**a3ri1 e3ka̱1 hielo*
ma3ri3 **tʃi4**=i2ʔki4 na1=do43=ta3ni3=tʃa3ra1=gu2 **tʃi4**
PRF **CNTF**=INFO 3.SBJ.SC=soft=DISTRIB=CLFI:dough=COND **CNTF**
ma3ri3 ɲo4ʔki4 ni31=ʔĩ5 ni4=tai2=gi4 **tʃi4**=a3ri1 e3ka̱1 hielo
PRF now 3=BEN 3=hard=PL **CNTF**=INFO that's.why SP:ice
'If the popsicles (lit. dough) are soft now, then the ice (containers) will be hard.' [Veronica, LSC-VSC]

In a *monoclausal* statement about the *past*, *tʃi4* expresses counterfactual modality. This is possible even in the absence of any counterfactual conditionals. For instance, in (103), the speaker is narrating how she was planning to go to the main course of the Amazon River to harvest a plant. However, on the day she

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was able to go, there was a new moon. Because the plant cannot be harvested during new moons, she did not go. Then she adds the monoclausal statement in (103), using *tʃi4* twice to express counterfactual modality.

(103) *e3ri4 wi43ʔi4ka5na1 **tʃi4**ã3, ɟe5a2 **tʃi4** Amazonaswa5 ta4ʔĩ43*
e3ri4 wi43ʔi4ka5na1 **tʃi4**=ã3 ɟe5a2 **tʃi4** Amazonas=wa5
INFO:CNG at.once **CNTF**=REP? there.ALL **CNTF** Amazonas=ALL
ta4=ĩ43
1EXCL.SBJ=go.PL
'So, as I was saying, **we'd have gone** there to the Amazonas at once (if it hadn't been a new moon).' [RGW, 20170527]

Monoclausal statements about the *past* with *tʃi4* CNTF can also be interpreted as conveying epistemic uncertainty. The context in (104), for example, is that Laura, the speaker, and Veronica, her addressee, have each heard different versions of a rumor. In line (a), Laura uses *tʃi4* to convey that the version which she heard could, given what is known, be true. She then follows this in line (b) with a statement that the opposite could also be true. This use of *tʃi4* is clearly modal, but it cannot be interpreted as counterfactual.

(104) a. ***tʃi4** na4 ai2ʔki4ma4 i5na4ʔi2ʔi5tʃi2,*
**tʃi4** na4 ai2ʔki4ma4 i5=na4=i2=ʔi5tʃi2
**CNTF** COMP truly IPFV=3.SBJ=do=really
'**Maybe** it's true that they really did that,'

b. *ri1 ni31wa5 ta4ma3 ŋe3ma2 ɲa4a2tʃi4re5ʔĩ4 ni4ʔĩ4*
ri1 ni31wa5 ta4ma3 ŋe3ma2 ɲa4a2=tʃi4rẹ1=ʔĩ4
and INFO NEG DEM.ANA(IV) 3.SBJ.QUOT.SC=actually=SUB
ni4ʔĩ4
FOC
'and maybe it actually isn't so.'
[Laura, LSC-VSC]

In a *monoclausal* statement about the *present*, *tʃi4* expresses that the event is currently not happening, but normatively (i.e., deontically) should. This reading involves both counterfactual and deontic modal components. For example, (105) again comes from the conversation between Laura and Veronica. In this sequence, Laura has been discussing her husband's temporary wage job. He has sent her pictures of the work site, but has not yet sent her any money; she expects to receive the money later. Veronica, her sister, disapproves of this arrangement

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and says that Laura's husband should be sending her money already. Line (a) of this excerpt uses only *tʃi4*, while line (b) uses both *tʃi4* and the deontic modal reading of *ta4* FUT. (Since the question under discussion is whether the husband sends the money now vs. late, this is clearly not the future use of *ta4*.)

(105) a. *ɲa4a2ʔĩ4* ***tʃi4*** *wa31ʔi5 tʃau1a3ne3 ta1ʔi2ʔĩ4 pa2 La3*
ɲa4a2ʔĩ4 **tʃi4** wa31ʔi5 tʃau1=a3ne3 ta1=i2=ʔĩ4 pa2
3.SBJ.QUOT.SC **CNTF** CONT.FOC 1SG=ZH(I) 3(I).SBJ.SC=do=SUB VOC
La3
Laura:VOC
'This is what my brother-in-law (i.e., your husband) **should** do/be doing, Laura,'

b. *di3ẽ3ru1* ***tʃi4*** *tɨ31ʔĩ3 ta4 giraʔĩ4ma3re3*
di3ẽ3ru1 **tʃi4** tɨ31=ʔĩ3 ta4 gira=ʔĩ4=ma3re3
money(I) **CNTF** 3(I)=ACC FUT SP:wire=SUB=just
'He **should** just wire/be wiring the money (to you).' [Veronica, LSC-VSC]

The monoclausal deontic modal use of *tʃi4* is very commonly used with second-person subjects (106) or with imperative inflection (107) in contexts where the addressee is currently not doing the action of the verb, and is usually also doing some conflicting action. For example, (106) was produced by a caregiver to encourage a child to talk who had been silent throughout their free play recording. This use again can be seen as having both deontic modal and counterfactual meaning components (because the event is not happening and is unlikely to happen given the current activity).

(106) Context: Child being overly quiet during recording session
*ki1de43ʔa2ʔĩ4* ***tʃi4***
ki1=de43ʔa2=ʔĩ4 **tʃi4**
2SG.SBJ.SC=talk=SUB **CNTF**
'You **should be** talking. / You should talk.' [CG37]

(107) Context: Child addressee walking away from speaker
*nu5a2ma4 na3ʎe43* ***tʃi4***
nu5a2=ma4 na3=ʎe43 **tʃi4**
here.ALL=toward IMP>3.OBJ=transport.INAN.SG **CNTF**
'Bring it over here **instead**.' [Caregiver, C11-C14]

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#### 14.6.2.2 Counterfactual *tʃi4* with future temporal reference

As discussed in Chapter 25.1.2.2, in a conditional with future temporal reference, *tʃi4* no longer expresses counterfactuality, but instead that the event is unlikely to happen (given the circumstances or given what is known). This is also the usual reading of *tʃi4* in monoclausal statements with future temporal reference. For instance, in (108), Laura is back to discussing the wages from her husband's temporary job. She states in line (a) that he has been considering spending them on buying a motocar (a type of motorcycle-driven vehicle which can carry three adult passengers and some cargo). However, she then explains in line (b) that this is only an idea (i.e., not a fully worked-out plan). Thus, the statement in line (a) is marked with *tʃi4* CNTF.

(108) a. *na1ta5e1gu1gu2 ri3ã3 wi43ʔi4ne1 a1 motocarroka̱1* ***tʃi4*** *na4ta4e3 a1 I3tʃi3tu1wa5*
na1=ta5e1gu1=gu2 ri3ã3 wi43ʔi4=ne1 a1
3.SBJ.SC=return.SG=SUB TOP one=NMLZ(III) DET(III)
motocarro=ka̱1 **tʃi4** na4=ta4e3 a I3tʃi3tu1=wa5
SP:motocar(III)=PURP **CNTF** 3.SBJ=buy DET(III) Iquitos(III)=ALL
'When he comes home (from working in Lima), he **might** buy a motocar in Iquitos.'

b. ɲa4a2ʔĩ4 ni4ʔĩ4 a4 no51ri3 ĩ3ni3
ɲa4a2ʔĩ4 ni4ʔĩ4 a4 no51ri3 ĩ3ni3=∅
3.SBJ.SC.QUOT FOC DET(IV) 3.POSS think=NMLZ.ZERO
'That's his idea.'

[Laura, LSC-VSC]

Another example of *tʃi4* with future temporal reference appears in an unrelated sequence of the Laura-Veronica conversation. Veronica remarks that she is sleepy (109a), and Laura points out that the two sisters could take a nap (109b), using *tʃi4* in this future-oriented statement. However, Laura then follows this up by saying that they should avoid sleeping because I would be upset. (109b) is therefore not counterfactual, but does express an unlikely/unplanned event.

(109) a. Veronica: *nu2a2 tʃa1ɟa2ʔta4ma3re2ʔĩ4 a3ri1*
nu2a2 tʃa1=ɟa2ʔta4=ma3re3=ʔĩ4 a3ri1
here.LOC 1SG.SBJ.SC=yawn=just=SUB INFO
'I'm just getting kind of sleepy here.'

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b. Laura: *nu5a2* ***tʃi4*** *ta4pe31e3ma3re3*
nu5a2 **tʃi4** ta4=pe43-e3=ma3re3
here.ALL **CNTF** 1INCL=sleep-PL=just
'We could just go to sleep here.'
[LSC-VSC]

#### 14.6.2.3 Counterfactual *tʃi4* in questions

In questions (regardless of temporal reference), *tʃi4* does not convey counterfactual modality or epistemic uncertainty, but instead something about the likelihood that the question will be answered. For example, in (110), the speaker has been scolding her teenage brother and younger relatives for not having brought things which she needs, such as firewood, to their house. While the firewood is not there, some plantains are. She asks her husband (who could not have brought them) who they belong to, using *tʃi4*. In context she cannot reasonably expect him to answer the question.

(110) *te1ʔe5a1rɨ3 i1ru5* ***tʃi4****a3rɨ1 ɲu1ʔũ4tʃi4?*
te1ʔe5=a1rɨ3 i1ru5 **tʃi4**=a3rɨ1 ɲu1ʔũ4tʃi4
who=POSS plantain.sp **CNTF**=INFO also
'And whose plantains could (those) possibly be?' [Lizeth, 20180707]

Similarly, in (111), a mother is narrating the story of how her young child saw a teenage girl wearing a shirt that resembles one of his (i.e., they have the same printed design). He accused the girl of stealing his shirt, not understanding that they are two tokens of one type. The mother reports this, laughs, and quotes herself asking the child – with *tʃi4* – 'Where would she have gotten it (from you)?'. This seems to imply that the question is not just unlikely, but impossible to answer (because its presupposition is false).

(111) Child saw a teenage girl wearing a shirt which he also has. He accused her of stealing his shirt. Mom laughs at this and says,
*a3a1, ʎe1ʔta5* ***tʃi4****a3rɨ1ʔã3 pa31ʔa2 nu5a2 ta4ɟa1ʔu2?*
a3a1 ʎe1ʔta5 **tʃi4**=a3rɨ1=ʔã3 pa31ʔa2 nu5a2 ta4=ɟa1ʔu2
INTJ:yes where.ALL **CNTF**=INFO=REP quickly here.ALL 3(I).SBJ=grab
'Uh-huh, and how/where exactly could she have picked it up so quickly (since you last wore it)?' [SCG, SCG-YCG-DGC]

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#### 14.6.2.4 Expressing counterfactuality with *ta2ʔa2* 'almost'

The adverb *ta2ʔa2* is very similar to English *almost* in that it conveys that an event seemed likely to happen, but did not. This meaning is already counterfactual. However, *ta2ʔa2* can also be used in other counterfactual contexts where English *almost* would not be acceptable. For example, in (112), *ta2ʔa2* 'almost' modifies the attitude verb 'want.' This does not convey that the subject almost achieved the attitude of wanting, but rather, that they wanted a proposition that was not fulfilled.

(112) *tʃo1ma1 ta2ʔa2 tʃa3na31ʔwa̱1e3 na4 tʃa1ʌu̱5ʔĩ4*
tʃo1ma1 ta2ʔa2 tʃa3=na43=ʔwa̱1e3 na4 tʃa1=ʌu̱1=ʔĩ4
1SG.TOP almost 1SG.SBJ=3=want COMP 1SG.SBJ.SC=learn=SUB
'I wanted to learn (but didn't learn, because you didn't teach me).' [RGW, 20170527]

(112) is multiclausal, but *ta2ʔa2* can also convey counterfactuality in a monoclausal sentence. In (113), for example, the speaker and his addressee are straightening wild cane stalks in a fire to use as arrow shafts. One of the stalks that the speaker considers especially good snaps in the fire. The speaker expresses what he would have done with the cane stalk using *ta2ʔa2*.

(113) *da31a1wa5 ta2ʔa2 tʃo31rɨ3 tʃu2ʔtʃi4 tʃa3ʔɨ43ku2tʃi4*
da31a1=wa5 ta2ʔa2 tʃo31rɨ3 tʃu2ʔtʃi4
DEM.PROX(III)=ALL almost 1SG.POSS arrowhead
tʃa3=ɨ43-ku2tʃi4
1SG.SBJ=put.INAN.SG-DIR:inward.INAN.SG
'I would have attached my arrowhead to this one (but it broke before I could try).' [Teodor, 20180622]

### 14.6.3 Expression of ability or circumstantial modality

To talk about the (positive) ability of an agent to do an action, it is possible to use a lexical complement-taking predicate, such as *tau³ʔtʃa¹* 'easy' (114), or a predicate that denotes ability to do a specific action, such as *ŋu4ʔĩ2* 'be capable of carrying (object)' (115).

(114) *tau3ʔtʃa1 nɨ31ʔna1 na4 ku1dau2ʔ*
tau3ʔtʃa1 nɨ31=na1 na4 ku1=dau2=ʔ
easy 3=RCP COMP 2SG.SBJ=take.care.of=SUB
'Is it easy for you to take care of it?' [CG7, C3-C7 CCI]

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(115) *ma3 tɨ3na1**ŋu4ʔĩ2**ma3re2ʔĩ4 na4 ta4ã3 na4ɟa43*
ma3 tɨ31=ʔĩ3 na1=**ŋu4ʔĩ2**=ma3re3=ʔĩ4 na4 ta4ã3 na4=ɟa43
PRF 3=ACC 3.SBJ.SC=**able.to.carry**=just=SUB COMP NEG 3.SBJ=heavy
'**She can carry it** now, it's not heavy.' [ChildS, SCG-YCG-DGC]

However, most often people do not use modals at all to make pure ability/circumstantial statements in positive polarity. For instance, all three consultants who I asked about the the circumstantial context in (116) volunteered a sentence with no modals, and rejected the most reasonable candidate modal that could occur to express possibility (which is *na4me43*).

(116) Context: You and I travel to a place farther upriver where they do not grow bitter manioc. No one has ever planted bitter manioc there, but the soil and climate is the same as at home, so it could grow.
*na⁴rɨ³ʔɨ² ni⁴¹ʔĩ⁴ ɟa¹ tɨ²ʔe¹ ɟa¹ de⁴ʔe⁵ne¹.*
na⁴rɨ³=ɨ² ni⁴¹ʔĩ⁴ ɟa¹ tɨ²ʔe¹ ɟa¹ de⁴ʔ=ʔĩ⁵ne¹
3.SBJ=germinate FOC DET(III) manioc(III) DET(III) yellow=NMLZ(III)
'Bitter (lit., yellow) manioc can grow (here).'
[DGG: 2017.3.85, LWG 2017.3.89, YCG 2017.3.124]
(Based on Kratzer 1991)

(117) and (118) are additional corpus examples of ability statements with no modals. **Negative** ability statements use negative modals (Chapter 20.3.5).

(117) Context: story of woman who claimed: 'God only listens to my prayers, not the prayers of others (even the pastor).'
*tʃo31rɨ3 ɟu3mɨ3ẽ3ga1gu2 ni4 na1predicaʔĩ4*
tʃo31rɨ3 ɟu3mɨ3ẽ3=ga1gu2 ni4 na1=predica=ʔĩ4
1SG.POSS prayer=RN:because.of FOC 3.SBJ.SC=SP:preach=SUB
'It's because of my prayers that he can preach.' [Shavelli, SCG-DGC-YCG]

(118) Context: examining a doll; it has joints, which other dolls don't
*dɨ1ʔã4 ɲa4a2 rɨ3ã3 na4nu4e1gu1pa3ra1*
dɨ1ʔã4 ɲa4a2 rɨ3ã3
INTJ:look DEM.PROX(IV) TOP
na4=nu4-e1gu1=pa3ra1
3.SBJ=transport.INANPLO-DIR:in.circle=NI:leg
'Look, this one can move its legs.' [CG 34 CCI]

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# 15 Tense, an exclusively nominal category

As demonstrated in Chapter 14, Ticuna has many devices for expressing aspect and modality on verbs. However, the language does not express *tense* (defined as relationship between topic time and utterance time) on verbs at all.

This does not make Ticuna a tenseless language, because the tense of a clause can be expressed in the *noun phrase*. Specifically, noun phrases display a distinction between remote-past and temporally neutral determiners and demonstratives. This distinction is conditioned by the temporal reference of the clause, *not* by the temporal interpretation of the noun. Therefore, it is 'propositional nominal tense' (Nordlinger & Sadler 2004).

Secondary to the nominal tense system, other grammatical words which are derived historically from demonstratives (e.g., discourse markers) or which are identical to demonstratives (e.g., the existential verb root) also display an alternation between remote-past and temporally neutral forms. Except for the markers that conflate modality and aspect, modality is mostly expressed by different grammatical resources than tense and aspect.

This chapter is organized as follows. First, I show that there is no obligatory tense marking on verbs (§15.1). That is, verbs which are inflected for obligatory inflectional categories (subject agreement and clause type) can be interpreted as having topic times in the present, past, or future of utterance time. (Chapter 14.3 has already demonstrated that there is no *optional* tense marking on verbs.)

Then, in §15.2, I describe propositional nominal tense in main clauses.[1] I show that the anaphoric demonstrative *ɟe4ma4* 'DEM.ANA.REM.PST' and the determiner *ga4* 'DET.REM.PST' are acceptable in main clauses only if the main clause has remote past temporal reference. In contrast, the language's other anaphoric demonstrative, *ŋe3ma2* 'DEM.MULTI,' and the other determiner, *i4*, are acceptable in clauses with any temporal reference.

After discussing main clauses, I look to subordinate clauses. Here, *ɟe4ma4* 'DEM.ANA.REM.PST' and *ga4* 'DET.REM.PST' are acceptable only if the *subordinate*

[1] §15.2, and all following sections of the chapter, are adapted from Chapter 7 of Skilton (2019).

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clause has remote past temporal reference (§15.3). That is, the temporal meaning of these markers is clause-bound. However, the two markers behave differently if they are inside a syntactic island which is not a clause, such as possessor. In this case, they have no effect on the temporal interpretation of the main clause (§15.4).

Some languages of lowland South America, such as Paraguayan Guaraní (Tonhauser 2007), have nominal temporal markers which affect the interpretation of the noun property (like *former* and *old* in English *former priest* and *old job*). Therefore, in §15.5, I show that *ɟe4ma4* 'DEM.ANA.REM.PST' and *ga4* 'DET.REM.PST' have no effect on the temporal interpretation of the noun with which they combine. There are some cases where these markers do convey temporal *information* about the nominal referent, but they are extremely marginal.

Finally, because demonstratives are the grammaticalization source of many other functional items, there are various discourse markers, locative demonstratives, and existential/locative verbs which are morphologically derived from *ɟe4ma4* 'DEM.ANA.REM.PST.' All of these markers are also restricted to remote past clauses. They also all have counterparts that are temporally neutral and are morphologically derived from *ŋe3ma2* 'DEM.MULTI.' I describe these markers in §15.6.

## 15.1 There is no tense on verbs

The only obligatory inflectional categories for verbs in Ticuna are subject agreement and clause type. Predicates which are marked only for these categories can be interpreted, with no additional morphology and no supporting context, as either past or future. For example, both the main clause of (1) and the single clause in (2) have the verb *tʃa³ʔ=ũ⁴³* (1SG.SBJ=go.SG). This is contextually interpreted as referring to a past event in (1), but an ongoing/present event in (2).

(1) Context: It is July 2017. I am talking to someone who last visited my town in August 2016.
*ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ nu⁵a² ku¹ʔũ⁴³gu² rɨ¹, Betania=wa⁵ tʃa³ʔũ⁴³.*
ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ nu⁵a² ku¹=ũ⁴³=gu² rɨ¹ Betânia=wa⁵
when here.ALL 2SG.SBJ.SC=go.SG=COND TOP Betania=ALL
tʃa³=ũ⁴³
1SG.SBJ=go.SG
'When you came here (last year), I went to Betânia (a Ticuna community in Brazil).' [LWG: 2017.2.165]
(Past temporal reference)

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(2) Context: Someone has heard that I plan to go to Betânia. They ask if it is true and I reply,
*Betania=wa⁵ tʃa³ʔũ⁴³.*
Betânia=wa⁵ tʃa³=ũ⁴³
Betania=ALL 1SG.SBJ=go.SG
'(Yes,) I'm going to Betânia.' (acceptable if I am preparing to travel there, or if I am traveling there now) [ECP: 2017.2.168]
(Present temporal reference)

It is slightly more marked for minimally inflected verbs to have future temporal reference. In out-of-the blue contexts, people consistently reject attempts to use minimally inflected verbs to talk about future events. For example, 5/5 consultants rejected (3a). They all repaired the utterance by adding the second-position clitic *ta⁴* 'FUT' (Chapter 14.3.4).

(3) Context: 'What are you going to do tomorrow?'
*mo⁴ʔĩ²* *#(ta4)* *tʃa³ʔai⁴ɟa².*
mo⁴ʔĩ² #(ta4) tʃa³=ai⁴ɟa²
tomorrow #(FUT) 1SG.SBJ=bathe
'Tomorrow I will bathe.' [DGG: 2017.2.70]

Despite people's metalinguistic rejections of (3) without *ta4* FUT, speakers *do* regularly use minimally inflected verbs to talk about future events, as shown by the spontaneous examples in (4–5) (note that these examples were repeatedly checked with transcribers). In (4), the minimal verb is *na⁴da³¹gɨ⁴* 'they will run/be located,' and in (5), it is *tʃa3ʔã3* 'I will give.' Note that (5), like (3), has a future-oriented temporal adverb, yet it does not have *ta4* or any other future marking.

(4) Context: Speaker is telling me about plans for construction on his house. He says 'But they haven't installed the pipes yet...'
*tu³bo¹ rɨ¹ ɟe⁵a²ta²ã⁴ ne⁴* ***na⁴da³¹gɨ⁴****, nu⁵a²ta²ã⁴* ***na⁴da³¹gɨ⁴****.*
tu³bo¹ rɨ¹ ɟe⁵a²=ta²ã⁴ ne⁴ **na⁴=da³¹=gɨ⁴**
SP:pipe TOP there.DIST.ALL=Scalar.FOC SOURCE **3.SBJ=lie.1D.SBJ=PL**
nu⁵a²=ta²ã⁴ **na⁴=da³¹=gɨ⁴**
here.ALL=Scalar.FOC **3.SBJ=lie.1D.SBJ=PL**
'The pipes, **they will run** from right there, **they will run** to right here.'
[tca_20170715_ssg_ahs_elicit_001.wav, 5:08]

(5) Context: Speaker (adult) tells addressee (child) to go keep an eye on the basket of oranges for sale on the other side of their house. Then she says,

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*ɟi⁵¹kɨ³ã⁴ma⁴ ku³¹ʔna¹ tɨ³¹ʔne¹ **tʃa³ʔã³**.*
ɟi⁵¹kɨ³ã⁴ma⁴ ku³¹=na¹ tɨ³¹=ne¹ **tʃa³=ã³**
later 2SG=RCP 3(I)=some(I) **1SG.SBJ=give.INAN**
'A bit later **I'll give** you some of it (= the money).'
[tca_20170818_disc_002.wav, 11:35]

Thus, while future temporal reference is not possible for minimally inflected verbs in out-of-the-blue contexts, it is possible in connected discourses.

Additionally, future temporal reference is always possible for minimally inflected verbs, *even* out of the blue, in temporal subordinate clauses, conditional antecedents, conditional consequents, clauses with (epistemic or deontic) modals, attitude reports, and indirect speech reports. In the interest of space, I will not demonstrate the acceptability of future temporal reference in all of these contexts. However, (6) shows the evidence for this in temporal subordinate clauses. The temporal subordinate clause is headed by the verb *ku¹ʔũ⁴³gu²* 'when you come.' This verb is minimally inflected, but still interpreted as having future temporal reference.

(6) Context: You are visiting me now. I tell you that before the next time you visit, I will cut down one of the trees in my yard.
*ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ we⁵na¹ nu⁵ma² **ku¹ʔũ⁴³gu²**, rɨ¹ da³¹a² na³ra⁴ɲa¹ rɨ¹ ma³rɨ³ ta⁴ tʃa³na³tu³¹ʔu³.*
ŋẽ⁴ʔgu²ma³ we⁵na¹ nu⁵ma² **ku¹=ũ⁴³=gu²** **rɨ¹**
when again here.Regional.ALL **2SG.SBJ.SC=go.SG=COND** TOP
da³¹a² na³ra⁴ɲa¹ rɨ¹ ma³rɨ³ ta⁴ tʃa³=na³=tu³¹ʔ
DEM.PROX(III) orange(III) TOP PRF FUT 1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=cut.tree
'When **you will come** (lit. when you come) in here again, I will have cut down this orange tree.' [DGG: 2017.2.173]

Since verbs with no temporal marking can be interpreted as future in discourses like (4–6), Ticuna cannot be analyzed as having a null non-future tense marker, as proposed for some Pacific Coast languages (by, e.g., Matthewson 2006).

## 15.2 Nominal tense in main clauses

### 15.2.1 Basic morphology and syntax of the nominal tense markers

The two primary nominal tense markers are *ɟe4ma4* 'DEM.ANA.REM.PST' and *ga4* 'DET.REM.PST.' As described in Chapter 13.3, and in much greater detail in Chap-

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ter 7 of Skilton (2019), *ɟe4ma4* is an anaphoric and recognitional demonstrative. It has no exophoric uses (i.e., is never used to pick out something in the environment), but it is a demonstrative – rather than a determiner – because it can occur with or without a noun. The other anaphoric and recognitional demonstrative, which does not have temporal restrictions, is *ŋe3ma2* 'DEM.MULTI.' The remote past determiner *ga4* occurs only introducing nouns and subordinate clauses. Its temporally neutral counterpart is i4.

Both *ɟe4ma4* 'DEM.ANA.REM.PST' and its temporally neutral counterpart *ŋe3ma2* 'DEM.MULTI' display noun class agreement. For the determiners, neutral *i4* displays noun class agreement[2], but remote past *ga4* does not. Table 15.1 gives the full noun class paradigm for the demonstratives and determiners involved in the nominal tense alternations. See Table 7.4 for the noun class paradigm of all demonstratives.

Table 15.1: Noun class agreement forms of *ŋe3ma2* 'DEM.MULTI' and *ɟe4ma4* 'DEM.ANA.REM.PST'

| Class | Class I | Class II | Class III | Class IV | Class V |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Example Noun | *kɨ3ʔtʃi1* 'knife' | *tʃe3ra1* 'handsaw' | *ʎu31e3* 'canoe' | *ta3ra5* 'machete' | *pa4kɨ3* 'young woman' |
| DEM.MULTI | ɟi$^{31}$ʔe$^{2}$ma$^{4}$ | ɟi$^{2}$ma$^{4}$ | ɟi$^{2}$ma$^{2}$ | ŋe$^{3}$ma$^{2}$ | ŋe$^{4}$ma$^{2}$ |
| DEM.ANA.REM.PST | gu$^{31}$ʔe$^{2}$ma$^{4}$ | gu$^{2}$ma$^{4}$ | gu$^{2}$ma$^{2}$ | ɟe$^{4}$ma$^{4}$ | ɟe$^{4}$ma$^{2}$ |
| DET | (ɟ)a4 | | (ɟ)a1 | | i4 ~ a4 |
| DET.REM.PST | | | ga4 | | |

## 15.2.2 Temporal restrictions

The remote past demonstrative and determiner can appear in a main clause only if the clause has remote past temporal reference. This requirement has two components: an ordering component (the time of the clause must be before utterance time) and a remoteness component (the time of the clause must be 'remote' from utterance time).

I will start with the ordering component. The remote past demonstrative and determiner are unacceptable in main clauses that have present (7) or future (8) temporal reference.

(7) Context: I am friends with the local Catholic priest, who is from coastal Brazil. You also know the priest. I tell you,

[2]The exact noun class agreement forms are an area of sociolinguistic variation, Chapter 13.2.1.

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*ɲu̱¹ʔma⁵ **[✓i⁴ ŋe³ma²] / [#ga⁴ ɟe⁴ma⁴]** pai³¹ we⁵na¹ na⁴ta⁵e¹gu¹ ta²wa⁵ã⁴ma⁴.*
ɲu̱¹ʔma⁵ **[✓i⁴ ŋe³ma²] / [#ga⁴ ɟe⁴ma⁴]**
now **[✓DET(IV) DEM.ANA(IV)] / [#DET.REM.PST DEM.REM.PST(IV)]**
pai³¹ we⁵na¹ na⁴=ta⁵e¹gu¹ ta²wa⁵ã⁴ma⁴
priest(IV) again 3.SBJ=return.SG downriver.ALL
'Right now, the priest, he is going back to Brazil.' [YCG: 2018.1.59-60]

(8) Context: Same as (7)
*mo⁴ĩ²* ***[✓i⁴ ŋe³ma²] / [#ga⁴ ɟe⁴ma⁴]*** *pai³¹ we⁵na¹ na⁴ta⁵e¹gu¹ ta²wa⁵ã⁴ma⁴.*
mo⁴ĩ² **[✓i⁴ ŋe³ma²] / [#ga⁴**
tomorrow **[✓DET(IV) DEM.ANA(IV)] / [#DET.REM.PST**
**ɟe⁴ma⁴]** pai³¹ we⁵na¹ na⁴=ta⁵e¹gu¹ ta²wa⁵ã⁴ma⁴
**DEM.REM.PST(IV)]** priest(IV) again 3.SBJ=return.SG downriver.ALL
'Tomorrow, the priest, he goes back to Brazil.' [YCG: 2018.1.59-60]

Now consider the remoteness component. The remote past demonstrative and determiner *are* acceptable in clauses that have past temporal reference, but the past topic time cannot be on the same day as utterance time, as shown by (9). It needs to be at least one calendar day earlier, as in (10) and (11).

(9) Context: Same as (7)
*pa³¹ʔma⁴ma³ **[✓i⁴ ŋe³ma²] / [#ga⁴ ɟe⁴ma⁴]** pai³¹ we⁵na¹ na⁴ta⁵e¹gu¹ ta²wa⁵ã⁴ma⁴.*
pa³¹ʔma⁴ma³ **[✓i⁴ ŋe³ma²] / [#ga⁴**
in.the.morning **[✓DET(IV) DEM.ANA(IV)] / [#DET.REM.PST**
**ɟe⁴ma⁴]** pai³¹ we⁵na¹ na⁴=ta⁵e¹gu¹ ta²wa⁵ã⁴ma⁴
**DEM.REM.PST(IV)]** priest(IV) again 3.SBJ=return.SG downriver.ALL
'This morning, the priest, he went back to Brazil.' [YCG: 2018.1.59-60]

(10) Context: Same as (7)
*ĩ¹ʔne¹ **[✓i⁴ ŋe³ma²] / [✓ga⁴ ɟe⁴ma⁴]** pai³¹ we⁵na¹ na⁴ta⁵e¹gu¹ ta²wa⁵ã⁴ma⁴.*
ĩ¹ʔne¹ **[✓i⁴ ŋe³ma²] / [✓ga⁴**
yesterday **[✓DET(IV) DEM.ANA(IV)] / [✓DET.REM.PST**
**ɟe⁴ma⁴]** pai³¹ we⁵na¹ na⁴=ta⁵e¹gu¹ ta²wa⁵ã⁴ma⁴
**DEM.REM.PST(IV)]** priest(IV) again 3.SBJ=return.SG downriver.ALL
'Yesterday, the priest, he went back to Brazil.' [YCG: 2018.1.59-60]

(11) Context: Same as (7)
*ʎu³pe⁴tɨ³kɨ³ ga⁴ tau¹ne³kɨ³gu², **[✓i⁴ ŋe³ma²] / [✓ga⁴ ɟe⁴ma⁴]** pai³¹ pai³¹ rɨ¹ we⁵na¹ na⁴ta⁵e¹gu¹ ta²wa⁵ã⁴ma⁴.*

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ʌu³pe⁴ti1=ki³ ga⁴ tau¹ne³ki³=gu² **[✓i⁴ ŋe³ma²]** /
pass=NMLZ(II) DET.REM.PST year(II)=LOC **[✓DET(IV) DEM.ANA(IV)]** /
**[✓ga⁴ ɟe⁴ma⁴]** pai³¹ ri¹ we⁵na¹
**[✓DET.REM.PST DEM.REM.PST(IV)]** priest(IV) again 3.SBJ=return.SG
na⁴=ta⁵e¹gu¹ ta²wa⁵ã⁴ma⁴
downriver.ALL
'Last year, the priest, he went back to Brazil.' [YCG: 2018.1.59-60]

While speakers do accept remote past markers when speaking about topic times the day before utterance time, they find them much *more* acceptable if the topic time is months or years in the past. This is why I call the markers 'remote past' and not, for example, 'pre-hodiernal past.'

Another constraint on the use of remote past markers is register. Almost all uses of *ɟe4ma4* 'DEM.ANA.REM.PST' and *ga4* 'DET.REM.PST' occur in narratives (that is, personal narratives, oral history, and traditional narratives) or in other extended discourses about the past (such as the locality description interviews). When shorter discourses about the past occur in conversations, they almost never contain *ɟe4ma4* 'DEM.ANA.REM.PST' or *ga4* 'DET.REM.PST.'

In line with the rarity of remote past markers in conversation, note from (10–11), and the examples in the following sections, that using remote-past markers is always optional. The temporally neutral demonstrative and determiner can always appear instead.

## 15.3 Nominal tense in subordinate clauses

The examples so far have provided no data about whether *ɟe4ma4* requires only that its own clause has remote past temporal reference, or places that requirement on the entire sentence. To determine the syntactic scope of the requirement, we look next to subordinate clauses. Subordinate clauses behave differently depending on whether they are indirect speech reports or attitude reports, vs. belong to another subordinate clause type.

### 15.3.1 Subordinate clauses other than attitude reports

In a subordinate clause which is not an attitude report – such as the antecedent of a conditional, a relative clause, or a reason clause – remote past markers require that the *subordinate clause* has remote past temporal reference. They do not have any effect on the temporal interpretation of the main clause, or the interpretation of other subordinate clauses in the utterance.

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The clause-bound nature of the temporal requirements of *ɟe4ma4* 'DEM.ANA.REM.PST' and *ga4* 'DET.REM.PST' can be seen in (12). This utterance is biclausal. The first clause is a subordinate clause introduced by the conjunction *e³ri⁴* 'because' (see Chapter 25.3 for the structure of *e3ri4*-clauses). It has remote past temporal reference and contains the Class I form of *ɟe4ma4* 'DEM.ANA.REM.PST.' However, the main clause has future temporal reference.

(12) Context: You are a teacher. Last Sunday, you asked for some money for the school where you work. You are going to receive the money today, which is Tuesday. You say,
*[e³ri⁴ ʎu³pe⁴ti³ki³ ga⁴ ɟi⁵¹ʔi³gu² **✓gu³¹ʔe²ma⁴** di³ẽ³ru¹kạ¹ i⁵tʃa³ka¹,]$_{Subordinate}$*
*[ɲụ¹ʔma⁵ ta⁴ ti³¹ʔĩ³ tʃa³ɟa³ɟa²ʔu³]$_{Main}$.*
e³ri⁴ ʎu³pe⁴ti1=ki³ ga⁴ ɟi⁵¹ʔi³=gu²
because pass=NMLZ(II) DET.REM.PST(II) Sunday(II)=LOC
**✓gu³¹ʔe²ma⁴** di³ẽ³ru¹=kạ¹ i⁵=tʃa³=ka¹ ɲụ¹ʔma⁵ ta⁴
**✓DEM.REM.PST(I)** money(I)=PURP VCL=1SG.SBJ=ask.for now FUT
ti³¹=ʔĩ³ tʃa³=ɟa³=ɟau²ʔ
3(I)=ACC 1SG=AM=receive
'Because I asked for that money last Sunday, I'll go to pick it up today.'
[LWG: 2018.2.28]
(Future matrix, Remote Past subordinate, Remote Past marker inside subordinate)

If the temporal requirements of *ɟe4ma4* 'DEM.ANA.REM.PST' applied to the entire utterance, the future reference in the main clause of (12) would be unacceptable. Therefore, they must apply only to the subordinate clause.

*ɟe4ma4* 'DEM.ANA.REM.PST' and *ga4* 'DET.REM.PST' display this same behavior in all types of subordinate clauses except for attitude reports. Clause types with the strictly clause-bound behavior include relative clauses, temporal subordinate clauses, focus remnants, conditional antecedents, complement clauses, and so on. In all of these types of subordination, the appearance of the nominal tense markers is controlled exclusively by the temporal reference of the clause where they appear.

For example, (13) contains a matrix clause with future temporal reference and a relative clause with remote past temporal reference. The relative clause can be introduced by *ga4* 'DET.REM.PST,' showing that – as in the because-clause in (12) – subordinate-clause remote past reference is sufficient to allow this item.

(13) Context: It is June.

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*mo4ĩ2ã1kɨ2 ta4 tɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa3pai1 ɟa4 ɟi31e2ma4 bu3e3* ***ga4*** *enerogu2 bu3e3*
mo4ĩ2ã1kɨ2 ta4 tɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=pai1 ɟa4 ɟi31e2ma4 bu3e3
2.days.from.today FUT 3(I)=ACC 1SG.SBJ=inject DET(I) DEM.ANA(I) baby(I)
**ga4** enero=gu2 bu31=e3
**DET.REM.PST** January=LOC be.born=NMLZ(I)
'The day after tomorrow, I'm going to vaccinate the baby who was born in January.' [KSC 2018.1.66]
(Future matrix, Remote Past subordinate, Remote Past marker inside subordinate)

In contrast, matrix-clause past reference does *not* allow remote past marking inside a subordinate clause. For example, in (14), the matrix clause is remote past, but the relative clause is recent past because it concerns a time earlier today. Despite the remote-past reference of the matrix clause, the relative clause still cannot contain *ga4* 'DET.REM.PST.'

(14) Context: I met two women today. You show me their home and say, 'Long ago, I lived next door to this house.'
*rɨ1 ŋe3ma2 ʎe3ʔĩ4 [✓i4 / #ga4] ɲu̯1ʔma5 nɨ31ʔĩ3 ku1ʍa5ʔĩ4 rɨ1 nu2a2 na4pe43*
rɨ1 ŋe3ma2 ʎe3ʔĩ4 [✓i4 / #ga4] ɲu̯1ʔma5
and DEM.ANA(IV) woman(IV) [✓DET(IV) / #DEM.REM.PST] now
nɨ31=ʔĩ3 ku1=ʍa̱1=ʔĩ4 rɨ1 nu2a2 na4=pe43
3=ACC 2SG.SBJ.SC=know=SUB TOP here.LOC 3.SBJ=sleep
'(At that time,) the women who you met today lived here.' [SSG 2018.1.47]

In multiclausal utterances which are not atittude reports, the remote past markers convey *absolute* remote past, not remote past relative to the time of the main clause. Thus, in (15), the matrix clause and relative clause topic times are both in the absolute future: the matrix clause topic time is two days from now, and the relative clause topic time is one day from now. Because the relative clause is one day before the main clause, it is in the relative remote past, but it still cannot contain *ga4* 'DET.REM.PST.'

(15) *mo4ĩ2ã1kɨ2 ta4 tɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa3pai1 ɟa4 ɟi31e2ma4 bu3e3 [✓i4 / #ga4] mo4ĩ2 i51ra3e3*
mo4ĩ2ã1kɨ2 ta4 tɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=pai1 ɟa4 ɟi31e2ma4 bu3e3
2.days.from.today FUT 3(I)=ACC 1SG.SBJ=inject DET(I) DEM.ANA(I) baby(I)

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[✓i4 / #ga4] mo4ĩ2 i51ra1=e3
✓DET(I) / #DET.REM.PST] tomorrow be.born=NMLZ(I)
'The day after tomorrow, I'm going to vaccinate the baby who will be born tomorrow.' [KSC 2018.1.67]
(Future matrix, Future subordinate one day before matrix, Remote Past marker inside subordinate)

All of the subordinate-clause examples in this section have focused on whether remote-past markers can appear introducing the subordinate clause or inside of it. However, it should be noted that, when a relative clause has an overt head, the *head* can also be modified or introduced by a remote-past marker. Remote-past markers *on the head* appear to behave the same as markers inside the relativ. They are acceptable if only the relative is remote past (16), but not if only the matrix clause is remote past (17).[3]

(16) Context: You are planning to take care of children who were born in Brazil (more than one day ago).
*mo4ĩ2 rɨ1 ta4 nɨ31ʔna1 tʃa3dau2 [✓i4 ŋe3ma2 / ✓ga4 ɟe4ma4] bu3ʔĩ4gɨ4 i4 ta2wa5ã4ma4gu2 bu3e2ʔĩ4*
mo4ĩ2 rɨ1 ta4 nɨ31=na1 tʃa3=dau2 [✓i4 ŋe3ma2
tomorrow TOP 3=RCP 1SG.SBJ [✓DET(IV) DEM.ANA(IV) /
/ ✓ga4 ɟe4ma4] bu3ʔĩ4=gɨ4
✓DET.REM.PST DEM.ANA.REM.PST(IV)] child(IV)=PL downriver=LOC
i4 ta2wa5ã4ma4=gu2 bu31-e3=ʔĩ4
be.born-PL=NMLZ(IV)
'Tomorrow I'm going to take care of the children who were born downriver.' [KSC 2018.1.129]
(Future matrix, Remote Past relative, Remote Past marker allowed on head of relative)

(17) Context: Same as (16)
*wɨ43ʔi4 [✓i4 / #ga4] bu3ʔĩ4 i4 nɨ31ʔna1 ta4 tʃa1dau2ʔĩ4 rɨ1 Brasilgu2 na4bu31*
wɨ43ʔi4 [✓i4 / #ga4] bu3ʔĩ4 i4 nɨ31=na1 ta4
one [✓(IV) / #DET.REM.PST] child(IV) DET(IV) 3=RCP FUT

[3]Note that speakers had a somewhat difficult time producing examples with a remote past matrix clause and a future relative clause. They preferred to coordinate the future clause rather than subordinating it.

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tʃa1=dau2=ʔĩ4 rɨ1 Brasil=gu2 na4=bu31
1SG.SBJ.SC=take.care=NMLZ(IV) TOP Brazil=LOC 3.SBJ=be.born
'One of the children that I'm going to take care of tomorrow, they were born in Brazil.' [LWG 2018.1.9]
(Remote Past matrix, Future relative, Remote Past marker disallowed on head of relative)

To sum up, for all main clauses and all subordinate clauses which are not attitude reports, the acceptability of remote past markers in a clause is conditioned exclusively by the temporal reference of that clause. (For this generalization, the head of a relative clause counts as a part of the relative, not part of the matrix clause.) The temporal reference of any other clauses in the utterance does not matter.

### 15.3.2 Attitude reports and indirect speech reports

In an attitude report or indirect speech report, *ɟe4ma4* 'DEM.ANA.REM.PST' and *ga4* 'DET.REM.PST' can both appear inside the attitude report. *Ga4* can additionally appear as part of the complementizer introducing the attitude report.

In attitude reports that involve a complement clause, speakers sometimes do not enforce any temporal requirements on the remote past markers. For example, (18) involves a matrix clause with absolute future temporal reference. The matrix clause embeds an attitude report with absolute future temporal reference (the attitude also contains a focus construction). The attitude report and matrix clause have the same topic time. Therefore, if the remote past markers behaved the same in attitude reports as in other subordinate clause types, they would be completely unacceptable. However, two out of three consultants accepted and repeated *ga4* in this context (and many similar ones).

(18) Context: In May-August, you will teach some children your language. I promise to inform you of the children's names by March.
*Marzogu2 ta4 ku31ma4ã2 nɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃi3ʔu3 na4ʔ te1ʔe5 ti41ʔĩ4 [ɟa4 / ga4] ku3ga1kạ1 ʎu5e3tʃa1ĩ3e3*
Marzo=gu2 ta4 ku31=ma4ã2 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃi3=u3 na4ʔ te1ʔe5
March=LOC FUT 2SG=COM 3=ACC 1SG.SBJ=say COMP who?(I)
ti41ʔĩ4 [ɟa4 / ga4] ku3=ga1=kạ1
3(I).SBJ.FOC [DET(I) / DET.REM.PST] 2SG=language=PURP
ʎụ1-e3=tʃa1ĩ1=e3
learn-PL=PROSP=NMLZ(I)
'In March, I will tell you who wants to study your language.' [LWG

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2018.1.171]

While people sometimes allow *ɟe4ma4* and *ga4* in attitude reports without any temporal restrictions, they also sometimes enforce the same clause-bound temporal restrictions that are found in other clause types. For example, Lilia, who produced *ga4* with absolute future reference inside an attitude in (18), rejected it in a very similar context in (19).

(19) Context: Your daughter, who lives in Lima, is coming back to town tomorrow. When she arrives, she'll sleep in your uncle's house. You're telling your daughter this over the phone when I ask what you're talking about. You say,
*tʃau¹a³kɨ¹ma⁴ã² nɨ³¹ʔĩ³ i⁵tʃi³ʔu³ na⁴ʔ mo⁴ĩ² rɨ¹, ta⁴* ***✓ɟi²ma²*** */* ***#gu²ma²*** *ĩ⁴³gu² na¹pe³¹ʔĩ⁴.*
tʃau¹=a³kɨ¹=ma⁴ã² nɨ³¹=ʔĩ³ i⁵=tʃi³=u³ na⁴ʔ mo⁴ĩ² rɨ¹ ta⁴
1SG=daughter=COM 3=ACC IPFV=1SG.SBJ=say COMP tomorrow TOP FUT
**✓ɟi²ma²** / **#gu²ma²** ĩ⁴³=gu² na1=pe43=ʔĩ⁴
**✓DEM.ANA(III)** / **#DEM.REM.PST(III)** house(III) 3.SBJ.SC=sleep=SUB
'I'm telling my daughter that tomorrow, she will sleep in that house.'
[LWG: 2018.1.85]

There is some evidence that attitude reports with verbs other than 'want' may be syntactic islands in Ticuna (Chaper 25.2.1.5). If this is the case, the behavior of remote past markers inside attitude reports could be attributed to their status as syntactic islands. However, if we choose this analysis, it will be necessary to explain why some subordinate clause types that are very clearly islands (e.g., because-clauses) have the usual temporal requirements on remote past marking, while attitude reports do not.

Corpus examples do not help to clarify any of this, as remote past markers appear very seldom in the corpus and never appear in the relevant type of attitude report.

## 15.4 Nominal tense markers have no temporal effect in syntactic islands

Noun phrase constituents which are syntactic islands can contain remote-past marking without any effect on the temporal interpretation of the main clause.

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The language has two types of NP islands that are syntactically allowed to contain determiners/demonstratives: nominal possessors and complements of the enclitic *=kɨ1g̃1* 'originating from.'

First, as discussed in Chapter 23.1.5, speakers typically judge that it is not possible to relativize on a possessor (or focus it). Thus, when a nominal possessor includes *ga⁴*/*ɟe⁴ma⁴*, the marker has no effect on the temporal interpretation of the clause. The clause is allowed to have recent past, present, or future temporal reference. For example, in (20), *ɟe⁴ma⁴* modifies a possessor in a clause with present temporal reference.

(20) Context: We know a pair of brothers who own a store together. You are at their store. I call and ask where you are. You reply,
*ɲu̱¹ʔma⁵ rɨ¹, [**✓ɟi²ma⁴ / ✓gu²ma⁴**] ʎe³ʔtɨ̱¹ɨ³kɨ³a¹rɨ³ ta⁴e³pa⁴ta³ɨ̃¹wa⁵ tʃa³ŋe²ʔma⁴.*
ɲu̱¹ʔma⁵ rɨ¹ [**✓ɟi²ma⁴** / **✓gu²ma⁴**]
now TOP [**✓DEM.ANA(II)** / **✓DEM.ANA.REM.PST**]
ʎe³ʔtɨ̱¹ɨ³kɨ³=a¹rɨ³ ta⁴e³=pa⁴ta³ɨ̃¹=wa⁵ tʃa³=ŋe²ʔma⁴
young.man(II)=POSS buy/sell=building.for=ALL 1SG.SBJ=be.in.place
'Right now I'm at those young men's store.' [LWG: 2017.1.157]

Second, the enclitic *=kɨ1g̃1* 'originating from' (related to the inalienable noun *kɨ1g̃1* 'clan') attaches to nouns denoting places and derives a noun meaning 'person/object originating from Place.' It cannot combine with the nominal demonstrative *ɟe⁴ma⁴*, and it cannot combine with complex noun phrases at all (which means it never attaches to an NP including *ga4*). Constituents with *=kɨ1g̃1* are islands to extraction, as shown by the attempt at focus extraction in (21).

(21) a. *ʎe1ʔta5kɨ1g̃1 ki3ʔĩ4?*
ʎe1ʔta5=kɨ1g̃1 ki3ʔĩ4
where?=originating.from 2SG.SBJ.COP
'Where are you from?'

b. **ʎe1ʔta5 ni4ʔĩ i4 na31ʔkɨ1g̃1 ki1ʔĩ1ʔĩ4?*
*ʎe1ʔta5 ni4ʔĩ i4 na43=kɨ1g̃1 ki1ʔĩ1ʔĩ4?
where? FOC 3=originating.from 2SG.SBJ.COP.SC
(Intended reading: 'Where are you from?')
[LWG 2018.1.156]

However, *=kɨ1g̃1* can combine with the locative demonstrative counterpart of *ɟe4ma4*, which is *ʄe5ma2* 'there (anaphoric, remote past)' (note the minimal tone

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pair). *Ɉe5ma2* has exactly the same temporal requirements as *ɟe4ma4* when it appears as an adjunct. However, when it hosts *=kɨ1ɰ̃1*, it has no temporal requirements on the clause. For example, in (22), *Ɉe5ma2=kɨ1ɰ̃1* occurs in a clause with present temporal reference.

(22) Context: 'In Caballococha there are a lot of people who come from Requena (another town in Loreto region).'
*rɨ¹ ɲu̯¹ʔma⁵ʔĩ⁵tʃi²ma³, tʃau¹kɨ³wa³gu² na⁴pe⁴³ i⁴ wɨ⁴³ʔi⁴ i⁴* ***✓ŋe⁵ma²kɨ̯¹ɰ̃¹ / ✓ɟe⁵ma²kɨ̯¹ɰ̃¹.***
rɨ¹ ɲu̯¹ʔma⁵=ʔĩ⁵tʃi²=ma³ tʃau¹=kɨ³wa³=gu² na⁴=pe⁴³ i⁴ wɨ⁴³ʔi⁴
and now=really=INFO 1SG=side=LOC 3.SBJ=sleep DET(IV) one
i⁴ **[✓ŋe⁵ma²=kɨ̯¹ɰ̃¹ / ✓ɟe⁵ma²=kɨ̯¹ɰ̃¹]**
DET(IV) **[✓there.ANA=from / ✓there.ANA.REM.PST=from]**
'And right now, a person from there lives next door to me.' [SSG: 2018.1.172]

To sum up this data with the data on subordinate clauses, the nominal remote-past markers affect only the temporal interpretation of the clause where they occur, *and* they affect the temporal interpretation of this clause only if they are in a position that is accessible to extraction (focus movement and relativization).

## 15.5 Nominal tense markers convey temporal information about the nominal referent only in very marginal cases

In this section, I first explain why the temporal meanings of *ɟe4ma4* 'DEM.ANA.REM.PST' and *ga4* 'DET.REM.PST' cannot be due to effects on the temporal interpretation of nouns. Then, I discuss a small number of examples where the markers – while not affecting the temporal interpretation of the noun property – do convey other kinds of temporal information about the noun referent.

### 15.5.1 No effect on the temporal interpretation of the noun property

In several Tupí-Guarani languages, most notably Paraguayan Guaraní, there are noun phrase markers which control the temporal interpretation of the noun phrase. These markers are usually translated into English as 'former' or 'future.' They appear on a noun phrase and convey that the nominal referent had the property of the noun in the past of the clause time (like 'former teacher'), or that

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the referent will have the property only in the future of the clause time ('future mother-in-law') (Tonhauser 2007, Thomas 2012).

Since Ticuna has been in contact with at least two Tupí-Guaraní languages (Chapter 1), it is reasonable to ask whether the temporal requirements of the remote-past markers on the clause could arise from effects on the temporal interpretation of noun phrases. Under this analysis, *ɟe4ma4* 'DEM.ANA.REM.PST' and *ga4* 'DET.REM.PST' combine with a noun in the underlying syntactic structure; they encode that the property of that noun holds in the remote past; and this meaning leads to a reading of the entire clause as remote past.

This analysis fails for two reasons. First, *ɟe4ma4* and *ga4* frequently occur without a nominal complement or with a complement that does not express a property. For example, *ɟe4ma4* can act as a propositional anaphor, and in this use it never combines with a noun. Likewise, *ga4* can introduce many types of nominals that do not convey property concepts, such as first- and second-person pronouns, interrogative pronouns, and proper names. It would be very difficult to claim that *ɟe4ma4* and *ga4* constrain the temporal interpretation of the noun property with these noun types.

However, the second reason that the Tupí-Guaraní style analysis does not work is more significant. This is that the remote past markers, even when they combine with a noun, *do not* actually convey that the noun property held in the remote past. They only convey that the clause is remote past.

For example, (23) is a monoclausal sentence with future temporal reference. It includes the noun phrase *ɟe⁴ma⁴ tʃu3ra3ra1* 'that soldier,' referring to a person who was a soldier in the remote past. If *ɟe⁴ma4* conveyed only that the noun property held in the remote past, it would be acceptable here, but it is not.

(23) Context: A man who used to be a soldier has bought a piece of land next to your home. We both know this man. You point out the lot that belongs to the man and tell me,
***#ɟe⁴ma⁴ tʃu³ra³ra¹ rɨ¹ nu²a² ta⁴ na⁴ʔɨ²pa⁴ta³.***
**#ɟe⁴ma⁴** tʃu³ra³ra¹ rɨ¹ nu²a² ta⁴ na⁴=ɨ²=pa⁴ta³
DEM.ANA.REM.PST(IV) soldier(IV) TOP here.LOC FUT 3.SBJ=do=NI:house
(Attempted reading: 'That former soldier will build a house here.') [LWG: 2018.1.106]

Likewise, under the Tupí-Guarani-style analysis, remote-past markers should be acceptable *only if* the demonstrative referent had the nominal property in the remote past. This is also incorrect. For example, in (24), the referent of the noun phrase with *ɟe⁴ma⁴* has come to hold the property of being a priest only today. If

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*ɟe⁴ma⁴* controlled the temporal interpretation of the noun *pai31* 'priest,' it would be unacceptable here because the property did not hold in the remote past (only the recent past). However, because the entire clause is remote past (the priest was born more than one day ago), it is acceptable.

(24) Context: We both know a young man who became a priest earlier today. You tell me,
*Li³ma¹gu² na⁴bu³¹* ***ga⁴ gu²ma⁴*** *pai³¹.*
Li³ma¹=gu² na⁴=bu³¹ **ga⁴** **gu²ma⁴** pai³¹
Lima=LOC 3.SBJ=be.born **DET.REM.PST DEM.ANA.REM.PST(II)** priest(II)
'That priest was born in Lima.' [SSG: 2018.1.25]

In sum, the remote-past temporal markers have no effect on the temporal interpretation of nouns. They are purely propositional nominal tense. The only situation where they affect the temporal interpretation of their complement is when the complement is a subordinate clause.

### 15.5.2 Propositional anaphora and other unique contexts

There are a very small number of contexts where *ɟe4ma4* 'DEM.ANA.REM.PST' and *ga4* 'DET.REM.PST' can appear in a clause that does not have remote past temporal reference. These contexts fall into two categories: propositional anaphora to propositions about the remote past, and reference to people or objects which the speaker last perceived in the remote past. Neither of these marginal uses of the markers in non-remote past clauses should affect our larger conclusions about their temporal content.

#### 15.5.2.1 Propositional anaphora

The remote past determiner and demonstrative, and forms morphologically derived from them, can be used in non-remote past clauses as propositional anaphors, as long as they denote *propositions about* the remote past.

This use is shown in (25). (25a) has remote past temporal reference, and (25b) has present temporal reference. (25b) contains a propositional anaphor which refers to the proposition expressed by (25a). Even though line (b) has present temporal reference, *ɟe4ma4* is allowed there as a propositional anaphor because the proposition concerns the remote past.

(25) Context: Our friend Juan was a bachelor for many years, until he finally got married at this time last year. I come into your house and see that you

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and all of your household members are laughing and smiling. I ask what you're talking about. You say (a) and then (b).

a. *ʎu³pe⁴tɨ³kɨ³ ɟa⁴ tau¹ne³kɨ³gu², rɨ¹ ɯa³ɨ̃¹ rɨ¹ na⁴ʔã³mą̱¹.*
ʎu³pe⁴tɨ1=kɨ³ ɟa⁴ tau¹ne³kɨ³=gu² rɨ¹ ɯa³ɨ̃¹ rɨ¹ na⁴=ã³=mą̱¹
pass=NMLZ(II) DET(II) year=LOC TOP Juan TOP 3.SBJ=have=wife
'Last year, Juan, he got married.'

b. *ɲų̱¹ʔma⁵ rɨ¹, [✓ŋe³ma²tʃi¹ga¹ / ✓ɟe⁴ma⁴tʃi¹ga¹] ti⁴de⁴³ʔa²gɨ⁴.*
ɲų̱¹ʔma⁵ rɨ¹ [✓ŋe³ma² / ✓ɟe⁴ma⁴]=tʃi¹ga¹
now TOP [✓DEM.ANA(IV) / ✓DEM.ANA.REM.PST]=RN:about
ti⁴=de⁴³ʔa²=gɨ⁴
1EXCL.SBJ=talk=PL
'Now, we are talking about that (how he got married).'

[LWG: 2018.1.52-53]

Similar to the propositional anaphora use in (25b), remote past markers can also be used in non-remote past clauses (a) to refer to entities that contain propositional content about the remote past (such as books and videos), and (b) in noun phrases denoting remote past time periods. However, these uses almost never occur in discourse. The corpus materials contain a grand total of two tokens of remote-past markers in non-remote past clauses, compared to hundreds of tokens in remote past clauses.

**15.5.2.1.1 Referents which the speaker last perceived in the remote past** It is also acceptable to use remote past markers in non-remote-past clauses to convey that the speaker last perceived the nominal referent the remote past (of utterance time). For example, (26) contains a main clause and a subordinate purpose clause. They both have future temporal reference, which would normally make the remote-past nominal markers unacceptable. However, as the context establishes, the speaker last perceived the referent of the noun phrase *ga⁴ gu²ma²* *bicicleta* (DET.REM.PST DEM.ANA.REM.PST bicycle) 'that bicycle' one year before the time of speech. Because this most recent perception event took place in the remote past, the two remote-past markers in this noun phrase are acceptable.

(26) Context: 'Last year, I went to a place where they sell bicycles. I picked out a bicycle for my sister. But I didn't buy it, and I didn't go back to the store all last year. But…'
*mo⁴ɨ̃² ta⁴a³rɨ¹ we⁵na¹ tʃa³ta⁵e¹gu¹ na⁴ na³¹ʔką̱¹ tʃa¹ta⁴e²ʔɨ̃⁴ką̱¹* ***ga⁴ gu²ma²*** *bicicleta.*

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mo⁴ɨ̃²  ta⁴=a³rɨ¹  we⁵na¹ tʃa³=ta⁵e¹gu¹  na⁴  na⁴³=kạ̃¹
tomorrow FUT=INFO again  1SG.SBJ=return.SG COMP 3=PURP
tʃa¹=ta⁴e³=ʔɨ̃⁴=kạ̃¹  **ga⁴**  **gu²ma²**
1SG.SBJ.SC=buy=SUB=PURP **DET.REM.PST DEM.ANA.REM.PST(III)**
bicicleta
SP:bicycle(III)
'Tomorrow I will go back to buy that bicycle.' [KSC: 2018.1.71]
Speaker comment: Good because you saw the bicycle last year, but you haven't seen it since then.

The remote perception use of nominal tense markers (26) is extremely pragmatically marked. It requires very specific and explicit context about the speaker's perception history of the referent to be accepted or volunteered, and even with that context, not all consultants consistently found it acceptable. There are no unambiguous examples of the remote perception use anywhere in the corpus.

## 15.6 Discourse markers and other lexical items derived from *ɟe4ma4* 'DEM.ANA.REM.PST'

The remote past demonstrative *ɟe4ma4* is morphologically related to many other lexical items. Most of these items are discourse markers or adverbs which convey relationships between clauses. All discourse markers and adverbs derived from *ɟe4ma4* have a counterpart that is derived from the temporally neutral anaphor *ŋe3ma2*, but the reverse is not true. Table 15.2 shows the full set of these markers.

Each adverb or discourse marker derived from *ɟe4ma4* has the same temporal requirements as *ɟe4ma4*. That is, if the marker is not a propositional anaphor, then the clause where the item derived from *ɟe4ma4* appears must be remote past (27). If the marker is a propositional anaphor, it is also acceptable if the clause with the marker is not remote past, but the referent proposition is (28).

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Table 15.2: Lexical items morphologically related to *ŋe³ma²* 'DEM.MULTI, DEM.ANA' and *ɟe⁴ma⁴* 'DEM.ANA.REM.PST'

| Related to *ŋe³ma²* Temporally unmarked | Related to *ɟe⁴ma⁴* Remote past temporal reference only | Gloss |
|---|---|---|
| Discourse markers, conjunctions, interjections | | |
| *ŋe⁴ʔgu²ma³* | *ɟe⁴ʔgu⁴ma⁴* | 'if/when; at that time (temporal anaphor); that (propositional anaphor)' |
| *ŋe³ma²ʔ* | – | 'yes' (answer to polar questions) |
| *ŋe³ma²ã¹kɨ²* | – | 'yes' (answer to polar questions) |
| *ŋe³ma²kɑ¹, =e³kɑ¹* | *ɟe⁴ma⁴kɑ¹, =ɟe⁴ka⁴* | 'so; that's why' |
| *e³rɨ⁴* | *ɟe⁴rɨ⁴* | 'because' |
| *=e³rɨ4, =e³rɨ1* | *=ɟe⁴rɨ⁴* | 'as I was saying (INFO:CNG)' |
| Adverbs | | |
| *ŋe³ma²ã¹kɨ²* | *ɟe⁴ma⁴ã¹kɨ²* | 'like that (manner anaphor)' |
| *ŋe³ʔwa⁵ka²* | *ɟe⁴ʔwa⁵ka²* | 'immediately before/after; recently' |

(27) a. ***ɟe4ʔgu4ma4*** *ʎu3pe4tɨ3kɨ3 ga4 ɟi51ʔi3gu2 nu5a2 tʃa1ʎu3ʔgu2 rɨ1...*
**ɟe4ʔgu4ma4** ʎu3pe4tɨ1=kɨ3 ga4 ɟi51ʔi3=gu2 nu5a2
**when.REM.PST** pass=NMLZ(II) DET.REM.PST(II) Sunday=LOC here.ALL
tʃa1=ʎu3=gu2...
1SG.SBJ.SC=arrive=COND TOP
'When I arrived here last Sunday...' (LWG 2018.1.50)

b. *[#**ɟe4ʔgu4ma4** / ŋe4ʔgu2ma3] mo4ĩ2 ta4 nu5a2 tʃa1ʎu3ʔgu2 rɨ1...*
[#**ɟe4ʔgu4ma4** / ŋe4ʔgu2ma3] mo4ĩ2 ta4 nu5a2
[**when.REM.PST** / when] tomorrow FUT here.ALL
tʃa1=ʎu3=gu2 rɨ1...
1SG.SBJ.SC=arrive=COND TOP
'When I arrive here tomorrow...' [LWG 2018.1.51]

(28) Context: 'My motorcycle got damaged (more than one day ago).'
*[ɟe4ma4kɑ1 / ŋe3ma2kɑ1] da31a1kɑ1 tʃa3ta4e3*
[ɟe4ma4kɑ1 / ŋe3ma2kɑ1] da31a1=kɑ1 tʃa3=ta4e3
[that's.why.REM.PST / that's.why] DEM.PROX(III)=PURP 1SG.SBJ=buy
'That's why I'm buying this one.' [YCG 2018.1.58]

Besides the discourse markers, *ŋe3ma2* and *ɟe4ma4* are also related to existential verbs. As discussed in §7.2, the existential verb undergoes noun class agree-

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ment and has exactly the same noun class forms as *ŋe3ma2* and *ɟe4ma4*. Existential verbs that are homophonous with forms of *ŋe3ma2* are temporally neutral, and existential verbs that are homophonous with forms of *ɟe4ma4* require remote past temporal reference.

Last, the demonstratives *ŋe3ma2* 'that (anaphoric)' and *ɟe4ma4* 'that (anaphoric, remote past)' are in minimal tone pairs with the locative demonstratives *ŋe5ma2* 'there (anaphoric)' and *ɟe5ma2* 'there (anaphoric, remote past).' The locative ('here/there') demonstratives mark case via tone alternations (Chapter 11), and their locative-case forms, *ŋe2ʔma4* and *ɟe2ʔma4*, act as locative verbs. The locative demonstrative *ɟe5ma2* ~ *ɟe2ʔma4* and locative verb *ɟe2ʔma4* have exactly the same temporal requirements as the root demonstrative *ɟe4ma4*.

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# 16 Verb root suppletion

Many common verb roots in Ticuna undergo suppletion. With one exception, root suppletion is conditioned by features of the internal argument of the verb – specifically, its number and animacy. Some suppletion patterns are conditioned exclusively by number, while others are conditioned jointly by number and animacy. In both patterns, the suppletive allomorphs lack any predictable phonological relationship to each other. I'll start with suppletion that is conditioned by number.

## 16.1 Number suppletion

Suppletion conditioned by number alone affects five intransitive verb roots and two transitive roots. They are listed in Table 16.1.

Table 16.1: Verb roots which undergo suppletion conditioned by number only

| Singular Root | Plural Root | Gloss | Note |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Intransitives | |
| ũ43 | ĩ43 | 'come, go, walk' | |
| ɲa43 | ɨ43 | 'run, dance' | |
| ɲa43 | bu3ʔmɨ1 | 'flee' | Same SG as 'run,' different PL |
| ʎu31 | ɟi31 | 'fall; fall into water; be underwater' | |
| ã̰ṵ̃1 | tʃo43 | 'stay' | |
| | | Transitives | |
| mą̰1 | dai2 | 'hit, kill' | |
| tą̰1 | wo1 | 'discard; bury' | 'discard' sense takes *i5=* VCL; 'bury' takes *i2=* VCL |

Besides the roots in Table 16.1, there are several more stems which are clearly derived from 'go' and 'discard/bury,' but which – because of semantic change

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– probably shouldn't any longer be analyzed as morphologically complex. Despite the change, the root material in these stems undergoes the same number alternations as the free roots. 16.2 provides examples of two of these stems.

Table 16.2: Verb stems which undergo suppletion because of their (historical) relationship to number-suppleting roots

| Singular Stem | Plural Stem | Gloss | Note |
|---|---|---|---|
| ũ31a1ne1 | ĩ31a1ne1 | 'visit' | Intransitive stem derived from 'go' with suffix *-a1ne1* 'areal argument' |
| ta5e1gu1 | wo1e1gu1 | 'return' | Intransitive stem derived from transitive 'discard' with directional suffix *-e1gu1* 'DIR:in.a.circle' |

(1) provides textual examples of number suppletion with *ʎu31* SG ~ *ɟi31* PL 'fall,' and (2) provides textual examples with *tą1* SG ~ *wo1* PL 'discard.'

(1) a. *ta4a3rɨ3**ʎu31**pɨ1ʔɨ3*
ta4a3rɨ3=**ʎu31**=pɨ1ʔɨ3
3(I).SBJ.AM=**fall.SG**=CLF:sphere
'It (a marble) went and fell.SG.' [2019 C2 TOT, CG, 10:17]

b. *ta4ã3 ni4, **ɟi31**pɨ1ʔɨ3 ta4*
ta4ã3 ni4 **ɟi31**=pɨ1ʔɨ3 ta4
NEG FOC **fall.PL**=CLF:sphere FUT
'Don't (do that), they (marbles) will fall.PL.' [2019 C11-C14, CG 7:03]

(2) a. *tɨ31ma2tʃi5ĩ1wa5 ŋe3ma2ką̱1 ni4 tɨ31ma2te3ʔĩ3 i5ta1**tą1**ʔĩ4ã3*
tɨ31ma2=tʃi5ĩ1=wa5 ŋe3ma2=ką̱1 ni4 tɨ31ma2=te3=ʔĩ3
3(I)=house=ALL DEM.MULTI=PURP FOC 3=husband=ACC
i5=ta1=**tą1**=ʔĩ4=ã3
VCL=3(I).SBJ.SC=**discard.SG**=SUB=REP
'That's why at her house, she reportedly left, lit. threw.SG away, her husband.' [LVI LVI-LFG-MFG 56:57]

b. *ɲa4a2 mɨ3ra3pe3wa1gɨ4 i5tʃa3na3**wo1**gɨ4*
ɲa4a2 mɨ3ra3pe3wa1=gɨ4 i5=tʃa3=na3=**wo1**=gɨ4
DEM:PROX(IV) plank(IV)=PL VCL=1SBJ=3.OBJ=**discard.PL**=PL
'As for these planks, I'm going to throw.PL them away.' [SSG Built Space 3:09]

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Argument number, not event number, is what conditions the root alternation in these verbs. If an event happens repeatedly with the same singular participants, it still must be described with the singular root (3). In the same way, if an event occurs once with many participants collectively, it still allows the plural root (4).

(3) Context: I have one marble and it falls off the table over and over.
*mu1ɛ̃1pɨ3kɨ5na1 tʃo31rɨ3 pe3tɨ4ka1 (✓na4rɨ3ʎu31 / *na4rɨ3ɟi31)*
mu1ɛ̃1pɨ3kɨ5na1 tʃo31rɨ3 pe3tɨ4ka1 (✓na4rɨ3=ʎu31 / *na4rɨ3=ɟi31)
many.times 1SG.POSS marble(IV) (✓3.SBJ=fall.SG / *3.SBJ=fall.PL)
'My marble fell (✓SG / *PL) many times.' [DGG 2017.2.194]

(4) Context: Other people and I are staying at your house together, while you leave.
*gu5ʔĩ4ma3 i4 to31ma2 rɨ1 ku31pa4ta3gu2 ta4 (✓ta4rɨ3tʃo43 / *ta4rɨ3ʔą̃ų̃1*
gu5ʔĩ4ma3 i4 to31ma2 rɨ1 ku31=pa4ta3=gu2 ta4
all(IV) DET(IV) 1EXCL.TOP TOP 2SG=house=LOC FUT
(✓ta4rɨ3=tʃo43 / *ta4rɨ3=ą̃ų̃1)
(✓1EXCL.SBJ=stay.PL / *1EXCL.SBJ=stay.SG)
'All of us (EXCL) will stay (✓PL / *SG) at your house.' [LWG 2024.1.42]

For the transitives that undergo number suppletion, only the number of the **object** conditions suppletion. Using a plural agent (5) or describing multiple events (6) does not license the plural form of these verbs.

(5) *wɨ43ʔi4 i4 wo3ka1 (✓ti4mą̃1 / *ta4dai2) ta4*
wɨ43ʔi4 i4 wo3ka1 (✓ti4=mą̃1 / *ta4=dai2) ta4
one DET(IV) cow(IV) (✓1INCL.SBJ=kill.SG / *1INCL.SBJ.kill.PL) FUT
'We're going to kill (✓SG/ *PL) one cow.' [DGG 2017.2.195; LWG 2024.1.42]

(6) Context: I tried over and over again to kill a rat, but it always escaped.
*ɨ̃3ka3 (✓tʃi3ma5tʃa1ɨ̃1 / *tʃa3dai1tʃa1ɨ̃1) tą2*
ɨ̃3ka3 (✓tʃi3=mą̃1=tʃa1ɨ̃1 / *tʃa3=dai1=tʃa1ɨ̃1) tą2
rat (✓1SG.SBJ=kill.=PROSP / *1SG.SBJ=kill.PL=PROSP) in.vain
'I kept trying/wanting to kill (✓SG/ *PL) the rat.' [LWG 2024.1.42]

Number suppletion is always optional. That is, the 'singular' forms of number-suppleting verbs can be used for either singular or plural arguments, as shown in (7), while the plural forms are acceptable only with plural arguments. First and second person plural arguments are a partial exception to optionality; I discuss this in more detail in §16.5.1.2.

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(7) *to1ma2e̱1pɨ3 i4 o3ta5 (✓tʃi3mą1 / ✓tʃa3dai2)*
to1ma2e̱1pɨ3 i4 o3ta5 (✓tʃi3=mą1 / ✓tʃa3=dai2)
three DET(IV) chicken(IV) (✓1SG.SBJ=kill.SG / ✓1SG.SBJ=kill.PL)
'I killed (✓SG / ✓PL ) three chickens.'
[DGG 2017.2.195]

## 16.2 Number-and-animacy suppletion

Three verb roots undergo suppletion that is jointly conditioned by number and animacy. They are the equivalents to 'bring, take, transport'; 'put'; and 'give.' All of these verbs are causative transitives.

Each number-and-animacy suppleting verb has three forms. One form is for an inanimate object (INAN) and one is for an animate object (ANIM). These forms are not marked for number; they can be used for either singular or plural objects, which I'll discuss more at the end of this section. The third form in each number-and-animacy set is specific to inanimate plural objects, as well as certain animate plurals that are low on the animacy hierarchy (INAN.PL).

Table 16.3 shows the forms of the number-and-animacy suppleting verbs.

Table 16.3: Verb roots which undergo suppletion conditioned by number and animacy

| Inanimate | Animate | Inanimate Plural | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| ʎe43 | ga4 | na1 | 'bring, take, transport' |
| ɨ43 | mu2 | nu4 | 'put, leave, drop off' |
| ã3 | mu2 | na1 | 'give' |

I'll provide examples of each of these suppletion patterns in turn. First, the verb equivalent to 'transport, bring, take' is *ʎe43* for an inanimate object, *ga4* for an animate object, and *na1* for an inanimate plural object. (8) gives parallel textual examples of each form of this root.

(8) a. *nu5a2 **na3ʎe43** i4 no51rɨ3 carton*
nu5a2 **na3=ʎe43** i4 no51rɨ3 carton
here.ALL **IMP>3.OBJ=transport.INAN** DET(IV) 3(IV).POSS SP:box
'**Bring.INAN** his cardboard box here.'
[Raceli, 20180628_002, 8:58]

b. *nu5a2 **na3ga4** i4 ku31ne3*

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nu5a2 **na3=ga4** i4 ku31=ne3
here.ALL **IMP>3.OBJ=transport:ANIM** DET(IV) 2SG=son(IV)
'**Bring.ANIM** your son here.'
[LWG noe 2:39]

c. *mu4ʔɯ̃5tʃi5ne1 ɟa1 tʃa2wɨ4 ɟe5ma2ne4* ***ta4na1***
mu4=ʔɨ5tʃi2=ne1 ɟa1 tʃa2wɨ4 ɟe5ma2=ne4
many=very=NMLZ(III) DET(III) corn(III) there.REM.PST.ALL=SOURCE
**ta4=na1**
**3(I).SBJ=transport.INAN.PL**
'She **brought.INAN.PL** many ears of corn from there.'
[LWG tau 1:16]

The next suppleting verb is the equivalent to 'put, place, drop off.' This is *ɨ43* for inanimate objects, *mu2* for animate objects, and *nu4* for inanimate plural objects. (9) gives textual examples of each form.

(9) a. INAN
*me3tʃa1gu2* ***na4na3ʔɨ43***
me3tʃa1=gu2 **na4=na3=ɨ43**
table=LOC **3.SBJ=3.OBJ=put.INAN**
'They **put/left it.INAN** (food) on the table.'
[LWG air 2:25]

b. ANIM
*mo4ɨ̃2 ta4 ŋẽ2ʔma4 tɨ31ʔɨ̃3* ***tʃa1mu2ʔɨ̃4****, Bufeocochagu2*
mo4ɨ̃2 ta4 ŋẽ2ʔma4 tɨ31=ʔɨ̃3 **tʃa1=mu2=ʔɨ̃4**
tomorrow FUT there.ANA.LOC 3(I)=ACC **1SG.SBJ.SC=put:ANIM=SUB**
Bufeococha=gu2
place.name=LOC
'Tomorrow I'm going to **drop her off.ANIM** in Bufeococha.' [SSG HALDI 27:25]

c. INAN.PL
*mɨ3ra3pe3wa1 na4 ŋẽ2ʔma4* ***tʃa1na3nu4ma3re2ʔ***
mɨ3ra3pe3wa1 na4 ŋẽ2ʔma4
plank COMP there.ANA.LOC
**tʃa1=na3=nu4=ma3re3=ʔ**
**1SG.SBJ.SC=3.OBJ=put.INAN.PL=just=SUB**
'As for the planks, I just **put/left.INAN.PL** them there.' [SSG built space 8:38]

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The last number-and-animacy suppleting verb is the equivalent to 'give.' This is *ã3* for inanimate objects, *mu2* for animate objects, and *na1* for plurals, as shown in (10).

(10) a. *ku3ɟe4ra1 nu5a2* ***na1ʔã3***
ku3ɟe4ra1 nu5a2 **na1=ã3**
spoon here.ALL **IMP=give.INAN**
'**Give.INAN** the spoon here, i.e., to me.' [C31-C32, CG 32, 12:11]

b. *ŋe3ma2kạ1 tʃo31ʔna1 ŋi1ʔĩ3* ***na4mu2gɨ4***
ŋe3ma2=kạ1 tʃo31=na1 ŋi1=ʔĩ3 **na4=mu2=gɨ4**
DEM.MULTI=PURP 1SG=RCP 3(V)=ACC **3.SBJ=give:ANIM=PL**
'That's why they **gave.ANIM** her to me (as a wife).' [DGG leo 1:01]

c. *ku31rɨ3 nai1ɟe5e2ʔĩ4 nu5a2 tɨ31ʔĩ3* ***na1na1***
ku31rɨ3 nai1=ɟe5e2=ʔĩ4 nu5a2 tɨ31=ʔĩ3 **na1=na1**
2SG.POSS tie=NI:hair=NMLZ(IV) here.ALL 3(I)=ACC **IMP=give.INAN.PL**
'**Give.INAN.PL** your hair clips here.' [LFG, LFG-MFG-LVI 5:48]

The verb 'give' overlaps in forms with both of the other animacy-and-number suppleting verbs: *mu2* is the ANIM form of both 'give' and 'put', and *na1* is the INAN.PL form of both 'give' and 'transport'.

This type of syncretism – syncretism where the same root allomorph is used, with the same number value, for multiple lexical items – also occurs in the number-suppleting verb roots, where *ɲa43* appears as the SG form of both 'run' and 'flee' (which have different PL forms, Table 16.1). Syncretism is even more pervasive in the number suppletion which affects directional suffixes (Chapter 18).

### 16.2.1 Plural is marked only for inanimates

For number-and-animacy suppleting roots, the plural forms are used exclusively for low-animacy plurals. They are not acceptable if the object is human (11) or is a higher animate, such as a cow (12). See Chapter 10 for the distinction between higher and lower animates, which is also found in the language's differential object marking system.

(11) a. *nɨ31ʔna1 to31ʔĩ3 (✓na4mu2gɨ4 / *na4na1gɨ4) na2ʔmạ1gɨ4ĩ1*
nɨ31=na1 to31=ʔĩ3 (✓na4=mu2=gɨ4 / *na4=na1=gɨ4)
3(II)=RCP 1EXCL=ACC (✓3.SBJ=give:ANIM=PL / *3.SBJ=give.INAN.PL=PL)
na2=mạ1=gɨ4=ĩ1
3(II)=wife=PL=RES
'They$_i$ **gave us (✓ANIM / *INAN.PL)** to them$_j$ as their wives.'

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[LWG 2024.1.44]

b. *ɟe5a2 to31ʔĩ3 (✓na4ga4gɨ4 / *na4na4gɨ4)*
ɟe5a2 to31=ʔĩ3 (✓na4=ga4=gɨ4 /
there.DIST.ALL 1EXCL=ACC (✓3.SBJ=transport:ANIM=PL /
*na4=na4=gɨ4)
*3.SBJ=transport.INAN.PL=PL)
'They **took us (✓ANIM / *INAN.PL)** there.'
[LWG 2024.1.44]

(12) *ta2ʔre4 i4 wo3ka1 nu5a2 (✓tʃa3ga4ʔtʃa1ĩ1 / *tʃa3na4ʔtʃa1ĩ1)*
ta2ʔre4 i4 wo3ka1 nu5a2 (✓tʃa3=ga4=tʃa1ĩ1 /
two DET(IV) cow here.ALL (✓1SG.SBJ=transport:ANIM=PROSP /
*tʃa3=na4=tʃa1ĩ1)
*1SG.SBJ=transport.INAN.PL=PROSP)
'I want to **bring** (✓ANIM / *INAN.PL) two cows.'
[LWG 2024.1.44]

I mentioned above that the inanimate plural form can be used for certain animates that are low on the animacy hierarchy. For example, with all of the number-and-animacy suppleting verbs, it is acceptable to use the INAN.PL roots when speaking of birds, especially relatively small birds like chickens or songbirds (rather than, for example, macaws). This is shown by the textual examples in (13)ex:inamplo-bird-give.

(13) *tʃo31rɨ3 o3ta5 rɨ1, ŋẽ5ã2 ta4, tʃau1ʔtɨ4ĩ1ta1wa5 ta4* ***tʃa3na3na1****.*
tʃo31rɨ3 o3ta5 rɨ1 ŋẽ5ã2 ta4 tʃau1=ʔtɨ4=ĩ1ta1=wa5 ta4
1SG.POSS chicken(IV) TOP there.ALL FUT 1SG=WF=RN:at=ALL FUT
**tʃa3=na3=na1**
**1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=transport.INAN.PL**
'As for my chickens, I'm going to **take.PL them** there to my father-in-law's place.' [SSG built space 9:08]

(14) *ɟo43ʔni5 ta4ʔã3ta4ĩ2 na4 ma3 ni4,* ***tʃa1nu4ma3re2ʔ*** *ɟe2ʔã4ma4 rɨ3tʃo31ma3re2ʔ.*
ɟo43ʔni5 ta4=ã3=ta4ĩ2 na4 ma3 ni4
meanwhile 3(I)=have.inal=cage COMP PRF FOC
**tʃa1=nu4=ma3re3=ʔ** ɟe2ʔa2=ã4ma4
**1SG.SBJ.SC=put.INAN.PL=just=SUB** there.DIST.LOC=toward

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rɨ3=tʃo31=ma3re3=ʔ
3.SBJ.SC=stay.PL=just=SUB
'They (parakeets) aren't in the cage in the meantime, I just **put.INAN.PL them** out there and they're staying.PL there.' [Veronica, LSC-VSC 26:10]

(15) *e3ʔne1 nu5a2ma4 tɨ31ʔĩ3* ***na1na1***
e3ʔne1 nu5a2=ã4ma4 tɨ31=ʔĩ3 **na1=na1**
parakeet here.ALL=toward 3(I)=ACC **IMP=give.INAN.PL**
'**Give.INAN.PL** the parakeets here, i.e., to me.' [Laura, LSC-VSC 4:39]

With number-only suppleting roots, both animate and inanimate arguments license the plural, as shown in (1) and (2) above. Thus, the fact that number suppletion occurs **only** with inanimates is a major difference between number-only and number-and-animacy suppleting roots.

### 16.2.2 Grammatical vs. conceptual animacy

Dolls and other toys representing animates can count as animate for purposes of animacy suppletion. For example, in (16) the speaker uses the animate form of 'transport,' *ga4*, when referring to a doll. Dolls/toys seems to be the only referents for which grammatical animacy is different from real-world animacy (on a Ticuna view of what is animate/alive).

(16) *to1 i4 mu3ɲe4ka1 nu5a2 ta4 pi3ga4*
to1 i4 mu3ɲe4ka1 nu5a2 ta4 pi3=ga4
other(IV) DET(IV) doll(IV) here.ALL FUT 2PL.SBJ=transport:ANIM
'You guys should bring.ANIM another doll.' [2019 C10-C13, CG 8:17]

Animate but dead referents count as inanimate in suppletion. Thus, in (17) the speaker uses the inanimate form of 'give,' *ã3*, when referring to dead fish.

(17) *ŋe3ma2ã1kɨ2e3ka1 ti41ʔĩ4 ɟa4 tʃa1ʔu3ma1 i4 tʃo43ʔni5 tɨ31ʔna1 ta1ʔã2ʔĩ4*
ŋe3ma2=ã1kɨ2=e3ka1 ti41ʔĩ4 ɟa4 tʃau1=ʔɨ3ma1 i4 tʃo43ʔni5
DEM.MULTI=ADVBZ=INFO 3(I)COP DET(I) 1SG=HZ(I) DET(IV) fish(IV)
tɨ31=na1 ta1=ã3=ʔĩ4
1INCL=RCP 3(I).SBJ.SC=give.INAN=SUB
'That's how my sister-in-law was giving.INAN us fish (to eat).' [LWG jek 1:40]

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## 16.3 Non-absolutive number suppletion in the verb 'watch'

All verbs discussed in this section so far are either intransitives or causative transitives. However, there is also a single psych transitive verb with a number alternation. This is *da2we3ni3 ~ dau2ni3* 'look at, watch,' where the subject has the thematic role of experiencer.

Unlike all other transitive verbs, the root alternation for 'watch' is conditioned by the number of the subject, as shown by the textual examples in (18).

(18) a. *na4 ɲu1ʔgu2 ni31ʔĩ3* ***tʃa3da2we3ni3*** *i4 espejito?*
na4 ɲu1ʔgu2 ni31=ʔĩ3 **tʃa3=da2we3ni3** i4 espejito
COMP when? 3=ACC **1SG.SBJ=watch.SG** DET(IV) SP:mirror(IV)
'When do I **look at.SG** the little mirror?' [20170527_004, AYM, 10:14]

b. *nu5a2ã4ma4 ni31ʔĩ3* ***pe3ri3dau2ni4!***
nu5a2=ã4ma4 ni31=ʔĩ3 **pe3ri3=dau2ni4**
here.ALL=toward 3=ACC **2SBJ=watch.PL**
'Y'all should **look.PL** at it over here!' [20170527_004, AYM, 2:21]

An event with a plural subject and singular object allows the plural (19). However, an event with a singular subject and plural object doesn't (20). This conditioning by the number of a transitive subject is exactly the opposite of the number suppletion pattern for other transitive verbs, as discussed in the last two subsections.

(19) *ɟe4ma4 bu3ʔĩ4gi4 ri1 ni31ʔĩ3* ***na4ri3dau2ni3*** *ga4 ɟe4ʔgu4ma4 na1gu3e3gu2.*
ɟe4ma4 bu3ʔĩ4=gi4 ri1 ni31=ʔĩ3 **na4ri3=dau2ni3** ga4
DEM.REM.PST(IV) child(IV)=PL TOP 3=ACC **3.SBJ=watch.PL** DET.REM.PST
ɟe4ʔgu4ma4 na1=gu3e3=gu2
then.REM.PST 3.SBJ.SC=roast=SUB
'The children **watched.PL** him whenever he roasted (food).' [LWG t+e 0:39]

(20) *to1ma2ɛ̃1pi3 i4 bu3ʔĩ4ʔĩ3* ***✓tʃa3da2we3ni3 / *tʃa3ri3dau2ni3***
to1ma2ɛ̃1pi3 i4 bu3ʔĩ4=ʔĩ3
three DET(IV) child(IV)=ACC
**✓tʃa3=da2we3ni3 / *tʃa3ri3=dau2ni3**
**✓1SG.SBJ=watch.SG / *1SG.SBJ=watch.PL**
'I **watched (✓SG/ *PL)** the three children.' [LWG 2024.1.42]

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The transitive-subject suppletion pattern of 'watch' quantifies participants, not events: describing multiple events with the same singular experiencer and stimulus doesn't license the plural (21). This (unlike the conditioning of suppletion by a transitive subject) is the same as other suppletion patterns in the language, which are also always argument-based.

(21) Context: I have to watch a video of the same child over and over to transcribe it.
*wɨ43ʔi4ta2ã4 i4 bu3ʔɨ̃4ʔɨ̃3 ✓tʃa3da2we3nɨ3e1tʃa1 / *tʃa3rɨ3dau2nɨ3e1tʃa1 / *tʃa3rɨ3dau2nɨ3*
wɨ43ʔi4=ta2ã4 i4 bu3ʔɨ̃4=ʔɨ̃3 ✓tʃa3=da2we3nɨ3=e1tʃa1 / one=only DET(IV) child(IV)=ACC ✓1SG.SBJ=watch.SG=constantly / *tʃa3rɨ3=dau2nɨ3=e1tʃa1 / *tʃa3rɨ3=dau2nɨ3
*1SG.SBJ=watch.PL=constantly / *1SG.SBJ=watch.PL
'I'm constantly watching (✓SG/*PL) just one child.' [LWG 2024.1.32]

Except for 'watch,' root and suffix number suppletion in Ticuna is always driven by the number of the internal argument (and this has been argued to be a universal pattern, see Durie 1986).

To save the generalization that root suppletion is always absolutive, it could be argued that 'watch' is a complex stem derived from the root dau2 'see.' On this analysis, the SG form could be segmented as *dau2* 'see' plus the incorporated inalienable noun *e3nɨ3* 'appearance' (a real inanlienable which does incorporate). The PL form would then be segmented as *dau2* 'see' plus a syllable [*nɨ2*], which would then need to be treated as a suppletive plural form of *e3nɨ3* 'appearance'. I reject this analysis because (a) [*nɨ2*] does not exist as an inalienable noun and (b) there is no other evidence for number suppletion of nouns in the language.

## 16.4 Number suppletion and valency-changing operations

Verbs with number-suppleting roots can undergo the language's two main valence-changing operations, noun incorporation (§16.4.1) and derivation of the morphological causative (§16.4.2). In these processes, it's always the embedded internal argument, **not** any arguments introduced in the valence-changing process, that governs the suppletion. I'll explain this starting with the causative.

### 16.4.1 Noun incorporation with suppleting roots

All transitive suppleting roots except for 'watch', as well as some of the intransitive suppleting roots (such as 'fall'), can undergo noun incorporation. In this

process (Chapter 12), the possessor of the internal argument is promoted to an argument position (subject if the verb was intransitive, object if transitive) and takes the case associated with that position. The original internal argument is compounded with the verb, forms a single prosodic word with it, and no longer bears case.

Plural forms of suppleting roots are acceptable in noun incorporation if and only if the incorporated argument is plural. Plural possessors, even when they're raised to object position and take the accusative because of incorporation, don't license plural forms. I'll show this with intransitives, then transitives.

To begin with intransitives, in (22) the surface subject is 1PL, but the intransitive verb cannot have the plural allomorph because the incorporated argument (which was the subject) is singular. Conversely, in (23) the surface subject is 1SG, but the intransitive verb **can** have the plural allomorph because the incorporated argument is plural.

(22) Context: You and I were playing a game with a single marble. It fell off the table.
*(ta4ri3ʎu31a1ri3 / *ta4ri3ɟi31a1ri3) bola=ɑ̃1.*
(ta4ri3=ʎu31=a1ri3 / *ta4ri3=ɟi31=a1ri3)
(1INCL.SBJ=fall.SG=AL.INCORP / *1INCL.SBJ=fall.PL=AL.INCORP)
bola=ɑ̃1.
SP:marble=AL.INCORP
'We had our marble fall (*PL).' [LWG 2017.2.191]

(23) Context: I played a game of marbles and all of my marbles fell off the table.
*tʃa3ri3ɟi31a1ri3 bola=ɑ̃1.*
tʃa3ri3=ɟi31=a1ri3 bola=ɑ̃1
1SG.SBJ=fall.PL=AL.INCORP SP:marble=AL.INCORP
'I had my marbles fall.PL.' [LWG 2017.2.191]

Looking to transitives, plural surface objects, such as the 1PL object in (24), do not license the plural roots. Plural incorporated objects do, even if the surface object is singular (25).

(24) Context: My relative and I own a cow together and Carlos killed it.
*Ka3ru1 ri1 to31ʔĩ3 (✓ni4ma5a1ri3 / *na4dai2a1ri3) wo3ka1ʔɑ̃1.*
Ka3ru1 ri1 to31=ʔĩ3 (✓ni4=mɑ̨1=a1ri3 / *na4=dai2=a1ri3)
Ka3ru1 ri1 to31=ʔĩ3 (✓3.SBJ=kill.SG=AL.INCORP / *3.SBJ=kill.PL=AL.INCORP)

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wo3ka1=ʔą̃1
COW=AL.INCORP
'Carlos cow-slaughtered us (✓SG, *PL).' [DGG 2017.2.195, LWG 2017.2.192]

(25) Context: Carlos killed several of my farm animals.
*Ka3ru1 rɨ1 tʃo31ʔĩ3 ✓ni4mą̃1ʔĩ3na3 / ✓na4dai2ʔĩ3na3*
Ka3ru1 rɨ1 tʃo31=ʔĩ3 ✓ni4=mą̃1=ʔĩ3na3 /
Carlos TOP 1SG=ACC ✓3.SBJ=kill.SG=NI:domestic.animal /
✓na4=dai2=ʔĩ3na3
✓3.SBJ=kill.PL=NI:domestic.animal
'Carlos livestock-slaughtered me (✓SG, ✓PL).' [DGG 2017.2.195]

### 16.4.2 Causatives of suppleting roots

When a suppleting verb root takes the causative suffix *-ʔẽ4ẽ3*, it appears in the plural form only if the embedded internal argument is plural. That means the causee, i.e. embedded subject, for the causative of an intransitive (26) or the patient, i.e. embedded object, for the causative of a transitive (27).

(26) *gu5ã4ma4 ɟa4 pe3ta4ka1 tɨ31ʔĩ3* ***tʃa3ri3ɟi31ʔẽ4ẽ3***
gu5ã4ma4 ɟa4 pe3ta4ka1 tɨ31=ʔĩ3 **tʃa3ri3=ɟi31-ʔẽ4ẽ3**
all DET(I) marble(I) 3(I)=ACC **1SG.SBJ=fall.PL-CAUS**
'I made all of the marbles **fall.PL**.' [LWG 2024.1.43]

(27) *Bi3tu5ʔĩ3 ta2ʔre4 ɟa4 o3ta5ʔĩ3* ***tʃa3dai2ʔẽ4ẽ3***
Bi3tu5=ʔĩ3 ta2ʔre4 ɟa4 o3ta5=ʔĩ3 **tʃa3=dai2-ʔẽ4ẽ3**
Victoria=ACC two DET(IV) chicken=ACC **1SG.SBJ=kill.PL-CAUS**
'I had Victoria **kill.PL** two chickens.' [DGG 2017.2.195, LWG 2017.2.192, LWG 2024.1.43]

In the causative of a transitive, the causee is marked with the accusative, appearing to be an object. However, negative judgments show that pluralizing the causee still does not license a plural root for the verb (28). This indicates that only embedded objects, not other surface objects, license the plural for transitive roots.

(28) *. tʃau1ne3gɨ4ʔĩ3 wɨ43ʔi4 i4 wo3ka1 ✓tʃi3mą̃1ʔẽ4ẽ3 / *tʃa3dai2ʔẽ4ẽ3*
tʃau1=ne3=gɨ4=ʔĩ3 wɨ43ʔi4 i4 wo3ka1 ✓tʃi3=mą̃1-ʔẽ4ẽ3 /
1SG=son=PL=ACC one DET(IV) cow(IV) ✓1SG.SBJ=kill.SG-CAUS /
*tʃa3=dai2-ʔẽ4ẽ3
*1SG.SBJ=kill.PL-CAUS
'I had my sons kill (✓SG / *PL) a cow.' [DGG 2017.2.195]

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Plural causers don't license the plural form for either transitives or intransitives, as shown by (29–30). This is as expected, since plural agents never license plural roots except for 'watch.'

(29) *wɨ43ʔi4ta2ã4 i4 pe3ta4ka1 tɨ31ʔĩ3 (ta4rɨ3ʌ̊u31ʔẽ4ẽ3 / *ta4rɨ3ɟi31ʔẽ4ẽ3)*
wɨ43ʔi4=ta2ã4 i4 pe3ta4ka1 tɨ31=ʔĩ3 (ta4rɨ3=ʌ̊u31-ʔẽ4ẽ3 /
one=only DET(I) marble(I) 3(I)=ACC (1INCL.SBJ=fall.SG-CAUS /
*ta4rɨ3=ɟi31-ʔẽ4ẽ3)
*1INCL.SBJ=fall.PL-CAUS)
'We made one of the marbles fall (*PL).' [LWG 2024.1.43]

(30) *Bi3tu5ʔĩ3 wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa4 o3ta5 (pi3mą1ʔẽ4ẽ3 / *pe3dai2ʔẽ4ẽ3)*
Bi3tu5=ʔĩ3 wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa4 o3ta5 (pi3=mą1-ʔẽ4ẽ3 /
Victoria=ACC one DET(I) chicken(I) (2PL.SBJ=kill.SG-CAUS /
*pe3=dai2-ʔẽ4ẽ3)
*2PL.SBJ=kill.PL-CAUS)
'You guys had Victoria kill (*PL) a chicken.' [LWG 2024.1.43]

## 16.5 Optionality of suppletion

The optionality of verb root suppletion depends on the type of suppletion (number vs. animacy) and the person of the argument which controls the suppletion.

### 16.5.1 Number suppletion

Number suppletion is optional for both number-only and number-and-animacy suppleting verbs, as long as the suppletion-controlling argument is third person. If the suppletion controller is first or second person, number suppletion is obligatory.

#### 16.5.1.1 Third persons

I'll start with number suppletion for third-person arguments. (31) shows that for a plural inanimate object, it's acceptable to use the general-number INAN form for 'transport.' Despite the lack of number marking on the verb, it's clear that the internal argument here is plural because the noun has plural marking.

(31) *e3ĩ1ka5ʔ, nu5a2 pe3na3ʌ̊**e43** a1 ku3tʃa5ra1gɨ4*
e3ĩ1ka5ʔ nu5a2 pe3=na3=**ʌ̊e43** a1 ku3tʃa5ra1=gɨ4
let's.see here.ALL 2PL.SBJ=3.OBJ=**transport.INAN** DET(III) spoon(III)=PL
'C'mon, you guys should **bring.INAN.SG** the spoons.' [2019 C5, FA1, 11:13]

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(32–33) shows that using the general-number inanimate form is also acceptable for the other number-and-animacy suppleting verbs, 'put' and 'give.'

(32) *ɟe2ʔa4* ***a3ʔi43***
ɟe2ʔa4 **a3=i43**
there.DIST.LOC **IMP>3.OBJ.AM=put.INAN**
'Go and **put.INAN.SG** them (photographs) there.' [Victoria, LFG-MFG-LVI part 1, a503]

(33) *ku31ʔna1* ***[✓tʃa3na3na4 / ✓tʃa3na3ʔã3]*** *i4 ta2ʔre4 i4 a3e3pa4ĩ2*
ku31=na1 **[✓tʃa3=na3=na4** /
2SG=RCP **[✓1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=give.INAN.PL** /
**✓tʃa3=na3=ã3]** i4 ta2ʔre4 i4 a3e3=pa4ĩ2
**✓1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=give.INAN.SG]** DET(IV) two DET(IV) drink=dish
'I gave you (✓INAN.SG / ✓INAN.PL) two cups.' [LWG 2024.1.44]

The same optionality applies to number-only suppleting roots: the general-number forms are attested and accepted with 3PL internal arguments, as shown by (34) for an intransitive and (35) for a transitive.

(34) *mu1ʔe3ma2 ɟa4 pe3ti4ka1* ***ta4ri3ʎu31 / ✓ta4ri3ɟi31***
mu1ʔe3ma2 ɟa4 pe3ti4ka1 **✓ta4ri3=ʎu31 / ✓ta4ri3=ɟi31**
many(I) DET(I) marble(I) **✓3(I).SBJ=fall.SG / ✓3(I).SBJ=fall.PL**
'Many (of the) marbles **fell** (✓SG/✓PL).' [DGG 2017.3.48]

(35) *ta2ũ4ta4ã2 ʎe1ʔta5* ***ku1na3ta5ʔĩ4*** *a4 ŋe3 tu3ti5gi4tʃi4ki1na4ʔã2*
ta2ũ4ta4ã2 ʎe1ʔta5 **ku1=na3=tą1=ʔĩ4** a4
NEG.FUT where?.ALL **2SG.SBJ.SC=3.OBJ=discard.SG=SUB** DET(IV)
ŋe3ma2 tu3ti5=gi4=tʃi4ki1na4ʔã2
DEM.MULTI(IV) MB=PL=image
'You shouldn't just **throw away.SG** those pictures of your uncles wherever.' [Victoria, LFG-MFG-LVI part 1, a503]

Based on corpus data, for third-person arguments, the optionality of number suppletion is not affected by any properties of the noun phrase. As the above examples show, general-number verb forms are still allowed when the object has the nominal plural (31); when it's quantified (34–33); when it's modified by a demonstrative, i.e. is definite (35); or when it's expressed by a pronoun/proclitic rather than an NP (32).

All these examples have been non-human, but plural suppletion is just as optional for human as nonhuman arguments (36–37).

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(36) *ta2ʔre4 i4 du1ɨ̃3ʔɨ̃4 rɨ1 na43wa5 ✓na4rɨ3ʎu31 / ✓na4rɨ3ɟi31*
ta2ʔre4 i4 du1ɨ̃3ʔɨ̃4 rɨ1 na43=wa5 ✓na4rɨ3=ʎu31 / ✓na4rɨ3=ɟi31
two DET(IV) person(IV) TOP 3=ALL ✓3.SBJ=fall.SG / ✓3.SBJ=fall.PL
'Two people fell (✓SG/✓PL) from it.' [LWG 2025.1.92]

(37) Context: Traditional story of a man who abandoned his children in the forest.
*ɲa4a2 ta2ʔre4 i4 bu3ʔɨ̃4 rɨ1 no51rɨ3 pa3pa5 rɨ1 ✓i5ta4na3tɑ1 / ✓i5ta4na3wo1gɨ4*
ɲa4a2 ta2ʔre4 i4 bu3ʔɨ̃4 rɨ1 no51rɨ3 pa3pa5 rɨ1
DEM.PROX(IV) two DET(IV) child(IV) TOP 3(IV).POSS father(I) TOP
✓i5=ta4=na3=tɑ1 / ✓i5=ta4=na3=wo1=gɨ4
✓VCL=3(I).SBJ=3.OBJ=discard.SG / ✓VCL=3(I).SBJ=3.OBJ=discard.PL=PL
'As for these two children, their father discarded (✓SG/✓PL) them.' [LWG 2025.1.92]

#### 16.5.1.2 Local persons

If the argument which controls suppletion is a local person, number suppletion becomes obligatory. This applies for both 1PL (38) and 2PL (39) controllers.

(38) *to31ma2 ✓ta4rɨ3ɟi31 / *ta4rɨ3ʎu31*
to31ma2 ✓ta4rɨ3=ɟi31 / *ta4rɨ3=ʎu31
1EXCL.TOP ✓1EXCL.SBJ=fall.PL / *1EXCL.SBJ=fall.SG
'We (excl) fell (✓PL / *SG).' [LWG 2017.3.62]

(39) *wɨ43ʔi4gu2 ✓pe3rɨ3ɟi31 / *pe3rɨ3ʎu31*
wɨ43ʔi4gu2 ✓pe3rɨ3=ɟi31 / *pe3rɨ3=ʎu31
together ✓2PL.SBJ=fall.PL / *2PL.SBJ=fall.SG
'You (pl) fell down together (✓PL / *SG).' [DGG 2017.3.48]

There is an exception to the obligatoriness of suppletion with first- and second-person controllers. This is that the singular form becomes acceptable if the 1PL/2PL argument is quantified by the distributive quantifier *wɨ43ʔi4tʃi1gɨ1* 'each,' as in (40).

(40) Context: Several people were sitting in a tree. They deliberately fell off, one at a time. They could say (a) / I could say to them (b):
a. *wɨ43ʔi4tʃi1gɨ1 i4 to31ma2 ✓ta4rɨ3ʎu31 / ✓ta4rɨ3ɟi31*

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wɨ43ʔi4tʃi1gɨ1 i4 to31ma2 ✓ta4rɨ3=ʎu31 /
each DET(IV) 1EXCL.TOP ✓1EXCL.SBJ=fall.SG /
✓ta4rɨ3=ɟi31
✓1EXCL.SBJ=fall.PL
'Each of us (excl) fell down (✓SG/✓PL).' [LWG 2017.3.62]

b. *wɨ43ʔi4tʃi1gɨ1 ✓pe3rɨ3ɟi31 / ✓pe3rɨ3ʎu31*
wɨ43ʔi4tʃi1gɨ1 ✓pe3rɨ3=ɟi31 / ✓pe3rɨ3=ʎu31
each ✓2PL.SBJ=fall.PL / ✓2PL.SBJ=fall.SG
'Each of you (pl) fell down (✓SG/✓PL).' [DGG 2017.3.48]

In (40), it is the distributive quantifier – not the distributive event structure – that makes the singular verb root acceptable. For example, LWG judged that deleting the noun phrase in (40)a makes the singular verb form unacceptable, even if you are describing the same event.

The judgment that only the distributive quantifier can allow the plural with 1PL/2PL controllers was extremely consistent across consultants and sessions with 'fall' and other intransitives. However, it varied somewhat with 'discard' and 'hit/kill,' which are the only suppleting transitives that allow the plural with human controllers. In (41), for example, Lilia allowed – and in fact, volunteered – the singular allomorph of 'discard' when describing a distributive event with a 2PL object, even though the 2PL object is not quantified by a distributive quantifier.

(41) Context: I'm speaking to two men who were married to different women. Each man's wife separately left him. I can say,
*pe31mą1gɨ4 rɨ1 pe31ʔĩ3 ✓i5ta4tą1 / ✓i5ta4wo1gɨ4*
pe31=mą1=gɨ4 rɨ1 pe31=ʔĩ3 ✓i5=ta4=tą1 /
2PL=wife(I)=PL TOP 2PL=ACC ✓VCL=3(I).SBJ=discard.SG /
✓i5=ta4=wo1=gɨ4
✓VCL=3(I).SBJ=discard.PL=PL
'Your wives left (✓SG / ✓PL) you guys' [LWG 2025.1.92]
(SG volunteered, PL accepted)

### 16.5.2 Animacy suppletion

Animacy suppletion, unlike number suppletion, is obligatory for all grammatical persons. In the corpus materials, people never use the INAN form of animacy-suppleting verbs with a human or higher animate object. Lilia judged this structure ungrammatical for all three verbs that undergo animacy suppletion, as shown by (42).

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(42) a. *ku31ʔna1 [✓tʃa3na3mu2 / *tʃa3na3ʔã3] a4 mi3tʃi1*
ku31=na1 [✓tʃa3=na3=mu2 / *tʃa3=na3=ã3]
ku31=na1 [✓1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=give:ANIM / *1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=give.INAN]
a4 mi3tʃi1
DET(IV) cat(IV)
'I gave (✓ANIM / *INAN) the cat to you (as a pet).' [LWG 2024.1.44]

b. *me3tʃa1gu2 [✓tʃa3na3mu2 / *tʃa3na3ʔɨ43] i4 mi3tʃi1*
me3tʃa1=gu2 [✓tʃa3=na3=mu2 / *tʃa3=na3=ɨ43]
table=LOC [✓1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=put:ANIM / *1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=put.INAN]
i4 mi3tʃi1
DET(IV) cat(IV)
'I put (✓ANIM / *INAN) the cat on the table.' [LWG 2024.1.45]

c. *tɨ31ʔĩ3 [✓tʃi3ga4ʔtʃa1ĩ1 / *tʃa3ʎe31ʔtʃa1ĩ1] ɟa4 mi3tʃi1*
tɨ31=ʔĩ3 [✓tʃi3=ga4=tʃa1ĩ1 /
3(I)=ACC [✓1SG.SBJ=transport:ANIM=PROSP /
*tʃa3=ʎe43=tʃa1ĩ1] ɟa4 mi3tʃi1
*1SG.SBJ=transport.INAN=PROSP] DET(I) cat(I)
'I want to bring (✓ANIM / *INAN) the cat home.' [LWG 2024.1.45]

## 16.6 Summary

Verb root suppletion in Ticuna affects 11 total verb roots, plus stems which are synchronically or diachronically derived from them. For ten of the 11 roots, suppletion is conditioned exclusively by the properties of the internal argument – number (SG/PL) only for seven roots (§16.1), and both number and animacy (contrasting inanimate general number, animate general number, and inanimate plural forms) for three roots (§16.2). If the verb undergoes valence-changing processes, suppletion is still controlled by the embedded (i.e., original) internal argument, not by the surface arguments (§16.4). Number suppletion is optional, except if the controller of suppletion is first or second person plural; animacy suppletion is obligatory (§16.5).

All of these characteristics are typologically very common for verb root suppletion systems, and the absolutive alignment has been argued to be universal (Durie 1986). However, the verb *da2we3nɨ3 ~ dau2nɨ3* 'watch, look at' is an exception to the absolutive alignment of suppletion: it is transitive, but suppletion is conditioned by the number of the **subject** (§16.3).

While suppletion in verb **roots** aligns with typological generalizations, the language also has a much more unusual process of number suppletion in directional

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**suffixes** which attach to verbs. Number suppletion in directionals is unusual because it targets suffixes rather than verb roots. In other properties, such as alignment and optionality, it looks the same as verb root suppletion. Directional suppletion is described alongside the overall directional system in Chapter 18.

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# 17 Verbal number

As discussed in the last chapter, verbal subject proclitics mark number for first and second person subjects. Besides these, the language also has many other strategies for marking participant number and event number on verbs. In this chapter I will describe them in the following order:

1. The verbal enclitic *=gɨ4* PL (§17.1)
2. The verbal suffix *-e3* PL (§17.2)
3. The distributive enclitic *=tʃi1gɨ1* (§17.3)
4. Distributive marking via conversion to the /i/ conjugation class (§17.4)

Besides these forms of marking, participant number also triggers suppletion on some verb roots (Chapter 16) and most directional suffixes (Chapter 18). Additionally, some less common verbal suffixes have number/quantificational meaning components. These are discussed in Chapter 19.

## 17.1 Argument plural enclitic *=gɨ4*

### 17.1.1 Enclitic is licensed by any argument

The argument plural *=gɨ4* can appear on transitive verbs, and on stative and unergative intransitives. It does not combine with unaccusative intransitives.

On transitives, *=gɨ4* can be licensed by either a plural subject (1, 3) or a plural object (2, 4). This goes for both classes of transitives – causative verbs (1–2) and psych verbs (3–4).

(1) Context: Several people transport one sick person
*rɨ1 directamente ɟe5a2 hospitalwa5* ***na4na3ga4gɨ4***

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ri1 directamente ɟe5a2 hospital=wa5
and SP:at.once there.DIST.ALL hospital=ALL
**na4=na3=ga4=gi4**
**3.SBJ=3.OBJ=transport.ANIM=PL**
'And **they can take him** to the hospital right away.' [DGG HALDI line 557]

(2) Context: A demonic giant acts on his two dogs
*ɟe4ma4 ai31ru5 ri1 ga4 ɟe4ma4 gigante ri1* ***na4na3po4ʔta1ma1tʃi1ẽ3gi4***
ɟe4ma4 ai31ru5 ri1 ga4 ɟe4ma4
DEM.ANA.REM.PST(IV) dog TOP DET.REM.PST DEM.ANA.REM.PST(IV)
gigante ri1 **na4=na3=po4-ta1=ma1tʃi1ẽ3=gi4**
SP:giant TOP **3.SBJ=3.OBJ=hit-DIR:closing=NI:ear=PL**
'As for the dogs, the giant **had covered their ears**.' [LWG tak line 111]

(3) *ma3ri3 ta4ma3 ni31ʔĩ3* ***na4ʍa̱1gi4*** *ta1*
ma3ri3 ta4ma3 ni31=ʔĩ3 **na4=ʍa̱1=gi4** ta1
PRF NEG 3=ACC **3.SBJ=know=PL** also
'They (the people of Puerto Nariño) don't **understand it** (Ticuna) any more either.' [HCG HALDI line 79]

(4) *A3ma3ri3a1 na4te4 ki3ʔi4 ri1 ni31ʔĩ3* ***ki3dau2gi4****?*
A3ma3ri3a1 na4=te4 ki3ʔi4 ri1 ni31=ĩ3 **ki3=dau2=gi4**
Amalia 3=husband 2SG.SBJ.COP TOP 3=ACC **2SG.SBJ=see=PL**
'Are you Amalia's husband, that **you're allowed to look at those** (the cameras)?' [AFG, AFG-LVI line 383, joking with her 5-year-old]

On intransitive verbs, *=gi4* is licensed by plural subjects (5–8). It is acceptable on unergative verbs (5), most stative verbs (6), and most non-suppleting verbs of motion (7) and posture (8). (Note that motion and posture verbs are difficult to classify in terms of argument structure.)

(5) *ɟi51ʔka4ma4 ta4 tau4ʔ* ***ta4ku1gi2ta2e3gi4*** *re3ka̱1 ni4*
ɟi51ʔka4ma4 ta4 tau4ʔ **ta4=ku1gi2ta2e3=gi4** re3ka̱1 ni4
later FUT Intens **1EXCL.SBJ=play.soccer=PL** INFO:that's.why
'**We're** definitely going to **play soccer** later, that's why.' [Laura, LSC-VSC line 418]

(6) *po2ra4ã1ki2ʔi5tʃi2ma3* ***ta4ʎe4tʃa1ĩ1gi4***
po2ra4ã1ki2=ʔi5tʃi2=ma3 **ta4=ʎe4tʃa1ĩ1=gi4** **1EXCLSBJ=sad=PL**
very=really=INFO
'**We're** really **sad**.' [LWG air line 50]

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(7) *nu5a2ma4* ***ta4ʔã1gɨ4ma3re2ʔĩ4***
nu5a2=ma4 **ta4=ã1=gɨ4=ma3re3=ʔĩ4**
DLOC.PROX=toward **1EXCL.SBJ=paddle=PL=just=SUB**
'**We're just paddling** in this direction.' [Laura, LSC-VSC line 366]

(8) *me31ã2* ***i5ta4ri3to1gɨ4***
me31ã2 **i5=ta4ri3=to1=gɨ4**
well **VCL=3(I).SBJ=sit=PL**
'**They sit** still.' [Victoria, LFG-MFG-LVI 20m-40m line 93]

ALL the previous examples involve definite arguments. However, indefinite arguments also license the argument plural. For example, (9) is an existential construction where the verb is marked with the argument plural. Both elements of the indefinite noun phrase are also marked with *=gɨ4*, appearing in its function as a nominal plural (Chapter 7.3.1.1).

(9) *du1ĩ3ʔĩ4****gɨ4****ɨ1kɨ2 na4ɟe2ʔma4****gɨ4*** *ga4 to1****gɨ4****.*
du1ĩ3ʔĩ4**=gɨ4**=ɨ1kɨ2 na4=ɟe2ʔma4=**gɨ4** ga4
person(IV)**=PL**=INFO 3.SBJ=be.in.place.REM.PST**=PL** DET.REM.PST
to1**=gɨ4**
other(IV)**=PL**
'There were other people too.' [NWG Brazil Trip 33:52]

In contrast to all other verb classes, unaccusative intransitives generally don't combine with *=gɨ4* (10). These verbs take the argument plural *-e3* instead (§17.2).

(10) **ni4dʉ2ru1gɨ4 / ✓ni4dʉ2ru1e3*
*ni4=dʉ2ru1=gɨ4 / ✓ni4=dʉ2ru1-e3
*3.SBJ=tremble=PL / ✓3.SBJ=tremble-PL
'They trembled.' [LWG: 2017.2.95]

The enclitic *=gɨ4* is 'argument plural,' not just a 'plural,' because it can't be licensed by event number alone. If all arguments of the verb are singular, but the event of the verb happens repeatedly, *=gɨ4* is still unacceptable. This applies to both intransitives (11) and transitives (12). Instead, plural event number is normally marked by one of the verbal distributives (§17.3).

(11) Context: I sang several times / I sang in several places / I sang using several different instruments / I sang the same song to several different degrees of completeness.

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*#itʃa3wi3ɟa3e3gɨ4*
#i5=tʃa3=wi3ɟa3e3=gɨ4
#1SG.SBJ=sing=PL
(Attempted reading: 'I sang') [LWG 2017.2.191, ECP 2017.2.181]

(12) Context: I hid the same, single marble several times
*#bola=ʔĩ3 tʃi3kʉ1gɨ4*
#bola=ʔĩ3 tʃi3=kʉ1=gɨ4
#SP:marble=ACC 1SG.SBJ=hide=PL
(Attempted reading: 'I hid the marble') [LWG 2017.2.191, ECP 2017.2.183]

### 17.1.2 Enclitic is always optional

From textual materials, *=gɨ4* seems to be optional – that is, it can always be omitted. Omitting the argument plural is allowed regardless of the syntactic role of the licensing plural argument. For example, with causative transitive verbs, omitting the plural is allowed for either a plural agent (13) or a plural object (14).

(13) *to31ma2gɨ4 na4 ta3bu31e2ĩ4 rɨ1 na4e3ĩ1ma1tʃi3* ***ta4na3ŋʊ̃1***
to31ma2=gɨ4 na4 ta3=bu31-e3=ĩ4 rɨ1
1EXCL.TOP=PL COMP 1EXCL.SBJ.SC=young-PL=SUB TOP
na4=e3ĩ1=ma1tʃi3 **ta4=na3=ŋʊ̃1**
3=game.animal=meat **1EXCL.SBJ=3.OBJ=eat**
'As for us-excl, when we were young, **we ate** (no PL) game meat.' [ECG ebu 3:39]

(14) *wo5e3ta2ma4 Ko3ri5 ŋe3ma2gu2 to31ʔĩ3 na4mu2*
wo5e3=ta2ma4 Ko3ri5 ŋe3ma2=gu2 to31=ʔĩ3 **na4=mu2**
simply=only Lord DEM.ANA(IV)=LOC 1EXCL=ACC **3.SBJ=put.ANIM**
'The Lord himself has **placed** us-excl (no PL) in that (vocation).' [ANA's Sermon 4:56]

The optionality of *=gɨ4* also holds for psych transitives (15–16) and for intransitives (17). That is, *=gɨ4* is not obligatory with any class of verb.

(15) *rɨ1 me31ã2ɨ1ra1ma3 po3pe4ra1ʔĩ3* ***ta4ʍɑ̨1*** *rɨ1*
rɨ1 me31ã2=ɨ1ra1=ma3 po3pe4ra1=ʔĩ3 **ta4=ʍɑ̨1** rɨ1
and well=sort.of=INFO book/paper=ACC **1EXCL=know** and
'So we-excl **learned (no PL)** to read and write pretty well.' [DGG HALDI 9:16]

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(16) *ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3 to31ʔĩ3* ***na4dau2*** *i4 niɨ31ma2 i4 ã4kiɨ5ʔĩ4 Don Lambert Anderson riɨ1*
ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3 to31=ʔĩ3 **na4=dau2** i4 niɨ31ma2 i4 ã4kiɨ5ʔĩ4
then 1EXCL=ACC **3.SBJ=see** DET(IV) 3(IV).TOP DET(IV) HESIT(IV)
Don Lambert Anderson riɨ1
SP:Mr. personal.name and
'And then he **met us-excl (no PL)**, whatshisname, Mr. Lambert Anderson.'
[DGG HALDI 9:16]

(17) *to31ʔi5ra1ma3 nu5a2* ***ta4ʔã3tʃi5ĩ1***
to31=ʔi5ra1=ma3 nu5a2 **ta4=ã3=tʃi5ĩ1**
1EXCL=first=INFO here.ALL **1EXCL.SBJ=have=NI:house**
'We-excl were the first to **live** (no PL) here (in this neighborhood).'
(LGC Haldi 24:34)

All these examples involve a first person plural exclusive licensing argument, but that is just for expository reasons (because the 1EXCL is often realized as an overt pronoun). The plural is equally optional for all person and number combinations. For example, if the verb is transitive and the agent is plural, then *=gɨ4* can be omitted no matter whether the agent is first person inclusive, second person, or third person (18–20).

(18) *e3ĩ1ka5* ***ta4na3ɟa1ʔu2***
e3ĩ1ka5 **ta4=na3=ɟau2ʔ**
INTJ:c'mon **1INCL.SBJ=3.OBJ=grab**
'Let's **grab (no PL)** it.' [KGW, 20170630_002, 4:50]

(19) *to1gɨ4ã4ma4 i4 ʎu5e3ẽ4ẽ3te2e3 riɨ1* ***pe3na3ɟa1ʔu2***
to1=gɨ4=ã4ma4 i4 ʎu5e3ẽ4ẽ3-te2e3-∅ riɨ1
other(IV)=PL=anyway DET(IV) teach-Antipas-NMLZ:event TOP
**pe3=na3=ɟau2ʔ**
**2PL.SBJ=3.OBJ=grab**
'You guys should **accept (no PL)** the other teachings too.'
[LCS ngu 1:51]

(20) *riɨ1 to31ʔna1* ***na4na3na1*** *ga4 ɟe2ʔma5ʔĩ4 ga4 no51riɨ3 ɟe2ʔma5ʔĩ4*
riɨ1 to31=na1 **na4=na3=na1** ga4
and 1EXCL=RCP **3.SBJ=3.OBJ=give.INAN.PL** DET.REM.PST
ɟe2ʔma5ʔĩ4 ga4 no51riɨ3 ɟe2ʔma5ʔĩ4
property.REM.PST DET.REM.PST 3.POSS property.REM.PST
'They [the people of Betania] **gave** (no concatenative PL) us things, their

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own things.'
[ECG bti 6:13]

Definiteness and indefiniteness do not affect the licensing of the argument plural, and they do not affect its optionality either. The plural can be omitted with an indefinite subject, as in (21), or just as easily, with an anaphoric definite subject (22).

(21) ***na4ɟe2ʔma4*** *ga4 bu3ʔĩ4 ga4 tạ1ku5e2ʔĩ4, ʎe4a1rɨ3 ma3ma5ą̃1gɨ5ʔ*
**na4=ɟe2ʔma4** ga4 bu3ʔĩ4 ga4
**3.SBJ=exist.REM.PST** DET.REM.PST child(IV) DET.REM.PST
tạ1ku5e3=ʔĩ4 ʎe4=a1rɨ3 ma3ma5=ą̃1=gɨ4=ʔ
be.orphaned=NMLZ(IV) lack=AL.INCORP mother=AL.INCORP=PL=NMLZ(IV)
'There **were** (no PL) some children who were orphans, who had no mother.' [story beginning; LWG owa 0:22]

(22) *o̜1ʔi5gɨ4 ɟe4ʔgu4ma4 na4ma4ʔe3, **na4ʎe3tɨ1** i4 kɨ2a4na4?*
o̜1ʔi5=gɨ4 ɟe4ʔgu4ma4 na4=ma4ʔ-e3 **na4=ʎe3tɨ1**
grandfather=PL then.REM.PST 3.SBJ=be.alive-PL **3.SBJ=be.young.adult**
i4 kɨ2a4na4
DET(IV) INTJ:tag
'Our ancestors were alive at that time. They **were young (no PL)**, right?'
[ABS: abk 1:28]

## 17.2 Argument plural suffix *-e3*

### 17.2.1 Suffix is licensed by argument number with unaccusative verbs

The argument plural suffix *-e3* is generally in complementary distribution with *=gɨ4*. It appears on most unaccusative intransitive verbs (23–24); on stative verbs that are interpreted as inchoative, i.e. denoting a change of state (as described in Chapter 14.2.1) (25); and on a small number of unergative verbs, most notably *pu3ra3kɨ4* 'work' (26).

(23) *tʃo31ʔĩ5 [✓**na4ɟu2e3** / *na4ɟu2gɨ4] i4 tʃo31rɨ3 mi3tʃi1*
tʃo31=ʔĩ5 [✓**na4=ɟu2-e3** / *na4=ɟu2=gɨ4] i4 tʃo31rɨ3 mi3tʃi1
1SG=BEN [✓**3.SBJ=die-PL** / *3.SBJ=die=PL] DET(IV) 1SG.POSS cat(IV)
'My cats died.' [SSG 2017.2.92]

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(24) ✓*ni4pu31e3 / *ni4pu31gɨ4*
✓ni4=pu31-e3 / *ni4=pu31=gɨ4
✓3.SBJ=shatter-PL / *3.SBJ=shatter=PL
'They shattered.' [SSG 2017.2.93]

(25) ✓*na4ɟa2e3 / *na4ɟa2gɨ4*
✓na4=ɟa2-e3 / *na4=ɟa2=gɨ4
✓3SBJ=mature-PL / *3SBJ=mature=PL
'They are mature / They became mature.' [SSG 2017.2.92]

(26) ✓*ta4pu3ra3kɨ4e3 / *ta4pu3ra3kɨ4gɨ4*
✓ta4=pu3ra3kɨ4-e3 / *ta4=pu3ra3kɨ4=gɨ4
✓1INCL.SBJ=work-PL / *1INCL.SBJ=work=PL
'We-incl are working.' [LWG 2017.2.95]

There are a few verbs which can combine with **either** *-e3* or *=gɨ4*. Judgments about exactly which verbs belong to this category are not completely stable between speakers; (27) is one judgment to this effect. In texts, there are occasional tokens of verbs which are marked with **both** *=gɨ4* and *-e3*, such as (28).

(27) *na4ta31e3 / na4ta43gɨ4*
na4=ta43-e3 / na4=ta43=gɨ4
3.SBJ=big-PL / 3.SBJ=big=PL
'They are big.' [LWG 2017.2.95]

(28) *ʎe?ta5 e5tʃa1pu3ra3kɨ5?ĩ4wa5,* ***e2tʃa31ga4gɨ4e3ta3ni3***
ʎe?ta5 e5=tʃa1=pu3ra3kɨ4=?ĩ4=wa5
where.ALL IPFV=1SG.SBJ.SC=work=NMLZ(IV)=ALL
**e2=tʃa3=a3=ga4=gɨ4-e3=ta3ni3**
**VCL=1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=transport.ANIM=PL-PL=Coll**
'I would **bring them** (my children) to where I was working.' [SSG HALDI 25:21]

Like *=gɨ4*, *-e3* is strictly an argument plural. It is licensed by plural subjects, not by plural events involving the same singular arguments (29) or by the same event occurring in multiple locations (30). These types of plurality *do* license the distributive enclitic, which is discussed in the next section.

(29) Context: I thought about my mother many different times.
*#tʃo31rɨ3 ma3ma5gu2 tʃa3rɨ3?ĩ3nɨ3e3*

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#tʃo31rɨ3 ma3ma5=gu2 tʃa3rɨ3=ĩ3nɨ3-e3
#1SG.POSS mother=LOC 1SG.SBJ=think-PL
(Intended reading: 'I kept thinking about my mother')
(LWG 2024.1.49)

(30) Context: I travel around working in many different locations.
*#tʃa3pu3ra3kɨ4e3*
#tʃa3=pu3ra3kɨ4-e3
#1SG.SBJ=work-PL
(Intended reading: 'I'm working') [LWG 2024.1.49]

### 17.2.2 Suffix is obligatory

Whenever the controlling argument is plural, *-e3* is obligatory. This applies regardless of the person and overtness of the subject. (31) demonstrates the obligatoriness of *-e3* with 1EXCL, 1Incl, and 2PL subjects. (32–33) demonstrate that it is also obligatory with 3PL overt (32) and pro-dropped (33) subjects.

(31) a. *ɟi1ʔe2ma4 rɨ1 ta4pu3ra3kɨ4*(e3)*
ɟi1ʔe2ma4 rɨ1 ta4=pu3ra3kɨ4-*(e3)
1INCL.TOP TOP 1INCL.SBJ=work-*(PL)

b. *to31ma2 rɨ1 ta3pu3ra3kɨ4*(e3)*
to31ma2 rɨ1 ta3=pu3ra3kɨ4-*(e3)
1EXCL.TOP TOP 1EXCL.SBJ=work-*(PL)

c. *pe3pu3ra3kɨ4*(e3)*
pe3=pu3ra3kɨ4-*(e3)
2PL=work-*(PL)

'We (incl) / We (excl) / You (pl) are working.' [LWG 2024.1.49]

(32) *a4 ɲa4a2 bu3ʔĩ4gɨ4 rɨ1 tą̣2kɨ4gu2 na4rɨ3ʔĩ3nɨ3*(e3)?*
a4 ɲa4a2 bu3ʔĩ4=gɨ4 rɨ1 tą̣2kɨ4=gu2 na4rɨ3=ĩ3nɨ3-*(e3)?
DET(IV) DEM.PROX(IV) child(IV)=PL TOP what?=LOC 3.SBJ=think-*(PL)
'As for these kids, what are they thinking about?' [LWG 2024.1.49]

(33) Context: Speaking of several children
*I3tʃi4tu1gu2 na4bu31*(e3)*
I3tʃi4tu1=gu2 na4=bu31-*(e3)
Iquitos=LOC 3.SBJ=be.born-*(PL)
'They were born in Iquitos.' [LWG 2024.1.49]

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For other verbal number marking, judgments sometimes are stricter (in the direction of greater plural marking) than what is seen in the corpus. However, this isn't the case for for *-e3*. The corpus materials do not include any examples where a verb that could have *-e3*, based on the verb root and argument number, doesn't take it.

## 17.3 Distributive enclitic *=tʃi1gɨ1*

The enclitic *=tʃigɨ1* DISTRIB appears on quantifiers in distributive quantification (Chapter 13.1) and on verbs. On verbs, it has four readings, all of which are arguably also quantificational.

### 17.3.1 Distributive quantification over an argument

The first and probably most common reading of *=tʃi1gɨ1* is distributive quantification over an argument of the verb. This reading is available when at least one argument/adjunct is plural, and the predicate held individually of each member of the set denoted by that argument.

Any argument can license *=tʃi1gɨ1* in the argument-quantification use, including a transitive subject (34), transitive object (35), or intransitive subject (36). However, it's worth noting that there are no clear textual examples of the distributive quantifying over a transitive subject, as in (34); the only examples of agent quantification are elicited. In contrast, the corpus contains many examples of *=tʃi1gɨ1* quantifying over transitive objects and intransitive subjects.

(34) *to1ma2ɕ̃1pɨ3 i4 du1ĩ3ʔĩ4gɨ4 tʃau1tʃa4pe3nɨ3ʔĩ3* ***ni4ɟau1ʔtʃi1gɨ1***
to1ma2ɕ̃1pɨ3 i4 du1ĩ3ʔĩ4=gɨ4 tʃau1=tʃa4pe3nɨ3ʔĩ3
three DET(IV) person(IV)=PL 1SG=sheet.of.fabric
**ni4=ɟau1ʔ=tʃi1gɨ1**
**3.SBJ=wash=DISTRIB**
'**Each of the three people washed** my bedsheet.' [LWG: 2017.3.70]

(35) *ŋe3ma2 dɨ1ʔ, dɨ1ʔ,* ***a1wɨ51tʃi1gɨ37ĩ4*** *a4 nɨ31ma27*
ŋe3ma2 dɨ1ʔ dɨ1ʔ **a1=wɨ51=tʃi1gɨ1=ʔĩ4**
DEM.ANA(IV) INTJ:look! INTJ:look! **3.SBJ.SC=write=DISTRIB=SUB**
a4 nɨ31ma2
DET(IV) 3(IV).TOP
'Listen up, **she writes down each one of those** (data points in an experiment).' [Edith, 20180628_003, 7:12]

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(36) ***tʃo31tʃi1gɨ3ʔĩ4*** *a4 ŋe5ma2ʔ*
**tʃo43=tʃi1gi1=ʔĩ4** a4 ŋe5ma2
**be.hanging=DISTRIB=SUB** DET(IV) DLOC:ADDRPROX.ALL
'**Each of them is hanging** over there (where you are).' [Victoria, AFG-LVI 7:27]

The distributive can also quantify over different **parts** of the same argument of the verb, even if that argument is singular. However, all clear examples of quantification over parts in the corpus, such as (37), involve a geographic feature as the argument.

(37) *e3rɨ4ã3 a4 na31tɨ3 rɨ1* ***ni4wĩ1gɨ1tʃi1gɨ1ɨ1kɨ2***
e3rɨ4=ã3 a4 na43=tɨ3 rɨ1 **ni4=wĩ1gi1=tʃi1gɨ1=ɨ1kɨ2**
because=REP DET(IV) Dposs=river(IV) TOP **3.SBJ=curved=DISTRIB=INFO**

'Because, reportedly, the river, **every part of it is curved**.' [NWG, NWG's Brazil Trip, 16:37]

Quantifying over parts of something that is not a geographic feature is typically done with the enclitic *=a1gɨ2* (Chapter 19.4), either alone or with the distributive. However, Lilia did accept some examples of quantification over non-geographic parts with the distributive, such as (38).

(38) *ni4dau2ra1tʃi1gɨ1 a4 tʃau1ʔtʃi5ru2*
ni4=dau2=ɨ1ra1=tʃi1gɨ1 a4 tʃau1=ʔtʃi5ru2
3.SBJ=red=sort.of=DISTRIB DET(IV) 1SG=clothing
'My shirt is red in several places.' [LWG 2024.1.47]

### 17.3.2 Plural event number

A second possible reading of *=tʃi1gɨ1* conveys plural event number, that is, that the event of the verb took place multiple times with the same participants. The event number reading is available regardless of argument number. For example, it's possible even when all arguments are singular (39).

(39) Context: A child keeps repeating a phrase spoken by another person.
*Tigre nɨ31ʔĩ3* ***ni4ʔi2ga1tʃi1gɨ1ã4ma4***

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Tigre ni31=ʔĩ3 **ni4=i2=ga1=tʃi1gɨ1=ã4ma4**
personal.name 3=ACC **3.SBJ=make=NI:voice=DISTRIB=although**
'Although (he doesn't understand Tigre's words), **he keeps imitating Tigre**.' [C31CG, 2019 C31-C32 free play, 5:44]

### 17.3.3 Gradual change of state

Another reading of *=tʃi1gɨ1* is aspectual, involving change of state. This reading occurs with stative verbs (40) and accomplishments (41). It conveys that the state, or for accomplishments the post-state, held to progressively greater degrees over some period of time. The change-of-state reading is also possible with verbs like 'walk' that normally behave as activities (42). However, this leads to accomplishment-like readings where the activity becomes more and more habitual over time.

(40) Context: 'He just recently came to know the Christian God.'
*ʌe3ʔwa5ka2* ***na4ɟa3ʔõ2tʃi1gɨ1***
ʌe3ʔwa5ka2 **na4=ɟa3=õ2=tʃi1gɨ1**
recently **3.SBJ=3.OBJ=believe=DISTRIB**
'He is just recently **coming to believe** (i.e., his faith is increasing).' [NWG, NWG Brazil Trip, 38:37]

(41) *nge3ma2kạ1 e3kạ1 wa31ʔi5 ni41ʔĩ4ĩ1kɨ2 i4 tʃau1ʔkạ1*
***ta31a1ne1tʃi1gɨ1ʔi1ra3ʔĩ4***
nge3ma2kạ1 e3kạ1 wa31ʔi5 ni41ʔĩ4=ĩ1kɨ2 i4
CONN:reason INFO:that's.why CONT.FOC 3.SBJ.COP=INFO DET(IV)
tʃau1=kạ1 **ta31a1ne1=tʃi1gɨ1=ʔi1ra1=ʔĩ4**
1SG=PURP **recover.from.illness=DISTRIB=sort.of=SUB**
'That's why, **little by little, I've been recovering** (from my illness).' [RGW, 20170527_002, 4:41]

(42) *wẹ1wa5* ***ni4ʔũ31tʃi1gɨ1***
wẹ1=wa5 **ni4=ũ43=tʃi1gɨ1**
straight=ALL **3.SBJ=walk.SGS=DISTRIB**
'They are **walking more and more on the straight path** (i.e. becoming more and more moral).' [Ana's Sermon 10:48]

### 17.3.4 Motion, or distributive quantification over places

The final reading of *=tʃi1gɨ1* is distributive quantification over locations. This expresses that the event/state of the verb took place at multiple locations with the

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same participant(s). Very often, this holds because the participants were moving during the event, and therefore *=tʃi1gɨ1* tends to be read as conveying 'do while going' associated motion, as in (43). But the motion does not necessarily need to take place during the event. The event can also take place repeatedly at different locations, with motion between them that doesn't overlap with the event of the verb, as in (44).

(43) *ku31we5 wa5ã3* ***ni4ʔau3ʔne1tʃi1gɨ1*** *ma3rɨ3e3ga4ʔ*
ku31=we5 wa5ã3 **ni4=au3ʔ-ne1=tʃi1gɨ1** ma3rɨ3=e3ga4ʔ
2SG=RN:behind REP **3.SBJ=cry-ʔ=DISTRIB** PRF=INFO
'S/he reportedly **went along crying** behind you.' [CG1, 2019 C1-C2 Free Play, 3:01]

(44) Context: A fellow missionary sent the speaker on a trip with a collection of hymnals. She gave hymnals to the churches of each town she visited.
*tʃo31ʔĩ3 ŋẽ2ʔma4* ***na4na3ʔɨ43ʔẽ4ẽ3tʃi1gɨ1***
tʃo31=ʔĩ3 ŋẽ2ʔma4 **na4=na3=ɨ43-ʔẽ4ẽ3=tʃi1gɨ1**
1SG=ACC there.ANA.LOC **3.SBJ=3.OBJ=putINAM-CAUS=DISTRIB**
'She had me **leave them (hymnals) in each (town)**.' [Ana's Sermon 18:52]

## 17.4 Distributive marking via conversion to the /i/ conjugation class

In many of (34–44), verbs that otherwise belong to the /a/ conjugation class appear with proclitics from the /i/ conjugation instead. For instance, in (43, *au3ʔ* 'cry' is underlyingly a-class – that is, it belongs to the /a/ class when the root has no suffixes or enclitics, or has only suffixes or enclitics that don't change conjugation class. In other words, the distributive seems to convert these roots to the /i/-class.

However, not every stem with an underlyingly /a/ class verb and *=tʃi1gɨ1* DISTRIB is converted to the /i/-class. For instance, *ɨ43* 'put.INAN.SG' appears in its underlying /a/-class form, and not in a derived /i/-class form, in (44).

Furthermore, stems can also be marked as distributive solely via conversion to the /i/-class without any concatenative suffixes or enclitics. Distributive conversion to the /i/-class seems to have most of the same readings as marking with the concatenative distributive, including quantification over arguments (45); quantification over parts of a geographic feature (46); plural event number (47); and gradual change of state (48). Note that all of the verb roots in these examples are

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typically /a/-class, not /i/-class or /r/-class, and the other suffixes and enclitics which they host do not normally trigger conversion to the /i/-class.

(45) *ni4me43kɨ5ra1ĩ1*
ni4=me43=kɨ5ra1ĩ1
**3.SBJ(I)=good(A)**=INFER
'Each of them (birds) is pretty.' [Laura, LSC-VSC 29:12]

(46) *ʎe1ʔta5a1kɨ5na1 i4 na43ʔtʃi5ka2wa5 rɨ1* ***ni4ma5ʔpɨ17i3***
ʎe1ʔta5=a1kɨ5na1 i4 na43=ʔtʃi5ka2=wa5 rɨ1
where?=same.distance DET(IV) DFLT.POSS=place=ALL TOP
**ni4=ma5ʔpɨ17i3**
**3.SBJ(I)=hilly(A)**
'It's hilly in certain places.' [LWG 2024.1.49]

(47) *e3rɨ4* ***ni4pu3ã4tʃi4*** *ra3ã3 nɨ31wa5 ŋe5ma2 ta4 ni41ʔI4 ã4kɨ4 ti4me3gɨ4a̱1*
e3rɨ4 **ni4=pu3=ã4tʃi4** ra3ã3 nɨ31wa5 ŋe5ma2 ta4 ni41ʔI4
because **3.SBJ(I)=rain(A)=ACHV** TOP INFO there.ALL FUT FOC
ã4kɨ4 ti4=me3=gɨ4=a̱1
HESIT 3(I).SBJ=add.water=PL=NI:mouth
'Because **it keeps raining for short periods**, they're going to get water in their mouths.' [Laura, LSC-VSC 5:44]

(48) *na2tɨ4rɨ2 ɲu̱1ʔma5 rɨ1, po2ra4ã1kɨ2ma3* ***ni4ta43***
na2tɨ4rɨ2 ɲu̱1ʔma5 rɨ1 po2ra4ã1kɨ2=ma3 **ni4=ta43**
but now TOP quickly=INFO **3.SBJ(I)=big(A)**
'But now it (Cushillococha) is quickly **getting bigger**.' [SSG HALDI 6:51]

While conversion to the /i/-class can clearly convey quantification over intransitive subjects (45), Lilia rejected using it to quantify over transitive subjects (49) and transitive objects (50), which **are** possible readings of the concatenative distributive *=tʃi1gɨ1*. There are no clear counterexamples to her judgment in the corpus, suggesting that this strategy is limited to intransitive subjects.

(49) Context: I traveled to many locations and in each one, I stayed in a different person's home.
**mu1ʔĩ4ma3 i4 du1ĩ3ʔĩ4 rɨ1 tʃo31ʔĩ3* ***ni4ɟau1ʔgɨ4***
*mu1ʔĩ4=ma3 i4 du1ĩ3ʔĩ4 rɨ1 tʃo31=ʔĩ3 **ni4=ɟau1ʔ=gɨ4**
*many(IV)=INFO DET(IV) person(IV) TOP 1SG=ACC **3.SBJ(I)=get(A)=PL**
(Intended reading: 'Many people received me as a guest.') [LWG 2024.1.56-57]

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(50) Context: I picked up each of several books.
**po3pe4ra1 **tʃi3ɟa1ʔu2***
*po3pe4ra1 **tʃi3=ɟau1ʔ**
*book **1SGSgbj(I)=get(A)**
(Intended reading:'I got each of the books.') [LWG 2024.1.56]

Lilia also rejected using conversion to the /i/-class to express quantification over locations. This judgment is consistent with the corpus as well.

(51) Context: I work in many locations
**tʃi3pu3ra3kɨ4 gu5ʔĩ4wa5ma3*
***tʃi3=pu3ra3kɨ4** gu5ʔĩ4=wa5=ma3
***1SG.SBJ(I)=work(A)** all=ALL=INFO
(Intended reading: 'I'm working everywhere.') [LWG 2024.1.49]

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# 18 Directionals and associated motion

Ticuna has a large number of directionals – suffixes which attach to motion verbs (including transitive verbs of caused motion) and describe the source, goal, or shape of the motion path.

The language also has a single 'associated motion' proclitic, *(ɨ)a3=*, which typically attaches to non-motion verbs. The associated motion proclitic encodes that the subject of the verb undertook motion before it performed the event of the verb. The associated motion marker is different from the directionals because it conveys nothing about the motion path.

In the following subsections I first describe the directional system. Based on semantic criteria, the directional suffixes can be divided into two classes: frame-of-reference directionals (§18.1) and path-shape directionals (§18.2). Frame of reference and path-shape directionals have different morphological properties as well as different semantics. However, they share certain features (§18.3). After describing these, I then describe the associated motion marker (§18.4).

## 18.1 Frame-of-reference directionals

The Ticuna frame-of-reference directionals all characterize the goal and source of the motion path in an absolute or intrinsic frame of spatial reference (see Levinson & Wilkins 2006 for these terms). Absolute frames of reference describe paths and locations in space relative to geographic features, while intrinsic frames describe them relative to inherent parts of objects. There are seven frame frame-of-reference directionals. §18.1.1 describes the regular form and meaning of the directionals, and §18.1.2 describes their irregular form when attaching to the verb *ũ43* 'go, walk.'

### 18.1.1 Regular frame-of-reference directional paradigm

The seven frame-of-reference directionals are shown in Table 18.1. (1–8) provide examples of each directional from texts.

As Table 18.1 illustrates, six of the frame-of-reference directionals occur in pairs where each directional expresses the opposite direction of motion. These

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paired directionals can be paraphrased in English as 'up vs. down' (absolute); 'into/out of a closed space' (intrinsic); and 'into/toward vs. out of/from a liquid' (intrinsic). The 'inward' directional in this final pair also has the semantic extension 'into a vehicle'; there is no evidence that the 'from a liquid' directional has the same extension. The only frame-of-reference directional which is *not* in a pair is the equivalent of 'across.'

The frame-of-reference directionals (as well as path-shape directionals) always characterize the motion path of the *internal* argument. Therefore, with the root intransitive verbs in (3) and (5), the directional characterizes the motion of the subject, but with the transitive verbs in (1), (2), (6), (7), and (8), it characterizes the motion of the object. If the verb has undergone noun incorporation, then the directional characterizes the motion of the incorporated argument (which is always an internal argument). Thus, in (4), the motion path into the liquid is attributed to the subject's fist ('s/he dipped his/her hand into the liquid'), not to the entire subject ('s/he dipped him/herself into the liquid').

As the table indicates, frame-of-reference directionals (a) change the conjugation class of the stem to which they attach (§18.1.1.1) and (b) display suppletion driven by argument number (§18.1.1.2). These properties are discussed following (8).

Table 18.1: The seven frame-of-reference directionals

| SG | PL | Conjugation Class | Gloss | Paraphrase |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *-na2gɨ4* | | a-class | DIR:up | Up in vertical space |
| *-e3* | *-ĩ1* | Various (§18.1.1.1) | DIR:down | Down in vertical space |
| *-e3* | *-ĩ1* | /i/-class (§18.1.1.1) | DIR:across | Across any space, e.g. room, stream |
| *-e3* | *-ĩ1* | /i/-class (§18.1.1.1) | DIR:into.liquid | Into liquid or into vehicle (even if not located in water, e.g. car) |
| *-ã2tʃi4* | | *i5=* VCL, a-class | DIR:from.liquid | Out of a liquid (no extension to vehicles) |
| *-ku2tʃi4* | *-ku2* | /i/-class (§18.1.1.1) | DIR:in | Into a closed space |
| *-ɨ2tʃi4* | *-ĩ1* | *i5=* VCL, a-class | DIR:out | Out of a closed space |

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(1) *ŋe3ma2kạ ni4 na4ʔtʃa1wa5 tʃa1na1**tạ1na4gɨ5**ʔĩ4*
ŋe3ma2kạ ni4 na4=ʔtʃa1wa5 tʃa1=na1=**tạ1-na4gɨ4**=ʔĩ4
that's.why FOC 3=against
1SG.SBJ.SC=3.OBJ=**discard.sgO-DIR:up.SG**=SUB
'That's why **I threw it up** (into the rafters), so s/he wouldn't touch it.' [Victoria, AFG-LVI, 6:45]
(Up in vertical space)

(2) *ŋe5ã2 pe31gɨ1 pe3rɨ3**wo1ĩ1***
ŋe5ã2 pe31=gɨ1 pe3rɨ3=**wo1-ĩ1**
there.ADDRPROX.ALL 2PL=REFL 2PL.SBJ=**discard.plO-DIR.PL**
'You're going to **throw each other down** (to the ground) over there.' [Victoria, LFG-MFG-LVI, 50:55]
(Down in vertical space)

(3) Context: How many creeks are there in Cushillococha?
*Mai3ɟu5tɨ4ĩ1 rɨ1, Õ43na4tɨ4 rɨ1, Ma1wɨ5tɨ4ĩ1, rɨ1 Pɨ3we3tɨ4ĩ1 i4 ɲa4a2ta2ã4 na43wa5 i?**ɨ31e2**ʔĩ4*
Mai3ɟu5=tɨ4ĩ1 rɨ1 Õ43na4=tɨ4 rɨ1 Ma1wɨ5=tɨ4ĩ1 rɨ1
Panoan.speaker=creek and food=river and bird.sp=creek and
Pɨ3we3=tɨ4ĩ1 i4 ɲa4a2=ta2ã4 na43=wa5
Pɨ3we3=creek(IV) DET(IV) DEM.PROX(IV)=only 3=ALL
i1=**ɨ43-e3**=ʔĩ4
IMPERS.SBJ=**go.sgS-DIR:across**=NMLZ(IV)
'There's Panoan Creek, Fish River, Guan Creek, and Pɨ3we3 Creek (a proper name), the one **which you cross** right here.' [LGC HALDI]
(Across a space)

(4) *ŋe5a2 na1**ku5e3**pɨ1ʔɨ2ʔĩ4*
ŋe5a2 na1=**kụ1-e3**=pɨ1ʔĩ3=ʔĩ4
there.MED.ALL 3.SBJ.SC=**push-DIR:into.liquid**=NI:wrist=SUB
'S/he **dipped his/her hand into** (a container of juice) there, up to the wrist.' [Victoria, AFG-LVI, LVI 19:55]
(Into/toward a liquid)

(5) Context: narrating play with a child's toys
*ku3ru3ru5 r+1 ɲa4a2 aviongu2 ta4 ni4?**i31e3** a4 ɲụ1ʔma5*
ku3ru3ru5 rɨ1 ɲa4a2 avion=gu2 ta4
frog TOP DEM.PROX(IV) SP:airplane(IV)=LOC FUT

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ni4=**ɨ43-e3** a4 ɲu̯1ʔma5
3.SBJ=**go.sgS-DIR:into.vehicle.sgS** DET(IV) now
'Now the frog is going to **get on** this airplane.' [CG, C10-C13 CCI, 27:59]
(Into a vehicle)

(6) *ɟi51ʔka3ã4 to31ma2 i5ta4na3**nu4ã2tʃi4** a4 ku31rɨ3 po3ʔi5*
ɟi51ʔka3ma4 to31ma2
later 1EXCL.TOP
i5=ta4=na3=**nu4-ã2tʃi4** a4
VCL=1EXCL.SBJ=3.OBJ=**transport.INAN.PL-DIR:away.from.liquid** DET(IV)
ku31rɨ3 po3ʔi5
2SG.POSS plantain(IV)
'We (exclusive) are going to **take your plantains up** (from the port to our house) later.' [Yaneth, DGC-SCG-YCG, 27:23]
(Out of/away from a liquid)

(7) *ɟe2a4ma4 ba3tʃi4ã1gu2 na3**nu4ku2***
ɟe2a4=ã4ma4 ba3tʃi4ã1=gu2
there.DIST.LOC=toward basin=LOC
na3=**nu4-ku2**
IMP>3.OBJ=**put.INAN.PL-DIR:in.plO**
'**Put them into** the basin there.' [CG32, 2019_C31-C32, 4:25]
(Into a closed space)

(8) ***ba2ʔɨ2tʃi4** nu5a2 na1ʌe43*
**ba2-ʔɨ2tʃi4**-∅ nu5a2 na1=ʌe43
**handle.liquid-DIR:out.sg**-ZERO.NMLZ here.ALL IMP=transport.INAN
' Bring the **thing for pouring out** (i.e. scoop/ladle).' [CG32, 2019_C31-C32, 10:37]

A verb cannot bear multiple frame-of-reference directionals (9), even if both of them accurately describe the path of motion. This applies regardless of the order and identity of the two directionals, and regardless of whether the conjugation class for the first vs. second directional is used. Instead, you must use two separate verbs (9c).

(9) Context: I picked up an object from the floor and walked it across the room.

a. **tʃa3na3ʔɨ43na2gɨ4e3, *tʃa3ɟa3ʔɨ43na2gɨ4e3*

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*tʃa3=na3=ɨ43-na2gɨ4-e3 /
*1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ.A=put.INANO-DIR:up-DIR:across /
*tʃa3=(ɟ)a3=ɨ43-na2gɨ4-e3
*1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ.I=put.INANO-DIR:up-DIR:across

b. **tʃa3na3ʔɨ31e3na2gɨ4, *tʃa3ɟa3ʔɨ31e3na2gɨ4*
*tʃa3=na3=ɨ43-e3-na2gɨ4 /
*1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ.A=put.INANO-DIR:across-DIR:up /
*tʃa3=(ɟ)a3=ɨ43-e3=na2gɨ4
*1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ.I=put.INANO-DIR:across-DIR:up

c. ✓*tʃa3na3ʔɨ43na2gɨ4 rɨ1 tʃa3a3ʎe31e3*
✓tʃa3=na3=ɨ43-na2gɨ4 rɨ1
✓1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=put.INANO-DIR:up and
tʃa3=a3=ʎe43-e3
1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=transport.INANO-DIR:across

'I picked it up and I took it across.' [LWG 2024.1.68]

All directionals given in Table 18.1 with the tone pattern 24 ('up,' 'from water,' 'inward,' and 'outward') have an allomorph with the tone pattern 44. Additionally, the plural form of 'inward', *-ku2*, has the tone 4 allomorph *-ku4*. The variation between the 24 and 44 allomorphs is partly stress-conditioned. If a directional in this class is *not* immediately adjacent to the stressed syllable, it is always realized as 24 (10). When the directional is adjacent to the stressed syllable, on the other hand, Lilia volunteered – and the corpus contains – both 24 and 44 allomorphs, as shown in (11).[1] The vast majority of corpus tokens of the alternating directionals have the melody 24, and the tokens with 44 do not show any clear pattern in terms of the phonological (tone, vowel quality) or morphological (number, object animacy) properties of the verb root.

(10) a. *i5na4wi3ɟa3e3**ʔi2tʃi4***
i5=na4=wi3ɟa3e3-**ʔi2tʃi4**
VCL=3.SBJ=sing-**DIR:outward**
'S/he **went outside and sang**.' [LWG 2024.1.73]

b. *ɟe5a2 i1de43a2**ku2tʃi4**ki5ra1ĩ1ma3re2ʔĩ4*
ɟe5a2 i1=de43a2-**ku2tʃi4**=ki5ra1ĩ1=ma3re3=ʔĩ4
there.DIST.ALL 3.SBJ.SC=talk-**DIR:inward**=INFER=just=SUB
'Out there she just kept talking about things that don't make sense

[1]Note that these examples involve non-motion verbs with the associated-motion extension of the frame-of-reference directionals. This is discussed further in §18.3.2.

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(metaphorical; literally: **she kept going inward**, i.e. to a space where one cannot navigate, and **talking**) [SCG, YCG-DGC-SCG]

(11) a. *i5tʃa3na3ʔi43**ʔi2tʃi4***
i5=tʃa3=na3=i43-**ʔi2tʃi4**
VCL=1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=put.INANO-**DIR:outward**
'I took it out.' (LWG 2024.1.73)

b. *i5tʃa3na3ʔmu2**ʔũ4tʃi4***
i5=tʃa3=na3=mu2-**ʔi4tʃi4**
VCL=1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=send-**DIR:ouward**
'I sent him/her out.' (LWG 2024.1.73)

#### 18.1.1.1 Conjugation class change

Many frame-of-reference directionals display syncretism. For example, the directional suffix *-e3* occurs as the singular/unmarked form of 'across,' 'down,' and 'into a liquid,' and the directional *-ĩ1* occurs as the plural form for all three of these meanings, and also as te plural form of 'into a closed space' (which has the singular/unmarked form *-ʔi2tʃi4*).

While the forms of the syncretic suffixes themselves are the same, the *verbal words* that they derive still contrast, because all frame-of-reference directionals change the conjugation class of the stem. Some frame-of-reference directionals also cause the stem to take an *i2=* or *i5=* verbal classifier. Otherwise, these classifiers are mostly a lexical property of certain verb roots and stems (Chapter 11.2.1.1).

Conjugation class change with directionals can be exemplified with the verb *wa5a3* 'crawl.' This verb, like all manner of motion verbs, is /i/-class in its citation form (12). However, with the directional *-na2gɨ4* 'up,' it becomes /a/-class (13), and with the directional *-ã2tʃi4* 'from water,' it becomes /a/-class and also takes the *i5=* verb classifier before the subject proclitic (14). With the 'down' sense of *-e3*, it becomes /r/-class; but with the 'across' sense of this same directional, it remains /i/-class (15, 16).

(12) *tʃi3wa5a3*
tʃi3=wa5a3
1SG.SBJ.I=crawl
'I crawled.' [LWG 2024.1.58]

(13) *tʃa3wa5a3na2gɨ4*

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tʃa3=wa5a3=na2gɨ4
1SG.SBJ.A=crawl=DIR:upward
'I crawled up (e.g., stairs).' [LWG 2024.1.58]

(14) *i5tʃa3wa5a3ã2tʃi4*
i5=tʃa3=wa5a3=ã2tʃi4
VCL=1SG.SBJ.A=crawl=DIR:from.water
'I crawled from a body of water onto land.' [LWG 2024.1.58]

(15) *tʃa3rɨ3wa5a3e3*
tʃa3rɨ3=wa5a3-e3
1SG.SBJ.R=crawl-DIR:down
'I crawled down (e.g., stairs).' [LWG 2024.1.58]

(16) *tʃi3wa5a3e3*
tʃi3=wa5a3-e3
1SG.SBJ.I=crawl-DIR:across
'I crawled across (e.g., a room).' [LWG 2024.1.58]

Some frame-of-reference directionals display variation in their effects on conjugation class. For example, the corpus contains tokens of verb stems with *-e3* 'DIR:down' with the /a/-class, /i/-class, and /r/-class, and consultants accepted and produced verb stems with this directional in each conjugation class. A similar degree of variation also occurs with the plural counterpart of this directional, *-ĩ1* 'DIR:down.PL'; with the other senses of *-e3* ~ *-ĩ1*, which are 'across' and 'toward water/a vehicle'; and with *-ku2tʃi4* ~ *-ku2* 'DIR:inward.' All of these directionals *most often* change the stem to the /i/-class, but are also found with other conjugation classes. In contrast, *-na2gɨ4* 'up,' *-ã2tʃi4* 'from water,' and *-ʔi2tʃi4* 'out' are all completely consistent – across corpus tokens and judgments – in changing the stem to the /a/-class, except in the irregular forms found with the verb *ũ43* 'go, walk' (§18.1.2).

#### 18.1.1.2 Number suppletion

Five of the seven frame-of-reference directionals – all but *-na2gɨ4* 'up' and *-ã2tʃi4* 'from water' – undergo number suppletion. (17–18) provide an example of number suppletion with the directional meaning 'into a closed space': it is *-ku2tʃi4* with a singular internal argument, but *-ku2* with a plural internal argument.

(17) *tɨ³¹ʔɨ̃³ i¹ʔ**i⁴³ku²tʃi⁴***

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tɨ$^{31}$=ʔĩ$^{3}$ i$^{1}$ʔ=**ɨ$^{43}$-ku$^{2}$tʃi$^{4}$**
3(I)=ACC IMP=**put.INAN-DIR:in**
'Put it inside (a bag).' [20170527, AYM]

(18) *no$^{51}$rɨ$^{3}$ po$^{3}$lo$^{1}$gu$^{2}$ na$^{4}$na$^{3}$**gɨ$^{1}$ku$^{2}$***
no$^{51}$rɨ$^{3}$ po$^{3}$lo$^{1}$=gu$^{2}$ na$^{4}$=na$^{3}$=**gɨ$^{1}$-ku$^{2}$**
3.POSS SP:t-shirt=LOC 3.SBJ=3.OBJ=**put.grainy-DIR:in.PL**
'He would pour them (kernels of popcorn) into his t-shirt (holding the shirt out to carry them).' [SSG HALDI]

Like number suppletion in verb roots (Chapter 16), number suppletion in directionals is driven by the number of the internal argument. (17–18) have already shown this for transitive objects. (19) and (20) demonstrate the same point for intransitive subjects.

(19) *tʃi3ʔã1e3*
tʃi3=ã1-e3
1SG.SBJ=paddle-DIR:across
'I rowed across.' [DGG 2017.3.28]

(20) *ti4ʔã1ĩ1*
ti4=ã1-ĩ1
1INCL.SBJ=paddle-DIR:across.PL
'We rowed across.' [DGG 2017.3.28]

Number suppletion in directionals is optional, like verb root suppletion (Chapter 16.5) – it is acceptable to use the singular forms with either singular or plural arguments (21). Therefore, I gloss the 'singular' forms as unmarked for number (e.g. 'DIR:inward' rather than 'DIR:inward.SG').

(21) ✓*tʃa3a3ku5e3* / ✓*tʃa3a3ku5ĩ1 ɟa1 ta2ʔre4 ɟa4 ʎu31e3*
✓tʃa3=(ɟ)a3=**kʉ1-e3** / ✓tʃa3=(ɟ)a3=**kʉ1-ĩ1**
✓1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=**push-DIR:across** / ✓1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=**push-DIR:across.PL**
ɟa1 ta2ʔre4 ɟa4 ʎu31e3
DET(III) two DET(III) canoe(III)
'I pushed two canoes across (a stream).' [LWG 2024.1.60]

The main difference between verb root suppletion and directional suppletion is that directional suppletion is still optional with first- and second-person arguments (for at least some directional-verb combinations). For example, DGG also accepted *ti4ʔã1e3* (1Incl.SBJ=paddle-DIR:across) as an alternative to (20), and (22) is a corpus example of this same verb.

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(22) *ɟe5a2ma4 ti3ʔ**ã1e3**gɨ4e3ta3nɨ3ma3re3*
ɟe5a2=ã4ma4 ti3=**ã1-e3**=gɨ4-e3=ta3nɨ3=ma3re3
there.DIST.ALL=toward 1EXCL.SBJ=**paddle-DIR:across**=PL-PL=Coll=just
'In a group we rowed across to the other side (lit. to there).' [Laura, LSC-VSC]

In contrast to directional suppletion, verb root suppletion is obligatory if the internal argument is 1PL or 2PL (Chapter 16.5.1).

### 18.1.2 Irregular frame-of-reference directionl forms of the verb *ũ43* 'go'

Ticuna has a single, very semantically basic motion verb root which is the morphological base of many other motion verbs. This verb root is *ũ43* (SG) ~ *ĩ43* (PL) and in isolation, can mean either 'walk' or more generally 'come, go, move.' This verb is not deictic; it can combine with proximal demonstratives ('come here'), with distal demonstratives ('go'); and with sources and goals that are not described in terms of their relationship to the deictic center.

The basic motion verb has many irregular forms when it combines with directionals. To begin, the two vertical frame-of-reference directionals, *-na2gɨ4* 'up' and *-e3* ~ *-ɨ1* 'down,' do not combine with *ũ43* 'go' at all. Instead, to express movement in the vertical dimension, the verb root *ĩ2* 'ascend/descend' (with no number suppletion) appears. This verb combines regularly with *-na2gɨ4* 'up' in the singular form only (23). It does not combine regularly with *-na2gɨ4* in the plural, instead taking only the regular plural *=gɨ4* plus /a/-class inflection (24). *ĩ2* 'ascend/descend' also does not combine regularly with the directional *-e3* 'down.' Instead, 'go down' is expressed by using the vertical motion verb with the verb classifier *i5=* and /r/-class inflection (25–26).

(23) a. **tʃa3ʔũ43na4gɨ4*
*tʃa3=ũ43-na4gɨ4
*1SG.SBJ=go.SGS-DIR:up
(Intended reading: 'I went up.')

b. ✓*tʃa3ʔĩ2na4gɨ4*
✓tʃa3=ĩ2-na4gɨ4
✓1SG.SBJ.A=ascend/descend-DIR:up
'I went up.'
[ABS 2016.1.154, LWG 2024.1.61]

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(24) *pe3ʔĩ2gɨ4 / *pe3ʔĩ2na4gɨ4*
pe3=ĩ2=gɨ4 / *pe3=ĩ2-na4gɨ4
2PL.SBJ.A=ascend/descend=PL / *2PL.SBJ.A=ascend/descend-DIR:up
'You-pl went up.' [LWG 2024.1.61]

(25) *i5tʃa3rɨ3ʔĩ2*
i5=tʃa3rɨ3=ĩ2
VCL=1SG.SBJ.R=ascend/descend
'I went down.' [ABS 2016.1.154]

(26) *i5pe3rɨ3ʔĩ2gɨ4*
i5=pe3rɨ3=ĩ2=gɨ4
VCL=2PL.SBJ.R=ascend/descend=PL
'You-pl went down.' [LWG 2024.1.61]

The basic motion verb *does* combine with the other frame-of-reference directionals. However, these suffixes trigger suppletive allomorphy of the basic motion root and, in a few cases, of the directional. Additionally, stems formed by the basic motion verb plus a directional often belong to a different conjugation class than other stems derived with the same directional.

Looking first to the root allomorphy, the basic motion verb – which is *ũ43* 'go' in citation form – is realized as the suppletive allomorph *ɨ43* with the directionals meaning 'across,' 'toward water/into a vehicle,' and 'inward.' It remains *ũ43* with the directional 'outward.' The plural allomorph of this root, which is *ĩ43* 'go.PLS' in citation form, is realized as the suppletive allomorph *tʃo43* with all frame-of-reference directionals, including 'outward.'[2]

Turning to directional allomorphy, the 'inward' and 'outward' directionals also take irregular forms with the basic motion verb. With the basic motion verb, they always appear in the *plural* form – *ku2* for *-ku2tʃi4* SG ~ *-ku2* PL 'inward,' and *-ĩ1* for *-ʔɨ2tʃi4* SG ~ *-ĩ1* PL 'outward.' This holds regardless of the number of the subject. The other directionals have regular forms with the basic motion verb.

Table 18.2 summarizes all of the forms of the basic motion verb with frame-of-reference directionals.

Basic verbs of placement and caused motion, such as *ɨ43* 'put, InamO' and *ʌe43* 'transport, InamO', undergo extensive root suppletion driven by properties of the internal argument (Chapter 16). However, basic motion verbs other than *ũ43* 'come, go, walk' do *not* have irregular forms with directionals. They follow the regular pattern described in §18.1.1.

[2]Elsewhere in the root suppletion system (Chapter 16, the formative *ɨ43* occurs as the InamSG form of 'put' and the PLS form of 'run.' The formative *tʃo43* appears as the PLS form of 'stay.'

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Table 18.2: Irregular forms of *ũ43* 'go' with frame-of-reference directionals

| SG Stem | PL Stem | Conjugation Class | Gloss | Note |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| – | | | go up | blocked by *ĩ2* 'ascend/descend' |
| – | | | go down | blocked by *ĩ2* 'ascend/descend' |
| i̷31-e3 | tʃo31-ĩ1 | /i/-class | go across | |
| i̷31-e3 | tʃo31-ĩ1 | /r/-class | go toward water/into vehicle | |
| i̷43-ã2tʃi4 | tʃo43-õ2tʃi4 | i5= VCL, /a/-class | go away from water | |
| i̷43-ku2 | tʃo43-ku2 | /i/-class or /a/-class | enter | |
| ũ43-ĩ1 | tʃo31-ĩ1 | i5= VCL, /a/-class | exit | |

## 18.2 Path-shape directionals

Path-shape directionals in Ticuna characterize the motion path *without* referring to geographic features or the intrinsic inside/outside of objects. Instead, they describe the shape of the motion path, the means of motion, or the relationship between the path and a non-geographic ground.

There are six path-shape directionals. Four of them are fully productive, i.e. can occur with any verb of motion, and two are less productive. The four productive path-shape directionals are *-pe4ti̷1* 'passing,' *-e1gu1* 'around,' *-i̷42ĩ4* 'back and forth,' and *-ga1tʃi3* 'away.' The two less productive path-shape directionals are *i5=* 'toward home' and *-ta4ĩ2* 'by vehicle.'

Unlike the frame-of-reference directionals, the path-shape directionals do not undergo number suppletion, do not display syncretism, and are not semantically paired with one another. One path-shape directional, *-i̷42ĩ4* 'back and forth,' does undergo suppletive allomorphy, but the suppletion is phonologically conditioned, not number-conditioned: the affix has the form *-i̷42ĩ4* following stressed syllables and *-ĩ4* following unstressed syllables.

Besides these synchronic differences, it is also worth noting that some path-shape directionals are related to content words, while no frame-of-reference directionals are. Specifically, *-pe4ti̷1* 'passing' is identical to the inalienable noun

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*pe4ti1* 'entrance (to a body of water),' and *-ta4ĩ2* 'by vehicle' is identical to the inalienable noun *ta4ĩ2* 'basin, vessel.'

Table 18.3 displays the properties of the path-shape directionals. It provides conjugation class information only for the two directionals which affect the conjugation class of the stem. For these two, *-i̵4ʔĩ4* 'back and forth' always derives an /a/-class verb, while *-ga1tʃi3* 'away' sometimes derives an /i/-class verb and sometimes has no effect on the conjugation class of the stem (as discussed in §18.1.1.1). (27–32) provide textual examples of each path-shape directional.

Table 18.3: The six path-shape directionals

| Directional | Conjugation Class | Gloss | Description |
|---|---|---|---|
| -pe4ti2 | – | DIR:passing | Motion path goes past or through a salient landmark or barrier |
| -e1gu1 | – | DIR:in.circle | Motion path begins and ends at same point; often, path is circular |
| -i̵4ʔĩ4 | /a/-class | DIR:back.and.forth | Motion occurs repeatedly back and forth over same path |
| -ga1tʃi3 | /i/-class | DIR:away | Motion occurs to avoid/get out of the path of another person or object; for example, to avoid a collision. |
| i5= | – | DIR:home | Motion path goes to/toward figure's home. Limited productivity |
| -ta4ĩ2 | – | DIR:in.vehicle | Figure moves by vehicle, especially a vehicle with a motor (e.g. boat, car). Limited productivity |

(27) Context: Speaking about a body of water that is expected to eventually flood
*tau4ta1 ni4bai2ʔ**pe4ti1***
tau4ta1 ni4=bai2ʔ-**pe4ti1**
not.yet 3.SBJ=water.rise-**DIR:passing**
'(The water) hasn't **risen past** (the shore) yet.' [LFG-MFG-LVI, MFG, 2:29]

(28) Context: 'In the rainy season, the floodwaters surround my house, but the house never actually floods.'

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*ŋe2a4ã4ma4 i5na4ɟa5**e1gu1***
ŋe2a4=ã4ma4 i5=na4=ɟą1-**e1gu1**
there.MED.LOC=toward VCL=3.SBJ=run.water-**DIR:in.circle**
'(The floodwaters) **flow in a circle** around it there.' [LGC HALDI 22:22]

(29) *nu2ʔa2 i5pe1ʔi43**i4ʔĩ5**ʔĩ4*
nu2ʔa2 i5=pe1=i43-**i4ʔĩ4**=ʔĩ4
here.LOC VCL=2PL.SBJ=run.PLS-**DIR:back.and.forth**=SUB
'You guys should be **running back and forth** in here.' [2019_C1-C2_CCI, CG2, 4:26]

(30) *ɟe5a2ã4ma4ĩ1ra1 ri3to1**ga1tʃi3***
ɟe5a2=ã4ma4=ĩ1ra1 ri3=to1-**ga1tʃi3**
there.DIST.ALL=toward=sort.of IMP=sit-**DIR:away**
'**Sit out of our way**, further away.' [2019_C31-C32_CCI, CG32, 19:22]

(31) *ti31a1ri3 tą2ʔki4ma4ã2 **i5**ti4ʔũ43?*
ti31ma2a1ri3 tą2ʔki4=ma4ã2 **i5**=ti4=ũ43
3(I).POSS what?=COM **DIR:home**=3(I).SBJ=go.SGS
'What (prize) did s/he **go home** with (from a raffle)?' [LVI-AFG, Adriana, 36:40]

(32) *ŋe3ma2 na1ɲa43**ta4ĩ2**ʔĩ4*
ŋe3ma2 na1=ɲa43-**ta4ĩ2**=ʔĩ4
DEM.MULTI(IV) 3.SBJ.SC=travel.quickly-**DIR:in.vehicle**=SUB
'That guy's going **by car**.' [2019_C3-C7_CCI, CG7, 21:32]

All of the verbs in (27–32) are intransitive, and the directionals therefore profile the motion of the subject. When the verb hosting a path-shape directional is transitive, it instead profiles the motion path of the object, exactly as we saw with frame-of-reference directionals. For example, in (33), only the ball – not the agent who throws it – will move back and forth over the same path.

(33) *ku31e2ru4gu2 ti31ʔĩ3 tʃa3**ɲa4ĩ4ʔĩ4***
ku31=e2ru4=gu2 ti31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=**ɲa4-ĩ4ʔĩ4**
2SG=head=LOC 3(I)=ACC 1SG.SBJ=**throw-DIR:back.and.forth**
'I'm going to **throw it (a ball) back and forth** toward your head (so that you can practice making headers).' [CG20, C20-C23 CCI]

I do not refer to the path-shape directionals in Table 18.3 as a paradigm because they are not mutually exclusive. It is acceptable for a verb to have two (34) or

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even three (35) path-shape directionals. If a verb already has a frame-of-reference directional, it can also have path shape directionals. This occurs in (36), which has both the frame-of-reference directional *-ã2tʃi4* 'from water' and the path-shape directional *-ta4ĩ2* 'in a vehicle.'

(34) *ŋe5ma2 i1bɨ3**pe4ti1ta4ĩ2**ʔ kɨ2a4na4*
ŋe5ma2
there.ANA.ALL
i1=bɨ3-**pe4ti1-ta4ĩ2**=ʔ kɨ2a4na4
IMPERS.SBJ.SC=go.by.water-**DIR:passing-DIR:in.vehicle**=SUB INTJ:tag
'(When the water gets that deep,) you can pass by (that place) in a boat, right?' [CG1, C1-C2 CCI 2019]

(35) *Ni3ʔma5 i4 ɲa4a2ã4ma4wa5ã4ma4 ɟi1ʔã3 go4**pe4ti1ta4ĩ2ʔĩ5**ʔĩ4*
Ni3ʔma5 i4 ɲa4a2=ã4ma4=wa5=ã4ma4 ɟi1ʔĩ4ʔ=ã3
Ni3ʔma5 DET(IV) DEM.PROX(IV)=Contrast=ALL=DIR FOC.SC=REP
go4-**pe4ti1-ta4ĩ2-ʔĩ4**=ʔĩ4
go.quickly-**DIR:passing-DIR:vehicle-DIR:back.and.forth**=SUB
'On this other side, Ni3ʔma5 **keeps going back and forth past (us) in a boat**.' [AFG-LVI, LVI, 37:06]

(36) *nge3ma2ma4ã2ĩ1kɨ2 i5ta1go4**õ4tʃi4ta4ĩ2**ʔĩ4*
nge3ma2=ma4ã2=ĩ1kɨ2
DEM.ANA(IV)=COM=INFO
i5=ta1=go4-**ã4tʃi4-ta4ĩ2**=ʔĩ4
VCL=3(I).SBJ.SC=go.quickly-**DIR:from.water-DIR:in.vehicle**=SUB
'With that guy, she went quickly up from the port by car.' [LVI, AFG-LVI, 57:51]

In all attested examples of verbs with multiple directionals (multiple path-shape, or frame-of-reference and path-shape), one of the directionals is *-ɨ4ʔĩ4* 'back and forth,' and Lilia only consistently accepted verbs with multiple directions if one of them was this morpheme.

The 'back and forth' and 'passing' directionals also have non-motion readings. The non-motion extension of *-ɨ4ʔĩ4* 'back and forth' is aspectual. It conveys that the event happens repeatedly or habitually. It does not need to involve motion, and characterizes the event as a whole rather than an argument (37).

(37) *no51rɨ3 no31ʔẽ5 rɨ1 ta1 nɨ31wa5 nɨ31ʔĩ3 ɨ2ga1gɨ4**ʔĩ5**e3 ti4ʔĩ4*

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no51rɨ3 no31ʔẽ5 rɨ1 ta1 nɨ31wa5
3.POSS grandmother(I) TOP INFO 3=ACC
nɨ31=ʔĩ3 ɨ2a̱1=gɨ4-**ʔĩ4**=e3 ti4ʔĩ4
discipline=PL-**DIR:back.and.forth**=NMLZ(I) 3(I).SBJ.FOC
'*Their grandmother* is the one who usually disciplines/instructs them (i.e., their grandmother is raising them).' [LVI, LVI-AFG]

'Back and forth' is much more frequent than any other directional. In the corpus, there are 154 tokens of *-ɨ4ʔĩ4* 'back and forth' vs. 113 tokens of the next most frequent directional, which is *-ʔɨ2tʃi4* 'outward' (f SG and PL forms are counted separately). This reflects the high frequency of the verb stem *ũ43ũ4ʔĩ4* 'go back and forth' and its plural counterpart, and of the aspectual use seen in (37). Motion uses of 'back and forth' with verbs other than 'go' are relatively infrequent – there are only five clear examples (one of which is above, 33).

The non-motion sense of *-pe4tɨ1* means something like 'passing an advisable limit, excessively,' as shown in (38–39).

(38) *ku3na3ʔ**a3ʔpe4tɨ1**, pa2 ti3o1*
ku3=na3=**a3ʔ-pe4tɨ1** pa2 ti3o1
2SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=**drink-DIR:passing** VOC SP:uncle
'You've had **too much to drink**, uncle.' [Yaneth, YCG-SCG-DGC]

(39) Context: 'When I was little, the power plant went out of service.'
*gu5ʔĩ4wa5ma3 na4**wa51pe4tɨ1**a1ne1*
gu5ʔĩ4=wa5=ma3 na4=**wa51-pe4tɨ1**=a1ne1
all(IV)=ALL=INFO 3.SBJ=**black-DIR:passing**=ArealSBJ
'It was **incredibly dark** everywhere.' [Yaneth, HALDI]

### 18.2.1 Path-shape directionals with the verb *ũ43* 'go'

Like frame-of-reference directionals, path-shape directionals also have irregular behavior with the verb *ũ43* 'come, go, walk.' First, like the frame-of-reference directionals 'up' and 'down,' the path-shape directional *-ta4ĩ2* 'in a vehicle' does not combine with 'go' at all (40a, 41a). To express the meaning 'go in a vehicle,' you must instead use the verb root *ɲa43* (SGS) ~ *ɨ43* (PLS) plus the directional (40b, 41b). When this verb root is used *without* the directional, it means 'run' or 'move quickly' (when predicated of a person) or 'travel, speaking of a vehicle' (only when predicated *of the vehicle*).

(40) a. **tʃa3ʔũ43ta4ĩ2*

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*tʃa3=ũ43-ta4ĩ2
*1SG.SBJ=go.SGS-DIR:in.vehicle

b. ✓*tʃi3ɲa43ta4ĩ2*
✓tʃi3=ɲa43-ta4ĩ2
✓1SG.SBJ=run.SGS-DIR:in.vehicle
'I went by vehicle.' (LWG 2024.1.61)

(41) a. **ti4ʔĩ43ta4ĩ2*
*ti4=ĩ43-ta4ĩ2
*1INCL.SBJ=go.PLS-DIR:in.vehicle

b. ✓*ti4ʔɨ43ta4ĩ2*
✓ti4=ɨ43-ta4ĩ2
✓1INCL.SBJ=run.PLS-DIR:in.vehicle
'We went by vehicle.' (LWG 2024.1.61)

Of the other path-shape directionals, *-pe4tɨ1* 'passing' and *-e1gu1* 'in a circle' take the same allomorphs of 'go' as the frame-of-reference directionals, i.e. *ɨ43* in the singular/unmarked form and *tʃo43* in the plural. The remaining three path-shape directionals ('back and forth,' 'away,' and 'toward home') do not affect the root of 'go,' but do affect its conjugation class or add verb classifiers to the stem, as shown in Table 18.4.

Table 18.4: Irregular forms of *ũ43* 'go' with path-shape directionals [LWG 2024.1.67-68]

| SG Stem | PL Stem | Conjugation Class | Gloss | Note |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ɨ43-pe4tɨ1 | tʃo43-pe4tɨ1 | /a/-class | pass, go past | |
| ɨ31-e1gu1 | tʃo31-e1gu1 | i5= VCL, /a/-class | go in a circle | |
| ũ43-ũ4ʔĩ4 | ĩ43-ĩ4ʔĩ4 | /a/-class | go back and forth | |
| ũ31-ga1tʃi3 | ĩ31-ga1tʃi3 | /i/-class | get/move away (from someone) | |
| i5=ni4ʔ=ũ43 | i5=ni4ʔ=ĩ43 | /i/-class | go home | form at left is entire verb, not stem |
| | – | | go in vehicle | blocked by *ɲa43*/*ɨ43* 'run' |

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## 18.3 Shared properties of both classes of directionals

### 18.3.1 Directionals are suffixes

Directionals are the only paradigm of verbal morphemes in Ticuna that are all clearly suffixes. Most other verbal morphemes – such as agreement, aspect, modal, and subordinating morphemes –are either proclitics or enclitics.

There are two pieces of evidence that directionals are suffixes. The first is that, as discussed in all of the tables above, directionals trigger suppletive allomorphy in certain verbs, such as 'go.' This behavior is expected for suffixes, but not enclitics (Anderson 2005). Within the language, triggering verb root suppletion is unique to directionals. Other forms of verb root suppletion exist, but they are driven by argument number, not the presence of an affix/clitic (Chapter 16).

The second piece of evidence that directionals are suffixes comes from affix ordering. Directionals consistently appear before incorporated nouns. For example, (42) shows the frame-of-reference directional *-e3* 'across' occurring before the incorporated noun *ne3* 'son,' and (43) shows the frame-of-reference directional *=ʔɨ2tʃɨ4* 'out' occurring before the incorporated noun *a5ta4ɨ̃2* 'lid.' For path-shape directionals, (44) shows *-e1gu1* 'in a circle' before the incorporated noun *pa3ra1* 'leg.'

(42) *tʃɨ3mu2e3ne3*
tʃɨ3=mu2-e3=ne3
1SG.SBJ=send-DIR:across=NI:son
'I sent my **son across** e.g. a river.' [SSG 2016.1.79]

(43) Context: 'Bring me the bottle.'
*nu2a2 tɨ31ʔɨ̃3 ɨ5tʃa1ʔɨ43**ʔɨ2tʃɨ4a5ta4ɨ̃2***
nu2a2 tɨ31=ʔɨ̃3 ɨ5=tʃa1=ɨ43-**ʔɨ2tʃɨ4=a5ta4ɨ̃2**
here.LOC 3(I)=ACC VCL=1SG.SBJ.SC=put.INAN-**DIR:out=NI:lid**
'I'm going to take **off its cap** here.' (CG3, C3-C7 CCI)

(44) Context: examining a doll; it has joints, which other dolls don't
*dɨ1ʔã4 ɲa4a2 rɨ3ã3 na4nu4**e1gu1pa3ra1***
dɨ1ʔã4 ɲa4a2 rɨ3ã3
INTJ:look DEM.PROX(IV) TOP
na4=nu4-**e1gu1=pa3ra1**
3.SBJ=transport.INAN.PL-**DIR:in.circle=NI:leg**
'Look, this one can **move its legs in a circle**.' [CG 34 CCI]

Ordering an incorporated noun before a directional is unacceptable and unattested in the corpus (45).

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(45) a. *tʃa3mu2e1gu1ne3*
tʃa3=mu2-e1gu1=ne3
1SG.SBJ=send-DIR:in.circle=NI:son
b. **tʃa3mu2ne3e1gu1*
*tʃa3=mu2=ne3-e1gu1
1SG.SBJ=send=NI:son-DIR:in.circle
'I sent my son back.' [SSG 2016.1.79]

Almost all other bound morphemes either have flexible ordering with incorporated nouns (e.g., the causative) or are always ordered after incorporated nouns. Since directionals must be ordered before, they appear more closely related to the root than other bound morphemes.

### 18.3.2 Directionals are not associated motion, except when they are

As all of the previous examples show, directionals typically appear on intransitive verbs of motion, and on transitive verbs of placement or caused motion. That is, they attach to verbs that already denote a motion event and provide more information about the path of that event. This is different from associated-motion markers, which – in general (Guillaume 2016) and in Ticuna (Chapter 18.4) – typically attach to non-motion verbs and denote that a motion event happened before, after, during, etc. the event of the verb.

However, directionals *can* appear on non-motion verbs in certain circumstances. First, frame-of-reference directionals occasionally appear on non-motion verbs with associated-motion readings. These constructions can be paraphrased as 'move along path of Directional and then do Verb,' as shown in (46) and (47).

(46) *dau5ʔna2gu2 ta4**pe43na2gi4**ta3ni3*
dau5ʔna2=gu2 ta4=**pe43-na2gi4**=ta3ni3
rafter/upper.area=LOC 1EXCL.SBJ=**sleep-DIR:up**=Coll
'(During the flood,) we **went up and slept** in the rafters.' [LGC HALDI 23:44]

(47) tʃo31ʔĩ5 i5**to1e3**
tʃo31=ʔĩ5 i5=**to1-e3**
1SG=BEN VCL=**sit-DIR:in.vehicle**
'Get into it (a car) and sit down for me.' [LCS 2016.1.126]

Associated-motion uses of frame-of-reference directionals seem to be most acceptable with verbs of posture, such as (47). Consultants usually reject them

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with other classes of verbs, as shown in (48), though they appear on occasion, as demonstrated by (46) and (49).

(48) **tʃa3dɨ1na2gɨ4*
*tʃa3=dɨ1-na2gɨ4
*1SG.SBJ=belch-DIR:up
(Intended reading: 'I went up and belched.') [LCS 2016.1.126]

(49) *ĩ1ʔne1ã4ma4 no51rɨ3 lejiama4ã2 ŋe3ma2kạ1 i5tʃa1**pa43ʔi2tʃi5ʔ***
ĩ1ʔne1ã4ma4 no51rɨ3 lejia=ma4ã2 ŋe3ma2kạ1
2.days.ago 3.POSS SP:bleach=COM that's.why
i5=tʃa1=**pa43-ʔi2tʃi4**=ʔ
VCL=1SG.SBJ.SC=**dry-DIR:outward=SUB**
'That's why I **went outside and dried (it)** yesterday with the bleach.' [CG1, C1-C2 CCI]

Second, all directionals can appear on non-motion verbs if the event is conceptualized as including a (metaphorical) path. For example, while *dau2* 'look/see' is not a motion verb, it frequently combines with directionals. The directional meaning is attributed to the subject's gaze: for example, in (50), the reading is that the subject looked into a closed space. Thus, the gaze is metaphorically conceptualized as a path with the subject as the source and the stimulus as the motion goal.

(50) *na31ma1ʔtʃi3ã̱1 tʃi3dau2**ku2tʃi4***
na43=ma1ʔtʃi3ã̱1 tʃi3=dau2-**ku2tʃi4**
DFLT.POSS=interior/floor 1SG.SBJ=see-**DIR:inward**
'I looked (from outside a house) in at the interior/floor.' [2019_C5_CCI, Caregiver, 10:55]

Other verbs which are not lexically motion/placement verbs can also take directionals if they are conceptualized as causing motion. For example, verbs of physical manipulation, such as *ku31ʔ* 'kick' in (51) and *po4* 'nail, hit in vertical dimension' in (52), are not really motion verbs. They do not entail any motion by the internal argument (you can kick or hit something without moving it). However, if an event described by a manipulation verb happens to cause motion, such as the kicked object moving or the cut object falling, then the verb can take directionals characterizing the motion path of the internal argument, as shown in (51) and (52).

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(51) *pelota tɨ31ʔĩ3 i5tʃa3**ku31ʔu2tʃi4***
pelota tɨ31=ʔĩ3 i5=tʃa3=**ku31ʔ-ʔi2tʃi4**
SP:ball 3(I)=ACC VCL=1SG.SBJ=**kick=DIR:out**
'I kicked the ball out (of a closed space).' [LWG 2017.3.7]

(52) *ŋẽ2ʔma4ma4 wa31ʔi5 i5tʃa3na3**po4ɨ̃1**tʃa1ɨ̃1*
ŋẽ2ʔma4=ma4 wa31ʔi5
there.ANA.LOC=toward CONT.FOC
i5=tʃa3=na3=**po4-ɨ̃1**=tʃa1ɨ̃1
VCL=1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=**nail-DIR:out.PL**=PROSP
'I'm going to **hit/tap them (bricks) out** (of a wall) over there.' [CG2, C1-C2 CCI]

Similarly, verbs of position like *da31* 'lie, speaking of something long and one-dimensional' do not entail motion, but their subjects can be construed as themselves *being* paths. Thus, these verbs can also take directionals characterizing the path from the source to the goal of the subject, as shown in (53).

(53) *ŋe3ma2a1rɨ3 nu5a2ma4ma3 a3rɨ1 ni4ʔĩ4 na1**da31ku2tʃi5**ʔĩ4 ta1 i4 ŋe3ma2 õ43na4tɨ4*
ŋe3ma2=a1rɨ3 nu5a2=ma4=ma3 a3rɨ1 ni4ʔĩ4
DEM.ANA=POSS here.ALL=toward=Info INFO FOC
na1=**da31-ku2tʃi4**=ʔĩ4 ta1 i4 ŋe3ma2 õ43na4=tɨ4
3SBJ.SC=**lie.1D-DIR:in**=SUB also DET(IV) DEM.ANA(IV) food=river(IV)
'On this side of that place, Fish River **runs (lit. lies) in** (from the lake to its source).' [HCG HALDI 26:46]

## 18.4 Associated motion

Ticuna has a single associated-motion proclitic *(ɟ)a3=* 'go and Verb.'[3] The syntax and semantics of the associated-motion proclitic are fairly simple (§18.4.1), but its morphology is very complex (§18.4.2).

### 18.4.1 Syntax and semantics of the associated-motion proclitic

The associated-motion proclitic conveys that the subject of the verb underwent motion before the event of the verb occurred. The motion is attributed to the *subject*, regardless of whether the verb is intransitive (54) or transitive (55).

[3]Like all other proclitics beginning with /ɟ/, the associated motion proclitic displays sociolinguistic variation between a form with an onset and a form with no onset.

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(54) *ta4 ku3**a3**pe31ma3re3*
ta4 ku3=**a3**=pe43=ma3re3
FUT 2SG.SBJ=AM=sleep=just
'You should just go and sleep.' [Victoria, MFG-LFG-LVI, 7:29]

(55) ai31ru5ʔĩ3 tʃa3**ɟa3**ʍe1
ai31ru5=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=**ɟa3=3=**ʍe1
dog=ACC 1SG.SBJ=**AM**=shoot
'I went and shot (i.e. put down) the dog.' [LWG 2017.3.156]

The same verb can host both an associated-motion marker and a directional. If this occurs and the verb is transitive, then the motion of the associated-motion marker is attributed to the subject, but the motion of the directional is attributed to the object. For example, in (56), the subject goes to choose their teammates, but the teammates undergo the (metaphorical) motion outward from the large group to the team.

(56) Context: I selected the members of my soccer team from a larger group.
*tʃo1mɨ1kɨ3gɨ4ʔĩ3 tʃa3a3rɨ3de31ʔe2tʃi4*
tʃo1=mɨ1kɨ3=gɨ4=ʔĩ3 tʃa3a3rɨ3=de31-ʔi2tʃi4
1SG=companion=PL=ACC 1SG.SBJ.AM=gather-DIR:outward
'I went and picked out my teammates.' [LWG 2025.1.122]

In the corpus materials, associated-motion proclitics tend to appear with transitive verbs of decreased valency, such as transitives with incorporated objects (57), or increased valency, such as derived causatives (58–59). It is very hard to find corpus examples where associated motion proclitics to attach to underived transitive verbs with overt objects.

When the associated-motion proclitic attaches to a verb with valency-changing morphology, the motion is still attributed to the surface subject (the argument triggering subject agreement). The only exception is that – when the associated motion proclitic attaches to an underlyingly causative verb – the motion can be attributed to either the causer, i.e. surface subject (58), or the causee, i.e. embedded subject (59).

(57) *a3ɟau1ʔtʃi3we1*
a3=ɟau1ʔ=tʃi3we1
IMP+AM=wash=NI:face
'Go and wash your face.' [2019_C3-C7_CCI, CG7, 14:26]

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(58) nu5a2 to3pe3a3ʔa3ʔe3ʔẽ4ẽ3gɨ4
nu5a2 to31ʔĩ3 pe3=a3=a3ʔ-e3-ʔẽ4ẽ3=gɨ4
here.ALL 1EXCL=ACC
2PL.SBJ=AM=drink-CAUS=PL
'You all should come here and serve us drinks (lit., make us drink).'
[Menris, MFG-LFG-LVI, 63:43]

(59) ɟe5a2ma4 na43ʔtʃi5ru1 a3ɟau2ʔẽ4ẽ3
ɟe5a2=ma4 na43=ʔtʃi5ru1 a3=ɟau2ʔ-ʔẽ4ẽ3
there.DIST.ALL=toward 3=clothes IMP+AM=grab-CAUS
'Make him/her go over there and grab his/her clothes.' [2019_C3-C7_CG7, 13:19]

Like all motion verbs in Ticuna (Chapter 11), the associated motion proclitic entails nothing about the direction of motion relative to the discourse participants (i.e., the deictic center). It can be toward the participants, away from them, or between two points that are not related to them. This is shown by the demonstratives in the above examples: (58) involves motion toward the deictic center, expressed by *nu5a2* 'here,' and (59) involves motion away from it, expressed by *ɟe5a2* 'there (speaker-distal).'

The associated-motion proclitic can also express metaphorical motion, such as the metaphorical motion of the rumors in (60).

(60) *ʎe17ta5ma4 **ta1a3ri3ʔã1ʔĩ3**ʔĩ4 ɟa4 [personal.name] na4ʔmą1tʃi4rę1*
ʎe17ta5=ma4 **ta1a3ri3=ã1ʔĩ1**=ʔĩ4 ɟa4
where?=toward **3(I).SBJ.SC.AM=be.subject.of.gossip**=SUB DET(I)
[personal.name] na4=ʔmą1=tʃi4rę1
personal.name 3=wife(I)=ANTIPRF
'Rumors about [name redacted]'s ex-wife have been coming from somewhere.'
Very literally: '[Name's] ex-wife went somewhere and became the subject of rumors.' (she literally went nowhere) [AFG-LVI, Victoria, 54:41]

### 18.4.2 Morphology of the associated-motion proclitic

The associated-motion proclitic can change the conjugation class and object syntax of the verb. It can also create otherwise unattested proclitic combinations. I first describe how associated motion is marked on verbs that never take an object proclitic (§18.4.2.1). Then I discuss associated motion on causative transitive

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verbs that would otherwise take object proclitics. For these verbs, the associated-motion proclitic *replaces* the object proclitic, leading in some cases to object pro-drop (§18.4.2.2).

### 18.4.2.1 Associated-motion paradigms for verbs that do not have clitizable objects

**18.4.2.1.1 Regular paradigms** All verbs that do not take proclitic objects pattern together with respect to the associated motion paradigm. This includes intransitive verbs, oblique object verbs, psych transitive verbs, and causative transitive verbs with first-person, second-person, 3(I), or preverbal NP objects.

The form of associated-motion marking is different for each conjugation class. /a/-class verbs have completely regular marking. In both main clauses and subordinate clauses, they take regular /a/-class subject proclitics, followed by the proclitic *(ɟ)a3=*, followed by the verb root (61). In third-person forms with no subject proclitic marking, the *(ɟ)a3=* proclitic still appears (62).

(61) *na4ɟa3pa4e2ta3*
na4=ɟa3=3=pa4e2ta3
3.SBJ=AM=play.music(A)
'S/he went and played music.' [LWG 2025.1.120]

(62) *ɟa3pa4e2ta3gu2*
∅=ɟa3=3=pa4e2ta3=gu2
3(IV).SBJ.SC=AM=play.music(A)=COND
'if s/he (Class II/III/IV) goes and plays music' [LWG 2025.1.124]

In the imperative, /a/-class verbs with associated-motion marking take the proclitic *ɟa1=* instead of a regular /a/-class imperative proclitic *na1=* (63–64).

(63) *ɟa1pa4e2ta3*
ɟa1=pa4e2ta3
AM.IMP=play.music
'Go and play music!' [LWG 2025.1.126]

(64) *na31ʔkạ1 **a1da2ʔu5tʃi2** a4 ọ1ʔi5*
na43=kạ1 **a1=dau2=ʔi5tʃi2** a4 ọ1ʔi5
3(IV)=PURP **AM.IMP=look.for(A)=really** DET(IV) grandfather(IV)
'**Go and really look** for grandpa!' [YCG, SCG-YCG-DGC]

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(65) *nu5a2 ku31rɨ3 po3ʔi5* ***a1ŋǫ1***
nu5a2 ku31rɨ3 po3ʔi5 **a1=ŋǫ1**
here.ALL 2SG.POSS plantain **AM.IMP=eat**
'**Come and eat** your plantains here!' [CG29, C24-C29 CCI]

/r/-class verbs also have mostly regular marking of associated motion. In main clauses and non-third-person subordinate clauses, they take regular /r/-class subject proclitics, all of which are disyllabic. The proclitic *(ɟ)a3=* is inserted between the first and second syllables of the subject proclitic, as shown by (66) for a main clause and (67) for a subordinate clause.

(66) *na4ɟa3rɨ3na1*
na4=ɟa3=3=rɨ3=na1
3SBJ.R=AM=R=stop.crying(R)
'S/he went and stopped crying.' [LWG 2025.1.120]

(67) *tʃa1ɟa3rɨ3na1ʔgu2*
tʃa1=ɟa3=3=rɨ3=na1=gu2
1.SG.SBJ.R.SC=AM=R=stop.crying(R)=COND
'if I go and stop crying' [LWG 2025.1.124]

In most examples from the elicited materials, 3(II/III/IV) subordinate-clause /r/-class verbs take the irregular proclitic *ɟa1na1=* (68). Likewise, 3(V) subordinate-clause /r/-class verbs can take the irregular proclitic *ɟa1na4=* (69). The forms *ɟa1na1=* and *ɟa1na4=* can be analyzed as the associated-motion proclitic (*ɟa1=*) followed by the regular /a/-class subordinate-clause proclitics, *na1=* '3(II/III/IV).SBJ.SC' and *na4=* '3(V).SBJ.SC.' The regular proclitic forms for these cells of the paradigm would be 3(II/III/IV) *(na1)ɟa3rɨ3=* and 3(V) *na4ɟa4rɨ3=*. These regular forms do occur as well, but people volunteer them in elicitation less often than irregular forms (70). There are no corpus tokens for these paradigm cells, so the corpus does not help us to determine which is less marked.

(68) *ɟa1na1ʎɨ2ma3gu2*
ɟa1=na1=ʎɨ2ma3=gu2
AM=3(II/III/IV).SBJ.SC.R=forget(R)=COND
'if s/he (Class II/III/IV) goes and forgets' [LWG 2025.1.125]

(69) *ɟa1na4ʎɨ2ma3gu2*
ɟa1=na4=ʎɨ2ma3=gu2
AM=3(V).SBJ.SC=forget(R)=COND
'if she (Class V) goes and forgets' [LWG 2025.1.125]

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(70) *na1ɟa3rɨ3to1ʔgu2*
na1=ɟa3=3=rɨ3=to1=gu2
3(II/III/IV).SBJ.SC=AM=R=sit(R)=COND
'if s/he (Class II/III/IV goes and sits' [LWG 2025.1.124]

In the imperative, the associated-motion form for the /r/-class is *ɟa1rɨ3=* (71–72). This contrasts with the regular /r/-class imperative proclitic *rɨ3=*.

(71) *nɨ31ʔĩ3 ɟa1rɨ3ʎi2ma3*
nɨ31=ʔĩ3 ɟa1rɨ3=ʎi2ma3
3=ACC IMP.AM=forget(R)
'Go and forget it!' [LWG 2025.1.126]

(72) *ma3rɨ3, nu5a2 mi3ẽ3ma4ã2* ***a3rɨ3to1***
ma3rɨ3 nu5a2 mi3ẽ3=ma4ã2 **a3rɨ3=to1**
PRF here.ALL baby=COM IMP.AM=sit(R)
'That's enough, **come and sit** here with the baby.' [C4-C9 CG]

The associated-motion construction becomes more complex in the /i/-class. For this conjugation class, there are two strategies for marking associated motion: using the concatenative proclitic *(ɟ)a3=*, and changing the conjugation class of the verb to the /r/-class without adding any new proclitics.

In the associated-motion construction with the *(ɟ)a3=* proclitic, /i/-class verbs take a proclitic string consisting of the /a/-class proclitic, followed by the *(ɟ)a3=* proclitic, followed by *rɨ3=*. This is exactly the same proclitic string as in the associated-motion forms of underlyingly /r/-class verbs. (73–74) provide examples of this strategy in main clauses, and (75) demonstrates it in a non-third-person subordinate clause.

(73) *na4ɟa3rɨ3de43ʔa2*
na4=ɟa3=3=rɨ3=de43ʔa2
3SBJ.R=AM=R=talk(I)
'S/he went and talked.' [LWG 2025.1.120]

(74) *ɟe5a2a1kɨ5na1ma3* ***na4ɟa3rɨ3ka1***
ɟe5a2=a1kɨ5na1=ma3 **na4=ɟa3=rɨ3=ka1**
there.DIST.ALL=same.distance=INFO **3SBJ.R=AM=R=shout(I)**
'He **went over there and shouted**.' [LWG tak]

(75) *e3ga4 tʃa1ɟa3rɨ3de43ʔa̰2gu2*

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e3ga4 tʃa1=ɟa3=3=ri3=de43ʔa2=gu2
if 1SG.SBJ.R=AM=R=talk(I)=COND
'if I go and talk' [LWG 2025.1.120]

For /i/-class verbs in subordinate clauses with 3(II/III/IV) subjects, most elicited tokens – from Lilia, the anonymous consultant, and others – used the irregular form *ɟa1na1=* (76), which is shared with the /r/-class. This form also appears once in the corpus (77).

(76) *ɟa1na1de43ʔa̱2gu2*
ɟa1=na1=de43ʔa2=gu2
AM=3(II/III/IV).SBJ.SC.R=talk(I)=COND
'if s/he (Class II/III/IV) goes and talks' [LWG 2025.1.124]

(77) tau4 ni31gi1ʔĩ5 ne5**ɟa1na1gu2**?
tau4 ni31=gi1=ʔĩ5
NEG 3(II/III/IV)=REFL=BEN
ne5=**ɟa1=na1=gu2**?
some(III)=**AM=3(II/III/IV)SBJ.SC.R=process.with.fire(I)**
'Why doesn't he **come and fire some** (cane stalks into arrows) for himself?' [Teodor Sr., 20180622]

However, some elicited tokens, and the one other form in this paradigm cell in the corpus, use the regular form *(ɟ)a3ri3=* (78) for the 3(II/III/IV) subordinate-clause proclitic of /i/-class associated-motion verbs. This form is regular because *ri3=* is a regular form of the 3(II/III/IV) subordinate-clause /r/-class proclitic (see Table 6.3), and the *ɟa=* associated-motion marker appears in the expected order relative to it.

(78) ki3 ŋe3ma2 ni4 ʎe31na5 nu5a2 **ni3a3ri3ʔu2ʔĩ4**
ki3 ŋe3ma2 ni4 ʎe31na5 nu5a2 ni31=ʔĩ3 **a3=ri3=u3=ʔĩ4**
INFO DEM.MULTI(IV) FOC girl(IV) here=ALL 3=ACC **AM=R=say(I)=SUB**
'Well, that's what the girl **came here and said**.' [Lizeth, LFG-MFG-LVI]

For /i/-class verbs in subordinate clauses with 3(V) subjects, consultants used only the irregular form *ɟa1na4=* (79–80), which is shared with the /r/-class. There are no corpus tokens for this paradigm cell.

(79) *ɟa1na4de43ʔa̱2gu2*
ɟa1=na4=de43ʔa2=gu2
AM=3(V).SBJ.SC.R=talk(I)=COND
'if she (Class V) goes and talks' [LWG 2025.1.124]

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(80) *e3ga3 niɨ31ʔĩ3 ɟa1na4ʎo4gɨ̨2gu2*
e3ga4 niɨ31=ʔĩ3 ɟa1=na4=ʎo4gɨ2=gu2
if 3=ACC AM=3(V).SBJ.SC.R=touch.to.perceive(I)=COND
'if she (Class V) goes and feels it' [LWG 2025.1.125]

/i/-class imperatives – when using the concatenative strategy – mark the associated-motion imperative with the proclitic *ɟa1riɨ3=* (81–83). This is identical to /r/-class verbs as well.

(81) *ɟa1riɨ3de43ʔa2*
ɟa1riɨ3=de43ʔa2
IMP.AM=talk(I)
'Go and talk!' [LWG 2025.1.126]

(82) *niɨ31ʔĩ3 ɟa1riɨ3ʎo4gɨ2*
niɨ31=ʔĩ3 ɟa1riɨ3=ʎo4gɨ2(I)
3=ACC IMP.AM=touch.to.perceive(I)
'Go and feel it!' [LWG 2025.1.126]

(83) *ɟe5a2ma4 Wel3ki1ĩ1ta1wa5 gaseosane5* ***a1riɨ3ʔa3ʔi3***
ɟe5a2=ma4 Wel3ki1=ĩ1ta1=wa5 gaseosa=ne5
there.DIST.ALL=toward Welqui=RN:at=ALL SP:soda(II)=some(II)
**a1riɨ3=a3ʔ**
**IMP.AM=drink(I)**
'**Go and drink** some soda there at Welqui's place.'[Yaneth, SCG-YCG-DGC]

The *non-concatenative* strategy for marking associated motion with /i/-class verbs consists of simply changing the verb to the /r/-class. This is more common in the corpus than the concatenative *ɟa3=* proclitic with /i/-class verbs. When this strategy is used, the underlyingly /i/-class verb takes completely regular /r/-class inflection with no evidence of an associated-motion proclitic. This appears to be possible for all subject and clause-type combinations, as shown by the main-clause verb in (84); the local-person subordinate verb in (85); the 3(II/III/IV) subordinate verb in (86); and the imperative in (87).

(84) *me31ʔĩ4 ni4 nu5a2 ma3riɨ3tʃi4rɛ̨1 ta31ma4ã2* ***na4riɨ3de43ʔa2***
me43=ʔĩ4 ni4 nu5a2 ma3riɨ3=tʃi4rɛ̨1 ta31=ma4ã2 **na4riɨ3=de43ʔa2**
good=**sub** FOC here.ALL PRF 1INCL=COM **3(II/III/IV)SBJ.R=talk.I**
'It's fine, she (Class IV) already **came and talked to us** here.' [Victoria, LFG-MFG-LVI]

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(85) *nɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa1rɨ3ʔu3ʔgu2*
nɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃa1rɨ3=u3=gu2
3=ACC 1SG.SBJ.R=say(I)=COND
'if I go and say it' [LWG 2025.1.125]

(86) *nu5a2* ***na1rɨ3de43ʔa2ne3ta2ʔĩ4*** *rɨ1 ŋe5a2 ne5 na4ʔŨ43*
nu5a2 **na1rɨ3=de43ʔa2=ne3ta2=ʔĩ4** rɨ1 ŋe5a2 ne5
here.ALL **3.SBJ.SC.R=talk(I)=pretend=SUB** and there.MED.ALL SOURCE
na4=Ũ43
3.SBJ=go.SG
'**She (Class IV) is just going over here and talking for fun**, and she's coming from there.' [Veronica, LSC-VSC]

(87) *nɨ31ʔĩ3 rɨ3ʌo4gɨ2*
nɨ31=ʔĩ3 rɨ3=ʌo4gɨ2
3=ACC IMP.R=touch.to.perceive(I)
'Go and feel it!' [LWG 2025.1.126]

The corpus contains examples of the same verb, in the same morphological form, marking associated motion with the /r/-class conversion strategy in some tokens and with the concatenative strategy in others. For example, the associated-motion imperative of the /i/-class verb *ka1we1* 'pick fruit' is formed with the dedicated association-motion imperative marker *a1rɨ3=* in (88), but with the regular /r/-class marker *rɨ3=* in (89). Thus, the alternation between these strategies is not (only) a property of verb stems.

(88) gu31ʔe2 i1ru5 tɨ31ʔĩ3 **a1rɨ3ka1we1**
gu31ʔe2 i1ru5 tɨ31=ʔĩ3 **a1rɨ3=ka1we1**
DEM.DIST(I) plantain.var(I) 3(I)=ACC **IMP.AM=pick.fruit(I)**
'**Go and pick** those plantains.' [LWG tak]

(89) *limon ka3a1ʔ ne5****rɨ3ka1we3***
limon ka3a1ʔ ne5=**rɨ3=ka1we3**
SP:lime(III) INTJ:look! some(III)=**IMP.R=pick(I)**
'Hey, **go and pick** some limes.' [20180628_003]
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When the /i/-class marks associated motion solely through conversion to the /r/-class, there is no irregularity in the /r/-class proclitics. For example, the 3(II/III/IV) subordinate verb in (86) takes the regular /r/-class subordinate-clause proclitic *na1rɨ3=*, not the irregular associated-motion form *ɟa1na1=*.

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**18.4.2.1.2 Irregular behavior** Some verbs have irregular behavior with the associated-motion proclitic. Most often, this consists of adding the *i5=* verb classifier. For example, when the psych verb *dau2* 'see' combines with the associated-motion proclitic, it always also takes *i5=* (90). Other forms of irregular behavior include adding the *i2=* verb classifier, changing the object syntax of a transitive verb from psych to causative, or using /a/-class inflection with /i/-class verbs.

(90) *tɨ31ʔĭ3 i5ɟa3dau2*
tɨ31=ʔĭ3 i5=ɟa3=3=dau2
3(I)=ACC VCL=AM=see
'Go look at it.' [CG19, 2019 CCI]

**18.4.2.1.3 Summary** The associated motion paradigm is complex, especially in subordinate clauses, and is fairly infrequent in the corpus. Some cells of the paradigm, including all /i/-class verbs and the third-person subordinate forms of /r/-class subordinate verbs, display significant variation and irregularity. This makes it challenging to generalize about these cells. However, from the data available, Table 18.5 summarizes associated-motion forms for main-clause verbs of each class without object proclitics. Table 18.6 provides this information for subordinate-clause verbs, and Table 18.7, for imperatives.[4]

Table 18.5: Main-clause subject proclitics with associated-motion marking [LWG 2025.1.120-121]

| Subject | /a/-Class | /i/-Class and /r/-Class |
|---|---|---|
| 1SG | tʃa3=(ɟ)a3= | tʃa3=(ɟ)a3=rɨ3= |
| 2SG | ku3=(ɟ)a3= | ku3=(ɟ)a3=rɨ3= |
| 3(I) | ta4=(ɟ)a3= | ta4=(ɟ)a3=rɨ3= |
| 3(II/III/IV) | na4=(ɟ)a3= | na4=(ɟ)a3=rɨ3= |
| 3(V) | i4=(ɟ)a3= | i4=(ɟ)a3=rɨ3= |
| 1INCL | ta4=(ɟ)a3= | ta4=(ɟ)a3=rɨ3= |
| 1EXCL | ta3=(ɟ)a3= | ta3=(ɟ)a3=rɨ3= |
| 2PL | pe3=(ɟ)a3= | pe3=(ɟ)a3=rɨ3= |

[4]The tables do not represent that /i/-class verbs can also mark associated motion via conversion to the /r/-class. In this case, for a verb with no object proclitic, regular /r/-class inflection appears in all clause types (see Tables 6.2–6.4).

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Table 18.6: Subordinate-clause subject proclitics with associated-motion marking [primarily LWG 2025.1.124-128]

| Subject | /a/-Class | /i/-Class and /r/-Class |
|---|---|---|
| 1SG | tʃa1=(ɟ)a3= | tʃa1=(ɟ)a3=ri3= |
| 2SG | ku1=(ɟ)a3= | ku1=(ɟ)a3=ri3= |
| 3(I) | ta1=(ɟ)a3= | ta1=(ɟ)a3=ri3= |
| 3(II/III/IV) | (na1=)(ɟ)a3= | (ɟ)a1=na1=<br>na1=(ɟ)a3=ri3=<br>(ɟ)a3=ri3= |
| 3(V) | (na4=)(ɟ)a3= | ɟa1=na4= |
| 1INCL | ∅=(ɟ)a3= | ta4=(ɟ)a3=ri3= |
| 1EXCL | ta1=(ɟ)a3= | ta3=(ɟ)a3=ri3= |
| 2PL | pe1=(ɟ)a3= | pe3=(ɟ)a3=ri3= |

Table 18.7: Associated-motion imperative proclitics [LWG 2025.1.126]

| | /a/-Class | /i/-Class and /r/-Class |
|---|---|---|
| IMP | (ɟ)a1= | (ɟ)a1=ri3= |

### 18.4.2.2 Associated-motion paradigms for verbs with cliticizable objects

**18.4.2.2.1 Regular behavior** Per Chapter 10, causative transitive verbs realize the object as a proclitic if, and only if, the object (i) is third person, (ii) belongs to noun class II, III, or IV, *and* (iii) is not also realized as a preverbal NP. All causative transitive verbs are /a/-class or /i/-class.

As discussed in §18.4.2.1, /a/-class verbs are marked for associated motion with the proclitic *(ɟ)a3=*. When an /a/-class verb would normally take an object proclitic, *but* it is marked for associated motion, *then* there is no object proclitic – only the *(ɟ)a3=* proclitic. For example, in (91), the verb would normally have an object proclitic because the object is class IV and postverbal. However, it has no object proclitic, only *ɟa3=* (91a). It is ungrammatical to add the regular /a/-class object proclitic, *na3=*, either before or after the associated-motion proclitic (91b). Corpus examples such as (92) display the same structure, with *(ɟ)a3=* appearing on the verb, but no object proclitic.

(91) a. *tʃa3ɟa3me43ẽ4ẽ3 i4 mo3to1*
tʃa3=ɟa3=me43ẽ4ẽ3 i4 mo3to1
1SG.SBJ=AM=fix(A) DET(IV) SP:motorcycle(IV)
b. **tʃa3ɟa3na3me43ẽ4ẽ3 i4 mo3to1*

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*tʃa3=ɟa3=na3=me43ẽ4ẽ3 i4 mo3to1
*1SG.SBJ=AM=3.OBJ=fix(A) DET(IV) SP:motorcycle(IV)

c. *tʃa3na3ɟa3me43ẽ4ẽ3 i4 mo3to1
*tʃa3=na3=ɟa3=me43ẽ4ẽ3 i4 mo3to1
*1SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=AM=fix(A) DET(IV) SP:motorcycle(IV)

'I went and fixed the motorcycle.' [LWG 2026.1.122]

(92) *ma2na4 ma3ri3 nu5a2 **ta4a3nu4tʃi2re4** a1 i2ʔi4*?
ma2na4 ma3ri3 nu5a2 **ta4=a3=nu4=tʃi2re4**
EPIST PRF here.ALL **3(I).SBJ=AM=put.INAN.PL(A) =CLFI:seed**
a1 i2ʔi4
DET(III) firewood(III)
'Did s/he maybe come and leave the firewood here?' [C27 Father's Mother, C27 CCI 2019]

If a causative transitive /a/-class verb has a preverbal NP object, then it has the same morphology as an intransitive verb, with *(ɟ)a3=* marking associated motion (93, 94). This also applies if the causative transitive has a pronominal object that can't be realized as a proclitic, for example a 3(I) object in (95). There are no changes whatsoever to the object syntax of the /a/-class verb in these situations.

(93) *mo3to1 tʃa3ɟa3me43ẽ4ẽ3*
mo3to1 tʃa3=ɟa3=me43ẽ4ẽ3
motorcycle 1SG.SBJ=AM=fix(A)
'I went and fixed the motorcycle.' [LWG 2026.1.122]

(94) *no51ri3 bo3te1ʔã3 na4a3ɟau1*
no51ri3 bo3te1=ã3 na4=a3=ɟau1
3.POSS SP:boat=REP 3(II/III/IV).SBJ=AM=bail.water(A)
'He went to bail his boat.' [Victoria, AFG-LVI]

(95) *nu5a2 ti31ʔĩ3 na4a3tɻ1*
nu5a2 ti31=ʔĩ3 na4=a3=tɻ1
here.ALL 3(I)=ACC 3(II/III/IV).SBJ=AM=discard.SG(A)
'She's coming to drop her off.' [Menrys, MFG-LFG-LVI]

In an associated-motion subordinate clause, /a/-class verbs which would normally take object proclitics display exactly the same paradigm as intransitive verbs or verbs with free-word objects. That is, they have the associated-motion proclitic *(ɟ)a3=* and no additional object marking, as shown in (96). The exception is verbs with 3(II/III/IV) and 3(V) subjects. These have the proclitic *(ɟ)a3=* and the

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regular 3>3 subordinate-clause object enclitic *=ã1*, as shown in (97). Since the 3>3 enclitic can occur, it is clear that the pronominal object is still present in these verbs at some level of representation; it simply cannot be realized as a proclitic.

(96) *e3ga4 ku1ɟa3mu̱2ʔgu2*
e3ga4 ku1=ɟa3=mu̱2=gu2
if 2SG.SBJ=AM=send(A)=COND
'if you go and send it' [LWG 2025.1.126]

(97) *e3ga4 ɟa3mu2ã1ʔgu2*
e3ga4 ɟa3=mu̱2=ã1=gu2
if AM=send(A)=3.SBJ>3.OBJ.SC=COND
'if s/he (Class II/III/IV) goes and send it' [LWG 2025.1.126]

If an associated-motion imperative would normally have an object proclitic, it takes the form *ɟa3=* (98–99). Unlike all other forms discussed so far, this proclitic form *does* explicitly mark the presence of an object. It contrasts in tone with the associated-motion imperative for /a/-class verbs with no object proclitic, which is *(ɟ)a1=*.

(98) *ɟa3mu2*
ɟa3=mu2
AM.IMP>3.OBJ=send(A)
'Go and send it!' [LWG 2025.1.127]

(99) *pa2 no31ʔ, **i5a3tą1** a4 Lu3pe1*
pa2 no31ʔ **i5=a3=tą1** a4
VOC grandmother.VOC **VCL=AM.IMP>3.OBJ=discard.SG(A)** DET(IV)
Lu3pe1
Lupe(IV)
'Grandma, go and throw Lupe (a dog) out.' [Victoria, LFG-MFG-LVI]

To sum up, the only irregularity in object marking for associated-motion /a/-class verbs is that the associated-motion proclitic *(ɟ)a3=* and /a/-class object proclitic *na3=* are incompatible. Because of this incompatibility, /a/-class verbs in syntactic positions which would normally have object proclitics instead have only *(ɟ)a3=*.

The situation is completely different for /i/-class verbs with associated-motion marking. If an /i/-class verb is in a position where it would normally take an object proclitic, and it has concatenative associated-motion marking, then it undergoes three changes. First, the subject proclitic takes the form for the /a/-class

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(as happens whenever an /i/-class subject proclitic is not adjacent to the verb root). Second, the subject proclitic is followed by the associated-motion proclitic *(ɟ)a1=* (with tone 1 in this construction). Last, the *(ɟ)a1=* proclitic is followed by the regular */a/-class* object proclitic, *na3=*. (100) and (101) provide examples of this structure in main clauses.

(100) Context: Even though paper money looks like leaves...
nai31a5tɨ2 ni4 i4 ɟe5a2 **ku3a3na3ka1we1ma3re3**
nai31=a5tɨ2 ni4 i4 ɟe5a2
tree=leaf FOC DET there.DIST.ALL
**ku3=a3=na3=ka1we1=ma3re3**
**2SG.SBJ(A)=AM=3.OBJ=pick.fruit(I)=just**
'(It's actually not) a leaf, (it's hardly the case that) **you can just go there and pick it**.' [Victoria, LVI-MFG-LFG]

(101) *tʃa3a1na3de31ʔe2tʃi4 (i4 ta3ra5)*
tʃa3=a1=na3=de31-ʔɨ2tʃi4 (i4 ta3ra5)
1SG.SBJ(A)=AM=3.OBJ(A)=gather(I)-DIR:outward (DET(IV) machete(IV))
'I went and chose it/a machete.' [LWG 2026.1.123]

Subordinate-clause /i/-class verbs with object proclitics display the same realization of the object and associated-motion marking. They take a regular /a/-class subordinate-clause proclitic, followed by the associated-motion marker with tone 1, followed by the *na3=* /a/-class object proclitic, as shown in (102). If the verb has a 3(II/III/IV) or 3(V) subject, the proclitic string *ɟa1=na3=* appears at the left edge of the verb, and the 3>3 subordinate-clause enclitic *=ã1* appears at the right edge (103). In this paradigm cell, by contrast to the intransitive/no object proclitic paradigm for /i/-class verbs, the form *ɟa1na3=* is predictable, rather than irregular. It consists of the regular zero-marking for a third-person subordinate-clause subject, followed by the regular associated-motion and object proclitics for this paradigm.

(102) *e3ga4 ku1a1na3de31ʔe2tʃi4gu2*
e3ga4 ku1=a1=na3=de31-ʔɨ2tʃi4=gu2
if 2SG.SBJ.SC(A)=AM=3.OBJ(A)=gather(I)-DIR:outward=COND
'if you go and choose it' [LWG 2025.1.127]

(103) *e3ga4 ɟa1na3de31ʔe2tʃi4ã1ʔgu2*
e3ga4 ɟa1=na3=de31-ʔɨ2tʃi4=ã1=gu2
if AM=3.OBJ(A)=gather(I)-DIR:outward=3>3.SC=COND
'if s/he (Class II/III/IV) goes and chooses it' [LWG 2025.1.127]

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The imperative for an /i/-class associated-motion verb with an object proclitic is *ɟa1=na3=*. This string consists of the regular associated-motion imperative found with /a/-class verbs, *ɟa1=*, followed by the regular object proclitic.

(104) *ɟa1na3de31ʔe2tʃi4*
ɟa1=na3=de31-ʔɨ2tʃi4
AM.IMP=3.OBJ(A)=gather(I)-DIR:outward
'Go and choose it!' [LWG 2025.1.127]

Recall from §18.4.2.1 that /i/-class verbs *without* object proclitics mark associated-motion via the concatenative proclitic *(ɟ)a3=* plus /r/-class verbal morphology. Furthermore, object proclitics do not appear when the object is preverbal or when it belongs to noun class I. As a result, the same /i/ class verb – with the same arguments – will take different associated-motion marking, and take subject proclitics for a different conjugation class, when the object is preverbal vs. postverbal, or when it belongs to noun class I vs. to a procliticizable noun class. For example, the /i/-class verb *wã4na1* 'open (transitive)' has a preverbal object in (105a), meaning that it cannot have an object proclitic, and therefore takes /r/-class morphology in the associated-motion form. When the same verb has a postverbal object in (105b), the object position triggers a proclitic, and the associated-motion form therefore has /a/-class morphology.

(105) a. *ɟi2ma4 rɨ1 ĩ31ą̃1 na4ɟa3rɨ3wã4na1*
ɟi2ma4 rɨ1 ĩ31ą̃1 na4=ɟa3=rɨ3=wã4na1
DEM.ANA(II) TOP door 3(II/III/IV).SBJ.R=AM=R=open(I)
'That guy, he went and opened the door.'
b. *ɟi2ma4 na4ɟa1na3wã4na1*
ɟi2ma4 na4=ɟa1=na3=wã4na1
DEM.ANA(II) 3(II/III/IV).SBJ.A=AM=3.OBJ(A)=open(I)
'That guy went and opened it (a door).'
[LWG 2018.1.158]

As a slightly more complex example, *mą̃1* 'hit, kill' has a class I postverbal object in (106a) but a class IV postverbal object in (106b).[5] The class IV postverbal object, but not the class I postverbal object, triggers an object proclitic. Therefore, (106b) takes /a/-class inflection because of the object proclitic, while (106a) takes /r/-class inflection because its object is a free word.

[5]The object is the same lexical word in both of these sub-examples, but can participate in multiple noun classes. The noun class in each example is known because of the agreement on the relative clause.

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(106) a. *tɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa3a3rɨ3mą1 ɟa4 o3ta5 ɟa4 ɟa2e3*
tɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=a3=rɨ3=mą1 ɟa4 o3ta5 ɟa4
3(I)=ACC 1SG.SBJ.R=AM=R=kill(I) DET(I) chicken(I) DET(I)
ɟa2=e3
mature=NMLZ(I)
'I went and killed the adult chicken (Class I).' [anonymous, remote elicitation 2026/04/29]

b. tʃa3a1na3mą1 i4 o3ta5 i4 ɟa2ʔĩ4
tʃa3=a1=na3=mą1 i4 o3ta5 i4
1SG.SBJ.A=AM=3.OBJ(A)=kill(I) DET(IV) chicken(IV) DET(IV)
ɟa2=ʔĩ4
mature=NMLZ(IV)
'I went and killed the adult chicken (Class IV).' [anonymous, remote elicitation 2026/04/29]

Causative transitive /i/-class verbs can also undergo associated-motion marking via conversion to the /r/-class, exactly like intransitive /i/-class verbs. We have already seen an example of this in the imperative in (89), where the associated-motion imperative of the /i/-class verb *ka1we1* 'pick' is realized simply with the regular (i.e, not associated-motion) /r/-class imperative proclitic.

(89) *limon ka3a1ʔ ne5**ri3ka1we3***
limon ka3a1ʔ ne5=**ri3=ka1we3**
SP:lime(III) INTJ:look! some(III)=**IMP.R=pick(I)**
'Hey, **go and pick** some limes.' [20180628_003]
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Since /r/-class verbs never take object proclitics, this raises the question of how to mark a pronominal/postverbal object on an /i/-class verb that has undergone /r/-class conversion. Most examples in the elicited materials suggest that these objects are realized as free pronouns (107). This is aligned with the object syntax of all other /r/-class transitive verbs. However, examples of /r/-class conversion were difficult to elicit because people tended to move toward concatenative forms when asked metalinguistic questions about associated motion.

(107) *nɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa3rɨ3de31ʔe2tʃi4 i4 bu3ʔĩ4gɨ4*
nɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3rɨ3=de31-ʔi2tʃi4 i4 bu3ʔĩ4=gɨ4
3=ACC 1SG.SBJ=gather-DIR:outward DET(IV) child(IV)=PL
'I went and chose (the) children (to play on a sports team).' [LWG 2026.1.123]

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**18.4.2.2.2 Irregular behavior** Some /a/-class causative transitive verbs – most clearly *ʎe43* 'transport inanimate' and *ga4* 'transport animate,' but also non-motion verbs such as *ɨ2* 'make' – can express associated-motion by converting the verb to the /i/-class. When this strategy is used, the originally /a/-class verb behaves in all ways like a regular /i/-class verb, taking no associated motion marking. (108) is a textual example of this strategy. Since the example uses a verb of caused motion, note that the interpretation here is that the associated motion takes place before (not simultaneous with) the transportation event.

(108) Context: Children at home, planning to escape into the forest before their wicked father abandons them
*ŋi51ã3, to51rɨ3 tʃa2wɨ4ne5 ti4ʎe43*
ŋi51ã3 to51rɨ3 tʃa2wɨ4=ne5 ti4=ʎe43
INTJ:let's.go 1INCL.POSS corn(III)=some(III) 1INCL.SBJ=transport.INAN
'Let's go, let's take our corn and get out of here!' [LWG tak]

**18.4.2.2.3 Summary** The paradigm of associated-motion forms with object proclitics is extremely infrequent in the corpus. However, from the information available, Table 18.8 summarizes the associated-motion marking of main-clause verbs with object proclitics, Table 18.9 summarizes the information for subordinate-clause verbs, and Table 18.10 gives it for imperatives.[6]

Table 18.8: Main-clause subject proclitic + object proclitic paradigm for verbs with associated-motion marking [LWG 2025.1.121, anonymous consultant 2025/04/29]

| Subject | /a/-Class | /i/-Class |
|---|---|---|
| 1SG | tʃa3=(ɟ)a3= | tʃa3=(ɟ)a1=na3= |
| 2SG | ku3=(ɟ)a3= | ku3=(ɟ)a1=na3= |
| 3(I) | ta4=(ɟ)a3= | ta4=(ɟ)a1=na3= |
| 3(II/III/IV) | na4=(ɟ)a3= | na4=(ɟ)a1=na3= |
| 3(V) | i4=(ɟ)a3= | i4=(ɟ)a1=na3= |
| 1INCL | ta4=(ɟ)a3= | ta4=(ɟ)a1=na3= |
| 1EXCL | ta3=(ɟ)a3= | ta3=(ɟ)a1=na3= |
| 2PL | pe3=(ɟ)a3= | pe3=(ɟ)a1=na3= |

[6]The tables do not represent that /i/-class verbs which would normally take object proclitics can also mark associated motion via conversion to the /r/-class. In this case, based on available data, they take regular /r/-class inflection (Tables 6.2 – 6.4) and realize all pronominal objects as free words (i.e., do not take object proclitics).

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Table 18.9: Main-clause subject proclitic + object proclitic paradigm for verbs with associated-motion marking [LWG 2025.1.126–128, anonymous consultant 2025/04/29]

| Subject | /a/-Class | /i/-Class |
|---|---|---|
| 1SG | tʃa1=(ɟ)a3= | tʃa1=(ɟ)a1=na3= |
| 2SG | ku1=(ɟ)a3= | ku1=(ɟ)a1=na3= |
| 3(I) | ta1=(ɟ)a3= | ta1=(ɟ)a1=na3= |
| 3(II/III/IV) | (ɟ)a3=V=ã1 | (ɟ)a1=na1=V=ã1 |
| 3(V) | (ɟ)a3=V=ã1 | ɟa1=na4=V̀=ã1 |
| 1INCL | ∅=(ɟ)a3= | (ɟ)a1=na3= |
| 1EXCL | ta1=(ɟ)a3= | ta3=(ɟ)a1=na3= |
| 2PL | pe1=(ɟ)a3= | pe1=(ɟ)a1=na3= |

Table 18.10: Associated-motion imperative + object proclitics [LWG 2025.1.12]

| | /a/-Class | /i/-Class |
|---|---|---|
| IMP | (ɟ)a3= | (ɟ)a1na3= |

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# 19 Valency-changing and miscellaneous verbal morphology

This chapter covers verbal morphology that was not covered in the previous chapters of this section. Most bound verbal morphology in Ticuna belongs to paradigmatic classes of morphemes that have been discussed in other chapters, such as inflection, verbal number markers, and aspect markers. However, there are many smaller classes and individual morphemes that fall outside these groups, and they're described here.

## 19.1 Scope and organization of this chapter

I don't attempt to describe every bound verbal morpheme that's found in the corpus or the elicited materials. Given the number and content of bound morphemes, that is content for a dictionary, not a grammar. In particular, I've chosen only to describe the verbal morphemes that belong to theoretically relevant categories (e.g. the antipassive, the comparative); belong to a paradigm (e.g., *-ta1* 'close,' which belongs to a paradigm of physical result suffixes); or occur more than twice in the corpus.

The rest of this chapter begins by describing valency-increasing and -decreasing morphemes and constructions (§19.2). This includes the productive causative suffix; the productive comparative suffix (in this section because it adds an argument to the verb); and the passive and antipassive constructions, which have limited productivity. Then I look to a set of four physical result suffixes with meanings such as 'open' and 'take apart' (§19.3). Last, I discuss verbal suffixes that have relatively non-lexical content and can't be classified anywhere else, such as *-a1ne1* 'spatial argument' and *-ɨ̃* 'experience weather event.' Except for the spatial argument suffix, these are all very infrequent (§19.4).

## 19.2 Valency-changing morphemes and constructions

I've already described one morphological valency-changing operation which is very common in the language, noun incorporation (Chapter 12). However, you

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can also increase and decrease the valency of verbs morphologically without incorporation.

Only two valency-changing morphemes are productive, and they're both valency-increasing: the causative *-ẽ4ẽ3*, and the comparative *-ma2e3*. I discuss these two in §19.2.1 and §19.2.2.

Valency-**decreasing** morphology, besides noun incorporation, isn't productive. There is no fully productive antipassive, but the morpheme *-ta2e3* does appear as part of several common verb stems, and it arguably derives an antipassive (§19.2.3). There is also no passive morphology and no fully productive passive construction. However, for some verbs, it's possible to form a passive by simply deleting the agent and using the theme as the subject (§19.2.4).

Note that in Ticuna, reflexive and reciprocal events are expressed using reflexive pronouns, not verbal morphology (Chapter 8.1.2). Therefore, reflexive and reciprocal constructions not covered here, except for their interactions with the causative.

### 19.2.1 Causative *-ẽ4ẽ3*

The causative suffix *-ẽ4ẽ3* attaches to all classes of verb stems. It has the simplest syntax with intransitive verbs (§19.2.1.1) and oblique-object verbs (§19.2.1.2). With transitive verbs, the causee is treated as a new object, but without displacing the old object. This creates the language's only trivalent verbs. Causatives of psych transitives are relatively simple (§19.2.1.3), because both the causee and the embedded object are treated alike syntactically. Causatives of causative transitive stems are much more complicated – they use regular object syntax for the patient, but psych verb object syntax for the causee (§19.2.1.4).

After describing the syntax of the causative with each basic class of verbs, in §§19.2.1.5-19.2.1.8, I cover interactions of the causative with the reflexive/reciprocal; the possibility of stacking multiple tokens of the causative; using analytic constructions to express causation; and semantic extensions of the causative.

#### 19.2.1.1 Causatives of intransitives

In Ticuna, the causative of an intransitive verb is morphologically an ordinary transitive verb. The causee acts as the direct object.

For /a/-class and /i/-class intransitive roots, morphological causatives belong to the same conjugation class as the intransitive stem. They have 'causative', rather than 'psych', object syntax as defined in Chapter 10. This means that third-person pronominal arguments can be realized as object proclitics, and inanimate NP arguments do not take the accusative case.

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The following examples respectively illustrate the object syntax for the causative of an /a/-class verb, with *tʃi31e2* 'be bad, be broken' in (1), and an /i/-class verb, *o2* 'turn off (vi), speaking of an electronic device' in (2). (1) shows that causatives of intransitives can take object proclitics, and (2) shows that they don't assign the accusative to inanimates.

(1) *ŋɨ31, e3rɨ4 ma3rɨ3 na4na3tʃi31e2ẽ4ẽ3*
ŋɨ31 e3rɨ4 ma3rɨ3 na4=na3=tʃi31e2-ẽ4ẽ3
INTJ:yes because PRF 3.SBJ=3.OBJ=bad-CAUS
'Yes, because they've messed them up (lit. made them bad).' [Grandma, 2019 C27 CCI]

(2) *te3re3ɟã5 a1o2ẽ4ẽ3*
te3re3ɟã5 a1=o2-ẽ4ẽ3
television IMP=be.off-CAUS
'Turn off the television (lit. make the television turn off).' [2019 CCI C11-C14, CG]

For an /r/-class intransitive root, the morphological causative has two possibilities. It can become /a/-class and have causative object syntax, as in (3) and (4). Or it can remain /r/-class and have psych object syntax (recall from Chapter 10 that /r/-class verbs never have causative object syntax), as in (5) and (6). Both of these possibilities are found in both corpus and elicited materials, as shown by the citations below.

(3) *ŋe5a2ã4ma4ɨ1ra1 ka4 na3to1gɨ4ẽ4ẽ3*
ŋe5a2=ã4ma4=ɨ1ra1 ka4 na3=to1=gɨ4-ẽ4ẽ3
there.MED=toward=sort.of INTJ IMP>3.OBJ=sit=PL-CAUS
'Make them sit further this direction.' [2019 C31-C32 CCI, CG32]

(4) *i5tʃa3na3to1ẽ4ẽ3*
i5=tʃa3=na3=to1-ẽ4ẽ3
VCL=3.SBJ=3.OBJ=sit-CAUS
'I made him sit down.' [Anonymous transcriber„ discussion of 2022 C17 CCI; LWG 2025.1.102]

(5) *me31ã2 **ti3i5rɨ3to1gɨ4ʔẽ4ẽ3gu2** rɨ1 me31ã2 i5ta4rɨ3to1gɨ4*
me31ã2 **ti3=i5=rɨ3=to1=gɨ4-ʔẽ4ẽ3=gu2** rɨ1 me31ã2
well **3(I).ACC=VCL=IMPERS.SBJ.SC=sit=PL-CAUS=COND** TOP well
i5=ta4rɨ3=to1=gɨ4
VCL=3(I).SBJ=sit=PL
'When you make them sit down properly, they do sit down.'

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[LFG-MFG-LVI]

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(6) *ni31ʔĩ3 i5tʃa3ri3to1ʔẽ4ẽ3*
ni31=ʔĩ3 i5=tʃa3ri3=to1-ẽ4ẽ3
3=ACC VCL=1SGSBJ=sit-CAUS
'I made him sit down.' [Anonymous transcriber„ discussion of 2022 C17 CCI; LWG 2025.1.102]

#### 19.2.1.2 Causatives of oblique-object verbs

Next, I'll look to oblique-object verbs. These are bivalent verbs where the patient/internal argument is assigned a case other than the accusative (Chapter 6.2).

On most diagnostics, oblique-object verbs behave like intransitives. This pattern extends to the causative: the causative of an oblique object transitive verb is morphosyntactically identical to the causative of an intransitive.

For /a/-class and /i/-class oblique object verbs, the causative stem treats the causee as a direct object, has causative object syntax (i.e., takes object proclitics), and belongs to the same conjugation class as the base. Causativization has no effect on the realization of the patient/internal argument of the stem. It is still realized with the same oblique case as it would be with the base verb. For example, because the /a/-class verb *dau2* + RCP 'take care of' (cf. *dau2* + ACC 'see') assigns the recipient case to its patient in underived forms, the causative form of the verb still assigns the recipient case to the patient 'his house' in (7). Likewise, the /i/-class stem *kʉ1* + LOC 'put on article of clothing' (cf. *kʉ1* + ACC 'push') in (8) realizes the third-person causee as an object proclitic, but still assigns the locative case to the patient.

(7) *na4tʃi5ĩ3na1 to31ʔĩ3 na4dau2ẽ4ẽ3*
na4=tʃi5ĩ3=na1 to31=ʔĩ3 na4=dau2-ẽ4ẽ3
3=house=RCP 1EXCL=ACC 3.SBJ=take.care-CAUS
'He had us take care of his house.' [HCG HALDI]

(8) *na43gu2 na4a3kʉ1ẽ4ẽ3*
na43=gu2 na4=a3=kʉ1-ẽ4ẽ3
3=LOC 3.SBJ=3.OBJ=put.on.clothing-CAUS
'She made her put it (an article of clothing) on.' [C27 CCI]

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When an /r/-class oblique object verb takes the causative, the resulting stem – like an /r/-class intransitive – can take either psych or causative object syntax with respect to the causee. The patient takes the same case as with the base verb. For example, in (9), the /r/-class oblique object verb *ĩ3nɨ3* 'hear' + LOC 'think about' can treat the third-person causee as either a pronoun (psych syntax) or a proclitic (causative syntax), like with 'sit' above. However, either way, 'think' still assigns the locative case to the patient/stimulus.

(9) a. *Tu3pa3na1gu2 nɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa3rɨ3ʔĩ3nɨ3ẽ4ẽ3*
Tu3pa3na1=gu2 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3rɨ3=ĩ3nɨ3-ẽ4ẽ3
Christian.God=LOC 3=ACC 1SGSBJ=think-CAUS
b. *Tu3pa3na1gu2 tʃa3na3ʔĩ3nɨ3ẽ4ẽ3*
Tu3pa3na1=gu2 tʃa3=na3=ĩ3nɨ3-ẽ4ẽ3
Christian.God=LOC 1SGSBJ=3.OBJ=think-CAUS
'I made him/her think about God.' [LWG 2025.1.102]

#### 19.2.1.3 Causatives of psych transitive verbs

Causativization becomes more complicated with transitive verbs. I'll start with transitive verbs that belong to the 'psych' object syntax class, such as dau2 'see'. As described in Chapter 10.1, psych transitive verbs realize their objects as free words marked with the accusative case. They do not take object proclitics or any other form of object agreement.

When you form the causative of a psych transitive verb, the conjugation class of the verb remains the same, but the causee behaves as **a second direct object**. Like the patient (i.e., original or embedded object), the causee appears before the verb, is realized as a free pronoun, and is marked with the accusative case. The verb does not change its conjugation class. (10) provides an attested example of a causative of an /a/-class psych verb with two accusative arguments. (11) and (12) are elicited examples showing, respectively, the causatives of /i/-class and /r/-class psych verbs.

(10) *be1ʔma2na4 Tu3pa3na1 tʃo31ʔĩ3 nɨ31ʔĩ3 na4ɯ̨a1ʔẽ4ʔẽ3*
be1ʔma2na4 Tu3pa3na1 tʃo31=ʔĩ3 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 na4=ɯ̨a1-ẽ4ẽ3
EPIST Christian.God 1SG=ACC 3=ACC 3.SBJ=know-CAUS
'God must have made me know it.' [ABS, avc]

(11) *na43ʔtʃi5ru2ʔĩ3 tʃo31ʔĩ3 ki3ŋo4gɨ2ẽ4ẽ3*
na43=ʔtʃi5ru2=ʔĩ3 tʃo31=ʔĩ3 ki3=ŋo4gɨ2-ẽ4ẽ3
3=clothes=ACC 1SG=ACC 2SGSBJ=touch.to.perceive-CAUS
'You made me feel the cloth.' [LWG 2025.1.102]

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(12) *o43re4ʔĩ3 to31ʔĩ3 na4rɨ3ʌɨ2ma3ẽ4ẽ3*
o43re4=ʔĩ3 to31=ʔĩ3 na4rɨ3=ʌɨ2ma3-ẽ4ẽ3
word=ACC 1EXCL=ACC 3.SBJ=forget-CAUS
'S/he made/let us (excl) forget the story.' [LWG 2025.1.102]

The key difference between the causative of a psych transitive verb and the causative of an intransitive or oblique object verb is that the causatives of psych verbs generally **cannot** realize the causee as a object proclitic (13). This holds even if the causee is a 3(II/III/IV) pronoun and therefore would be obligatorily realized as an object proclitic in the causative of an intransitive (cf. Ex above).

(13) a. *tʃo31rɨ3 no31ʔe5ʔĩ3 nɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa3dau2ẽ4ẽ3*
tʃo31rɨ3 no31ʔe5=ʔĩ3 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=dau2-ẽ4ẽ3
1SG.POSS grandmother=ACC 3=ACC 1SGSBJ=see-CAUS
b. **tʃo31rɨ3 no31ʔe5ʔĩ3 tʃa3na3dau2ẽ4ẽ3*
*tʃo31rɨ3 no31ʔe5=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=na3=dau2-ẽ4ẽ3
1SG.POSS grandmother=ACC 1SGSBJ=3.OBJ=see-CAUS
'I made him/her meet my grandmother.' [LWG 2025.1.103]

The patient of the causative stem also cannot be realized as an object proclitic. As with the base stem of a psych verb, it can only be a free word (14).

(14) a. *Tu3pa3na1 tʃo31ʔĩ3 nɨ31ʔĩ3 na4kʷa̰1ẽ4ẽ3 i4 no51rɨ3 o43re4*
Tu3pa3na1 tʃo31=ʔĩ3 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 na4=kʷa̰1-ẽ4ẽ3 i4 no51rɨ3
Christian.God 1SG=ACC 3=ACC 3.SBJ=know-CAUS DET(IV) 3.POSS
o43re4
word(IV)
b. **Tu3pa3na1 tʃo31ʔĩ3 na4na3kʷa̰1ẽ4ẽ3 i4 no51rɨ3 o43re4*
*Tu3pa3na1 tʃo31=ʔĩ3 na4=na3=kʷa̰1-ẽ4ẽ3 i4 no51rɨ3
*Christian.God 1SG=ACC 3.SBJ=3.OBJ=know-CAUS DET(IV) 3.POSS
o43re4
word(IV)
'God made/let me know His Word.' [LWG 2025.1.103, based on 10 above]

If both the causee and the patient of a psych causative are third-person pronouns, they are both realized as free words, leading to a structure where the verb takes two formally identical – but non-coreferential – objects. This is shown for an /a/-class verb in (15), and an /i/-class verb in (16).

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(15) *ŋe3ma2 ni4 nɨ31wa5 nɨ3nɨ3ɱa̱1ʔẽ4ẽ2ʔĩ4 ka1ʔni4*
ŋe3ma2 ni4 nɨ31wa5 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 ɱa̱1-ʔẽ4ẽ3=ʔĩ4 ka1ʔni4
DEM.ANA(IV) FOC INFO 3=ACC 3=ACC know-CAUS=SUB INTJ:right?
'*That person* let her$_i$ (Amalia) know about it$_j$ (where to go).' [LVI, LFG-MFG-LVI]

(16) *nɨ31ʔĩ3 nɨ31ʔĩ3 ni4ŋo4gɨ2ẽ4ẽ3*
nɨ31=ʔĩ3 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 ni4=ŋo4gɨ2-ẽ4ẽ3
3=ACC 3=ACC 3.SBJ=touch.to.perceive-CAUS
'S/he made him/her$_i$ feel it$_j$.' [LWG 2025.1.103]

Looking to NP rather than pronominal arguments, base psych transitives always assign the accusative to their NP objects, regardless of animacy. Likewise, causatives of psych transitives always assign the accusative to their NP patients (see 10-12 above). However, it's impossible to determine whether causatives of psych transitives also unconditionally assign the accusative to NP causees. This is because the differential accusative is based on animacy, and all causees of psych verbs are necessarily animate.

#### 19.2.1.4 Causatives of causative transitive verbs

Recall from Chapter 10 the following key properties of causative transitive stems:

- They display animacy-based DOM of noun phrase objects – marking their objects with the accusative only if they denote humans or higher animates. Psych transitive stems mark all NP objects with the accusative (§10.2).
- They take object proclitics for 3(II/III/IV) pronominal objects, while psych transitive stems realize these objects as free words (§10.4).
- Causative transitive stems belong only to the /a/-class and /i/-class, while psych transitive stems can belong to the a-, i-, or /r/-class.

When you form the morphological causative of a causative stem, the causee behaves as a second object, just as when you form the causative of a psych stem. It displays psych object syntax, while the patient/embedded object displays causative object syntax. Both the causee and the patient/embedded object appear before the verb. There is no strict order of causee vs patient, but the tendency is for the causee to appear first. As with the morphological causatives of other verb classes, the stem keeps its underlying inflection class.

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To understand the difference between the treatment of causee vs. patient arguments with causatives-of-causatives, we will start with clauses where both the causee and the patient are animate and are not third-person pronouns. In this environment, causatives-of-causatives realize both the patient and the causee as free words, and assign them both the accusative case (17–19). However, this does not tell us whether they are displaying psych vs. causative object syntax because with animate NP arguments, as well as non-third-person arguments, these two verb classes behave the same (Chapter 10).

(17) *ku31ʔĩ3ã3 tʃo31ʔĩ3 i5na4tạ1ẽ4ẽ3 rɨ3ã1*
ku31=ʔĩ3=ã3 tʃo31=ʔĩ3 i5=na4=tạ1-ẽ4ẽ3 rɨ3ã1
2SG=ACC=REP 1SG=ACC VCL=3.SBJ=discard.SG-CAUS TOP
'He's going to make you leave me, he said.' [20180707]

(18) *ɟi31ʔe2ma4 no31ʔẽ5ʔĩ3 ku31ʔĩ3 tʃa3ɟa3ga4ʔẽ4ẽ3*
ɟi31ʔe2ma4 no31ʔẽ5=ʔĩ3 ku31=ʔĩ3
DEM.ANA(I) grandmother(I)=ACC 2SG=ACC
tʃa3=ɟa3=ga4-ẽ4ẽ3
1SGSBJ=AM=transport.ANIM-CAUS
'I had that old woman take you.' [LWG 2018.1.108]

(19) *to31ʔĩ3 ku31ʔĩ3 ni4mạ1ẽ4ẽ3*
to31=ʔĩ3 ku31=ʔĩ3 ni4=mạ1-ẽ4ẽ3
1EXCL=ACC 2SG=ACC 3.SBJ=hit.SG-CAUS
'S/he made us-excl hit you.' [LWG 2025.1.103]

For causatives of causatives, if the NP patient is inanimate, it cannot bear the accusative case (20). This is in line with the object syntax of underived causatives. Using an inanimate causee with a causative-of-causative stem is semantically difficult. However, when Lilia allowed it, she used the accusative case on an NP causee (21). This would be in line with the object syntax of underived psych verbs (and not underived causatives), but not much weight should be put on the example, given that there are no other comparable data points.

(20) *ta3ra5(*ʔĩ3) tʃo31ʔĩ3 ki3bɨ3ɟe1ẽ4ẽ3*
ta3ra5=(*ʔĩ3) tʃo31=ʔĩ3 ki3=bɨ3ɟe1-ẽ4ẽ3
machete=(*ACC) 1SG=ACC 2SGSBJ=snap-CAUS
'You made me break the machete.' [LWG 2025.1.103]

(21) *ɟi2ma2 wa3pu3ru1ʔĩ3 ku31ʔĩ3 tʃa3ɟa3ga4ẽ4ẽ3*

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ɟi2ma2 wa3pu3ru1=ʔĩ3 ku31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=ɟa3=ga4-ẽ4ẽ3
DEM.ANA(III) ship(III)=ACC 2SG=ACC 1SGSBJ=AM=transport.ANIM-CAUS
'I had that ship take you.' [LWG 2025.1.103]

This brings us to the issue of third-person pronominal object realization. Since the differential accusative is animacy-based and inanimate causees are odd, pronominal object realization is our best test for causative vs. psych object syntax with causees.

For causatives of causatives, when the causee is a 3(II/III/IV) pronoun, it is realized as a free word (22a, 23a). Realizing the causee as a proclitic is ungrammatical (22b, 23b). Thus, third-person pronominal causees behave exactly the same as pronominal objects of psych verbs.

(22) a. *u3i1 nɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa3ŋ̟̃1ʔẽ4ẽ3*
u3i1 nɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa3ŋ̟̃1ʔẽ4ẽ3
farinha 3=ACC 1SGSBJ=eat-CAUS
b. **u3i1 tʃa3na3ŋ̟̃1ʔẽ4ẽ3*
*u3i1 tʃa3na3ŋ̟̃1ʔẽ4ẽ3
*farinha 1SGSBJ=3.OBJ=eat-CAUS
'I made him/her eat farinha.' [Anonymous transcriber, discussion of 2022 C17 CCI; LWG 2025.1.103]

(23) a. *ta3ra5 nɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃi3bɨ3ɟe1ẽ4ẽ3*
ta3ra5 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃi3=bɨ3ɟe1-ẽ4ẽ3
machete 3=ACC 1SGSBJ=snap-CAUS
b. **ta3ra5 tʃi3ɟa3bɨ3ɟe1ẽ4ẽ3*
*ta3ra5 tʃa3=ɟa3=bɨ3ɟe1-ẽ4ẽ3
*machete 1SGSBJ=3.OBJ=snap-CAUS
'I made him/her break the machete.' [LWG 2025.1.103]

In the reverse case, where the causee is an NP/local pronoun but the patient is a 3(II/III/IV) pronoun, the patient must be realized as a proclitic (24b, 25b). Realizing it as a free pronoun is unacceptable (24a) or leads to an interpretation of the pronoun as a causee (25a). This is the same as the behavior of third-person pronominal objects of underived causatives.

(24) a. **Bi3tu5ʔĩ3 nɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa3ŋ̟̃1ẽ4ẽ3*
*Bi3tu5=ʔĩ3 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=ŋ̟̃1-ẽ4ẽ3
*Victoria=ACC 3=ACC 1SGSBJ=eat-CAUS

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b. *Bi3tu5ʔĩ3 tʃa3na3ŋ̃õ1ẽ4ẽ3*
Bi3tu5=ʔĩ3 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=na3=ŋ̃õ1-ẽ4ẽ3
Victoria=ACC 1SGSBJ=3.OBJ=eat-CAUS
'I made Victoria eat it.' [LWG 2025.1.103]

(25) a. *#ku31ʔĩ3 nɨ31ʔĩ3 i5tʃa3tą1ẽ4ẽ3*
#ku31=ʔĩ3 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 i5=tʃa3=tą1-ẽ4ẽ3
#2SG=ACC 3=ACC VCL=1SGSBJ=discard.SG-CAUS

b. *ku31ʔĩ3 i5tʃa3na3tą1ẽ4ẽ3*
ku31=ʔĩ3 i5=tʃa3=na3=tą1-ẽ4ẽ3
2SG=ACC VCL=1SGSBJ=3.OBJ=discard.SG-CAUS
'I made you throw it away.'
Comment: (a) is acceptable, but only if it means 'I made him/her leave you' (i.e. with 3(IV) pronoun as a causee). [LWG 2025.1.103]

If both the causee and the patient are 3(II/III/IV) pronouns, then the causee is realized as a free pronoun, while the patient is a proclitic (26).

(26) *nɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa3na3ŋ̃õ1ʔẽ4ẽ3 i4 u3i1*
nɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=na3=ŋ̃õ1-ẽ4ẽ3 i4 u3i1
3=ACC 1SGSBJ=3.OBJ=eat-CAUS DET(IV) farinha(IV)
'I made him/her eat farinha.' [Anonymous transcriber, discussion of 2022 C17 CCI]

To sum up, with a causative-of-causative stem, the patient argument behaves exactly like it would with an underived causative, with respect to both pronominal object realization and realization of the accusative. The causee argument, on the other hand, behaves like the object of a psych verb.

#### 19.2.1.5 Reflexives and reciprocals of causatives

If any argument of a causative is coreferential with any other, then it can be realized as a reflexive/reciprocal pronoun (reflexive and reciprocal pronouns are identical; Chapter 8.1.2). The pronoun replaces the most deeply embedded argument.

This structure is shown for the causative of an intransitive, the simplest case, in (27). Here, the agent and causee are the same, and a reflexive/reciprocal pronoun. Like other reflexive/reciprocal pronouns in positions that would normally be assigned the accusative case, it has no overt case marking.

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(27) *ta4 ɲɻ1ʔma5 ta4 de43ʔa5ma4ã2 na1ʔũ43gu2 ta4,* ***ni31ʔgi1 ni4wai2ẽ4ẽ3ma3re3***
ta4 ɲɻ1ʔma5 ta4 de43ʔa5=ma4ã2 na1=ũ43=gu2 ta4 **ni31=gi1**
FUT now FUT water=COM 3.SBJ.SC=walk.SGS=COND FUT **3=REFL**
**ni4=wai2-ẽ4ẽ3=ma3re3**
**3.SBJ=be.wet-CAUS=just**
'If s/he bumps into the (bucket of) water, s/he will just get him/herself wet.' [2019 C31-C32 CCI]

For the causatives of transitives, I will start with events where the causee and patient are the same. To express this relationship, a reflexive/reciprocal pronoun and a non-reflexive but coreferential pronoun appear together, in sequence, before the verb. The reflexive pronoun usually goes first. It is not case-marked, while the other pronoun takes the accusative, as shown for a psych verb in (28).

(28) *me31ã2 ka4 ti31ʔgi1 ti31ʔĩ3 na1da2we3ni2ẽ4ẽ3*
me31ã2 ka4 ti31=gi1 ti31=ʔĩ3 na1=da2we3ni2-ẽ4ẽ3
well INTJ:look! 3(I)=REFL 3(I)=ACC IMP=watch-CAUS
'Make them look at each other properly.' [20180628]

In (28), the causee/patient can only be realized as pronoun, since (a) it belongs to noun class I and (b) the verb is a psych verb. However, if the causee/patient meets the requirements to be realized as a proclitic (i.e. it is third person and class II/III/IV, and the stem is causative), the structure is slightly different. The reflexive/reciprocal pronoun still appears before the verb, but there is no accusative pronoun; instead, we find an object proclitic on the verb (29, 30a, 31a). Deleting either the reflexive/reciprocal pronoun or the object proclitic is ungrammatical (30b, c; 31b, c).

(29) *na4 ni31ʔgi1 pe3na3dai2ẽ4ẽ3ne3ta2ʔĩ4*
na4 ni31=gi1 pe3=na3=dai2-ẽ4ẽ3=ne3ta2=ʔĩ4
COMP 3=REFL 2PLSBJ=3.OBJ=fight.PL-CAUS=pretend=SUB
'so that y'all can make them (dolls) play-fight each other' [2019 C28 CCI, CG]

(30) a. *ni31ʔgi1 tʃa3na3dai2ẽ4ẽ3*
ni31=gi1 tʃa3=na3=dai2-ẽ4ẽ3
3=REFL 1SGSBJ=3.OBJ=fight.PL-CAUS
b. **tʃa3na3dai2ẽ4ẽ3*
*tʃa3=na3=dai2-ẽ4ẽ3
*1SGSBJ=3.OBJ=fight.PL-CAUS

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c. **ni31ʔgi1 tʃa3dai2ẽ4ẽ3*
*ni31=gi1 tʃa3=dai2-ẽ4ẽ3
*3=REFL 1SGSBJ=fight.PL-CAUS
'I made them fight each other.' [LWG 2025.1.104]

(31) a. *ni31ʔgi1 i5ta4na3wo1gi4ẽ4ẽ3*
ni31=gi1 i5=ta4=na3=wo1=gi4-ẽ4ẽ3
3=REFL VCL=1INCL.SBJ=3.OBJ=discard.PL=PL-CAUS

b. *ni31ʔgi1 i5ta4wo1gi4ẽ4ẽ3
*ni31=gi1 i5=ta4=wo1=gi4-ẽ4ẽ3
*3=REFL VCL=1INCL.SBJ=discard.PL=PL-CAUS

c. *i5ta4na3wo1gi4ẽ4ẽ3
*i5=ta4=na3=wo1=gi4-ẽ4ẽ3
*VCL=1INCL.SBJ=3.OBJ=discard.PL=PL-CAUS
'We (incl) made them divorce each other.' [LWG 2025.1.104]

The corpus also contains causative examples where the agent and patient (not causee) are the same, such as (32). In this case, the causee is realized as a free word while the patient is realized as a caseless reflexive/reciprocal pronoun.

(32) *ti3a1 na4te4ʔĩ3 ta4 ŋe5a2 to31ʔgi1 ta1wo1gi4ʔẽ4ẽ2ʔĩ4*
ti3a1 na4=te4=ʔĩ3 ta4 ŋe5a2 to31=gi1
aunt 3=husband=ACC FUT there.MED.ALL 1EXCL=REFL
ta1=wo1=gi4-ẽ4ẽ3=ʔĩ4
1EXCL.SBJ=discard.PL-CAUS=SUB
'We're going to have aunty's husband drop us off there.' [LFG-MFG-LVI]

It's also possible for the agent and causee to be coreferential with a transitive verb, although there are no examples of this in the corpus. In this structure the causee is still a caseless reflexive/reciprocal pronoun. (33) and (34) are elicited examples.

(33) *ta31ʔtʃi5ki1na1ã3 ɟi1gi1 ta4dau2ẽ4ẽ3*
ta31=ʔtʃi5ki1na1ã3 ɟi1=gi1 ta4=dau2-ẽ4ẽ3
1INCL=image 1INCL=REFL 1INCL.SBJ=see-CAUS
'We-incl made each other look at our-incl pictures.' [LWG 2025.1.104]

(34) *ni31ʔgi1 na4na3ŋõ1ku2gi4ẽ4ẽ3 i4 gu5ʔĩ4ma3*
ni31=gi1 na4=na3=ŋõ1-ku2=gi4-ẽ4ẽ3 i4 gu5ʔĩ4ma3
3=REFL 3.SBJ=3.OBJ=eat-DIR:inward.PLO=PL-CAUS DET(IV) all(IV)
'They made each other eat everything.' [LWG 2025.1.104]

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#### 19.2.1.6 Multiple causatives

A significant number of transitive event types can only be expressed in Ticuna using the morphological causative. These include 'fix, repair, prepare'; 'teach'; and many transitive cutting and breaking events. At least with these highly conventional causative stems, it's possible to stack multiple instances of the causative (35).

(35) *Diandraʔĩ3 tʃo31ʔĩ3 ku3me43ẽ4ẽ3ẽ4ẽ3*
Diandra=ʔĩ3 tʃo31=ʔĩ3 ku3=me43-ẽ4ẽ3-ẽ4ẽ3
Diandra=ACC 1SG=ACC 2SGSBJ=good-CAUS-CAUS
'You had Diandra do my makeup (lit. prepare me).' [LWG 2025.1.104]

#### 19.2.1.7 Analytic causative

You can also describe an event where one agent causes another to act using an analytic causative construction. This construction has the verb *mu2* 'send' in a main clause, then a description of the caused event in a subordinate clause of purpose. The agent is the subject of *mu2*; the causee is the object of *mu2* and the subject of the subordinate clause; and the patient is the object of the subordinate clause, as shown in (36).

(36) *wo5e3ta2ã4 to31ʔĩ3 ta4mu2 na4 examen ta1ã3gɨ5ʔĩ4kạ1*
wo5e3=ta2ã4 to31=ʔĩ3 ta4=mu2 na4 examen
simply=only 1EXCL=ACC 3(I).SBJ=cause COMP SP:exam
ta1=ã3=gɨ4=ʔĩ4=kạ1
1EXCL.SBJ.SC=give=PL=SUB=PURP
'S/he is just making us give the exam.' [20180622]

#### 19.2.1.8 Semantics of the causative

The examples of the causative in the previous subsections all involve prototypical causation events where the agent/causer takes a positive action on the causee. However, the causative can also be used to describe events where the agent allows or permits the event, but doesn't directly cause it.

This permissive reading of the causative is possible with both animate causees (37) and inanimate ones (38). It's also possible with weather verbs and others that have metaphorical subjects / causees, as in (39).

(37) Context: I'm a watchman.

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*tʃa3na3ʔɨ43pe4tɨ1ẽ4ẽ3*
tʃa3=na3=ɨ43pe4tɨ1-ẽ4ẽ3
1SGSBJ=3.OBJ=pass.SG-CAUS
'I let him/her pass (into the place I guard).' [LWG 2025.1.104]

(38) *tʃa3na3ʎau1ẽ4ẽ3*
tʃa3=na3=ʎau1-ẽ4ẽ3
3.SBJ=3.OBJ=spoil.disintegrating-CAUS
'I let it go bad.' [LWG 2025.1.104]

(39) *ŋe1ʔta2 o3ra1ʔĩ3 ni4ʔũ43ẽ4ẽ3gɨ4*
ŋe1ʔta2 o3ra1=ʔĩ3 ni4=ũ43-ẽ4ẽ3=gɨ4
where?.LOC time=ACC 3.SBJ=go.SGS-CAUS=PL
'Where are they waiting for the time to pass (lit. where are they letting the time go)?' [2019 C1-C2 CCI, CG1]

Negation of causative verbs can scope either above the causative ('did not cause P') (40) or below it ('caused not P, prohibited P') (41).

(40) *wɨ43ʔi4ka5na1 ta4ma3 tʃo31ʔĩ3 ku3ʎu̯1ʔẽ4ʔẽ3*
wɨ43ʔi4ka5na1 ta4ma3 tʃo31=ʔĩ3 ku3=ʎu̯1-ẽ4ʔẽ3
at.once NEG 1SG=ACC 2SGSBJ=learn-CAUS
'You didn't immediately teach me (make me learn).' [20170527]

(41) *ʎe3wa1 ta4gu2ma3 tʃo31ʔĩ3 na4pe43ʔẽ4ẽ3*
ʎe3wa1 ta4gu2ma3 tʃo31=ʔĩ3 na4=pe43-ʔẽ4ẽ3
last.night never 1SG=ACC 3.SBJ=sleep-CAUS
'Last night she never let me sleep, i.e. she caused me to never sleep.' [MFG, LFG-MFG-LVI]

### 19.2.2 Comparative *-ma2e3*

#### 19.2.2.1 How the comparative increases valency

The comparative suffix *-ma2e3* occurs primarily with intransitive stative verbs such as *ɟa2* 'be adult, be mature' and *ta43* 'be big'. It changes the verb to the /r/-class and derives a comparative predicate, as shown for 'mature' > 'older than' in (42) and 'big' > 'bigger' in (43).

The comparative *-ma2e3* is valency-increasing because the standard of comparison (what the subject is compared to) is expressed as the object of the comparative verb. More specifically, the comparative verb displays 'psych' object syntax.

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That is, it marks the object with the accusative even if it is inanimate (43) and realizes 3(IV) pronominal objects as pronouns, rather than proclitics (44).

(42) *ku31ʔĩ3 ta4ri3ɟa2ma2e3? ɲa4a2ʔĩ4ã3*
ku31=ʔĩ3 ta4ri3=ɟa2-ma2e3 ɲa4a2=ʔĩ4=ã3
2SG=ACC 3(I).SBJ=mature-COMPAR 3.SBJ.QUOT.SC=SUB=ACC
"'Is she older than you?" she said.' [20180628]

(43) *ɟi2ma2 ni41ʔĩ4 ɟa1 gu5ʔĩ5ne1 ɟa1 ɟi2ma2, ai31ʔe5pe1e3wa5 ŋẽ2ʔma5ne1 ɟa1 ĩ31a1ne1gɨ4ʔĩ3* ***ri3ta43ma2e2ne1***
ɟi2ma2 ni41ʔĩ4 ɟa1 gu5ʔĩ5ne1 ɟa1 ɟi2ma2
DEM.ANA(III) FOC DET(III) all(III) DET(III) DEM.ANA(III)
ai31ʔe5pe1e3=wa5 ŋẽ2ʔma4=ne1 ɟa1 ĩ31a1ne1=gɨ4=ʔĩ3
interior=ALL be.located=NMLZ(III) DET(III) town(III)=PL=ACC
**ri3=ta43-ma2e3=ne1**
**3.SBJ.SC=big-COMPAR=NMLZ(III)**
'*That* (town) is bigger than all the other towns that are in the forest interior.' [NWG Brazil Trip]

(44) *nɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa3rɨ3ɟa2ma3e3*
nɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3rɨ3=ɟa2-ma3e3
3=ACC 1SGSBJ=mature-COMPAR
'I'm older than him/her.' [Anon via Zoom 2025-03-25]

The comparative is not frequent at all. In the corpus, there are only 35 tokens of this suffix, compared to 347 tokens of the causative (as an example of another valency-changing suffix) and 165 tokens of the prospective aspect (as an example of a common non-valency-changing suffix).

#### 19.2.2.2 Object syntax of the comparative

Although the object syntax of comparatives looks like psych verbs in these ways, it's not exactly the same. There are two differences: the obligatoriness of the object, and the acceptability of postverbal objects.

First, normal psych transitives in Ticuna have a rigid requirement for an object, which can never be deleted or pro-dropped (Chapter 6.2). This isn't true for comparative verbs. It's perfectly acceptable for them to lack an object, as in (45) and (46). Most comparative tokens in the corpus don't have objects.

(45) *pa31ʔa2 pa2 A3le5tʃa1 e3rɨ4 ku3rɨ3ɟa2ma3e3*

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pa31ʔa2 pa2 A3le5tʃa1 e3ɾi4 ku3ɾi3=ɟa2-ma3e3
INTJ:c'mon VOC personal.name because 2SGSBJ=mature-COMPAR
'C'mon, Alecha, hurry up, because you're older (than this other kid).'
[2019 C20-C23 CCI]

(46) *tʃa3ɾi3ɟa2ma3e3*
tʃa3ɾi3=ɟa2-ma3e3
1SGSBJ=mature-COMPAR
'I'm older than him/her.' [Volunteered as an improvement on 44 above [with pronoun]. Anon via Zoom 2025-03-25]

Second, normal psych transitives specifically require a **preverbal** object (Chapter 6.3). The preverbal object takes the accusative case, while any postverbal realizations of the object (which can co-occur) are caseless. In contrast, comparatives allow the object to be postverbal with no pronoun, noun phrase, or proclitic in the preverbal position (47). Additionally, even when the object/standard is postverbal, it still bears the accusative case.

(47) *Ka3ru1 ɾi1 na4ɾi3ma5tʃa1ne3ma2e3 Victoria=ʔĩ3*
Ka3ru1 ɾi1 na4ɾi3=mą1=tʃa1ne3-ma2e3 Victoria=ʔĩ3
Carlos TOP 3.SBJ=long/wide=NI:stature-COMPAR Victoria=ACC
'Carlos is taller than Victoria.' [SSG 2018.1.98]

The only verb that shares the object syntax features just described with the comparative is the quotative verb (Chapter 22). Exactly like comparatives, the quotative allows but does not require an object; allows that object to be postverbal; and allows accusative marking on postverbal objects.

#### 19.2.2.3 Other properties of the comparative

It's possible to include a degree phrase in a comparative construction. The degree phrase can be adverbial (48) or nominal (49). If it's nominal, it is licensed by *=wa5* ALL, but note that there are no native-vocabulary degree nouns. Additionally, there are no clear examples of either adverbial or nominal degree phrases in the corpus.

(48) *ɲa4a2 tʃo3ka1 ɾi1 ta2ʔre4ę1pi3ki5na1 ɲa4a2 to1 i4 tʃo3ka1ʔĩ3 na4ɾi3ɟa43ma2e3*

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ɲa4a2 tʃo3ka1 ri1 ta2ʔre4=e̱1pi3=ki5na1 ɲa4a2 to1
DEM.PROX(IV) bag(IV) TOP two=times=times DEM.PROX(IV) other(IV)
i4 tʃo3ka1=ʔĩ3 na4ri3=ɟa43-ma2e3
DET(IV) bag(IV)=ACC 3.SBJ=heavy-COMPAR
'This bag is twice as heavy as this other bag.' [SSG 2017.2.99]

(49) *E3mi5 ri1 ta2ʔre4 i4 centimetrowa5 Ã3ma5ʔĩ3 na4ri3ma5tʃa1ne3ma2e3*
E3mi5 ri1 ta2ʔre4 i4 centimetro=wa5 Ã3ma5=ʔĩ3
personal.name TOP two DET(IV) SP:centimeter(IV)=ALL Amalia=ACC
na4ri3=mą̱1=tʃa1ne3-ma2e3
3.SBJ=long/wide=NI:stature-COMPAR
'Emi is 2cm taller than Amalia.' [SSG 2017.2.99]

Comparatives with no standard of comparison/object argument can also be interpreted as superlatives, as shown in the corpus example in (50).

(50) Context: Discussing someone's three children.
*ɟe4ma4 **ri3bu31ma2e2ʔĩ4** na4ʔ, ɟą̱u̱1ʔre5 ɟi1ʔĩ1ʔ.*
ɟe4ma4 **ri3=bu31-ma2e3=ʔĩ4** na4ʔ
DEM.REM.PST(IV) **3.SBJ.SC=young-COMPAR=NMLZ(IV)** COMP
ɟą̱u̱1ʔre5 ɟi1ʔĩ1ʔ
personal.name 3.SBJ.COP.SC
'The **youngest** one was called *ɟą̱u̱1ʔre5*.' [SSG HALDI]

As well as with object drop, the superlative can also be expressed using a quantified noun phrase as the standard comparison, as in (43) above.

#### 19.2.2.4 Restrictions on the comparative

Although in the corpus *-ma2e3* appears mostly on stative intransitives, it can also appear on stative transitives. (51) is an elicited example of the comparative on a stative transitive.

(51) Context: Juan and Victoria are each learning a song.
*Kwa3ĩ1 ri1 Bi3tuʔĩ3 wi3ɟa3e3ʔĩ3 na4ri3ɱą̱1ma2e3*
Kwa3ĩ1 ri1 Bi3tu=ĩ3 wi3ɟa3e3=ʔĩ3 na4ri3=ɱą̱1-ma2e3
Juan TOP Victoria=ACC song=ACC 3.SBJ=know-COMPAR
'Juan knows (his/the) song better than Victoria.' [LWG 2017.2.96]

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It's more difficult to find clearly acceptable examples of the comparative on **dynamic** verbs. There are none in the corpus, and when I asked people to translate sentences containing comparisons with dynamic verbs – especially dynamic intransitives – they tended to use morphologically derived habitual verb stems, as shown in (52a). Using the habitual derives a state, so these verbs are no longer dynamic. However, people did accept and volunteer some examples involving comparison between the subjects of dynamic intransitives (52b) and dynamic transitives (53).

(52) Prompt: Victoria works more than Carlos.

a. *Bi3tu5 ri1 Ka3ru1ʔĩ3 na4ri3pu3ra3ki4tạ1ma2e3*
Bi3tu5 ri1 Ka3ru1=ʔĩ3 na4ri3=pu3ra3ki4-tạ1-ma2e3
Victoria TOP Carlos=ACC 3.SBJ=work-HABIT-COMPAR
'Victoria is harder-working than Carlos.'
(volunteered)

b. *Bi3tu5 ri1 Ka3ru1ʔĩ3 na4ri3pu3ra3ki4ma2e3*
Bi3tu5 ri1 Ka3ru1=ʔĩ3 na4ri3=pu3ra3ki4-ma2e3
Victoria TOP Carlos=ACC 3.SBJ=work-COMPAR
'Victoria works more (i.e., more frequently) than Carlos.'
(accepted)

[LWG 2017.2.97]

(53) *pe4ʔtʃi1ne5 na4na3mu3ma2e3 Bi3tu5ʔĩ3*
pe4ʔtʃi1=ne5 na4na3mu3ma2e3 Bi3tu5ʔĩ3
basket(III)=some(III) 3.SBJ=3.OBJ=weave-COMPAR Victoria=ACC
'S/he wove more baskets than Victoria (did).' [LWG 2025.1.105]

While the comparative can compare two agents, including two different agents of the same predicate, it cannot compare two non-subject arguments. For example, it's not acceptable when comparing the degree to which the same predicate holds for two objects (54), or when comparing the cardinality of two sets of objects (55).

(54) **Bi3tu5ʔĩ3 E3mi5ʔĩ3 tʃa3ri3ʌe4tʃa1ĩ1ma2e3*
*Bi3tu5=ʔĩ3 E3mi5=ʔĩ3 tʃa3ri3=ʌe4tʃa1ĩ1-ma2e3
*Victoria=ACC Emi=ACC 1SGSBJ=love-COMPAR
'I like Victoria more than (I like) Emi.' [LWG 2025.1.106]

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(55) Context: I wove both baskets and netbags, but there were more netbags.
**pe4ʔtʃi1ʔĩ3 ŋe1ri5 tʃa3rɨ3mu3ma2e3*
*pe4ʔtʃi1=ʔĩ3 ŋe1ri5 tʃa3rɨ3=mu3-ma2e3
*basket=ACC netbag 1SGSBJ=weave-COMPAR
(Intended reading: 'I wove more netbags than baskets.') [LWG 2018.1.185]

To compare non-subjects, there are two options: forming an adverbial phrase with the adverb *ɟe5e1ra3* 'more/less,' which is possessed by the standard of comparison (56), or forming a relative clause where the referent being compared is the subject and the standard of comparison is the object (57).

(56) *Bi3tu5ʔĩ3 tʃa3rɨ3ŋe4tʃa1ĩma2e3 E3mi5a1rɨ3 ɟe5e1ra3*
Bi3tu5=ʔĩ3 tʃa3rɨ3=ŋe4tʃa1ĩ-ma2e3 E3mi5=a1rɨ3 ɟe5e1ra3
Victoria=ACC 1SGSBJ=love Emi=POSS more
'I like Victoria more, more than (I like) Emi.' [LWG 2025.1.106]

(57) Context: Victoria and I both bought tables, but Victoria bought a taller table than I did.
*Bi3tu5 rɨ1 na31ʔkạ1 na4ta4e3 i4 wɨ43ʔi4 i4 me3tʃa1 i4 [tʃo31rɨ3 me3tʃa1ʔĩ3]/[#tʃo31ʔĩ3] rɨ3ma5tʃa1ne1ma2e2ʔĩ4.*
Bi3tu5 rɨ1 na43=kạ1 na4=ta4e3 i4 wɨ43ʔi4 i4 me3tʃa1 i4
Victoria TOP 3=PURP 3.SBJ=buy DET(IV) one DET(IV) table(IV) DET
[tʃo31rɨ3 me3tʃa1=ʔĩ3] / [#tʃo31=ʔĩ3]
[1SG.POSS table=ACC] / [#1SG=ACC]
rɨ3=mạ1=tʃa1ne1-ma2e3=ʔĩ4
3.SBJ.SC=long/wide=NI:stature-COMPAR=NMLZ(IV)
'Victoria bought a table that was taller than my table.'
(with *tʃo31ʔĩ3* can only mean the table is taller than me, i.e. object must be interpreted as standard of comparison) [LWG 2018.1.185]

### 19.2.3 Antipassive *-ta2e3*

The antipassive *-ta2e3* is a valency-reducing suffix. It is very low in both token and type frequency. Nearly all tokens of this suffix in the corpus appear as part of the five stems listed in (58). These stems all denote activities that have a repetitive internal structure and generally involve multiple, minimally affected participants.

(58) a. *ku31ʔ-gɨ1-ta2e3* (kick-DISTRIB-ANTIP) 'play soccer'
b. *po4ʔ-gɨ1-ta2e3* (hit-DISTRIB-ANTIP) 'play volleyball'

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c. *ne4ʔ-gɨ1-ta2e3* (flick-DISTRIB-ANTIP) 'play marbles'
d. *u3-gɨ1-ta2e3* (say-DISTRIB-ANTIP) 'narrate; count numbers'
e. *ʎu̯1-ẽ4ẽ3-ta2e3* (learn-CAUS-ANTIP) and *ʎu5-e3-ẽ4ẽ3-ta2e3* (learn-PL-CAUS-ANTIP) 'teach a class'

Allof the roots with *-gɨ1* in (58) also occur alone, e.g. *ku31ʔ* 'kick', and with *-gɨ1* but not *-ta2e3*, e.g. *u3gɨ1*'narrate, count numbers.' When the roots appear alone or with *-gɨ1*, which is discussed in §19.4, they obligatorily take objects (59). The stem *ʎu̯1ẽ4ẽ3* 'teach' does not contain *-gɨ1*, but also always takes an object.

(59) a. *tʃa3ku31ʔu3
b. *tʃa3ku31ʔgɨ1
c. *tʃa3po4ʔɨ1
d. *tʃa3po4ʔgɨ1
'I kicked (a, b) / hit (c, d) it.'[1] [LWG 2025.1.106]

When the stems in (58) occur with *-ta2e3*, they can no longer take an object (60). This is why I refer to *-ta2e3* as an antipassive.

(60) *pelota tɨ31ʔĩ3 [tʃa3po4ʔɨ1 / *tʃa3po4ʔgɨ1ta2e3]*
pelota tɨ31=ʔĩ3 [tʃa3=po4ʔ /
SP:ball 3(I)=ACC [1SGSBJ=hit.volleyball /
*tʃa3=po4ʔ-gɨ1-ta2e3]
*1SGSBJ=hit.volleyball-DISTRIB-ANTIP]
'I hit the volleyball.' [LWG 2025.1.106]

Clauses with the antipassive stems in (58) can (at least sometimes) include the patient/theme, but it is expressed as an adjunct with the comitative/instrumental case, rather than the accusative (61).

(61) *cinco i4 bu3ʔĩ4gɨ4ma4ã2ta2ã4 tʃa3ʎu5e3ẽ4ẽ3ta2e3*
cinco i4 bu3ʔĩ4=gɨ4=ma4ã2=ta2ã4 tʃa3=ʎu̯1-e3-ẽ4ẽ3-ta2e3
SP:five DET(IV) child(IV)=PL=COM=only 1SGSBJ=learn-PL-CAUS-ANTIP
'I taught the class to just five children.' [LWG 2018.1.138]

Consultants are very reluctant to accept *-ta2e3* on verbs other than the ones in (58). When people do accept the antipassive on other stems, the root is always transitive, and the stem is always read as denoting a repetitive activity with multiple, minimally affected themes, as shown in (62) and (63).

[1]The word-final vowels in (59a,c) are due to epenthesis of [ɨ] / ʔ_#. See Chapter 4.4.

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(62) *tʃa3mo4ẽ2ta2e3*
tʃa3=mo4ẽ2-ta2e3
1SGSBJ=greet-ANTIP
'I'm acting as a greeter, e.g. at church.' [LWG 2018.1.137-8]

(63) *tʃa3ga4e3ta2e3*
tʃa3=ga4-e3-ta2e3
1SGSBJ=transport.ANIM-DIR:across.SG-ANTIP
'I run a ferry service, lit., I take [people] across the river.' [LWG 2018.1.137-8]

Besides the very conventionalized verb stems in (58), *-ta2e3* also appears on some other stems. In general, the stems that it combines with in the corpus are either nouns, or Spanish verbs.

First, *-ta2e3* combines with Spanish verb roots to derive intransitive verbs, as in (64) and (65). Because the verb roots in these examples, *graba* 'record' and *cobra* 'collect money,' are transitive in Spanish, they are typically borrowed as /a/-class verbs with causative transitive object syntax (Chapter 6.2.1). However, when they bear *-ta2e3*, they behave as intransitive.

(64) *i5na4gra3ba1te2e3*
i5=na4=gra3ba1-te2e3
IPFV=3.SBJ=SP:record-ANTIP
'It's recording.' [LVI, AFG-LVI]

(65) *ta4ã3 ni4 ŋe5ã2 archegɨ4wa5 rɨ1 ŋe3ã2 ã4kɨ4 to1 i4 agentegɨ4wa5ma3re3*
***ku1co3bra1te2e2ʔĩ4** ŋa4ʔĩ4ʔã3*
ta4ã3 ni4 ŋe5ã2 arche=gɨ4=wa5 rɨ1 ŋe3ma2 ã4kɨ4
NEG FOC there.MED.ALL store.name=PL=ACC and DEM.ANA(IV) HESIT
to1 i4 agente=gɨ4=wa5=ma3re3
other(IV) DET(IV) SP:agent=PL=ALL=just
ku1=co3bra1=te2e3=ʔĩ4 ŋa4=ʔĩ4=ʔã3
**2SGSBJ.SC=SP:collect.money=ANTIP=SUB** 3.SBJ.SC.QUOT=SUB=REP
'You can't **collect** (a cash benefit payment) there at Arche or at the um other regular bank agents, they say.' [DGC, SCG-YCG-DGC]

Second, *-ta2e3* combines with native-vocabulary nouns, such as *po31ʔi5* 'plantain' in (66), and with Spanish nouns, such as *malla* 'net' in (67), to derive intransitive verbs that refer to carrying out an activity associated with the noun. In this use, *-ta2e3* seems indistinguishable from the much more common verbalizer *-e3* (Chapter 26).

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(66) *ku3po31ʔi5ta2e3?*
ku3=po31ʔi5-ta2e3
2SGSBJ=plantain-ANTIP
'Are you going to harvest plantains?' [2019 C42 CCI, CG]

(67) *ta4ma3ɟa1ta2e3, ta4tʃo43ʔni5e3*
ta4=ma3lla1-ta2e3 ta4=tʃo43ʔni5-e3
3(I).SBJ=SP:net-ANTIP 3(I).SBJ=fish-VBLZ
'He laid a fishing net, he's fishing.' [Laura, LSC-VSC]

Allbut two tokens of *-ta2e3* in the corpus fall into one of the categories just listed (game verb, Spanish verb, or verbalizer). However, there are two tokens where it attaches to a native-vocabulary verb stem: (68) and (69).

In (68) the antipassive attaches to the verb stem *wi51-e3* (cut.with.knife-DIR:across), which refers to the action of making superficial cuts on the side of a fish in order to salt it. This stem is normally transitive, like the root *wi51* 'cut with a knife,' but with *-ta2e3* it behaves as intransitive.

(68) *ta4wi51e3te2e3gɨ4*
ta4=wi51-e3-te2e3=gɨ4
1PLSBJ=cut.with.knife-DIR:across.SG-ANTIP=PL
'We salted/scored with a knife.' [2019 C24-C29, CG24]

(69) is a much more complex example. Here, the antipassive attaches to the stem *mą̨i̯1=ne3kɨ3*. In this stem, the verb root *mą̨i̯1* means 'squeeze out a liquid' (e.g., squeeze a lime to express its juice) and has the semantic extension 'spray with a pressure sprayer,' which is the relevant sense here. The verb root also incorporates its object *ne3kɨ3* 'group of plants'. Object incorporation would normally lead to the verb remaining transitive and the original possessor of the object (a noun denoting the plant species) being raised to the object position. However, rather than taking the raised possessor as an object, the antipassive stem in (69) simply behaves as intransitive. What this indicates is that the antipassive can delete a raised possessor, as well as a regular transitive object.

(69) *lune=gu ta4 ka1ʔ* ***na1mą̨i̯1ne3kɨ3ta2e2ʔĩ4***
lune=gu ta4 ka1ʔ
Monday=LOC FUT INFO
**na1=mą̨i̯1=ne3kɨ3-ta2e3=ʔĩ4**
**3.SBJ.SC=squeeze.liquid=NI:plant.group-ANTIP=SUB**
'On Monday he's going to **apply pesticide**.' [Beronica, LSC-VSC 2022]

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In sum, while *-ta2e3* has limited productivity, it can occur with both native-vocabulary and borrowed transitive verb stems, as well as acting as a verbalizer of nouns. In all of these uses. it derives an intransitive, regardless of the valence of the original stem.

### 19.2.4 Passive

Just as there is no really productive antipassive and no object pro-drop, there is no fully productive passive derivation in Ticuna. Attempts to delete the agent of a transitive verb and raise the theme to subject position are generally rejected, although sometimes people were ambivalent about them (70).

(70) **ma3rɨ3 i5na4ʎɐ̨1 ɟa1 po3ra4tu1*
*ma3rɨ3 i5=na4=ʎɐ̨1 ɟa1 po3ra4tu1
*PRF VCL=3.SBJ=drop DET(III) plate(III)
(Intended reading: 'The plate got dropped.') [YCG 2018.1.181 rejected; LWG 2025.1.104 rejected, then accepted]

Despite this, the corpus does contain a small number of examples which look parallel to (70) in that they simultaneously i) delete the agent of a transitive, ii) realize the theme as a subject (based on concord and case), and iii) do not bear any other morphology licensing these changes. Allof the examples involve causative transitive verbs. Additionally, nearly all attested examples of the passive construction involve the same two verbs: *ɨ43* SG ~ *nu4* PL 'put' (71-72) and and *tɑ1* SG ~ *wo1* PL 'discard.'

(71) *tʃo1ʔtʃi5ru2 ra3ã1 ŋe2ʔa4 na4ʔɨ43ta4ĩ2*
tʃau1=ʔtʃi5ru2 ra3ã1 ŋe2ʔa4 na4=ɨ43=ta4ĩ2
1SG=clothes TOP there.MED.LOC 3.SBJ=put.INAN=NI:basin
'My clothes got left in the basket over there.' [Adriana, AFG-LVI]

(72) *me31ã2, ɟe2a4ma4 na3nu4 a4 posillogɨ4,* ***i5na4wo1o1ne1kɨ5ra1ĩ1***
me31ã2 ɟe2a4=ma4 na3=nu4 a4
well there.DIST.LOC=toward IMP>3.OBJ=put.INANPLO DET(IV)
posillo=gɨ4 **i5=na4=wo1-a1ne1=kɨ5ra1ĩ1**
SP:cup=PL **VCL=3.SBJ=discard.PLO-AREAL.ARG =INFER**
'Be good, put the cups over there, **they got left** everywhere.' [2019 C31-C32 CCI, CG31]

While 'put' and 'discard' make up a very large proportion of all apparent passive tokens, there are examples of the passive with other verbs, such as *na4*

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'smoke' in (73). When discussing these, people also volunteered a number of passives with other causative verbs, such as 'roast' (also found in the corpus, but the examples are ambiguous) and 'cut with knife' (74, 75).

(73) *tʃi31ʔri5* ***ti4na4gɨ4*** *e3rɨ4 ti4tʃi5ʔį̃ą̃1*
tʃi31ʔri5 **ti4=na4=gɨ4** e3rɨ4 ti4=tʃi5ʔį̃=ą̃1
badly **3(I).SBJ=smoke=PL** because 3(I).SBJ.DISTRIB=fat=have
'They (fish) didn't **get smoked** properly because they have a lot of grease.' [2019 C39 CCI, CG]

(74) *tʃo43ʔni5 rɨ1 tʃi31ʔri5 i5ta4gu2*
tʃo43ʔni5 rɨ1 tʃi31ʔri5 i5=ta4=gu2
fish TOP badly VCL=3(I).SBJ=roast
'The fish didn't get roasted properly.' [LWG 2025.1.106]

(75) *tʃi31ʔri5 ta4ri3wi51e3*
tʃi31ʔri5 ta4ri3=wi51-e3
badly 3(I).SBJ=cut.with.knife-DIR:across
'It (fish) didn't get scored (with a knife) properly.' [LWG 2025.1.106]

If only 'put' and 'discard' participated in the passive, it would be simplest to say that these two roots are labile verbs (i.e. alternate between a transitive and intransitive reading) in Ticuna and that the language does not have a passive. However, examples like 'roast' in (74) suggest that there **is** a passive, but that, like the antipassive, it is not very productive.

There is also no middle voice (i.e. deletion of the object to achieve a reflexive reading) in the language. Transitive body-part incorporation has some properties that resemble a middle, but these require noun incorporation, which changes valency on its own (Chapter 12).

There are also verbs that alternate between transitive and intransitive readings based on their conjugation class, such as *to1* 'sit' (/r/-class) ~ *to1* 'place in a sitting position; set down' (/a/-class) or *wã4* 'open/close, intransitive' (/r/-class) ~ *wã4* 'open/close, transitive' (/a/-class). For these, the lower-valence /r/-class forms could be considered middle or passive. However, the conjugation-class-related transitivity alternations are not productive middles/passives because they do not systematically affect all verbs of the relevant conjugation classes. That is, there are many intransitive /r/-class verbs which do not have transitive /a/-class counterparts.

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## 19.3 Physical result suffixes

There are four semantically related suffixes that denote how the action of the verb physically affects the internal argument. These are *-na1* 'open', *-ta1* 'close,' *-gɨ1* 'take apart', and *-te3* 'divide in half'.' Allof these suffixes attach primarily to causative transitive roots and characterize the object, but they can also attach to intransitive roots and characterize the subject.

First, the suffix *-na1* 'open' conveys that the verb action leads to the internal argument opening. It is a lexicalized part of the verb stem *wã4na1* 'open door,' but also occurs with other verbs of manipulation, such as the verb *gau51* 'tear' in (76). This suffix changes the verb to the /i/-class.

(76) *ŋe3ʔwa4ka2* ***i1gau51ʔna3ʔ*** *i4 papel higenico*
ŋe3ʔwa4ka2 **i1=gau51-na1=ʔ** i4 papel higenico
recently **IMPERS.SBJ.SC=tear-open=SUB** DET(IV) SP:toilet.paper
'(You should do it) right away, when you **tear open** the (package of) toilet paper.' [FA1, 2019 C27 CCI]

The suffix *-ta1* 'close' is the opposite of *-na1*. It conveys that the verb action leads to the internal argument being closed (77) or restrained (78). It's a lexicalized part of the verb root *wã4ta1* 'close door' (vi and vt). Allcorpus examples of this suffix occur with the verb root *po4* 'hit, nail, apply force at a right angle', but people also accept it with other verbs (77).[2]

(77) *tʃa3na3ʎai5ʔta1*
tʃa3=na3=ʎa̰i̯1-ta1
1SGSBJ=3.OBJ=sew-close
'I sewed it closed.' [LWG 2025.1.107]

(78) *nɨ31ma2 ga4 ɟe4ma4 ai31ru5 rɨ1 ga4 ɟe4ma4 gigante rɨ1*
***na4na3po4ʔta1ma1tʃi1ẽ3gɨ4.***
nɨ31ma2 ga4 ɟe4ma4 ai31ru5 rɨ1 ga4
3.TOP DET.REM.PST DEM.REM.PST(IV) dog(IV) TOP DET.REM.PST
ɟe4ma4 gigante rɨ1 **na4=na3=po4-ta1=ma1tʃi1ẽ3=gɨ4**
DEM.REM.PST SP:giant TOP **3.SBJ=3.OBJ=nail-close=NI:ear=PL**
'As for the dogs, the giant had covered their ears.' [LWG tak]

[2]Allverbs that occcur with *-ta1* in my materials are underlyingly /a/-class, so I cannot say anything about whether it also changes the root's conjugation class.

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The suffix *-gɨ1* 'take apart' conveys that the internal argument was somehow secured to itself or to something else – for example, nailed together, hung up, or tied – and that it was taken apart or unsecured as a result of the verb action. When *-gɨ1* 'take apart' attaches to a transitive verb, it changes to an oblique-object verb which assigns *=gu2* LOC to its theme. For example, all of the verb roots in (79-81) are underlyingly causative transitives, but because of *-gɨ1* 'take apart,' they appear in these examples as oblique-object verbs.[3]

(79) *ta2ʔũ4 na43gu2 ku1tʃo2ʔgɨ3ʔĩ4*
ta2ʔũ4 na43=gu2 ku1=tʃo2-gɨ1=ʔĩ4
NEG.IMP 3=LOC 2SGSBJ=spread.fabric-take.apart-SUB
'You shouldn't unlace it.' [C37-C38 CCI 2019, CG37]

(80) *na43gu2 tʃa3po4ʔgɨ1*
na43=gu2 tʃa3=po4-gɨ1
3=LOC 1SGSBJ=nail-take.apart
'I took it apart with a hammer.' [ABS volunteered as a comment on 79]

(81) *na43gu2 tʃa3ne4ʔg+1*
na43=gu2 tʃa3=ne4-g+1
3=LOC 1SGSBJ=screw-take.apart
'I unscrewed it.' [ABS volunteered as a comment on 79]

The suffix *-te3* 'in half' conveys that the action of the verb causes the internal argument to be divided in half. This can involve cutting or breaking the referent in half (82), or it can refer to adding something to the referent along the midline (83). Additionally, this suffix can apply to intransitives, conveying that the property holds of/at the midline of the referent (84). This suffix changes transitive verbs to the causative /a/-class and intransitives to the /r/-class.

(82) *tʃa3na3gau51te3*
tʃa3=na3=gau51-te3
1SGSBJ=3.OBJ=tear-in.half
'I tore it in half.' [LWG 2025.1.107]

(83) *tʃa3na3tʃau1te3*
tʃa3=na3=tʃau1-te3
1SGSBJ=3.OBJ=paint-in.half
'I painted a line down its center.' [LWG 2025.1.107]

[3]Allverbs that occcur with *-gɨ1* in my materials are also underlyingly /a/-class.

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(84) *da31a1 ĩ31ta1pɨ3 rɨ1 na4rɨ3dau4te3*
da31a1 ĩ31ta1pɨ3 rɨ1 na4rɨ3=dau4-te3
DEM.SPKR.PROX(III) wall(III) TOP 3.SBJ=red-in.half
'This wall has a red line in its center.' [LWG 2025.1.107]

The splitting/division of *-te3* 'in half' can be metaphorical (85). There is no evidence that the other physical-effect suffixes have metaphorical extensions.

(85) ***tɨ3na4pɨ1ʔte3tʃa4me3tɨ3*** *e3ga4 na4 mu1ʔĩ4ma3 e3rɨ4 nɨ31wa5 i1ʔa3ʔi2ʔ*
**tɨ3=na4=pɨ1ʔ-te3=tʃa4me3tɨ3** e3ga4 na4 mu1ʔĩ4=ma3
**IMPERS.ACC=3.SBJ=cut?-in.half=NI:face** COND COMP many(IV)=INFO
e3rɨ4 nɨ31wa5 i1=a3ʔ=ʔ
INFO:cng INFO IMPERS.SBJ.SC=drink=SUB
'It **splits your face in half** (i.e. gives you a migraine, in which only one side of the face hurts) if you drink too many of them.' [MFG-LFG-LVI, MFG]

## 19.4 Infrequent suffixes

This subsection describes all of the remaining verbal suffixes that have relatively functional (rather than lexical) content and occur more than twice in the corpus.

### 19.4.1 The suffix *-ĩ1* 'experience weather event'

This suffix attaches to weather verbs, which have expletive subjects, and derives verbs which have non-expletive animate or inanimate subjects. The derived verb means 'experience [weather event]' or 'be affected by [weather event]'.

(86) is an example of the 'experience weather event' reading of *-ĩ1*. The suffix attaches to the verb *ʎo5o1ne1* 'dawn', which normally takes an expletive subject, and derives a verb where the subject is the ship which arrives at dawn. It's clear that the ship is the subject of the verb *na4rɨ3ʎo5o1ne1ĩ1* 'it comes to experience the dawn' because the verb takes an associated-motion proclitic referring to the movement of the ship (and these proclitics can only profile the movement of arguments, Chapter 18).

(86) Context: 'The ship leaves from Tabatinga at 4pm.'
*rɨ1 ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3 rɨ1 a las cuatro de la manana Ma3tu3ra5gu2*
***na4rɨ3ʎo5o1ne1ĩ1***

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ri1 ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3 ri1 a las cuatro de la manana Ma3tu3ra5=gu2
and then TOP SP:at.4am place.name=LOC
na4ri3=**ʌo5o1ne1-ĩ1**
**3.SBJ+AM=dawn-ExpWeather**
'And then at 4am, it arrives with the dawn (lit. it comes to experience the dawn) in Maturá.' [HCG HALDI]

(87) is another example of the 'experience weather event' reading. This example involves the verb root *tʃ+31ta2* 'be night'. With this root, the suffix *-ĩ1* derives a verb meaning 'spend the night' or 'see the day end; experience the falling of night'. The underlying subject of this verb is 'my clothes,' but the root *ʔtʃi5ru2* 'clothes' undergoes subject incorporation, leaving the possessor of clothes as the subject. Since incorporation is only possible for arguments, this demonstrates that 'clothes' is an argument.

(87) *tʃo1ma1 ra3ã1 ta4 we5na1 ta4ta2ã4 ma2na4* ***tʃa3tʃi31ta2ĩ1tʃi5ru2****, uuuu31*
tʃo1ma1 ra3ã1 ta4 we5na1 ta4=ta2ã4 ma2na4
1SG.TOP TOP FUT again FUT=only EPIST
**tʃa3=tʃi31ta2-ĩ1=tʃi5ru2** u31
**1SGSBJ=night-ExpWeather=NI:clothes** INTJ:ugh
'As for me, **I'm going to see another day end** without washing my clothes, ugh.'
(Very lit: '**I will have my clothes see the day end**, i.e. without being washed, again.') [AFG, AFG-LVI]

(88) is an example of the 'be affected by [weather]' use of *-ĩ1*. This example comes from a disaster narrative about a flood. While everyone in the town which flooded experienced the flood, only some people actually had their homes or gardens damaged. The relative clause, where the verb bears *-ĩ1* 'be affected by weather', denotes the second, more affected group.

(88) *te1ʔe5* ***i5ba2ĩ1tʃi5e3*** *na4ʔ, ta1na3levantaʔĩ4 i4 piso.*
te1ʔe5 **i5=bai2-ĩ1=ʔi5tʃi2-e3** na4ʔ
who?(I) **VCL=flood-Exp.Weather=really=NMLZ(I)** TOP
ta1=na3=levanta=ʔĩ4 i4 piso
3(I).SBJ.SC=3.OBJ=SP:lift=SUB DET(IV) SP:floor
'Everyone who was really affected by the flood raised their floors (above the level of the floodwaters).' [ABS HALDI]

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### 19.4.2 The suffix *-a1ne1* 'areal argument'

The suffix *-a1ne1* 'areal argument' denotes that the property of the verb holds for a large space or area. It is homophonous with, and presumably diachronically derived from, the inalienable noun *a1ne1* 'garden; plot of land.'

We already saw an example of this suffix above in the verb stem *ʎo5o1ne1* 'dawn', which is derived from the verb root *ʎǫ1* 'appear, be visible' plus the areal subject suffix. In this verb the areal subject suffix is lexicalized, since *ʎǫ1* 'appear' never has the reading 'dawn' without it (and the stem is often pronounced *ʎu1ne1* rather than *ʎo5o1ne1*; neither the vowel quality change nor the tone change is regular).

As the example 'dawn' suggests, many tokens of *-a1ne1* 'areal argument' derive weather verbs. (89) is an example of this use. Both verb roots in this sentence, *nai4* 'hot' and *gą̨ų1* 'cold,' can be predicated of objects; they are not exclusively weather verbs. However, when these roots take *-a1ne1* 'areal argument', they are both read as describing the weather.

(89) *ma3ɾi3 ta4ma3 na4nai4a1ne1 e3ɾi4 ma3ɾi3 na4ɾi3gau5a1ne1*
ma3ɾi3 ta4ma3 na4=nai4-a1ne1 e3ɾi4 ma3ɾi3
PRF NEG 3.SBJ=hot-AREAL.ARG because PRF
na4ɾi3=gą̨ų1-a1ne1
3.SBJ=cold-AREAL.ARG
'It's not hot anymore because now it's gotten cold (outside).' [LVI, LFG-MFG-LVI]

Intransitive verbs with *-a1ne1* 'areal argument' aren't always weather verbs. They can also describe properties of neighborhoods, plots of land, or spaces. For instance, in (90) the speaker is describing properties of his neighborhood of Caballococha at the time when he moved in, not properties of the weather or land in general.

(90) *na4no31re5ma3re3 ɾi1 na4ʔi2ą̨1a1ne1ma3re3*
na4=no31re5=ma3re3 ɾi1 na4=i2ą̨1-a1ne1=ma3re3
3.SBJ=few=just and 3.SBJ=be.heavily.forested-AREAL.ARG=just
'There were just a few people, and it was just heavily forested.' [SSG HALDI]

I'm calling this suffix 'areal argument' because it's similar to the 'areal subject' prefix in Navajo and other Dene languages (see e.g. Willie 1991). However, *-a1ne1* only characterizes the subject with intransitive verbs. It can also appear with

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transitive verbs, and in that case, it denotes that the **object** is a large area of space, as with the verb stem *bi2ʔi2tʃi4-a1ne1* (sweep-Areal.Arg) 'sweep the room' and *trapea-a1ne1* (SP:mop-Areal.Arg) 'mop the room' in (91). This example also demonstrates that *-a1ne1* can attach to borrowed verbs.

(91) *nu2ʔa4ma4 tʃa3ʔi31a1ri3 escoba=ą̃1 e3ri4 ma3ri3 i5tʃa3bi2ʔi2tʃi4a1ne1 ma3 tʃa3na3trapeaa1ne1*
nu2ʔa2=ã4ma4 tʃa3=i43=a1ri3 escoba=ą̃1 e3ri4
here.LOC=toward 1SGSBJ=put=AL.INCORP broom=AL.INCORP because
ma3ri3 **i5=tʃa3=bi2ʔi2tʃi4-a1ne1** ma3ri3
PRF **VCL=1SGSBJ=sweep-AREAL.ARG** PRF
**tʃa3=na3=trapea-a1ne1**
**1SGSBJ=3.OBJ=SP:mop-AREAL.ARG**
'Now I'm leaving my broom over here because I've already **swept the room**, I've already **mopped the room**.' [Beronica, LSC-VSC]

With transitive verbs, *-a1ne1* 'areal argument' can also convey that the object becomes **dispersed** in space as a result of the action of the verb. In this use, the object is generally a count noun, not an area. For example, in (92) the speaker is scolding her children for carelessly leaving their shoes around the house. The shoes, not the space, are the object of *wo1-o1ne1* 'discard.PLO-AREAL.ARG ,' and the areal argument suffix conveys that the shoes were left in many different locations.

(92) ***pe3na3wo1o1ne1**, pe1a3ɟau1ʔgi5ʔĩ4 ĩ1ʔne1ã4ma4 a4 tʃo1ma1ʔ*
**pe3=na3=wo1-a1ne1** pe1=a3=ɟau1ʔ=gi5=ʔĩ4
**2PLSBJ=3.OBJ=discard.PLO-AREAL.ARG** 2PLSBJ.SC=3.OBJ=wash=PL=SUB
ĩ1ʔne1ã4ma4 a4 tʃo1ma1
2.days.ago DET(IV) 1SG.TOP
'Y'all are **leaving them (shoes) around everywhere**, you should wash them like the other day, like I did.' [2019 C3-C7 CCI, CG7]

### 19.4.3 The suffix *-a1gi2*/*-gi1* 'distributed in space'

Somewhat like the use of *-a1ne1* 'AREAL.ARG ' with count nouns, the suffix *-a1gi2* ~ *-gi1* conveys that the internal argument of the verb is distributed in space.[4] For

[4]I'm unsure what conditions the allomorphy between *-a1gi2* and *-gi1*, but it does not seem to be phonological.

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example, this suffix is used to describe situations where the predicate holds for some (spatially separate) parts of the argument, but not other parts (93).

(93) *rɨ1 na4ʎu31a1gɨ2*
rɨ1 na4=ʎu31-a1gɨ2
and 3.SBJ=be.immersed.SG-DISTRIB
'It was flooded in places (speaking of a city block: some lots flooded, others didn't).' [SSG HALDI]

Besides the 'parts' use, *-a1gɨ2 ~ -gɨ1* can also convey that the predicate holds for all arguments, but they are distributed widely in space (94, 95). For example, in (94) the speaker isn't asserting that only some of the trees are growing, but rather, that the trees grow in different areas of the garden.

(94) *tʃau1a1ne1a1rɨ3 ŋe5ma2 rɨ1 **ni4ʔi2a1gɨ2** ɟa4 ɟu3ra1.*
tʃau1=a1ne1=a1rɨ3 ŋe5ma2 rɨ1 **ni4=ɨ2-a1gɨ2** ɟa4
1SG=garden=POSS there.ANA.ALL TOP **3.SBJ=germinate-DISTRIB** DET(II)
ɟu3ra1
Iriartea.deltoidea(II)
'There in my garden, the *ɟu3ra1* trees **grow far apart from each other**.' [LGC HALDI]

(95) *i51ra1ma3re3 ni41ʔĩ4, **ni4pe31a1gɨ2ma3re3** i4 du1ĩ3ʔĩ4gɨ4*
i51ra1=ma3re3 ni41ʔĩ4 **ni4=pe43-a1gɨ2=ma3re3** i4
small=just FOC **3.SBJ=live.in.place-DISTRIB=just** DET(IV)
du1ĩ3ʔĩ4=gɨ4
person(IV)=PL
'(The town) was really small, people **lived far apart**.'
(transcriber's comment: suggests that houses were ~100m apart; now, most are less than 10m apart) [LGC HALDI]

It's difficult to find examples of *-a1gɨ2 ~ -gɨ1* with transitive verbs. When the suffix does occur with transitives, it seems to mean that the action takes place repeatedly at different locations. This is the reading in (96); a parts reading is semantically impossible here given the context.

(96) Context: Child is playing with an inflated plastic bag.
*tɨ31ʔĩ3 na1ɲa4a1gɨ2pɨ1ʔɨ3*
tɨ31=ʔĩ3 na1=ɲa4-a1gɨ2=pɨ1ʔɨ3
3(I)=ACC IMP=throw-DISTRIB=CLF:round
'Throw the bag up in the air over and over.' [2019 C37-C38 CCI, CG37]

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The *-a1gɨ2 ~ -gɨ1* suffix is overall very similar to the 'distributed in space' use of the distributive *=tʃi1gɨ1* (Chapter 17), which is much more frequent. The distributive and *-a1gɨ2 ~ -gɨ1* can co-occur (97, 98).

(97) *e3rɨ4ã3 a4 na31tɨ3 rɨ1, ni4wĩ1gɨ1tʃi1gɨ1*
e3rɨ4=ã3 a4 na43=tɨ3 rɨ1
because=REP DET(IV) DfltPOSS=river(IV) TOP
ni4=wĩ1-gɨ1=tʃi1gɨ1
3.SBJ=curvy-DISTRIB=DISTRIB
'(It's a long journey) because the river is curved in many places.' [NWG Brazil Trip]

(98) *ĩ31ta1pɨ3 tʃi3tʃa4a1gɨ2tʃi1gɨ1*
ĩ31ta1pɨ3 tʃi3=tʃa4-a1gɨ2=tʃi1gɨ1
wall 1SGSBJ=paint-DISTRIB=DISTRIB
'I painted the wall in a few places.' [LWG 2024.1.48]

### 19.4.4 The suffixes *-kɨ5ɨ3* 'constantly', *-ne3kɨ3* 'over and over', and *-a3kɨ1* 'starting and stopping'

These three suffixes are all low in frequency and relate to event structure. The most frequent is *-kɨ5ɨ3* 'constantly' (also pronounced *-kɨ1ʔɨ3*), with 33 tokens in the corpus. This suffix generally (but not exclusively) attaches to activity verbs and conveys that the action of the verb happens repeatedly or constantly (99-101). It changes the verb stem to the /i/-class.

(99) Context: 'So-and-so's children do a lot more for their business than you.'
*ni4ta4e3kɨ5ɨ3*
ni4=ta4e3=kɨ5ɨ3
3.SBJ=sell=Constantly
'They're always selling.' [20170818]

(100) Context: 'Here's why we're sleeping.'
*ʌe3wą1 rɨ1 ta4na3ɟu3mɨ3e3ta3nɨ3ĩ4kɨ1ʔɨ3 ka4ʔ*
ʌe3wą1 rɨ1 ta4=na3=ɟu3mɨ3e3=ta3nɨ3ĩ4=kɨ1ʔɨ3 ka4ʔ
last.night TOP 1EXCL=3.OBJ=pray=Coll=Constantly INFO
'Last night, we were continuously praying together (i.e. through the entire night).' [NWG Brazil Trip]

(101) *ni4tʃi̱2ʔgɨ1kɨ1ʔɨ3*

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ni4=tʃi̱2-gi1-ki1ʔi3
3.SBJ=swing.vi-DISTRIB-Constantly
'It keeps swinging back and forth (speaking of a hammock).'
[tca_20180628_disc_video_002]

The suffix *-ne3ki3* 'over and over' occurs 18 times in the corpus. It occurs only with activity verbs, changes the verb stem to the /i/-class, and conveys that the activity is repeated many times within a short period. For example, attaching to the verb *ɟu2ʔ* 'jump,' it derives a verb root meaning 'jump up and down repeatedly' (102). Many tokens of this suffix occur on verbs that denote intrinsically repetitive activities, such as knocking a door (103) or sweeping the floor (104).

(102) *pa2 ɟa31, nu5a2ma4 ri3ɟu2ʔne3ki3*
pa2 ɟa31 nu5a2=ã4ma4 ri3=ɟu2ʔ-ne3ki3
VOC male.VOC here.ALL=toward IMP+Am=jump=Over.And.Over
'Baby boy, come over here, jump and jump.' [C24-C29 CCI]

(103) *ta1a3ri1 ŋe5ma2 i4 ʎe3wa̱1 a1tu4ne3ki2ʔĩ4*
ta1=a3ri1 ŋe5ma2 i4 ʎe3wa̱1
also=again there.ANA.ALL DET(IV) last.night
a1=tu4-ne3ki3-ʔĩ4
3.SBJ.SC=knock-Over.And.Over=SUB
'Last night they were also knocking and knocking there.' [2019 C27 CCI]

(104) *tʃa1ʔo̱2ʔĩ4 na4 ĩ31ã̱1ti3wa5 tʃi3bi4ne3ki3ã4tʃi4*
tʃa1=o1=ʔĩ4 na4 ĩ31ã̱1ti3=wa5
1SGSBJ.SC=not.want=SUB COMP yard=ALL
tʃi3=bi4-ne3ki3=ã4tʃi4
1SGSBJ.SC=sweep-Over.And.Over=ACHV
'I don't want to, but I'm going to sweep and sweep the yard for a little bit.' [LVI, AFG-LVI]

Using *-ne3ki3* 'over and over' with an accomplishment or state is unacceptable (105–106).

(105) **ĩ43 ni4ʔi2ne3ki3*
*ĩ43 ni4=i2-ne3ki3
*house 3.SBJ=make-Over.And.Over
(Intended reading: 'S/he built and built the house.') [LWG 2025.1.108]

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(106) **tʃi3ʎe4tʃa1ĩ1ne3kɨ3*
*tʃi3=ʎe4tʃa1ĩ1-ne3kɨ3
*1SGSBJ=sad-Over.And.Over
(Intended reading: 'I was sad over and over.') [LWG 2025.1.108]

Last, the suffix *-a3kɨ1* mostly appears as a lexicalized part of verb stems such as *i̯1a3kɨ1* 'wobble.' However, it occasionally also occurs with other roots (5 corpus tokens). This suffix conveys that the predicate repeatedly holds, stops holding, and then holds again (107–109). For example, in (108) *nai4* is a stative verb root meaning 'hot' or 'turned on, speaking of a light or electronic device.' With the suffix, it is interpreted as 'flash, turn on and off (of a light).' The suffix is acceptable with both stative (107–108) and dynamic (109) verbs.

(107) *ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma4 tʃa1ʔi2ɟe4gu2, ŋe4ʔ-, ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3 rɨ1, ŋe3ma2 ʎu̯1a3kɨ3ʔ*
ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma4 tʃa1=i2ɟe4=gu2 ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3 rɨ1 ŋe3ma2
when 1SGSBJ.SC=stop=COND when TOP DEM.ANA(IV)
ʎu̯1-a3kɨ1=ʔ
hurt-START.AND.STOP=SUB
'When I stop (getting treatments), then that (part of my arm) hurts now and then.' [RGW, 20170527]

(108) *ni4nai4a3kɨ1*
ni4=nai4-a3kɨ1
3.SBJ=hot/on-START.AND.STOP
'It's flashing (speaking of a light).' [ABS comment on (107)]

(109) *nu5a2ta2ã4 ni41ʔĩ4 kai3a3kɨ1ne3ta2ʔ*
nu5a2=ta2ã4 ni41ʔĩ4 kai3-a3kɨ1=ne3ta2=ʔ
here.ALL=only FOC dig-START.AND.STOP=pretend=SUB
'It (a toy tractor) keeps digging right here as a game.' [C10-C13 2019 CCI, CG]

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# 20 Negation

In this chapter I discuss the expression of negation. I begin with standard negation – i.e. the equivalent of 'not' (§20.1) – and other forms of clausal negation, such as the equivalent to 'never' (§20.2).

Then I discuss negative lexicalizations, such as the negative existential verb (§20.3). Ticuna has many negative lexicalizations, as well as portmanteau morphemes that express negation plus modality (§20.4). However, it lacks negative derivational morphemes like English *-less* or *un-* (§20.5). Also, because of blocking by negative lexicalizations, negation cannot combine with certain predicates (§20.6).

All of this discussion is focused on declarative and interrogative sentences. In imperatives, negation is expressed differently (§20.7).

## 20.1 Standard negation

There is a single lexical item that acts as standard negation for declarative clauses and questions. The phonological form of this lexical item is an area of dialect variation (Montes Rodriguez 2004, Santos 2012), including within Cushillococha. The most frequent form in my materials is *ta4ma3*, followed by the related form *ta4ã3*. The other main sociolinguistic variants of the standard negation form are *tau4*, *tau4ʔ*, and *ta2ʔu2*, which are related to the negative existential verb root (§20.3.1). Some people occasionally use the form *ta2ʔũ4* as standard negation; however, in Cushillococha, *ta2ʔũ4* occurs primarily in negative imperatives and negative portmanteau morphemes.

Standard negation combines with verbal and nonverbal predicates in main and subordinate clauses. Complement clauses introduced by the verbs *=wa1ʔe3* 'want' and *õ2* 'believe' display neg-raising (Horn 1989), where negation combines with the matrix clause verb but is interpreted as scoping over the subordinate clause verb. Other subordinate clauses, including complement clauses introduced by other verbs, do not undergo neg-raising.

Standard negation also acts as the least marked answer to polar questions. It does **not** occur in imperatives, which are explored in §20.7.

I'll now discuss each of the functions of standard negation.

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### 20.1.1 Main clauses

Standard negation combines with both verbal predicates, such as (1) and (3), and nonverbal ones, such as the copular construction in (2). It is the same in both declaratives (1–2) and interrogatives (3). In all of these environments, standard negation occurs immediately before the verb phrase.

(1) There are no more Armored Catfish because...
*__ta4ma3__ɨ1kɨ2 nɨ31ʔna1 na4dau2gɨ4 i4 du1ĩ3ʔĩ4gɨ4*
**ta4ma3**=ɨ1kɨ2 nɨ31=na1 na4=dau2=gɨ4 i4 du1ĩ3ʔĩ4=gɨ4
NEG=INFO 3(IV)=RCP 3.SBJ=take.care.of=PL DET(IV) person(IV)=PL
'People **didn't** take care of them.' [YCG HALDI 27:30]

(2) *tɨ4rɨ1 ɲu1ʔma5 rɨ1, ma3 __ta4ã3__ ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3rɨ5ĩ1 ni41ʔĩ4*
tɨ4rɨ1 ɲu1ʔma5 rɨ1 ma3 **ta4ã3** ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3=rɨ5ĩ1 ni41ʔĩ4
but now TOP PRF NEG then.ANA=like 3(IV).SBJ.COP
'But now, it's **not** like back then.' [YCG HALDI 27:16]

(3) *__ta4ma3__ ɛ̃1ʔna5 pe3tai31ɟa2e3?*
**ta4ma3** ɛ̃1ʔna5 pe3=tai31ɟa2-e3
NEG ALT 2PL.SBJ=hungry-PL
'**Aren't** you all hungry?' [tca_20180628_disc_video_003, 706]

### 20.1.2 Subordinate clauses

Standard negation also appears in subordinate clauses. As discussed in Chapter 25, in Ticuna these include relative, conditional, purpose, and complement clauses. In all of these subordinate clause types, negation (of the subordinate clause) appears inside the subordinate clause, not in the matrix clause. The exception is the complements of *õ2* 'believe' and *=wa1ʔe3* 'want,' where negation of the complement can appear in the matrix clause.

#### 20.1.2.1 Subordinate clauses without neg-raising

I will begin with negation in relative clauses, since it is easy to see their boundaries. Relative clauses (Chapter 23) are introduced by determiners which appear between the head noun and the relative (in the same position that relative pronouns appear in languages that have them). Negation occurs immediately after the determiner, i.e. inside the relative clause. For example, in (4) the head of the relative clause is *ŋe3ma2* 'those' and the relative clause is introduced by the determiner *i4*. The next element of the relative is the negative *ta4ma3*.

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(4) *na2ti4ri2i1ki2 na4mu4ma3 i4 ŋe3ma2 i4* ***ta4ma3****ĩ1ki2 ɟa1ʔõ2gi5ʔĩ4a3ri1…*
na2ti4ri2=i1ki2 na4=mu4=ma3 i4 ŋe3ma2 i4
but=INFO 3.SBJ=many=INFO DET(IV) DEM.MULTI(IV) DET(IV)
**ta4ma3**=ĩ1ki2 ɟa1=õ2=gi4=ʔĩ4=a3ri1
NEG=INFO 3.SBJ.SC=believe=PL=NMLZ(IV)=INFO
'But there are lots of those (people) who **don't** believe...' [NWG Brazil Trip 30:19]

Conditional and purpose clauses (Chapter 25) are not usually introduced by determiners or complementizers. Negation occurs immediately before the verb of the subordinate clause. For instance, in (5), the main clause consists of the verb phrase *ŋe3ma2 ɲa4a2ʔ* 'it should be like that' followed by the tag *ki2a4na4* 'right.' In the purpose clause, 'so that it doesn't get smoky in here,' the negation *ta4ma3* is the first element.

(5) *ŋe3ma2 ɲa4a2ĩ1ki2, ki2a4na4,* ***ta4ma3*** *nu2a2 na1kai4ʔku2ʔĩ4kạ1*
ŋe3ma2 ɲa4a2=ĩ1ki2 ki2a4na4 **ta4ma3** nu2a2
DEM.MULTI(IV) QUOT.SC=INFO right? NEG here.LOC
na1=kai4ʔ-ku2=ʔĩ4=kạ1
3.SBJ.SC=smoky-DIR:inward=SUB=PURP
'It should be (set up) like that, right, so that it **doesn't** get smoky in here.' [20170718_004, Estelita, 9:36]

#### 20.1.2.2 Subordinate clauses with neg-raising

Complement clauses are introduced by the complementizer *na4(ʔ)*. They can undergo neg-raising, but the raising is not obligatory.

First, it is possible for the standard negation of a complement clause to occur inside the complement/after the complementizer. For example, (6) is an indirect speech report. The reported speech appears. after the speech verb, as a complement clause introduced by *na4*. It includes the negation *ta4ma3*, and as shown by the translation, this negates the verb of the speech report.[1]

(6) Context: Describing picture of child who is broken a bone and is telling her friends that she can't play.
*ri1 nu5a2 ri1, ŋi1ʔma1 ri1 na43ma4ã2 ni31ʔĩ3 i3ɟa3ʔu3 ri1 na4 ma3ri3*
***ta4ma3*** *na43we5 na4 na4ʔũ31ʔĩ4*

[1]This example also demonstrates that standard negation can express negative circumstantial modality. See §20.3 and §20.4 for more about interactions of negation and modality.

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ri1 nu5a2 ri1 ŋi1ʔma1 ri1 na43=ma4ã2 ni31=ʔĩ3 i3ɟa3=u3 ri1
and here.ALL TOP 3(V).TOP TOP 3(IV)=COM 3(IV)=ACC 3(V).SBJ=say TOP
na4 ma3ri3 **ta4ma3** na43=we5 na4 na4=ũ43=ʔĩ4
COMP PRF **NEG** 3(IV)=behind COMP 3(V).SBJ.SC=go.SG=SUB
'Here, she's telling them that now, she **can't** go with (lit. behind) them.'
[DGG Chore Girl 4:23]

Alternatively, neg-raising can occur – where the negation combines with the matrix clause verb, but is interpreted as modifying the subordinate clause verb. For example, in (7), the negation combines with the matrix clause verb *õ2* 'believe.' However, this sentence is about a teenager who has been explicitly saying that the baby picture is *not* a picture of him; it doesn't describe someone who has no beliefs about the picture. In other words, negation is interpreted as targeting the (nonverbal) predicate of the subordinate clause, rather than the matrix clause verb.

(7) *Frankyri5ĩ1 a4 **ta4ã3** na4a3ʔõ2 a4 no51ri3 bu31ʔtʃi4kɨ1na3ʔa1*
Franky=ri5ĩ1 a4 **ta4ã3** na4=a3=õ2 a4 no51ri3
Franky=like DET(IV) **NEG** 3.SBJ=3.OBJ=believe DET(IV) 3.POSS
bu31=ʔtʃi4kɨ1na3ʔa1
be.child=image
'Like Franky, he$_i$ **doesn't** believe that it's his$_i$ baby picture. (= He believes it's not his baby picture.)' [LFG-MFG-LVI

Neg-raising is optional with *õ2* 'believe.' As shown in (8), this verb allows both raised (a) and in-situ (b) negation in a negative belief report.

(8) Context: Someone is not a Christian.
a. *ni31ma2 ri1 **ta4ma3** na4ɟa3ʔõ2 na4 ʎe3tʃu3tʃu1 ɟu2wa5 i5ri3da3ʔĩ4*
ni31ma2 ri1 **ta4ma3** na4=ɟa3=õ2 na4 ʎe3tʃu3tʃu1
3.TOP TOP **NEG** 3.SBJ=3.OBJ=believe COMP Jesus
ɟu2=∅=wa5 i5=ri3=da31=ʔĩ4
die=ZERO.NMLZ=ALL VCL=3.SBJ.SC=get.up=SUB
'S/he **doesn't** believe that Jesus rose from the dead.'
b. *ni31ma2 ri1 na4ɟa3ʔõ2 na4 ʎe3tʃu3tʃu1 **ta4ma3** ɟu2wa5 i5ri3da3ʔĩ4*
ni31ma2 ri1 na4=ɟa3=õ2 na4 ʎe3tʃu3tʃu1 **ta4ma3**
3.TOP TOP 3.SBJ=3.OBJ=believe COMP Jesus **NEG**
ɟu2=∅=wa5 i5=ri3=da31=ʔĩ4
die=ZERO.NMLZ=ALL VCL=3.SBJ.SC=get.up=SUB
'S/he believes that Jesus **didn't** rise from the dead.'

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[LWG 2024.1.55]

While I have not tested every complement-taking verb in the language, the only verb besides *õ2* 'believe' that clearly allows neg-raising is *=wą1ʔe3* 'want.' Raised and in-situ negation of the complement of 'want' are shown by (9) (a) and (b) respectively.

(9) Context: I am banning you from talking to people.

a. *tʃa3na31ʔwą1e3 na4 **ta2ʔu5e3ma3**ma4ã2 ki1de43ʔa2ʔĩ4*
tʃa3=na43=wą1e3 na4 **ta2ʔu5e3ma3**=ma4ã2 ki1=de43ʔa2=ʔĩ4
1SG.SBJ=3Pro=want COMP **nobody**=COM 2SG.SBJ.SC=talk=SUB
'I want you to talk to **no one**.' (in situ negation)

b. ***ta4ma3** tʃa3na31ʔwą1e3 na4 te1ʔe5ma4ã2 ki1de43ʔa2ʔĩ4*
**ta4ma3** tʃa3=na43=wą1e3 na4 te1ʔe5=ma4ã2 ki1=de43ʔa2=ʔĩ4
**NEG** 1SG.SBJ=3Pro=want COMP who?=COM 2SG.SBJ.SC=talk=SUB
'I **don't** want you to talk to anyone.' (raised negation)

[LWG 2024.1.55]

Besides 'want' and 'believe,' the main complement-taking verbs are *ʍą1* 'know', *ĩ3nɨ3* 'think/hear' and *u3* 'say' (Chapter 25.2.1).[2] None of these verbs allow neg-raising. For example, compare the behavior of *=wą1ʔe3* 'want' in (9) above with the behavior of *u3* 'say' in (10) below. To express a negative indefinite in the complement of 'want,' you can use either in-situ (9a) or raised (9b) negation. But for the complement of 'say,' only the in-situ negative indefinite structure is possible (10a). Matrix clause negation is interpreted as negating the matrix verb, not the complement (10b).

(10) Context: I was watching your children and I affirm that they went nowhere.

a. *nɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃi3ʔu3 na4 ta4ma3 ɲų1ʔgu2 ʎe1ʔta5 na1ʔĩ31ʔ*
nɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃi3=u3 na4 **ta4ma3** ɲų1ʔgu2 ʎe1ʔta5
3=ACC 1SG.SBJ=say COMP **NEG** when? where?
na1=ĩ43=ʔ
3.SBJ.SC=GO.PL=SUB
'I said that they **didn't** go anywhere at any time.' (in situ negation)

[2]There is also the complement-taking verb *o2* 'not want,' but I am not including it in this list because it is intrinsically negative. I discuss negative lexicalizations in §20.3.

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b. ***ta4ma3*** *ni̱31ʔĩ3 tʃi3ʔu3 na4 ɲu̱1ʔgu2 ʎe1ʔta5 na1ʔĩ31ʔ*
**ta4ma3** ni̱31=ʔĩ3 tʃi3=u3 na4 ɲu̱1ʔgu2 ʎe1ʔta5
NEG 3=ACC 1SG.SBJ=say COMP when? where?
na1=ĩ43=ʔ
3.SBJ.SC=go.PL=SUB
'I didn't say when they went someplace.'
NOT: 'I said they went nowhere at any time.'
[LWG 2024.1.55]

### 20.1.3 Answer to polar questions

Standard negation *ta4ma3* is a common way to give a negative answer to a polar question, like my polar question to the speaker in (11).

(11) a. AHS: ɟe4ʔgu4ma4ta2ã4 na4mu4 ɟa1 mango?
'Were there a lot of mango trees back then?'
b. YCG: **ta4ma3**
'No.'
[YCG HALDI 8:44]

To give a negative answer to a polar question which contains negation, speakers use negation (12). That is, a question of the form 'Not P?' gets the answer 'No (Not P),' not 'Yes (Not P)."

(12) a. DGG: ***ta4ma3*** *ni41ʔĩ4 na1seca?ĩ4 e3ga4 i2na1bę̱1ʔgu2*
**ta4ma3** ni41ʔĩ4 na1=seca=?ĩ4 e3ga4
NEG FOC 3.SBJ.SC=SP:become.dry=SUB COND
i2=na1=bę̱1=gu2
VCL=3.SBJ.SC=uproot=COND
'**Doesn't** it (wild cane) get dry if you pull it up by the roots?'
b. RGW: *ta4ma3*
'No (the cane doesn't get dry).'
[20170527_002, 20:38]

Besides standard negation, people also use other negations, such as *ta4gu2ma3* 'never' in (13b), to answer polar questions. It is common to repeat the negative answer to a polar question as a form of uptake, as RGW does in (13c).

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(13) a. RGW: *ɟe5a2ma4 ni41ʔĭ4 i4 na1ʎu3gɨ5ʔĭ4*
ɟe5a2=ma4 ni41ʔĭ4 i4 na1=ʎu3=gɨ4=ʔĭ4
there.DIST.ALL=toward FOC DET(IV) 3.SBJ.SC=arrive=PL=SUB
'Do they get all the way there?'

b. AYM: *ta4gu2ma3*
'Never'

c. RGW: *ta4gu2ma3*
'Never'

[tca_20170527_disc_002, 28:27]

The only environment where the standard negation *ta4ma3* can't occur is in negative imperatives, which are discussed in §20.7.

### 20.1.4 Scope of negation

In general, negation scopes over the material to its right. This is easiest to see in the presence of indefinite pronouns. Indefinites are interpreted as negative if they occur after negation, as shown by the minimal pair in (14) and (15).

(14) Context: I'm a teacher and I have a mixed-up stack of student papers. **One** paper has a person's name written wrong.
*te1ʔe5* ***ta4ma3*** *ni31ʔĭ3 ta4ʍa̱1e5ga1*
te1ʔe5 **ta4ma3** ni31=ʔĭ3 ta4=ʍa̱1=e5ga1
who?(I) NEG 3(IV)=ACC 3(I).SBJ=know=NI:name
'**Someone**$_i$ **doesn't** know his/her$_j$ name.' [LWG 2017.3.155]

(15) Context: All of the papers have this person's name written wrong.
***ta4ma3*** *te1ʔe5 ni31ʔĭ3 ta4ʍa̱1e5ga1*
**ta4ma3** te1ʔe5 ni31=ʔĭ3 ta4=ʍa̱1=e5ga1
NEG who?(I) 3=ACC 3(I).SBJ=know=NI:name
'**No one**$_i$ **knows** his/her$_j$ name.' [LWG 2017.3.155]

## 20.2 Other clausal negations

Besides standard negation, there are three other basic clausal negations: *ta4gu2ma3* 'never,' *tau4ta2* 'not yet,' and *bai51* 'not at all.' Other clausal negations do exist, but they are negative portmanteaus (§20.4).

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### 20.2.1 *Ta4gu2ma3* 'never' and *tau4ta2* 'not yet'

I'll start with *ta4gu2ma3* 'never.' We have already seen this form an answer to polar questions in (13). This negation conveys that the event did, does, or will not occur within some contextually relevant period. (16) is a declarative example.

(16) *ɲu̱1ʔma5 rɨ1 ma3rɨ3 ta4gu2ma3 nu5a2 na4wo1e1gu1, kɨ2a4na4.*
ɲu̱1ʔma5 rɨ1 ma3rɨ3 ta4gu2ma3 nu5a2 na4=wo1e1gu1 kɨ2a4na4
now TOP PRF never here.ALL 3.SBJ=return.PL right?
'Now, they're never going back (to the Andes) from here.' [SSG HALDI 4:40]

Another clausal negation is *tau4ta2* 'not yet; still not.' As with *ta4ma3*, there is sociolinguistic variation in the form of this negation – it can also be produced with a glottal stop between the first two vowels, or with a glottal stop and a nasal rather than oral [u]. (17) provides an example of *tau4ta2* from a conversation.

(17) *na4 Ni3ʔma5 ra3ã1 ta2ʔũ4ta2 i5na4ʎu3*
na4 Ni3ʔma5 ra3ã1 ta2ʔũ4ta2 i5=na4=ʎu3
TOP personal.name TOP not.yet VCL=SBJ=arrive
'And as for Ni3ʔma5, he hasn't arrived yet / he still hasn't arrived?'
[Victoria, 43:29, AFG-LVI]

*Tau4ta2* 'not yet; still not' conveys that the negated event might be expected to happen at a later time. To express the related negative aspectual meaning 'not any more,' speakers use standard negation plus the 'perfect' marker *ma3rɨ3*, which is often reduced to just *ma3*. This collocation is shown in (18). See Chapter 14 for further discussion of the aspectual relationships between *tau4ta2* 'not yet,' *ma3rɨ3* PRF, and *=ta2ã4* 'only, still.'

(18) Context: Speaker's child used to get sick a lot, but…
***ma3 ta4ma3*** *a1dą̱2ʔwe1ʔɨ5tʃi2kɨ5ra1ĩ3ʔ*
**ma3 ta4ma3** a1=dą̱2ʔwe1=ʔɨ5tʃi2=kɨ5ra1ĩ1=ʔ
PRF NEG 3.SBJ.SC=sick=really=INFER=SUB
'S/he doesn't really get sick any more.' [MFG, LFG-MFG-LVI, 49:04]

### 20.2.2 Emphatic negation

There are both syntactic and lexical ways to convey emphatic negation. Syntactically, speakers can form focus constructions which focus a standard negation marker, as in the focus construction in (19b).

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(19) Context: Describing someone who is physically sick, but mentally and spiritually well.

a. *ai2ʔe4pe1gu2ʔĩ4, ŋe3ma2 rɨ1 i5na4me43*
ai2ʔe4pe1=gu2=ʔĩ4 ŋe3ma2 rɨ1 i5=na4=me43
inside=LOC=NMLZ(IV) DEM(IV) TOP IPFV=3.SBJ=good
'What lies inside, that (part of her), it was fine.'

b. *rɨ1* ***ta4ma3 ni4*** *a1dą2ʔwe3ʔĩ4*
rɨ1 **ta4ma3 ni4** a1=dą2ʔwe1=ʔĩ4
and **NEG** **FOC** 3.SBJ.SC=sick=SUB
'She **WASN'T** sick.'

[Victoria, AFG-LVI, 33:04]

Lexically, emphatic negation can also be expressed using the negator *bai51* 'not at all.' An example of this negation appears in (20), with the capitals in the gloss representing the exaggerated prosody (noticeably different from other 51 words) that the speaker uses on the word *bai51* in the recording.

(20) Context: Reproving the addressee, who studied English, for not teaching it to the speaker, his mother.
***bai51*** *na4 tʃo31ʔĩ3 ku1ʎu̱1ʔẽ4ʔẽ3tʃa1ʔĩ3ʔĩ4 i4 ku31ga1*
**bai51** na4 tʃo31=ʔĩ3 ku1=ʎu̱1-ʔẽ4ʔẽ3=tʃa1ʔĩ1=ʔĩ4 i4
**not.at.all** COMP 1SG=ACC 2SG.SBJ.SC=learn-CAUS=PROSP=SUB DET(IV)
ku31=ga1
2SG=voice(IV)
'You're **not** going to teach me your language **AT ALL**!' [20170527_002, RGW, 19:53]

Given the 'at all' part of my gloss in (20), it's important to note here that *bai51* is not a negative polarity item like English *at all*, i.e. something that occurs only in the scope of negation. Rather, *bai51* is the only negation in (20); it expresses negation plus emphasis; and the emphasis is what I've rendered in English as 'AT ALL.'

While *bai51* and negation focus constructions like (19)b,c express different kinds of 'emphatic' negation, it should be noted that *bai51* 'not at all' is much less frequent than negation focus. In the conversational corpus, it occurs less than half as often.

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## 20.3 Negative lexicalizations

This section covers negative lexical items which also convey some meaning besides negation, such as intrinsically negative verbs and negative indefinites.

Most of the negative lexicalizations that I will discuss can, and frequently do, bear the enclitic *=ma3*. This enclitic occurs on most quantifiers other than numerals, and I am unclear on its meaning contribution. I don't include it in the citation form of the negative lexicalizations or other quantifiers.

### 20.3.1 The negative existential

The negative existential verb is *tau2ʔ*, which alternates with the form *ta2ʔu2* in a regular pattern affecting all verb roots of the form (C)V(V)ʔ (Chapter 4.4). (21) is a conversational example of the negative existential.

(21) *ɟe3a2 na43ʔpa4ĩ2gɨ4, más i4 de43ʔa5 na4 na4ta2ʔu2, bombril na4 na4ta2ʔu2.*
ɟe3a2 na43=ʔpa4ĩ2=gɨ4 más i4 de43ʔa5 na4
DEM.DIST(IV) DFLT.POSS=dish(IV)=PL SP:more DET(IV) water(IV) TOP
na4=tau2ʔ bombril na4 na4=tau2ʔ
3.SBJ=NEG.EXIST SP:steel.wool TOP 3.SBJ=NEG.EXIST
'Look at those dishes! And besides that, there's no water, there's no steel wool (to wash them).' [LFG, 20180707, 7:38]

Using the negative existential with *ma3rɨ3*, just like standard negation with *ma3rɨ3*, leads to the reading 'not any more,' as shown in (22).

(22) *o3wa4ru1 ta2ʔa2ʔ ma3 na4tau2ʔkɨ5ra1ĩ1ma3*
o3wa4ru1 ta2ʔa2ʔ ma3 na4=tau2ʔ=kɨ5ra1ĩ1=ma3
Armored.Catfish almost PRF 3.SBJ=NEG.EXIST=INFER=INFO
'There are almost no *o3wa4ru1* fish any more.' [YCG HALDI 27:16]

The negative existential can be used to form a negative possessive predicate (as can the positive existential, for a positive predicate). In this construction, the possessum is expressed as the subject of the negative existential, and the possessor is expressed as an adjunct marked with the beneficiary case (23).

(23) *nɨ31ʔĩ5 ta2ʔu2 i4 na43e4ĩ1gɨ4*
nɨ31=ʔĩ5 ta2ʔu2 i4 na43=e4ĩ1=gɨ4
3=BEN NEG.EXIST DET(IV) DFLT.POSS=spice/mixture=PL
'It didn't have seasonings.' [2019_C3-C7_CCI, CG7, 28:16]

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### 20.3.2 The negative possessive verb

While you can form a negative possessive predicate using the negative existential, as in (23), the much more common strategy is to use the negative possessive verb *ʎe4* 'not have'.

This verb takes the possessor as its subject, but its object syntax is morphologically unique, because it is required to incorporate the possessum (object). If the possessum of *ʎe4* 'not have' is an inalienable noun, it encliticizes directly to the verb root, following the regular pattern of noun incorporation. (24) gives an attested example of *ʎe4* 'not have' with an inalienable possessum.

(24) *na4ʎe4pe3a5tɨ1 a4 ɲa4a2 ko3wa4ru1 dɨ1ʔ*
na4=ʎe4=pe3a5tɨ1 a4 ɲa4a2 ko3wa4ru1 dɨ1ʔ
3.SBJ=lack=NI:wing DET(IV) DEM.PROX(IV) horse(IV) look!
'Look, this (toy) horse doesn't have wings.' [2019_C10-C13_CCI, CG, 23:23]

If the possessum of *ʎe4* 'not have' is alienable, it still incorporates into the verb, but it follows the incorporation pattern for alienable nouns (Chapter 12). That is, the alienable incorporation enclitic *=a1rɨ3* appears after the verb root, then the alienable possessum, then the additional alienable incorporation enclitic *=ą̃1*. The enclitic *=ma3*, discussed at the top of this section, can intervene between *=a1rɨ3* and the noun, as shown in (25). However, no other morphology ever appears between the alienable incorporation enclitic and the noun. Any other suffixes or enclitics, such as *=gɨ4* PL in (25), appear after the second alienable incorporation enclitic.

(25) *tʃa3ʎe4a1rɨ3ma3 a3ru4tʃu1ą̃1gɨ4, tʃa3ʎe4a1rɨ3ma3 a3tʃu4ka1ra1ą̃1ʔgɨ4.*
tʃa3=ʎe4=a1rɨ3=ma3 a3ru4tʃu1=ą̃1=gɨ4
1SG.SBJ=lack=AL.INCORP=INFO rice=AL.INCORP=PL
tʃa3=ʎe4=a1rɨ3=ma3 a3tʃu4ka1ra1=ą̃1=gɨ4
1SG.SBJ=lack=AL.INCORP=INFO sugar=AL.INCORP=PL
'I don't have rice, I don't have sugar.' [Victoria, LFG-MFG-LVI, 65:16]

### 20.3.3 The verb *o2* 'not want'

The verb *o2* has a phase verb sense and a modal sense. In the phase verb sense, it refers to giving up or stopping a habitual action, as in (26). This sense has a negative meaning component, since it conveys that the subject does not have the habit at the time of the predicate. However, it's probably better analyzed as a change-of-state verb than a negative lexicalization.

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(26) *Tu3pa3na1ã1ʔĩ5 a1ʔõ2gɨ4ą̃1gu2 ni41ʔĩ4 nɨ31ʔĩ3 na1ʔo2e2ʔĩ4 ga4 ɟe4ma4 na4ʔ, na1ɟɨ51ʔi3e3gɨ5ʔ.*
Tu3pa3na1=ã1ʔĩ5 a1=õ2=gɨ4=ą̃1=gu2 ni41ʔĩ4 nɨ31=ʔĩ3
Christian.God=BEN 3.SBJ.SC=believe=PL=3>3.SC=SUB FOC 3=ACC
na1=o2-e3=ʔĩ4 ga4 ɟe4ma4 na4ʔ
3.SBJ.SC=stop.habit-PL=SUB DET.REM.PST DEM.REM.PST COMP
na1=ɟɨ51ʔi3-e3=gɨ4=ʔ
3.SBJ.SC=celebrate.girls'.puberty.ritual-PL=PL=SUB
'When they started believing in the Christian God, they gave up celebrating *ɟɨ51ʔi3* (the girls' puberty ritual).' [LGC HALDI]

Besides the phase verb sense, *o2* also has a negative modal sense 'not want,' which takes a complement clause (27). It is clear that this sense is a negative lexicalization because indefinites in the complement clause are interpreted as negative indefinites in the absence of other negation, as shown in (28).

(27) *ŋe3ma2kɺ̨1 ni4 ma3rɨ3 ku3tʃa1ʔo2tʃi4re5ʔĩ4 a4 tʃo1ma1ʔ na4 tʃo1we5 ku1ɲa31ʔĩ4*
ŋe3ma2=kɺ̨1 ni4 ma3rɨ3
DEM.MULTI(IV)=PURP FOC PRF
ku3=tʃa1ʔ=o2=tʃi4rɺ̨1=ʔĩ4 a4 tʃo1ma1 na4
2SGOBJ=1SG.SBJ.SC=not.want=actually=SUB DET(IV) 1SG.Pro COMP
tʃo1=we5 ku1=ɲa43=ʔĩ4
1SG=after 2SG.SBJ.SC=run.SG=SUB
'That's why I don't want you running after (= following) me any more.' [SCG-YCG-DGC]

(28) *na4ʔo2e3 na4 te1ʔe5ma4ã2 ɟa1de43ʔa2ʔĩ4*
na4=o2-e3 na4 te1ʔe5=ma4ã2 ɟa1=de43ʔa2=ʔĩ4
3.SBJ=not.want-PL COMP who?=COMINST 3.SBJ.SC=talk=SUB
'They don't want to talk to anyone / They want to talk to no one.' [LWG 2024.1.54]

Related to the negative modal sense, *o2* 'not want' also has various senses as a non-complement-taking psych verb, such as 'dislike a person.'

### 20.3.4 Negative indefinites

As (28) and Chapter 8.3 have shown, one way to express a negative indefinite meaning like English 'no one' in Ticuna is to use an indefinite pronoun within

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the scope of negation. However, this is not the only way to form a negative indefinite. The language also has negative indefinite pronouns equivalent to 'no one/nothing', which can also function as negative quantifiers equivalent to 'none/no.' Additionally, there are two negative locative adverbs equivalent to 'nowhere.' All of these negative indefinites are transparently morphologically derived from the negative existential verb *tau2ʔ*.

#### 20.3.4.1 Negative indefinite pronouns/quantifiers with noun class

I will start with the series of negative indefinite pronouns/quantifiers, which is shown in Table 20.1. When used as quantifiers, these forms agree in noun class with the noun they quantify, and when used as pronouns, they agree in noun class with the antecedent. All of the negative indefinite pronouns/quantifiers are regularly morphologically derived from the negative existential verb *tau2ʔ*, using the same nominalizers as a relative clause (Chapter 23). I'll use the class IV form, *ta2ʔu2ʔĩ4* 'none,' as the citation form for this paradigm.

Table 20.1: Forms of the negative quantifier 'none' (DGG 2017.3.197-199)

| Noun Class | Quantifier Form | Example Phrase | Example Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| I | *ta2ʔu5ʔe3* | *ta2ʔu5ʔe3ma2 ɟa4 pe3tɨ4ka1* | 'no marbles' |
| II | *ta2ʔu2kɨ3* | *ta2ʔu2kɨ3 ɟa4 tʃe3ra1* | 'no handsaws' |
| III | *ta2ʔu5ne1* | *ta2ʔu5ne1ma3 ɟa1 ʎu31e3* | 'no canoes' |
| IV | *ta2ʔu2ʔĩ4* | *ta2ʔu2ʔĩ4 i4 ta3ra5* | 'no machetes' |
| V | *ta2ʔu2kɨ3* | *ta2ʔu2kɨ3 i4 pa4kɨ3* | 'no young women' |

These are isolated phrases elicited to form a paradigm, so here is an elicited example of the quantifier use of *ta2ʔu2ʔĩ4* 'none' in a sentence:

(29) *ta2ʔu5ne1ma3 ɟa1 u3ku1ʔĩ3 tʃa3dau2*
ta2ʔu5ne1ma3 ɟa1 u3ku1=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=dau2
none(III) DET(III) needle(III)=ACC 1SG.SBJ=see
'I saw no needles.' [LWG 2017.2.35]

People had no trouble producing elicited examples, such as (29), where *ta2ʔu2ʔĩ4* 'none' quantifies a noun. However, there are no examples in the corpus where speakers actually use this item to quantify a noun in argument position. Instead, people typically use *ta2ʔu2ʔĩ4* and morphologically related forms as pronouns. (30) shows this structure with a class IV antecedent, while (31) is an example with a class III antecedent.

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(30) *ma3ri3* ***ta2ʔu2ʔĩ4ma3*** *ŋe5ma2 tʃa3ʔi2e5ga1 na4 ma3 ŋe2ʔa4 tʃa1ri3tʃaɻ2ʔĩ4*
tʃa1ri3=tʃau1=ʔĩ4
ma3ri3 **ta2ʔu2ʔĩ4**=ma3 ŋe5ma2 tʃa3=i2=e5ga1 na4 ma3
PRF **none(IV)**=INFO there.ANA.ALL 1SG.SBJ=do=WEAK.PROSP COMP PRF
ŋe2ʔa4
there.DIST.LOC 1SG.SBJ.SC=bored=SUB
'So then I **couldn't do anything** and I got bored of being there.' [AFG, AFG-LVI]

(31) ***ta2ʔu5ne1*** *ti31ʔna1 ta4na4*
**ta2ʔu5ne1** ti31=na1 ta4=na4
**none(III)** 3(I)=RCP 3(I).SBJ=give.PLO
'S/he gave them **none**.' [LFG-MFG-LVI, FC2,]

**20.3.4.1.1 Noun class-free negative indefinite pronoun *ta2ʔu2* 'nothing'** Besides the forms listed above, which have noun class, the negative indefinite pronoun/quantifier can also appear with no noun class marker/nominalizer – that is, as the bare root *ta2ʔu2* (the same as the root of the negative existential verb). This form generally takes either the enclitic *=ma3* (32) or a case enclitic (33) instead of noun class marking. Case enclitics and *=ma3* can co-occur (34).

(32) Context: 'She's not going to give you an injection…'
*ta2ʔu2ma3 ta31ma4ã2 i5ʔe3ʔ*
ta2ʔu2=ma3 ta31=ma4ã2 i2=e3
nothing=INFO 1INCL=COM do=NMLZ(I)
'She's doing nothing to us-incl.' [Lizeth, LFG-MFG-LVI, 13:54]

(33) *ta2ʔu2kɻ1ta2ã4 a3ri1 ta31ʔa3ki1ʔĩ3 ta4nu4gi4*
ta2ʔu2=kɻ1=ta2ã4 a3ri1 ta31=a3ki1=ʔĩ3 ta4=nu4=gi4
nothing=PURP=only INFO IMPERS=child=ACC IMPERS.SBJ=angry.with=PL
'You (generic) shouldn't just get angry with your children over nothing.' [SCG-YCG-DGC]
speaker attribution

(34) *ŋi31ma4ã2ta2ã4, ta2ʔu2wa5ma3 ŋi31ʔĩ3 na4tɻ1, bai51 ɲu1ʔgu2.*
ŋi31=ma4ã2=ta2ã4 ta2ʔu2=wa5=ma3 ŋi31=ʔĩ3 na4=tɻ1
3(V)=COM=only nothing=ALL=INFO 3(V)=ACC 3(IV).SBJ=discard
bai51 ɲu1ʔgu2
not.at.all when?
'(He) just (went) with her, because he couldn't leave her anywhere, not at

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any time.' [LWG jek 2:51]

**20.3.4.1.2 Human negative indefinite pronoun *ta2ʔu5e3* 'nobody'** The human negative indefinite 'nobody' is expressed with the Class I form of the negative quantifier, *ta2ʔu5e3* (35). This is the same noun class as the positive-polarity human indefinite pronoun, *te1ʔe5* 'someone/who,' which is always Class I (Chapter 8.3). Unlike *ta2ʔu2* 'nothing,' *ta2ʔu5e3* 'nobody' can occur alone, without either a case enclitic or *=ma3* (35).

(35) *ɲu̱1ʔma5 ta4e3rɨ1 ni41ʔĩ4 ta2ʔu5e3 ta4ɲa43 kɨ4, pa2 õ2*
ɲu̱1ʔma5 ta4=e3rɨ1 ni41ʔĩ4 ta2ʔu5e3 ta4=ɲa43 kɨ4 pa2 õ2
now FUT=CNG FOC nobody(I) 3(I).SBJ=run.SG right? VOC baby.VOC
'Now no one is going to run off anywhere, right baby?' [C27's Father's Mother, 2019_C27_CCI, 43:10]

'Nobody' can also bear case, *=ma3*, or both. For example, it takes the beneficiary case and *=ma3* in (36).

(36) *ta2ʔu5ʔe3ą̃1ʔĩ5ma3 ĩ3nɨ2ʔ*
ta2ʔu5ʔe3=ą̃1ʔĩ5=ma3 ĩ3nɨ3=ʔ
nobody=BEN=INFO listen=SUB
'She doesn't listen to anyone.' [AFG-MFG-LVI, MFG,]

While it is not common, people sometimes use the Class IV negative pronoun/quantifier *ta2ʔu2ʔĩ4* 'nothing/none' (not the noun-class-free form *ta2ʔu2*) with human reference, as in (37). This is similar to how the positive-polarity general indefinite *tą̱2kɨ4* 'something/what' is generally non-human, but is sometimes used with human reference as 'someone/who' (Chapter 8.3).

(37) Context: No one cares about me! Or about the person I'm describing.
*tʃo31rɨ5ĩ1 ma3, ma3 me31 wi31ʔ **ta2ʔu2ʔĩ4**ma3 tɨ31ma2ką̱1 a3ʔu1ra3ʔĩ4 ma2na4 wi31ʔi5ʔ.*
tʃo31=rɨ5ĩ1 ma3 me31 wi31ʔ **ta2ʔu2ʔĩ4**=ma3 tɨ31ma2=ką̱1
1SG=like PRF EPIST CONT.FOC **nobody**=INFO 3(I)=PURP
au3ʔ=ʔɨ1ra1=ʔĩ4 ma2na4 wi31ʔi5
cry=Deintens=SUB EPIST CONT.FOC
'She's like me now, probably **no one** would cry for her (if she died).' [AFG, AFG-LVI 7:33]

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**20.3.4.1.3 Negative indefinites as predicates** The negative pronouns/quantifiers listed in Table 20.1 can function as predicates. This seems to be more common if you omit the subject, as in (38).

(38) *a31, ta2ʔu5ne1, ɟe5a2ma4 na4kɨ3wa3wa5?*
a31 **ta2ʔu5ne1** ɟe5a2=ma4 na4=kɨ3wa3=wa5
INTJ **none(III)** there.DIST=towards 3=side=ALL
'Oh, **it (class III) isn't there**, over there next to it?' [2019_C31-C32_CCI, CG, 3:55]

Using a negative pronoun/quantifier as a main predicate is different from using a subordinate verb as a main predicate. When subordinate verbs are used as main predicates, they take the subordinating enclitic *=ʔ(ĩ4)*, regardless of the noun class of the subject (Chapter 25.2). But when a negative pronoun/quantifier is used as a main predicate, it takes a noun-class-specific nominalizer/relativizer agreeing in noun class with the subject. Therefore, the verb in in (38) has the class III nominalizer *=ʔĩ5ne1*, rather than the general subordinator *=ʔ(ĩ4)*.

**20.3.4.1.4 Unexpected negative uses of positive indefinites** Interrogative/indefinite pronouns are read as negative indefinites when within the scope of negation (cf. §28). Additionally, the corpus contains some examples where interrogative/indefinite pronouns are not in the scope of negation, but are still interpreted as negative. (39) is an example of this reading with the indefinite pronoun *tą2kɨ4* 'what/who,' and (40) shows the same reading with *ɲų1ʔgu2* 'when.'

(39) *na4 ɲų1ʔma5ã1kɨ2 rɨ1 tą2ʔkɨ4 tʃo31ʔĩ3 na4rɨ3ŋɨ2ʔẽ4ẽ3 a4 pu3ra3kɨ4wa5*
na4 ɲų1ʔma5=ã1kɨ2 rɨ1 **tą2ʔkɨ4** tʃo31=ʔĩ3 na4rɨ3=ŋɨ2ʔẽ4ẽ3 a4
COMP now=ADVBZ TOP **what/who?** 1SG=ACC 3.SBJ=help DET(IV)
pu3ra3kɨ4=wa5
work(IV)=ALL
'The way it is now, **nobody (lit. what/who?)** helps me with the work.' [SCG-YCG-DGC]

(40) *ɲų1ʔgu2 na4ʔmą1ma4ã2 nu5a2 na4ʔũ43i1ʔ*
ɲų1ʔgu2 na4ʔ=mą1=ma4ã2 nu5a2 na4=ũ43=i1ʔ
**when?** 3(IV)=wife=COM here.ALL 3(IV).SBJ=go.SG=INFO
'He **never (lit. when?)** comes here with his wife.' [SCG-YCG-DGC]

Since Ticuna has no obligatory morphological marking of questions, the negative readings of (39–40) could potentially arise because they are positive 'rhetorical' questions that expect negative answers. This type of structure does exist in

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other Amazonian languages (Skilton 2017, Singerman in prep). But a reversed polarity question analysis is speculative at best – people do not translate examples like (39–40) as questions, and in conversations, addressees do not answer them (i.e., do not observably treat them as questions).

### 20.3.5 Negative modals

Ticuna has two intrinsically negative modals. They are *tau2ʔã1kɨ2* 'impossible' and *tau2ʔkɨ3rɨ3wa5* 'impossible.'

Morphologically, both negative modals are derived from the negative existential *tau2ʔ*. *Tau2ʔã1kɨ2* is transparently derived with the productive adverbializer *-ã1kɨ2*. In the form *tau2ʔkɨ3rɨ3wa5*, the *tau2ʔ* is the root; the [kɨ3rɨ3] segments can't be identified with any existing morpheme; and the [wa5] segments presumably come from the allative case enclitic. Despite the presence of [wa5], however, form does not display the distribution of a noun with the allative case (e.g., it does not participate in the allative/locative alternation described in Chapter 11).

Semantically, both of the negative modals are root modals, meaning they have ability, circumstantial, and deontic interpretations, but not epistemic ones (see Kratzer 1981 for these terms). To start, the following corpus examples give two ability/circumstantial readings, one of *tau2ʔkɨ3rɨ3wa5* (41) and the other of *tau2ʔã1kɨ2* (42).

(41) Context: A party of children has been abandoned in the forest.
*__ta2ʔu2kɨ3rɨ3wa5__ na4wo1e1gu1 rɨ1 nai3ne3kɨ3gu2 na4pe43gɨ4ma3re3*
**ta2ʔu2kɨ3rɨ3wa5** na4=wo1e1gu1 rɨ1 nai3ne3kɨ3=gu2
**impossible** 3.SBJ=return.PL and forest=LOC
na4=pe43=gɨ4=ma3re3
3.SBJ=sleep=PL=just
'(Because they didn't know the route,) they **couldn't** return, and they just slept in the forest.' [LWG tak 2:42]

(42) Context: Trying to access someone else's account with a company.
*huellaã5ʔĩ4 ŋe3ma2e3rɨ4 wa31ʔi5 ni41ʔĩ4 __tau2ã1kɨ2__ to1gu5e3 ã4kɨ5ʔ*
huella=ɰ̃1=ʔĩ4 ŋe3ma2=e3rɨ4 wa31ʔi5
SP:fingerprint=have.al=NMLZ(IV) DEM.MULTI(IV)=INFO:CNG CONT.FOC
ni41ʔĩ4 **tau2ã1kɨ2** to1gu5e3 ã4kɨ4=ʔ
FOC **impossible** other(I) HESIT=SUB
'(Accounts) that have fingerprints (on file as a security measure), as for those, another person **can't** do that (access them).' [EWI, 20170527_002, 6:41]

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Both modals also have deontic readings. A deontic reading of *tau2ʔkɨ3rɨ3wa5* appears in (43) and a similar reading of *tau2ʔã1kɨ2* appears in (44).

(43) Context: A church congregation wants a guest pastor to stay, but he wants to leave, because he has two grandchildren to take care of. The congregation's pastor says,
***tau2a1kɨ2ma3*** *nu2a2 ta4na3tʃu̯1ʔu3 ni41ʔĩ4 ɟa4 pastor.*
**tau2a1kɨ2ma3** nu2a2 ta4=na3=tʃu̯1ʔu3 ni41ʔĩ4 ɟa4
**impossible** here.LOC 1INCL=3.OBJ=withhold FOC DET(IV) pastor
SP:pastor(IV)
'We **shouldn't** stop the pastor (from leaving) here.' [NWG-ABS]

(44) ***tau2ʔkɨ3rɨ3wa5*** *paseowa5 ʌe1ʔta5 tɨ31ʔĩ3 ã3ne3ẽ4ẽ3kɨ5ra1ĩ1ma3re2ʔĩ4*
**tau2ʔkɨ3rɨ3wa5** paseo=wa5 ʌe1ʔta5 tɨ31=ʔĩ3
**impossible** SP:stroll=ALL where? 1INCL=ACC
ã3ne3-ʔẽ4ẽ3=kɨ5ra1ĩ1=ma3re3=ʔĩ4
embarassed-CAUS=INFER=just=SUB
'He **can't/shouldn't** (go for) walks anywhere because he just embarrasses us.' [C3 and C7's Mothers' Neighbor, C3-C7 CCI,]

Both negative modals express the negation of existential quantification ('it is impossible to Verb'), not universal quantification ('it is not obligatory to Verb'). The second kind of readings never occur in the corpus, and Lilia found them unacceptable in examples like (45) and (46). This is an example of Horn's (1991) generalization that negative quantifiers always express nonexistence.

(45) *tau2ã1kɨ2ma3 ŋẽ2ʔma4 tʃa3ʔĩ2na4gɨ4*
tau2ã1kɨ2ma3 ŋẽ2ʔma4 tʃa3=ĩ2na4gɨ4
impossible there.ANA.LOC 1SG.SBJ=climb.SG
'I can't climb that.'
   a. Acceptable in this context: Indicating a pillar with no footholds. Climbing it is impossible.
   b. Unacceptable in this context: Indicating a pillar that is climbable. However, climbing it is not mandatory.

   [LWG 2024.1.53]

(46) Context: It's mandatory to wear a motorcycle helmet in Leticia, but optional in Caballococha.
*#tau2kɨ3rɨ3wa5 ku3ʔã3pa4te2e3*

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#tau2kɨ3rɨ3wa5 ku3=ã3=pa4te2e3
#impossible 2SG.SBJ=have/wear=NI:hat
(Intended reading: 'You don't have to wear a helmet.')
Comment: This sounds like wearing a helmet is prohibited (i.e., negation of existential). [LWG 2024.1.53]

There is no clear semantic difference between the two negative modals. They are both acceptable in all root modal meanings, and they both express high negation. However, they do **not** function as epistemic modals. To express epistemic modality with a negative proposition, you use an epistemic modal plus standard negation, as in (47).

(47) Context: Two children are hiding. I've looked everywhere in my house, but I can't find them. I can say,
*ta4ma3 kʉ1ʔa5 ni41ʔĩ4 i4 ŋẽ2ʔma4 ɟa1kʉ1gɨ5ʔĩ4*
ta4ma3 kʉ1ʔa5 ni41ʔĩ4 i4 ŋẽ2ʔma4 ɟa1=kʉ1=gɨ4=ʔĩ4
NEG EPIST FOC DET(IV) there.ANA.LOC 3.SBJ.SC=hide=PL=SUB
'It's not possible that they could be hiding there.' [DGG, 2017.3.81]

## 20.4 Negative portmanteaus

Many negation markers form portmanteau morphemes with second-position clitics. The negations involved in the negative portmanteau morphemes are *ta4ma3* 'standard negation'; *ta4gu2ma3* 'never'; *tau4ta2* 'not yet'; *tau2ʔ* 'negative existential'; and all forms which appear to be morphologically derived from *tau2ʔ* (i.e., the negative modals and quantifiers). The second-position clitics involved in portmanteau formation are *ta4* FUT and *tʃi4* CNTF. Other second-position clitics, such as *ta1* 'also,' don't fuse with negation.

I describe the portmanteau morphemes for each negation in the order listed above.

### 20.4.1 Portmanteaus of standard negation

The standard negation *ta4ma3* fuses with *ta4* FUT to create a portmanteau. The portmanteau can be pronounced either *ta2ʔũ4ta4ã2*, as shown in (48), or *ta2ʔũ4ta4ma2*, with an onset in the final syllable.

All negative portmanteaus display the same alternation between final [ã] and final [ma]. I will cite the forms with [ma]. The tone of the syllable is often difficult to identify. It varies between tone 2 and tone 3 across the paradigm.

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(48) ***tau2ta4ã2*** *i5tʃa3ʔi2mɨ1kɨ3e3*
**tau2ta4ã2** i5=tʃa3=ɨ2=mɨ1kɨ3-e3
**NEG+FUT** IPFV=1SG.SBJ=make=NI:companion-PL
'I **won't** accompany them.' [AFG-LVI]

Using the portmanteau is extremely common in the corpus materials, but it seems to be optional. Angel and Lilia (49) both found it acceptable to use *ta4ma3* Neg and *ta4* FUT together rather than forming a portmanteau.

(49) a. *ta4ma3 ta4 tʃa3pa4e2ta3*
ta4ma3 ta4 tʃa3=pa4e2ta3
NEG FUT 1SG.SBJ=play.music
b. *ta4ma3 tʃa3pa4e2ta3 ta4*
ta4ma3 tʃa3=pa4e2ta3 ta4
NEG 1SG.SBJ=play.music FUT
c. *ta2ʔũ4ta4ã2 tʃa3pa4e2ta3*
ta2ʔũ4ta4ã2 tʃa3=pa4e2ta3
NEG+FUT 1SG.SBJ=play.music
'I won't play music.' [LWG 2024.1.50]

Standard negation also fuses with *tʃi4* CNTF to form the portmanteau *ta2ʔũ4tʃi4ma2*.

(50) ***tau2tʃi4ã2*** *ni31ʔna1 tʃa1a3mu2ʔĩ4 i4 ɲa4a2*
**tau2tʃi4ã2** ni31=na1 tʃa1=a3=mu2=ʔĩ4 i4
**NEG+CNTF** 3=RCP 1SG.SBJ.SC=3.OBJ=give:ANIMO=SUB DET(IV)
ɲa4a2
DEM.PROX(IV)
'I **wouldn't** have given him/her this one.' [20180707, LFG,]

The counterfactual portmanteau is optional, like the future portmanteau. That is, it is grammatical to use standard negation and *tʃi4* CNTF together (51).

(51) a. *ta4ma3 tʃi4 tʃa3pa4e2ta3*
ta4ma3 tʃi4 tʃa3=pa4e2ta3
NEG CNTF 1SG.SBJ=play.music
b. *ta4ma3 tʃa3pa4e2ta3 tʃi4*
ta4ma3 tʃa3=pa4e2ta3 tʃi4
NEG 1SG.SBJ=play.music CNTF

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c. *ta2ʔũ4tʃi4ma2 tʃa3pa4e2ta3*
ta2ʔũ4tʃi4ma2 tʃa3=pa4e2ta3
NEG+CNTF 1SG.SBJ=play.music
'I wouldn't have played music.' [LWG 2024.1.50]

Both the future and the counterfactual portmanteaus with standard negation can be used independently as prohibitive interjections, like 'Don't!'. I discuss this further in §20.7.

The future and counterfactual portmanteaus are both clearly formed on a negative root of the form [ta2ʔũ4], while most other negative expressions in Cushillococha have the root [tau2ʔ] with no rise and no nasality on the high vowel. [ta2ʔũ4] is the form of standard negation in some Colombian varieties of Ticuna (see e.g. Santos 2012). For most Cushillococha speakers, however, the [ta2ʔũ4] form exists only in portmanteaus and as a negative imperative marker (§20.7).

### 20.4.2 Portmanteaus of *ta4gu2ma3* 'never'

The portmanteaus of ta4gu2ma3 'never' are *ta4gu2ta4ma3* for *ta4* FUT (52) and *ta4gu2tʃi4ma3* for *tʃi4* CNTF (53).

(52) Context: 'If someone is always traveling, then...'
***ta4gu2ta4ta2ã4*** *ɲu̯1ʔ me31ã2 i5na4ʔã3tʃi5ĩ1e3ɾɨ4*
**ta4gu2ta4ta2ã4** ɲu̯1ʔ me31ã2 i5=na4=ã3=tʃi5ĩ1=e3ɾɨ4
**never+FUT** when? well IPFV=3.SBJ=have=NI:house=INFO:CNG
'They **will never** really have a home, as I was saying.' [AFG-LVI,]

(53) ***ta4gu2tʃi4ma2*** *ku31ma4ã2 tʃi3de43ʔa2.*
**ta4gu2tʃi4ma2** ku31=ma4ã2 tʃi3=de43ʔa2
**never+CNTF** 2SG=COM 1SG.SBJ=talk
'(If you had married him,) I **would never** have spoken to you (again).'
[DGG dft 4:50]

These portmanteaus are clearly formed by inserting the second-position clitic into the stem 'never,' between [ta4gu2] – which doesn't exist as an independent morpheme – and [ma3], which does.

However, I analyze the 'never' forms as portmanteaus, not as the outcome of a regular morphological process, because no other morphology ever appears between [ta4gu2] and [ma3]. In particular, the items *ta1* 'also' and *ta2ã4* 'still' are second-position clitics that otherwise behave exactly like *ta4* FUT and *tʃi4* CNTF. However, they don't form portmanteaus with 'never'. For example, it is correct to

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collocate 'never' and 'also' as independent words in (54a,b), but Lilia was unable to interpret the hypothetical portmanteau of 'never' and 'also' in (54c).

(54) a. *ta4gu2ma3 ta1 tʃa3pa4e2ta3*
ta4gu2ma3 ta1 tʃa3=pa4e2ta3
never also 1SG.SBJ=play.music

b. *ta4gu2ma3 tʃa3pa4e2ta3 ta1*
ta4gu2ma3 tʃa3=pa4e2ta3 ta1
never 1SG.SBJ=play.music also

c. **ta4gu2ta1ma3 tʃa3pa4e2ta3*
*ta4gu2ta1ma3 tʃa3=pa4e2ta3
*never+also (hypothetical form) 1SG.SBJ=play.music

'I also never play music.' [LWG 2024.1.50]

### 20.4.3 Portmanteaus of *tau4ta2* 'not yet'

It is much harder to identify the portmanteau forms of *tau4ta2* 'not yet' than the equivalent forms of standard negation and *ta4gu2ma3* 'never'. Lilia and Angel volunteered multiple forms for these portmanteaus and had trouble identifying which forms corresponded to which second-position clitics. This may be for phonological reasons. Most possible portmanteau forms of 'not yet' sound similar to the portmanteaus of standard negation, or to concatenative forms made up of *tau4ta2* 'not yet' plus the semantically related enclitic *ta2ã4* 'still.' This phonological similarity also makes it difficult to identify portmanteaus of *tau4ta2* 'not yet' in texts.

With all of these qualifications, based on elicitation the portmanteau of *tau4ta2* 'not yet' with *ta4* FUT seems to be *tau4ta2ta2ã4* (55), and the portmanteau with *tʃi4* CNTF appears to be *ta2ʔũ4tʃi4ta2* (56). These forms, unlike the portmanteaus of 'never,' are not simply concatenative. For example, 'not yet CNTF' has nasality on the root portion, but neither 'not yet' nor the counterfactual has nasality in isolation.

(55) *tau4ta2ta2ã4 tʃa3pa4e2ta3*
tau4ta2ta2ã4 tʃa3=pa4e2ta3
not.yet+FUT 1SG.SBJ=play.music
'I will not yet play music.' [LWG 2024.1.50]

(56) *tʃo1ma1 rɨ1 ta2ʔũ2tʃi4ta2 ni41ʔĩ4 i4 tʃa1ʔã3te5ʔĩ4*

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tʃo1ma1 ri1 ta2ʔũ2tʃi4ta2 ni41ʔĩ4 i4
1SG.TOP TOP not.yet+CNTF FOC DET(IV)
tʃa1=ã3=te4=ʔĩ4
1SG.SBJ.SC=have=NI:husband=SUB
'As for me, I would not yet have gotten married.' [ABS 2017.3.189]

### 20.4.4 Portmanteaus of the negative existential and related forms

The negative existential verb *tau2ʔ* forms the portmanteau *tau2ʔta4ma2* with *ta4* FUT and the portmanteau *tau2ʔtʃi4ma2* with *tʃi4* CNTF, as shown in (57–58).

(57) *na4tau2ʔta4ã2 i4 nai31ne3kɨ3*
na4=tau2ʔta4ã2 i4 nai31ne3kɨ3
3.SBJ=NEG.EXIST.FUT DET(IV) forest(IV)
'There will not be forest.' [ABS 2017.3.188]

(58) *na4tau2ʔtʃi4ã2 a4 na31ʔĩ3*
na4=tau2ʔtʃi4ã2 a4 na31ʔĩ3
3.SBJ=NEG.EXIST.CNTF DET(II) Astrocaryum.chambira(II)
'There might not be chambira trees.' [ABS 2017.3.188]

These portmanteaus are morphologically similar to the portmanteaus of 'never' in that they involve a root portion, followed by the clitic, followed by [ma]. However, in 'never' [ma] is part of the citation (i.e. non-portmanteau) form of the stem, while it is absent from the citation form of the negative existential.

The other negative forms which are derived from the negative existential – the negative indefinite pronouns, quantifiers, and modals – all follow exactly the same pattern as the negative existential when combining with *ta4* FUT and *tʃi4* CNTF. That is, the clitic attaches to the final syllable of the derived negative form. It comes after any nominalizers, adverbializers, or other morphology on the negative. It is then followed by [ma] ~ [ã], as shown in Table 20.2.

### 20.4.5 Negations that don't form portmanteaus

The emphatic negation *bai51* 'not at all' and the negative possessive verb *ʎe4* 'not have, not wear, not use' do not form portmanteaus with either the future or the counterfactual. (59–60) show this for *bai51* 'not at all.' (61) gives the equivalent data for *ʎe4* 'not have'.

(59) Context: "Seriously, stop calling me to ask for that."

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Table 20.2: Portmanteaus of derived negation (LWG 2024.1.51-52)

| Form | Gloss | Future | Counterfactual |
|---|---|---|---|
| ta2ʔu5ne1 | none (III) | ta2ʔu5ne1ta4ma3 | ta2ʔu5ne1tʃi4ma3 |
| ta2ʔu2ʔĩ4 | none (IV) | ta2ʔu2ʔĩ4ta4ma3 | ta2ʔu2ʔĩ4tʃi4ma3 |
| tau2kɨ3rɨ3wa5 | impossible (negative modal) | tau2kɨ3rɨ3wa5ta4ma3 | tau2kɨ3rɨ3wa5tʃi4ma3 |
| ta2ʔu2ã1kɨ2 | impossible (negative modal) | ta2ʔu2ã1kɨ2ta4ma3 | ta2ʔu2ã1kɨ2tʃi4ma3 |

*bai51 ta4 ta1 ʎe1ʔta5 tʃo1ʔkɨ̨1 ne5ku3ka1gɨ4*
bai51 ta4 ta1 ʎe1ʔta5 tʃo1=kɨ̨1 ne5=ku3=ka1gɨ4
not.at.all FUT also where? 1SG=PURP some(III)=2SG.SBJ=ask.for
'You shouldn't call me from anywhere AT ALL to ask for it.' [AFG-LVI]

(60) *bai51 tʃi4 tʃa3pa4e2ta3*
bai51 tʃi4 tʃa3=pa4e2ta3
not.at.all CNTF 1SG.SBJ=play.music
'I wouldn't have played music at all.' [LWG 2024.1.50]

(61) *tʃa3ʎe4pa4te2e3 [ta4/tʃi4]*
tʃa3=ʎe4=pa4te2e3 [ ta4 / tʃi4 ]
1SG.SBJ=lack=NI:hat [ FUT / CNTF ]
'I [won't/wouldn't] wear a hat.' [LWG 2024.1.50]

## 20.5 Negative derivations

In Ticuna, the only constituent that can be negated is an entire clause. There are no negative derivations distinct from the normal clausal derivations.

I will start with the example of negative adjectives like English *unreadable*. There are no negative adjectives in Ticuna because there are no adjectives. To modify nouns, people simply construct relative clauses. These can be negated like any other clause, as we see with the clause 'people who you don't know' in (62).

(62) *wo3ʔo5* ***ta4ma3*** *tɨ31ʔĩ3 i2ʍa5ʔe3 ɟa4 du1ĩ3e3 ɟa4 ʎe1ʔta5 tɨ31ʔĩ3 i2ʎau1ʔgu2 rɨ1, ɲa5ta4gɨ3rɨ1, "nu2ʔma5ʔe3 pa2 ti3a1."*
wo3ʔo5 **ta4ma3** tɨ31=ʔĩ3 i2=ʍɨ̨1=e3 ɟa4
even/although NEG 3(I)=ACC IMPERS.SBJ.SC=know=NMLZ(I) DET(I)

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du1ĩ3e3 ɟa4 ʎe1ʔta5 ti31=ʔĩ3 i2=ʎau1=gu2 ri1
person(I) DET where? 3(I)=ACC IMPERS.SBJ.SC=find=COND TOP
ɲa5ta4gi3ri1 nu2ʔma5ʔe3 pa2 ti3a1
IMPERS.SBJ.QUOT hello! VOC MZ
'Even **people who you [generic] don't know**, if you [generic] run into them somewhere, you should say, "Hello auntie." [DGG dbu 2:04]

The language also does not have privative derivations of nouns like *hopeless*. Privative meanings are typically expressed using (relative clauses headed by) the verb *ʎe4* 'not have,' as shown by (63) for a privative modifier 'children who had no mother/were motherless' and (64) for a privative predicate, 'not have an education/be uneducated'.

(63) *na4ɟe2ʔma4 ga4 bu3ʔĩ4 ga4 tą1ku5e2ʔĩ4, **ʎe4a1ri3 ma3ma5ą̃1gi5ʔ***
na4=ɟe2ʔma4 ga4 bu3ʔĩ4 ga4
3.SBJ=be.in.place.REM.PST DET.REM.PST child(IV) DET.REM.PST
tą1ku5e3=ʔĩ4 **ʎe4=a1ri3**
be.orphan=NMLZ(IV) **lack=AL.INCORP**
**ma3ma5=ą̃1=gi4=ʔĩ4**
**mother=AL.INCORP=PL=NMLZ(IV)**
'Once upon a time, there were some children who were orphans, who were motherless.' [LWG owa]

(64) *i5ʎe4a1ri3 ʎu5ą̃1gi4ʔi5tʃi2ʔĩ4*
i5=ʎe4=a1ri3 ʎu1=∅=ą̃1=gi4=ʔi5tʃi2=ʔĩ4
IPFV=lack=AL.INCORP learn=NMLZ.ZERO=AL.INCORP=PL=really=SUB
'They are truly uneducated (lit. have no learning).' [SCG-YCG-DGC]

Finally, the language has no negative derivations of verbs, like English *untie, unlock*, or *disassemble*. Many of these verbs of reversal are morphologically complex in Ticuna, but they are derived with directionals (or directional-like morphemes), not with anything that resembles negation. For example, the equivalent to *disassemble* is the stem *po4na4gi4,* which is derived from the root *po4* 'hit, nail' and the directional *-na4gi4* 'up in vertical space.' Directionals are discussed in Chapter 18.

## 20.6 Restrictions on negation

Certain predicates, such as the positive existential verb and the existential and possessive senses of the locative verb, cannot be negated using standard negation.

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You must use the negative existential. However, other (non-existential) senses of these same verbs **can** be negated, and so can other possessive predicates.

### 20.6.1 The positive existential verb cannot be negated

It is ungrammatical to use *ta4ma3* 'not' or *bai51* 'not at all' to negate the positive existential verb (65). Lilia corrected both of these structures to a negative existential.

(65) a. **bai51/*ta4ma3 ta4ɟi31ʔe2ma4*
*bai51 / *ta4ma3 ta4=ɟi31ʔe2ma4
*not.at.all / *NEG 3(I).SBJ=exist(I)
(Intended: 'There aren't any [Class I].')
(LWG 2024.1.52)
Comment on both forms: Should be (65b)

b. *ta4ta2ʔu2ma3*
ta4=ta2ʔu2=ma3
3(I).SBJ=NEG.EXIST=INFO
'There aren't any [Class I].'
[LWG 2024.1.52]

It is also ungrammatical to combine the positive existential with a noun phrase that is quantified by *ta2ʔu2ʔi4* 'none' (66). Again, people corrected this structure to a negative existential verb.

(66) Context: I own a hardware store and you call and ask me if I have handsaws in stock. I reply,

a. **na4ɟi2ma4 ɟa4 ta2ʔu2kɨ3 ɟa4 tʃe3ra1*
*na4=ɟi2ma4 ɟa4 ta2ʔu2kɨ3 ɟa4 tʃe3ra1
*3(II).SBJ=exist(II) DET(II) none(II) DET(II) handsaw(II)
(Intended reading: 'There are no handsaws.') [LWG 2017.2.166, ECP 2017.2.169, DGG 2017.2.175]
DGG's comment: Should be (66b).

b. *na4ta2ʔu2ma3 ɟa4 tʃe3ra1*
na4=ta2ʔu2=ma3 ɟa4 tʃe3ra1
3(II).SBJ=NEG.EXIST=INFO DET(II) handsaw(II)
'There are no handsaws.' [DGG 2017.2.175]

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Lilia judged that you **can** negate the positive existential with forms other than standard negation, such as *ta4gu2ma3* 'never' and *tau4ta2* 'not yet' (67). There are no examples of this structure in the corpus materials, but we would not necessarily expect to find any, as the positive existential verb is very infrequent.

(67) *[ta4gu2ma3/tau4ta2] ta4ɟi31ʔe2ma4*
[ta4gu2ma3 / tau4ta2] ta4=ɟi31ʔe2ma4
[never / not.yet] 3(I).SBJ=exist(I)
'There aren't any ever/yet.' [LWG 2024.1.52]

The positive existential can also be used to form a possessive predicate. In the possessive use, the existential still cannot be negated with standard negation (68a). You must either use the negative existential (68b) or negate the positive verb with a non-standard-negation form like *tau4ta2* 'not yet' (68c).

(68) a. **ta4ma3 ku31ʔĩ5 na4ɟi2ma4 ɟa4 ka3pe5*
*ta4ma3 ku31=ʔĩ5 na4=ɟi2ma4 ɟa4 ka3pe5
*NEG 2SG=BEN 3(II).SBJ=exist(II) DET(II) coffee(II)
(Intended reading: 'You don't have any coffee [positive existential].')
Comment: Should be (68b).

b. *ku31ʔĩ5 na4ta2ʔu2ma3 ɟa4 ka3pe5*
ku31=ʔĩ5 na4=tau2ʔ=ma3 ɟa4 ka3pe5
2SG=BEN 3(II).SBJ=NEG.EXIST=INFO DET(II) coffee(II)
'You don't have any coffee [negative existential].'

c. *tau4ta2 tʃo31ʔĩ5 na4ɟi2ma4 ɟa4 ka3pe5*
tau4ta2 tʃo31=ʔĩ5 na4=ɟi2ma4 ɟa4 ka3pe5
not.yet 1SG.SBJ=BEN 3(II).SBJ=exist(II) DET(II) coffee(II)
'I don't have any coffee yet [positive existential].'
[LWG 2024.1.52]

Very differently from the existential sense, the positive existential can also be used with a purposive noun phrase to mean 'ask for, ask to speak to NP.' The 'ask for' use of the existential **can** be negated with standard negation (69).

(69) *ta4ma3 ku31ʔkạ1 tʃa3ŋe3ma2*
ta4ma3 ku31=kạ1 tʃa3=ŋe3ma2
NEG 2SG=PURP 1SG.SBJ='EXIST'
'I didn't ask for you (i.e., to talk to you).' [LWG 2024.1.53]

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### 20.6.2 Some senses of the locative verb can't be negated

As discussed in Chapter 11, the locative verb *ŋẽ2ʔma4* (remote past *ɟe2ʔma4* has two senses.

- Locative sense 'be in a place'. In this sense, the verb typically combines with an allative adjunct. In the absence of an adjunct, it is interpreted as an anaphoric locative 'be in the previously mentioned place'.
- Possessive reading 'have'. In this reading the possessum is the subject and the possessor is a beneficiary, exactly like in the possessive use of the existential verb.

The locative sense is unique to *ŋẽ2ʔma4* – you can't express location with the existential in Ticuna. Locative *ŋẽ2ʔma4* **can** take standard negation, as shown by (70).

(70) *ta4ma3 nu5a2 na4ŋẽ2ʔma4*
ta4ma3 nu5a2 na4=ŋẽ2ʔma4
NEG here.ALL 3.SBJ=be.in.place
'S/he isn't here.' [LWG 2024.1.51]

The possessive reading of *ŋẽ2ʔma4* is shared with the existential and displays exactly the same negation behavior as it does. That is, possessive *ŋẽ2ʔma4* does not take standard negation (71a), but does take non-standard-negation forms like *ta4gu2ma3* 'never' (71c) and *tau4ta2* 'not yet.' Attempts to use standard negation were corrected to the negative existential (71b).

(71) a. **ta4ma3 nɨ31ʔĩ5 na4ŋẽ2ʔma4 i4 o3ta5*
*ta4ma3 nɨ31=ʔĩ5 na4=ŋẽ2ʔma4 i4 o3ta5
*NEG 3=BEN 3(IV).SBJ=be.in.place DET(IV) chicken(IV)
(Intended: 'S/he doesn't have chickens [locative]'.)
Comment: Should be (71b).

b. *nɨ31ʔĩ5 na4ta2ʔu2ma3 i4 o3ta5*
nɨ31=ʔĩ5 na4=tau2ʔ=ma3 i4 o3ta5
3=BEN 3(IV).SBJ=NEG.EXIST=INFO DET(IV) chicken(IV)
'S/he doesn't have chickens [negative existential].'

c. *ta4gu2ma3 tʃo31ʔĩ5 na4ŋẽ2ʔma4 i4 o3ta5*
ta4gu2ma3 tʃo31=ʔĩ5 na4=ŋẽ2ʔma4 i4 o3ta5
never 1SG=BEN 3(IV).SBJ=be.in.place DET(IV) chicken(IV)
'I've never had chickens [locative].'
[LWG 2024.1.53]

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### 20.6.3 Positive possessive verbs can be negated

Like the positive existential, the positive possessive verbs *ã3* 'have inalienable noun' and *=ą̃1* 'have alienable noun' have a lexicalized negative counterpart, *ʌ̀e4* 'not have.'

Since the other verbs involved in possessive predicates (the locative and existential) are incompatible with standard negation, we might predict that the positive possessive verbs would be incompatible with negation too.

In fact, both of the possessive verbs can combine with standard negation, as shown by (72) for *ã3* 'have inalienable' and (73) for *=ą̃1* 'have alienable.' They can also combine with other forms of negation, such as *tau4ta2* 'not yet' (74).

(72) *ta4ma3 tʃa3ʔã3pa4te2e3*
ta4ma3 tʃa3=ã3=pa4te2e3
NEG 1SG.SBJ=have/wear.inal=NI:hat
'I don't have/wear a hat.' [LWG 2024.1.53]

(73) *ta4ma3 na4ʔo3ta5ą̃1*
ta4ma3 na4=o3ta5=ą̃1
NEG 3.SBJ=chicken=have.al
'S/he doesn't have chickens.' [LWG 2024.1.53]

(74) *nu5, ĩ1ʔne1ã4ma4 na4 tau4ta1* ***ta1de43ʔa5ą̃1gu2*** *rɨ1...*
nu5 ĩ1ʔne1ã4ma4 na4 tau4ta1 **ta3=de43ʔa5=ą̃1=gu2** rɨ1
here.ALL 2.days.ago TOP not.yet **1EXCL.SBJ.SC=water=have=SUB** TOP
'The other day here, because we didn't have water yet (i.e. the running water hadn't turned on)...' [LGC HALDI]

Thus, both the possessive verbs on one hand, and the existential and locative verbs on the other, can express possession and have lexicalized negations. However, standard negation is blocked by the lexicalized form only for the existential and locative verbs.

## 20.7 Negative imperatives

### 20.7.1 Negative imperatives with *ta2ʔũ4*

Verbs with imperative inflection cannot combine with negation (75).

(75) *(*ta4ma3) ɟe5a2 na1ʔũ43*

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(*ta4ma3) ɟe5a2 na1=ũ43
(*NEG) there.DIST.ALL IMP=go.SGS
'(*Don't) go over there.' [YCG 2017.4.21]

To form a negative imperative, the verb needs to have either main clause inflection or subordinate clause inflection, and the negation marker must be something other than the standard negation, *ta4ma3*.

Often, the negation in a negative imperative is *ta2ʔũ4* 'Neg.IMP.'[3] For example, (76) gives Yaneth's volunteered version of (75), which uses *ta2ʔũ4* 'Neg.IMP'.

(76) *ta2ʔũ4 ɟe5a2 i4 ku1ʔũ31ʔ.*
ta2ʔũ4 ɟe5a2 i4 ku1=ũ43=ʔ
NEG.IMP there.DIST.ALL DET(IV) 2SG.SBJ.SC=go.SGS=SUB
'Don't go over there.' [YCG 2017.4.21]

When the negation is *ta2ʔũ4*, you can use either main or subordinate clause inflection to issue a negative imperative. The negative imperative construction in (76), with a subordinate clause verb, is what consultants usually volunteered to translate Spanish negative imperatives. In the corpus, negative imperatives with *ta2ʔũ4* use both subordinate verbs (77) and main clause verbs (78); however, subordinate verbs are several times more common.

(77) *ta2ʔũ4 tɨ31ʔĩ3 ki1ma5ʔĩ4*
ta2ʔũ4 tɨ31=ʔĩ3 ki1=mą1=ʔĩ4
NEG.IMP 3(I)=ACC 2SG.SBJ.SC=hit.SGO=SUB
'Don't hit him/her/it.' [2019_C3-C7_CCI, CG7, 1382]

(78) *ta2ʔũ4 ku3na3tu51a1ne1ẽ4ẽ3*
ta2ʔũ4 ku3=na3=tu51-a1ne1-ẽ4ẽ3
NEG.IMP 2SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=pull-AREAL.ARG-CAUS
'Don't let it drag.' [AFG, AFG-LVI]

Both parts of the negative imperative construction – using a main/subordinate clause verb form, and using negation other than standard negation – are obligatory. You cannot use *ta2ʔũ4* Neg.IMP with imperative inflection (79); this is ungrammatical. You also cannot use standard negation with subordinate clause inflection to issue a negative imperative (80). (This combination of negation and inflection is grammatical, but not interpreted as imperative.)

[3] *ta2ʔũ4* is the standard negation in some varieties of Ticuna (Santos Angarita 2004, Montes Rodriguez 2004a). It exists as part of non-imperative negative portmanteaus (§20.4) in Cushillococha; however, most Cushillococha speakers use bare *ta2ʔũ4* only in negative imperatives. I therefore gloss it as NEG.IMP, rather than NEG.

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(79) **ta2ʔũ4 ɟe5a2 na1ʔũ43*
*ta2ʔũ4 ɟe5a2 na1=ũ43
*NEG.IMP there.DIST.ALL IMP=go.SGS
(Intended reading: 'Don't go over there.') [YCG 2017.4.21]

(80) **ta4ma3 ɟe5a2 i4 ku1ʔũ31ʔ*
*ta4ma3 ɟe5a2 i4 ku1=ũ43=ʔ
*NEG there.DIST.ALL DET(IV) 2SG.SBJ.SC=go.SGS=SUB
(Intended reading: 'Don't go over there.') [YCG 2017.4.21]

Some people use a variant form, *tau4ʔ*, as a negative imperative marker. In the corpus, this variant occurs only with main-clause inflection (81). However, *tau4ʔ* is rare in Cushillococha as negation; it occurs primarily as a discourse marker.

(81) *tau4ʔ ku3na3ŋɰ̃1*
tau4ʔ ku3=na3=ŋɰ̃1
NEG.IMP 2SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=bite
'Don't bite him/her/it.' [2019_C3-C7_CCI, CG7]

In child-directed speech, the corpus also includes examples of caregivers forming negative directives using *ta2ʔũ4* Neg.IMP and the bare verb stem (with no inflection), such as (82). This is not unique to negative imperatives; uses of bare verbs as positive imperatives also occur in CDS.

(82) *ta2ʔũ4 a3ʔu3*
ta2ʔũ4 au3ʔ
NEG.IMP cry
'Don't cry.' [2019_C15_CCI, CG15, 1459]

The zero prohibitive construction in (82) seems to be specific to child-directed speech. When asked about (82), Lilia rejected it, rejected two analogous examples with other verbs, and commented that it sounded like something a child themself would say (LWG 2024.1.53).

### 20.7.2 Negative imperatives with future/counterfactual portmanteaus

The most common way to issue negative imperatives is not with *ta2ʔũ4* Neg.IMP, but instead using the negative portmanteaus of *ta4* FUT or *ʧi4* CNTF. In Skilton (2023), I analyzed 480 child-directed requests or directives from the 2019 corpus of child-caregiver interaction – the first 12 in each child's transcript. Of the 480

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directives, 74 were negative. Only nine of these used *ta2ʔũ4* Neg.IMP; in contrast, 36 had negative modals.

Directives with negative portmanteaus can have either *ta4* FUT or *tʃi4* CNTF. They display the same range of verb forms as negative imperatives with *ta2ʔũ4* Neg.IMP. That is, the verb can have either main clause (83) or subordinate clause inflection (84), but not imperative inflection.

(83) ***tau2tʃi4ã2a3ri1 ti31ʔĩ3 ku3tʃu31ʔu3***
**tau2tʃi4ã2**=a3ri1 ti31=ʔĩ3 ku3=tʃu31ʔ
**NEG+CNTF**=INFO 3(I)=ACC 2SG.SBJ=pinch
'You **shouldn't** pinch it / Don't pinch it.' [2019_C34_CCI, CG34, 400]

(84) ***ta2ʔũ4ta4ã2 ni31ʔĩ3 ku1dau31ʔ.***
**ta2ʔũ4ta4ã2** ni31=ʔĩ3 ku1=dau43=ʔ
**NEG+FUT** 3=ACC 2SG.SBJ.SC=touch=SUB
'You **shouldn't** touch it / Don't touch it.' [2019_C34_CCI, CG34, 292]

### 20.7.3 Negative directives with *ŋe3ri5* and related forms

Another element which can introduce a negative imperative clause is *ŋe3ri5* (with variants *ŋe3ri5ma3*, *ŋe3ri5ã3*, and *ŋe3ra5ã3*). This item is not morphologically related to negation. It is primarily an interjection – that is, it is normally used as the only morpheme in the turn or clause – and is best glossed as 'leave that [near you] alone,' as discussed in Chapter 31.

However, apart from acting as an interjection, *ŋe3ri5* can also introduce a clause denoting something the addressee is currently doing and should stop. (85) is a representative use of *ŋe3ri5* with a clause from the corpus. (86) is an elicited example demonstrating that *ŋe3ri5* can combine with any verb (and not only with verbs in the semantic neighborhood of 'don't touch that').

(85) *pa2 mi3ʔ, ŋe3ʔra5ã3 ni31ʔĩ3 ku1dau31ʔĩ4 ma3ma5ʔĩ5*
pa2 mi3ʔ ŋe3ʔra5ã3 ni31=ʔĩ3 ku1=dau43=ʔĩ4 ma3ma5=ʔĩ5
VOC baby.VOC INTJ:leave.it! 3=ACC 2SG.SBJ.SC=touch=SUB mother=BEN
'Baby, leave off touching that, it belongs to mom.' [LFG, LFG-MFG-LVI, timestamp]

(86) *ŋe3ri5ã3 ŋe5ma2 ku1ʔũ31ʔ*
ŋe3ri5ã3 ŋe5ma2 ku1=ũ43=ʔ
INTJ:leave.it! there.ADDR.PROX.ALL 2SG.SBJ.SC=go.SGS=SUB
'Leave off going over there [where you are].' [LWG 2024.1.53]

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# 21 Nonverbal predication

This chapter describes nonverbal predicates and predicates involving various morphosyntactically unusual verbs. It includes the following predicate types:

- copular clauses (§21.1)
- clauses with the verb *ã3* 'have, use, wear (inalienable noun)' and similar predicates (§21.2)
- clauses with *=wa̱1e2* 'want' (§21.3)
- non-copular clauses where the only predicate is a numeral (§21.4)
- non-copular clauses where the only predicate is a noun denoting a disease (§21.5)
- verbless locative clauses (§21.6)

I describe these in the order just given.

## 21.1 Copular clauses

The copula verb is *ĩ4* 'be'. It mostly behaves like a regular /i/-class verb, taking /i/-class proclitics which agree with the subject in person, number (for local persons), and noun class (for third persons). However, the copula does have a few irregular subject proclitic forms, such as *ɟi1ʔ=*, rather than the regular *ɟa1ʔ=*, for third person subordinate clause inflection. Table 21.1 provides all of the forms of the copula, with the irregular ones highlighted.

In running speech, people often pronounce only the first syllable of the copula, especially for the 3(I) main clause form and both of the 3(II/III/IV) forms. These forms are then respectively reduced to *ti4*, *ni4* and *ɟi1*. Reduction to the subject proclitic is another form of irregularity, since it doesn't apply to any other i-class verbs.

The copula is an obligatory part of the language's focus construction (Chapter 24). Because it isn't always possible to determine in texts whether the copula

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Table 21.1: Forms of the copula verb (reference: LWG 2025.1.99)

| Person/Number | Main Clause Copula | Subordinate Clause Copula |
|---|---|---|
| 1SG | tʃi3ʔĩ4 | tʃi1ʔĩ1ʔĩ4 |
| 2SG | ki3ʔĩ4 | ki1ʔĩ1ʔĩ4 |
| 3(I) | ti4ʔĩ4 | tiʔĩ1ʔĩ4 |
| 3(II/III/IV) | ni4ʔĩ4 | ɟi1ʔĩ1ʔĩ4, i1ʔĩ1ʔĩ4 |
| 3(V) | i3ɟi1ʔĩ4 | ɟi1ʔĩ1ʔĩ4 |
| 1Incl | ti4ʔĩ4gɨ4 | i1ʔĩ4gɨ5ʔĩ4 |
| 1EXCL | ti4ʔĩ4gɨ4 | ti1ʔĩ4gɨ5ʔĩ4 |
| 2PL | pi3ʔĩ4gɨ4 | pi1ʔĩ4gɨ5ʔĩ4 |
| Imperative SG | i3ʔĩ4 | |
| Imperative PL | pi1ʔĩ4gi5 | |

is being used to express focus vs. to form a copula construction, tokens of the copula in the corpus are not tagged for focus vs. copular function.

Besides its use in the focus construction, the copula is also used in predicational, presentative, and equative/identity copular clauses. There is also a somewhat idiomatic use of the copula, with an indefinite pronoun subject, that gives a reading like 'when something happens' or 'when someone comes'. There isn't clear evidence for specificational copular clauses (Higgins 1979) being different from focus constructions. I'll now describe each of these uses of the copula.

### 21.1.1 Predicational use

In a predicational copular clause where both the subject and the predicate noun phrase are expressed, the subject noun phrase typically comes first. The predicate noun phrase comes second, and the copula is last (1–2). Note that in (2) the predicate noun phrase is grammatically a headless relative clause; this makes no difference to the structure of the copula clause.

(1) *ɟe4ʔgu4ma4 tʃo31rɨ3 ko3ri5 ɟe4ʔgu4ã4 regidor* ***ti4ʔĩ4***
ɟe4ʔgu4ma4 tʃo31rɨ3 ko3ri5 ɟe4ʔgu4ã4 regidor **ti4ʔĩ4**
then.REM.PST 1SG.POSS gentleman(I) then.REM.PST SP:regidor **3(I).SBJ.COP**
'Back then, back then, my husband **was** a *regidor* (member of the town council).' [HCG HALDI]

(2) *ɟi31ʔe2ma4 ri3e3rɨ1 nɨ31a5 ʌe3ʔwa4ka1ta2ã4 i51ra3ʔe3* ***ti4ʔĩ4***

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ɟi31ʔe2ma4 rɨ3=e3rɨ1 nɨ31a5 ʎe3ʔwa4ka1=ta2ã4 i51ra1=ʔe3
DEM.ANA(I) TOP=INFO:CNG INFO recently=only be.born=NMLZ(I)
**ti4ʔĩ4**
**3(I).SBJ.COP**
'That (kid), as I was saying, is just a newborn.' [C3-C7 CCI]

It's difficult to find examples of predicational copular clauses where the subject noun phrase is present rather than pro-dropped. However, when both noun phrases are expressed, the subject noun phrase is often topicalized, as in (2).

There is normally no determiner introducing either the subject or the predicate noun phrase in a predicational copular construction. However, either noun phrase can contain an *internal* determiner if it is quantified, or if it contains some other structure requiring a determiner, such as a headed relative clause. For example, (3) contains a determiner in both the subject and the predicate noun phrase. In the subject noun phrase, *ga4* 'DET.REM.PST' is present to introduce the internally headed relative clause 'who taught there.' In the two predicate noun phrases, each predicate noun is quantified by *wɨ43ʔi4* 'one.' Therefore *ga4* appears twice more, introducing each of the predicate nouns *peruano* 'SP:Peruvian' and *o̱1ʔi5* 'old man'.

(3) ***ga4*** *ɟe4ma4 ɟe5ma2 ʎu̱1ẽ4ẽ3ta2e2ʔĩ4 ga4 wɨ43ʔi4* ***ga4*** *peruano kɨ2a4na4 rɨ1 wɨ43ʔi4* ***ga4*** *o̱1ʔi5 ni4ʔĩ4*
**ga4** ɟe4ma4 ɟe5ma2
**DET.REM.PST** DEM.ANA.REM.PST(IV) there.REM.PST.ALL
ʎu̱1-ẽ4ẽ3=ta2e3=ʔĩ4 ga4 wɨ43ʔi4 **ga4**
learn-CAUS=Antipas=NMLZ(IV) DET.REM.PST one **DET.REM.PST**
peruano kɨ2a4na4 rɨ1 wɨ43ʔi4 **ga4** o̱1ʔi5 ni4ʔĩ4
SP:Peruvian INTJ:tag and one **DET.REM.PST** old.man 3.SBJ.COP
'The one who taught there was a Peruvian, right, and an old man.' [DGG HALDI]

It is possible for the subject of a predicational copular construction to appear **after the copula** (at the right edge) rather than at the left edge of the clause. This happens most often in questions, although it can happen in declaratives too. If the subject is postverbal, then – like all postverbal arguments (Chapter 13.2) – it's introduced by a determiner. Thus, in (4) the subject noun phrase *Yanetha1rɨ3 ma3ma5* 'Yaneth's mother' is introduced by the determiner *a4*.

(4) *ku3e3ɟa̱1 e̱1ʔna5 ti4ʔĩ4* ***a4 Yanetha1rɨ3 ma3ma5****?*

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ku3=e3ɟa̱1 e̱1ʔna5 ti4ʔĩ4 **a4** **Yaneth=a1ri3** **ma3ma5**?
2SG=sister ALT 3(I).SBJ.COP **DET(I) personal.name=POSS mother(I)**
'Is **Yaneth's mom** your sister?' [20180628_002]

#### 21.1.1.1 Predicational copular clauses with derived predicates

Since Ticuna doesn't have a distinct word class of adjectives (Chapter 5), the predicate in a copular clause is always a noun phrase, not an adjective. However, the predicate can be, and often is, derived using a noun > noun derivational morpheme – such as *=kɨ1ã̱1* 'from location' in (5), or using a nominalizer such as *=e3* 'NMLZ:I' in (6).

(5) *tɨ31ma2a1rɨ3 ma3ma5 rɨ1* ***nu5a2kɨ1ã̱1gɨ4ʔi5tʃi2ta2ma4*** *ti4ʔĩ4*
tɨ31ma2=a1rɨ3 ma3ma5 rɨ1 **nu5a2=kɨ1ã̱1=gɨ4=ʔi5tʃi2=ta2ma4**
3(I)=POSS mother TOP **here=originating.from=PL=really=only**
ti4ʔĩ4
3(I).SBJ.COP
'Her mom's family were also **from right here**.' [YCG HALDI]

(6) *ku31rɨ3 ma3ĩ1kɨ2 li3tʃi5gɨ4a1rɨ3* ***ɟa2ã̱1ra3ĩ3e3*** *ti4ʔĩ4*
ku31rɨ3 ma3=ĩ1kɨ2 li3tʃi5=gɨ4=a1rɨ3
2SG.POSS PRF=INFO SP:lychee=PL=POSS
**ɟa2=∅=ã̱1=ra3ĩ1=e3** ti4ʔĩ4
**mature=NMLZ:state=have.al=size=NMLZ(I)** 3(I).SBJ.COP
'Yours (the plants in your garden) are already **at the same stage of maturity as** the lychees.' [LVI, AFG-LVI]

It's also possible for the predicate in a copular clause to be an entire subordinate clause of its own. For instance, (7) has a copular subordinate clause and a copular main clause. The copular subordinate clause 'as if I were Brazilian' is nominalized and takes the noun⟶noun derivational enclitic *=rɨ5ĩ1* 'like.' The 'like' constituent then acts as the predicate of the main copular clause.

(7) Context: Speaker is Peruvian, but recently got a Brazilian identity document.
*ɲo4ma4 tʃi4 wɨ43ʔi4 i4 ta2gu2kɨ1ã̱1 tʃi1ʔĩ1ʔĩ4rɨ5ĩ1ma3re3ta2ã̱4 tʃi3ʔĩ4*
*kɨ2a4na4*

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ɲo4ma4 tʃi4 wɨ43ʔi4 i4 ta2gu2kɨ1ą̃1
now CNTF one DET(IV) person.from.downriver
tʃi1ʔĩ1ʔĩ4=rɨ5ĩ1=ma3re3=ta2ã4 tʃi3ʔĩ4 kɨ2a4na4
1SGSBJ.COP.SC=like=just=only 1SGSBJ.COP INTJ:tag
'Now it's just (lit. I'm just) as if I were Brazilian, right?' [NWG Brazil Trip]

#### 21.1.1.2 Predicational copular clauses with case marking on the predicate

It's possible for the predicate in a predicational copular clause to have case marking. The following cases are acceptable on a copular predicate: locative (8), allative (9), comitative (10), purposive (11), beneficiary (12), and resultative (13). However, the beneficiary and resultative are unattested in the corpus in this position.

(8) *ta2ʔũ4ta4ã2 ɟi1ʔĩ1ʔ e3rɨ4* ***octubre=gu2*** *ni4*
ta2ʔũ4ta4ã2 ɟi1ʔĩ1ʔ e3rɨ4 **octubre=gu2** ni4
not.yetFUT 3.SBJ.SC.COP because **October=LOC** 3.SBJ.COP
'He won't (start school) yet, because he's **in October** (his birthday is in October).' [AFG, AFG-LVI,]

(9) *ai2ʔkɨ4 rɨ1 gu5ʔĩ4ma3 i4* ***tʃa1ʔu4ne1wa5ma3e3rɨ1*** *ni4ʔĩ4*
ai2ʔkɨ4 rɨ1 gu5ʔĩ4ma3 i4 **tʃau1=ʔi4ne1=wa5=ma3=e3rɨ1**
truly TOP all(IV) DET(IV) **1SG=body(IV)=ALL=INFO=INFO:CNG**
ni4ʔĩ4
3.SBJ.COP
'It was really all over my body.' [20170527]

(10) *na4* ***Gretima4ã2*** *ni4tʃi4rę1?*
na4 **Greti=ma4ã2** ni4=tʃi4rę1?
COMP **Greti=COM** 3.SBJ.COP=ANTIPRF
'Was s/he **with Greti**?' [YCG, SCG-YCG-DGC]

(11) *wɨ43ʔi4 i4* ***o3ra1ką1*** *ni4 ɲa4a2ʔĩ4*
wɨ43ʔi4 i4 **o3ra1=ką1** ni4 ɲa4a2ʔĩ4
one DET(IV) **hour=PURP** 3.SBJ.COP 3.SBJ.SC.QUOT
'It's for one **hour**, she said.' [AFG, AFG-LVI]

(12) ***Gretiʔĩ5*** *ni4ʔĩ4 ɟa1 da31a1 u3ku3ru1*
**Greti=ʔĩ5** ni4ʔĩ4 ɟa1 da31a1 u3ku3ru1
**Greti=BEN** 3.SBJ.COP DET(III) DEM.PROX(III) glasses(III)
'These glasses are for Greti.' [LWG 2025.1.100]

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(13) ***ã3ɐ̯1ga3kɨ3ɨ̃1*** *ni4ʔĩ4*
**ã3ɐ̯1ga3kɨ3=ɨ̃1** ni4ʔĩ4
**political.leader=RES** 3.SBJ.COP
'S/he is becoming mayor.' [LWG 2025.1.100]

It is unattested and judged ungrammatical to use the accusative or recipient case on the predicate in a copular clause (14).

(14) ****Gretiʔĩ3/*Gretina1*** *ni4ʔĩ4 ɟa1 da31a1 u3ku3ru1*
***Gretiʔĩ3** / ***Gretina1** ni4ʔĩ4 ɟa1 da31a1 u3ku3ru1
**Greti=ACC** / ***Greti=RCP** 3.SBJ.COP DET(III) DEM.PROX(III) glasses(III)
(Intended reading: 'These glasses are for Greti.') [LWG 2025.1.100]

#### 21.1.1.3 Identificational copular clauses

Identificational copular clauses such as *That person is Victoria* behave exactly like (other) predicational copular clauses. The subject of these clauses consists of a demonstrative, alone or combined with a noun. The predicate consists of a noun phrase, followed by the copula. The demonstrative phrase is often topicalized, and there is no determiner in the predicate (15).

(15) Context: Discussing three children, one of whom was nicknamed *ɟɐ̯u̯1ʔre5* 'The Blue/Green One'. I, the addressee, know the children's names, but nothing else about them.
*ɟe4ma4 rɨ3bu31ma2e2ʔĩ4 na4ʔ ɟɐ̯u̯1ʔre5 ɟi1ʔĩʔ*
ɟe4ma4 rɨ3=bu31-ma2e3=ʔĩ4 na4ʔ
DEM.ANA.REM.PST(IV) 3.SBJ.SC=young-COMPAR=NMLZ(IV) COMP
ɟɐ̯u̯1ʔre5 ɟi1ʔĩʔ
personal.name 3.SBJ.SC.COP
'The youngest one was *ɟɐ̯u̯1ʔre5*.' [SSG HALDI,]

In texts, the copula is often deleted from predicational copular constructions. For example, the passage in (16) contains three copular constructions, all of which display zero copula. The predicate in line (a) is a deverbal noun *me31ʔĩ4rɨ5ɨ̃1* 'something good' (lit. 'like a good thing'); the predicate in (b) is a disjunction of a common noun and a relative clause, 'shoes or something like that'; and the predicate in (c) is *ʧau3ri3o1ʧi3kɨ4na3ʔa1a3kɨ1ma3re3* 'just a little statue of a dinosaur'. ALL three lines are interpreted as nonverbal predicates, but none contains any overt copula.

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(16) a. *tʃau1ʔkɑ̨1 ra3ã3 me31ʔĩ4ri5ĩ1 pa2 Nai3,*
tʃau1=kɑ̨1 ra3ã3 me43=ʔĩ4=ri5ĩ1 pa2 Nai3
1SG=REP TOP good=NMLZ(IV)=like VOC Nayser
'I thought (your present) would **be something good**, Nayser,'

b. *tʃa3pa4tu1 rɨ3ɛ̃1ʔna5 tɑ̨2ʔkɨ4 ɲa4a2e5ga3ʔ,*
tʃa3pa4tu1 rɨ3ɛ̃1ʔna5 tɑ̨2ʔkɨ4 ɲa4a2=e5ga1=ʔ
shoe or what? 3.SBJ.SC.QUOT=WEAK.PROSP=SUB
'(I thought) i**t would be shoes or something like that** (lit. something that says/does that),'

c. *tɑ̨2ʔkɨ4 a4 ŋe2ʔã4* ***tʃau3ri3o1tʃi3kɨ4na3ʔa1a3kɨ1ma3re3***
tɑ̨2ʔkɨ4 a4 ŋe2ʔã4
what? DET(IV) there.ANA.LOC
**tʃau3ri3o1=tʃi3kɨ4na3ʔa1-a3kɨ1=ma3re3**
**dinosaur=image-Dim=just**
'But in the end it **was just a little statue of a dinosaur**.'
[AFG, AFG-LVI,]

While copula deletion as in (16) occurs often in texts, people dislike it in elicitation.

### 21.1.2 Presentative use

In Ticuna, presentative constructions such as *Here are your scissors* are formally copular constructions. However, unlike in English and many other European languages, the predicate of a presentative is a nominal demonstrative, equivalent to *this/that*, rather than a locative demonstrative equivalent to *here/there*.

In a presentative construction, the demonstrative comes first. It is never topicalized, never combines with a noun, and is followed immediately by the copula. The other noun phrase denotes the item presented. It comes after the copula and is introduced by a determiner. For example, in(17), the demonstrative predicate is the speaker-proximal *da31ʔe2*. The subject is the noun phrase *to1gu5e3 ɨ2ʔɨ1ʔĩ4ru5ĩ1* 'the other medicinal one.' It is Noun Class I and is therefore introduced by the Class I determiner *ɟa4*.

(17) *da31ʔe2 ti4ʔĩ4 ɟa4 to1gu5e3 ɨ2ʔɨ1ʔĩ4ru5ĩ1*
da31ʔe2 ti4ʔĩ4 ɟa4 to1gu5e3
DEM.PROX(I) 3(I).SBJ.COP DET(I) other(I)

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ɨ2ʔɨ1ʔĩ4=ru5ĩ1
medicine=NMLZ:Agent/Instrument
'Here's the other medicinal one.' [20170630]

It's acceptable to delete the copula in a presentative construction, leaving only the demonstrative, determiner and noun. This is seen in the first clause of (18), which consists only of the speaker-proximal demonstrative *da31ʔe2* as the predicate, the noun *di3ẽ3ru1* 'money' as the subject, and a determiner introducing the subject.

(18) *a31* ***da31ʔe2*** ***ɟa4*** ***di3ẽ3ru1*** *rɨ1 tạ1a3ta4e3 i4 ŋe3ma2 nɨ31ʔĩ5 ta2ʔu2ʔĩ4*
a31 **da31ʔe2** **ɟa4** **di3ẽ3ru1** rɨ1 tạ1=a3=ta4e3
INTJ:oh **DEM.PROX(I)** **DET(I)** **money(I)** and some(IV)=IMPɨAM=buy
i4 ŋe3ma2 nɨ31=ʔĩ5 tau2ʔ=ʔĩ4
DET(IV) DEM.ANA(IV) 3=BEN NEG.EXIST=NMLZ(IV)
'Okay, **here's the money**, go buy whatever it's missing.'
(DGG HALDI,

The Demonstrative + Determiner + Noun structure in (18) is an entire clause. It is **not** a noun phrase, because if a demonstrative and noun belong to the same phrase, it's ungrammatical to use a determiner between them (Chapter 13.3). Rather, a DEM + DET + N structure can only be read as a presentative construction, as indicated by the comment in (19).

(19) *da31ʔe2 ɟa4 di3ẽ3ru1 rɨ1 ta4ʌau1*
da31ʔe2 ɟa4 di3ẽ3ru1 rɨ1 ta4=ʌau1
DEM.PROX(I) DET(I) money(I) TOP 3(I).SBJ=old/worn
'Here's the (paper) money, it's worn out.'
NOT: 'This money is worn out.' [LWG 2025.1.100]

It's possible to delete the noun phrase from a presentative construction. A demonstrative alone is a coherent predicate (20), and so is a demonstrative + copula construction with no noun phrase (21).

(20) ɟi31ʔe2ma4 dɨ1ʔ
DEM.ADDRPROX(I) INTJ:look!
'There it is (near you), look.' [20170628_003]

(21) ɟi31ʔe2ma4 ti4ʔĩ4
DEM.ADDR.PROX(I) 3(I).SBJ.COP
'There she is.' [C1-C2 2019 CCI]

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The ellipsis of the noun phrase in (20–21) shows that, in presentative constructions, the nominal demonstrative (and copula if present) forms the predicate. In contrast, in identificational or specificational constructions that involve nominal demonstratives, the demonstrative is the subject.

### 21.1.3 Equative/Identity use

It is acceptable to use a copular construction to state someone/something's name. The name is the predicate. The named entity is the subject, and can also be the topic, of the copular construction. Thus, the equative structure is the same as a predicational copular clause (22). As in other copular constructions, the copula can be deleted (23).

(22) Context: Someone's Spanish name is Rosner, but they are nicknamed Be3ʔku1ru1.
*Rosner rɨ1* ***Be3ʔku1ru1*** *ni4ʔĩ4*
Rosner rɨ1 **Be3ʔku1ru1** ni4ʔĩ4
personal.name TOP **personal.name** 3.SBJ.COP
'As for Rosner, he **is Be3ʔku1ru1**.' [LWG 2025.1.100]

(23) *ŋe3ma2 na1dɨ1ʔa5tɨ1ra3ĩ3ʔ,* ***to31wa5re5ʔĩ4*** *kɨ2a4na4?*
ŋe3ma2 na1=dɨ1ʔ=a5tɨ1=ra3ĩ1=ʔ **to31wa5re5ʔĩ4** kɨ2a4na4?
DEM.ANA(IV) 3.SBJ.SC=be.like.this=NI:leaf=size plant.sp.name INTJ:tag
'The one that has leaves shaped like this, it's **(called)** ***to31wa5re5ʔĩ4***, right?' [C27 CCI, ChildsFM,]

### 21.1.4 Idiomatic use of the copula with indefinite subjects

There is an idiomatic expression which consists of a copular clause and means approximately 'when/if something happens' or 'when/if something needs to be done.' This expression uses the indefinite pronoun *tɑ̨2ʔkɨ4* 'what/something' as the predicate, followed by a subordinate form of the copula. For example, in (24) the speaker is scolding her brother for not collecting firewood, one of his chores. She says, 'I'm going to tell mom about you,' and then adds:

(24) *ŋe3ma2ma3re3 ni4ʔĩ4 ku1ʔi2ʔĩ4 e3ga4?* ***tɑ̨2kɨ4 ɟi1ʔĩ4gu2*** *a4 ku1ma1*
ŋe3ma2=ma3re3 ni4ʔĩ4 ku1=i2=ʔĩ4 e3ga4 **tɑ̨2kɨ4**
DEM.ANA(IV)=just COP 2SGSBJ.SC=do=SUB if **what?**
**ɟi1ʔĩ4=gu2** a4 ku1ma1
**3.SBJ.SC.COP=COND** DET(IV) 2SG.TOP
'*This* is exactly what YOU do whenever something needs to be done (lit.,

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whenever there is something).' [20180707,]

(25) is another example of the *tą2ʔkɨ4* + copula construction. In contrast to (24), it is most naturally interpreted as 'whenever anything happens,' rather than 'whenever something needs to be done.'

(25) Context: Describing someone who takes their child for traditional medical treatment constantly, even for extremely minor illnesses.
*ŋe5ma2 rɨ3ɛ̃1ʔna5 tau4 ɟe5ĩ2kɨ3rɨ3 **tą2ʔkɨ4 ɟi1ʔĩʔ** ra3ã3 ma3ra3ã3 ti2na4wɛ1gɨ4ʔã3*
ŋe5ma2 rɨ3ɛ̃1ʔna5 tau4 ɟe5ĩ2kɨ3rɨ3 **tą2ʔkɨ4 ɟi1ʔĩʔ** ra3ã3 ma3ra3ã3
and.then or INFO constantly **what? 3.SBJ.SC.COP** TOP PRF
t=i2=na4=wɛ1=gɨ4=ʔã3
3(I)OBJ=VCL=3.SBJ=take.to.healer=PL=REP
'So then, just constantly, whenever *anything* happens, they have her treated by the healer (people say).' [SCG-YCG-DGC,]

### 21.1.5 What the copula is not used for

The copula in Ticuna cannot be used to form existential sentences. That requires the appropriate noun class form of the existential verb *ŋe3ma2* or the remote past existential *ɟe4ma4* (Chapter 7.2).

The copula **can** be used to express location predicates, but only if the noun phrase expressing the location is case-marked with *=gu2* LOC, as described above in §21.1.1.2. Also, it is very infrequent to express location using the copula. Instead, people normally use the locative verb *ŋɛ̃2ʔma4* or its remote past equivalent *ɟe2ʔma4*.

## 21.2 Clauses with *ã3* 'have, use, wear' and similar predicates

This section describes three possessive predicates: *ã3* 'have, use, wear (inalienable noun),' *=ą̃1* 'have, use, wear (alienable noun)', and *ʌ́e4* 'not have'. The predicates *ã3* 'have inalienable' and *ʌ́e4* 'not have' behave like verb roots on certain criteria, but not others, so I cover them here. The enclitic *=ą̃1* 'have alienable noun' does not behave like a verb root at all; it is best analyzed as an enclitic which attaches to a noun phrase to derive a verb.

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### 21.2.1 The verb *ã3* 'have, use, wear (inalienable noun)'

The morpheme *ã3* 'have, use, wear (inalienable noun)' looks like a verb root in that it takes an a-class subject proclitic. This subject proclitic denotes the possessor and appears immediately before *ã3*. The root is always immediately followed by an inalienable noun. The inalienable noun denotes the object which the subject possesses, uses, or wears (26–27). It forms a single prosodic word with the token of *ã3*. Any additional morphology, such as the prospective enclitic and plural enclitic in (27), appears after the inalienable noun.

(26) *nu2a2 tʃa3ʔã3a1ne1*
nu2a2 tʃa3=ã3=a1ne1
here.LOC 1SGSBJ=have.inal=garden
'I have a garden here.'
[DGG HALDI]

(27) *na4ʔã3te4tʃa1ĩ1gɨ4?*
na4=ã3=te4=tʃa1ĩ1=gɨ4
3.SBJ=have.inal=husband=PROSP=PL
'Do they want to get married (lit. have husbands)?' [20170818]

Besides the inalienable noun itself, the possessum can simultaneously be expressed by a separate noun phrase. The separate noun phrase is marked with the comitative case. It can be as small as a pronoun, as in (28), or as large as a quantified noun phrase, as in (29). This construction most often expresses a kinship relation, but it's possible with any type of possession relation(29).

(28) *tɨ31ma2ma4ã2 na4ʔã3mą1*
tɨ31ma2=ma4ã2 na4=ã3=mą1
3(I)=COM 3.SBJ=have=wife
'He is married to her (lit. has her as a wife).' [20170818]

(29) ***gu5ʔĩ4ma3 ŋe3ma2ma4ã2*** *na4ʔã3ã3ku2, kɨ2a4na4, ɟa1 ɟi2ma2 nai5*
**gu5ʔĩ4ma3 ŋe3ma2=ma4ã2** na4=ã3=ã3ku2 kɨ2a4na4 ɟa1
**all(IV)** **DEM.ANA(IV)=COM** 3.SBJ=have=contents INTJ:right? DET(III)
ɟi2ma2 nai5
DEM.ANA(III) other(III)
'The other (store) contains all those things (lit. has all those things as its contents).' [NWG, NWG Brazil Trip,]

The structure in (26–29), where an inalienable noun attaches directly to a bivalent verb root, looks exactly like object incorporation (Chapter 12). However,

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it is **not** object incorporation. Object incorporation in Ticuna always involves alternations between realizations of the object as part of the verb word vs. as (the possessum of) a noun phrase that is prosodically and morphologically separate from the verb. However, with *ãʒ* 'have inalienable,' there is **no** equivalent construction where the inalienable noun object appears as (part of) an independent noun phrase. For example, it is unacceptable to move the inalienable noun in (28) to be a possessor in the external noun phrase (30). Note that this example is unacceptable whether or not the external NP has the comitative case.

(30) **tɨʒ1ma2mą̃1(ma4ãʒ) na4ʔãʒ*
*tɨ31ma2=mą̃1(=ma4ã2) na4=ã3
*3(I)=wife(=COM) 3.SBJ=have.inal
(Intended reading: 'He is married to her.') [LWG 2025.1.100]

While the most common use of *ãʒ* 'have, use, wear' is to express possession, it can also describe wearing the object denoted by the inalienable noun (31–32).

(31) *nu5a2ma4 na1ɲa43ta4ĩ2ʔ* ***ãʒpa4te2e3gɨ5ʔ***
nu5a2=ma4 na1=ɲa43ta4ĩ2=ʔ
here.ALL=toward 3.SBJ.SC=drive.vehicle=SUB
**ã3=pa4te2e3=gɨ4=ʔ**
**have.inal=hat/helmet=PL=SUB**
'They drove over here, **wearing helmets**.' [2019 CCI C16]

(32) *tʃaʒʔãʒpą̃1*
tʃa3=ã3=pą̃1
1SGSBJ=have.inal=skirt
'I'm wearing a skirt.' [LWG 2022.1.7]

Besides the 'have' and 'wear' readings, *ãʒ* can also be read as 'use' when it occurs with a comitative-marked external NP. This construction means 'use X (external noun) as a Y (inalienable noun),' as shown by the attested example in (33) and the constructed one in (34). The 'use X as Y' construction only occurs in the corpus with two nouns, but Lilia accepted it with a single noun (only the inalienable X) in (35).

(33) *patinetama4ãʒma3re3 ni4ʔĩ4 na1ʔãʒwe3ĩ1ne3ta2ʔĩ4*
patineta=ma4ã2=ma3re3 ni4ʔĩ4 na1=ã3=we3ĩ1=ne3ta2=ʔĩ4
SP:skateboard=COM=just FOC 3.SBJ.SC=have=vehicle=pretend=SUB
'She's just using the skateboard as a vehicle (i.e., as transportation).' [2019 CCI C10-C13]

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(34) Context: I used an oar to fight.
*tʃau1e3mɨ3ma4ã2 tʃa3ʔã3ne1*
tʃau1=e3mɨ3=ma4ã2 tʃa3=ã3=ne1
1SG=oar=COM 1SGSBJ=have=weapon
'I used my oar as a weapon.' [LWG 2022.1.7]

(35) ŋĕ4ʔgu2ma3 o3ta5 tɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃi1mą1ʔgu2, **tʃa3ʔã3ne1**
ŋĕ4ʔgu2ma3 o3ta5 tɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃi1=mą1=gu2 **tʃa3=ã3=ne1**
when chicken(I) 3(I)=ACC 1SGSBJ.SC=kill=SUB **1SGSBJ=have=weapon**
'When I killed the chicken, I used a weapon (not my bare hands).' [LWG 2025.1.100]

Besides the 'have object/relationship', 'wear object,' and 'use object' senses, *ã3* can also be used with noun classifiers to describe the shape of an object. (36) is an example of this reading. Availability of the 'have shape' reading is one of the major diagnostics of status as a noun classifier (rather than inalienable noun). Therefore, I discuss the 'have shape' construction in Chapter 7.4.

(36) *na4ʔã3pɨ1ʔɨ3*
na4=ã3=pɨ1ʔɨ3
3.SBJ=have=CLF:sphere
'It is spherical.'
NOT: 'It/she/he has something spherical.' [LWG 2022.1.7]

Since *ã3* 'have inalienable' can't be used without an incorporated alienable noun, it is not a morphosyntactically typical verb. It is also very semantically light, with almost all of the lexical meaning of the predicate coming from the incorporated inalienable noun. However, since it takes subject proclitics and other verbal morphology, it is probably best analyzed as a verb.

### 21.2.2 The enclitic *=q̃1* 'have, use, wear (alienable noun)'

The enclitic *=q̃1* 'have alienable noun' attaches directly to a noun stem (37) or the last element of a noun phrase (38). The first element of the noun phrase then takes an /a/-class subject proclitic, as if it were a verb. Like a verb root, the noun phrase behaves as an independent prosodic word, retaining the stress it would have in isolation. The token of *=q̃1* does not have stress, which is which indicates that it is part of the prosodic word headed by the noun. This is why I describe it as an enclitic.

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(37) *rɨ1 ŋe5ma2 tʃi3ʔũ31ga1tʃi3 e3rɨ4 ŋe3ma2 na43ʔtʃi5ka2 rɨ1* ***na4ɟo3ra5ą̃1***
rɨ1 ŋe5ma2 tʃi3=ũ43-ga1tʃi3 e3rɨ4 ŋe3ma2
and there.ANA.ALL 1SGSBJ=go.SGS-DIR:away because DEM.ANA(IV)
na43=ʔtʃi5ka2 rɨ1 **na4=ɟo3ra5=ą̃1**
DFLT.POSS=place TOP **3.SBJ=owner=have.al**
'I moved away from there because that parcel of land **had an owner**.'
[SSG HALDI]

(38) *ta1ta2ʔre4 ʎu1ne3ʔĩ4ą̃1ʔgu2ta2ã4*
ta1=ta2ʔre4 ʎu1ne3ʔĩ4=ą̃1=ʔgu2=ta2ã4
3(I).SBJ.SC=two day=have.al=COND/SUB=only
'When she was only two days old (lit. had only two days)...' [YCG, YCG-SCG-DGC,]

All borrowed nouns are alienable (Chapter 7.1.2). Therefore, when the possessum in a possessive predicate is a loan, the possessive verb is always *=ą̃1*. In fact, most uses of *=ą̃1* in the corpus attach to Spanish/Portuguese nouns. (39) is an example of a borrowed noun phrase or code-switch, *número de celular* 'cell phone number,' acting as the host of *=ą̃1*.

(39) *a31 Pi3lar1 ta4ma3 ku31ʔĩ5* ***na4numero de celularą̃1****, kɨ3 pa2 Be3ʔ?*
a31 Pi3lar1 ta4ma3 ku31=ʔĩ5 **na4=numero de**
INTJ:oh personal.name NEG 2SG=BEN **3.SBJ=SP:number SP:POSS**
**celular=ą̃1** kɨ3 pa2 Be3=ʔ
**SP:cell.phone=have.al** INTJ:tag VOC Beronica.VOC=VOC
'Oh, Pilar doesn't **have her cell phone number** (ready) for you, right Beronica?' [LSC-VSC, Laura]

The syntax and semantics of *=ą̃1* 'have alienable' are exactly the same as those of *ã3* 'have inalienable.' To start, the alienable form, like the inalienable one, can take an external noun phrase expressing the possessum, and this NP will also be marked with the comitative case. For example, in (40), *=ą̃1* attaches to the alienable noun 'teacher.' The teacher's name is realized as a separate phrase with the comitative.

(40) *Liliama4ã2 ta4ʎu5ẽ4ẽ3ta2e3ru5ĩ1ą̃1 i4 ɲu̯1ʔma5*
Lilia=ma4ã2 ta4=ʎu5e3ẽ4ẽ3ta2e3ru5ĩ1=ą̃1 i4 ɲu̯1ʔma5
Lilia=COM 1EXCL.SBJ=teacher=have.al DET(IV) now
'We had Lilia as our (substitute) teacher today.' [LWG 2022.1.7]

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The enclitic *=ą̃1* 'have alienable' also displays the same 'wear' (41) and 'use X as a Y' readings (42–43) as *ã3* 'have inalienable.'

(41) ***na4bo3ta1ą̃1*** *rɨ3ã3 ni4ʔĩ4 a4 ɲa4a2 o3ta5*
**na4=bo3ta1=ą̃1** rɨ3ã3 ni4ʔĩ4 a4 ɲa4a2 o3ta5
**3.SBJ=boot=have.al** TOP FOC DET(IV) DEM.PROX(IV) chicken(IV)
'This chicken (a toy) is **wearing boots**.' [2019 CCI C10-C13, CG,]

(42) *ŋe3ma2ma4ã2ma3re3 ni4ʔĩ4* ***na1jaboncilloã5ʔĩ4*** *ɨ̃3pa3ɨ1ra1*
ŋe3ma2=ma4ã2=ma3re3 ni4ʔĩ4 **na1=jaboncillo=ą̃1=ʔĩ4**
DEM.ANA(IV)=COM=just FOC **3.SBJ.SC=SP:bath.soap=have.al=SUB**
ɨ̃3pa3=ɨ1ra1
long.ago=sort.of
'A long time ago, he used to **use that stuff (laundry detergent) as bath soap.**' [20170527_002, RWG,]

(43) Context: I cut open a fruit using a spoon.
*ku3ɟe3ra1ma4ã2 tʃa3kɨ3ʔtʃi1ą̃1*
ku3ɟe3ra1=ma4ã2 tʃa3=kɨ3ʔtʃi1=ą̃1
spoon=COM 1SGSBJ=knife=have.al
'I used the spoon as a knife.' [LWG 2022.1.7]

The main difference between *ã3* 'have inalienable' and *=ą̃1* 'have alienable' relates to the 'have shape' reading of *ã3* 'have inalienable.' Unlike the inalienable form, *=ą̃1* cannot be used to describe the shape of a referent (44).

(44) Context: Describing something which resembles a car.
*#da31a1 rɨ1 na4ʔau3tu1ą̃1*
#da31a1 rɨ1 na4=au3tu1=ą̃1
DEM.PROX(III) TOP 3.SBJ=car=have.al
(Intended reading: 'This is shaped like a car.')
Can only mean: 'This one has a car.' [LWG 2022.1.8]

### 21.2.3 The verb *ʌe4* 'not have'

It's possible to negate predicates with *ã3* 'have inalienable' and *=ą̃1* 'have alienable' by using standard negation (see 39 above, or see Chapter 20 for many more examples).

However, there's also a lexicalized negative possessive verb, *ʌe4* 'not have'. When this verb combines with an inalienable noun, it attaches directly to the root, behaving as an enclitic. The predicate then takes an /a/-class subject proclitic, as

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shown in (45–46). This is exactly the same structure as we saw with *ã3* 'have inalienable.'

(45) *ku3ʎe4a1nɨ3*
ku3=ʎe4=a1nɨ3
2SGSBJ=lack=stomach
'You don't have a stomach (= you never eat).' [20180628_003,]

(46) *ta4ʎe4mɨ1kɨ3?*
ta4=ʎe4=mɨ1kɨ3
3(I).SBJ=lack=companion
'S/he doesn't have any coworkers?' [SCG, YCG-SCG-DGC,]

As with *ã3* 'have inalienable,' *ʎe4* 'lack' must have the inalienable noun attached directly to the verb. It cannot be expressed as part of an external noun phrase (47). This shows that the compounding of 'lack' and inalienable nouns is not object incorporation.

(47) **tʃau1e3ɟa̰1(ma4ã2) tʃa3ʎe4*
*tʃau1=e3ɟa̰1(=ma4ã2) tʃa3=ʎe4
*1SG=sister(=COM) 1SGSBJ=lack
(Intended reading: 'I don't have a sister.') [LWG 2025.1.100]

There are two main differences between *ʎe4* 'not have' and *ã3* 'have inalienable' – behavior with alienable nouns, and compatibility with an external comitative noun phrase.

The first difference between *ʎe4* 'not have' and its positive counterpart appears when the possessum is an alienable noun or noun phrase. In this case, *ʎe4* 'lack' (unlike *ã3* 'have inalienable') **can** still combine with the possessum. However, the possessum does not directly attach to the verb, but instead takes the morphology that licenses incorporation of alienable nouns (Chapter 12). That is, the alienable incorporation enclitic *=a1rɨ3* attaches to the root, and the alienable noun (phrase) appears after the *ʎe4=a1rɨ3* constituent. It behaves as an independent prosodic word, retaining its stress. The enclitic *=ã̰1* then appears on alienable noun/the final element of the alienable noun phrase, as shown in (48). This represents the function of *=ã̰1* as part of the alienable incorporation construction, not its function as 'have alienable.'

(48) *a31 ma3rɨ3 tʃa3ʎe4a1rɨ3 di3ɛ̃3ru1ã̰1*
a31 ma3rɨ3 tʃa3=ʎe4=a1rɨ3 di3ɛ̃3ru1=ã̰1
INTJ:oh PRF 1SGSBJ=lack=AL.INCORP money=AL.INCORP
'Oh, I don't have money anymore.' [YCG, SCG-YCG-DGC]

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The other difference between *ʎe4* ‘lack’ and the positive possessive verbs is compatibility with an external noun phrase. Using *ʎe4*‘not have’ with a separate noun phrase expressing the possessum is unattested in the corpus, and Lilia rejected it (49).

(49) **tɨ31ma2ma4ã2 na4ʎe4mą1*
*tɨ31ma2=ma4ã2 na4=ʎe4=mą1
*3(I)=COM 3.SBJ=lack=wife
(Intended reading: ‘He’s not married to her.’) [LWG 2025.1.101]

Semantically, *ʎe4* ‘not have’ shares the same readings as *ã3* ‘have inalienable.’ That is, as well as ‘not have,’ it can be read as ‘not wear’ (50), ‘not use’ (51), and ‘not have shape’ (with a classifier) (52). However, only the ‘not wear’ reading is found in the corpus.

(50) *e3rɨ4 ta3tʃi5wa1 ta4 nɨ31ʔĩ3 na4tʃi4ku2tɨ1 e3rɨ4* ***na4ʎe4a1rɨ3 tʃa3pa3tu1ą̃1***
e3rɨ4 ta3tʃi5wa1 ta4 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 na4=tʃi4=ku2tɨ1 e3rɨ4
because ant FUT 3=ACC 3.SBJ=sting=NI:foot because
**na4=ʎe4=a1rɨ3 tʃa3pa3tu1=ą̃1**
**3.SBJ=lack=AL.INCORP shoe=AL.INCORP**
‘The ants are going to bite his/her feet because **s/he’s not wearing shoes**.’
[2019 CCI C10-C13, CG]

(51) ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3 o3ta5 tɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃi1mą1ʔgu2, **tʃa3ʎe4a1rɨ3 kɨ3ʔtʃi1ą̃1**
ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3 o3ta5 tɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃi1=mą1=gu2 **tʃa3ʎe4a1rɨ3 kɨ3ʔtʃi1=ą̃1**
when chicken(I) 3(I)=ACC 1SGSBJ.SC=kill=SUB **1SGSBJ=lack=AL.INCORP**
**knife=AL.INCORP**
‘When I killed the chicken, I **did not use a knife** (I used my bare hands).’
[LWG 2025.1.101]

(52) *na4ʎe4pɨ3ta3*
na=ʎe4=pɨ3ta3
3.SBJ=lack=CLF:chunk
‘It is not shaped like a log.’ [LWG 2025.1.101]

## 21.3 Clauses with *=wą1e2* ‘want’

The enclitic *=wą1e2* ‘want’ can be used both in monoclausal constructions, with the meaning ‘want NP,’ and in clausal complementation, with the reading ‘want Proposition.’

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In both 'want' uses, *=wɑ̨1e2* attaches to a noun stem or noun phrase. The enclitic can also be used to express habitual aspect. In this use, it typically attaches to verb stems, and it's therefore covered in the chapter on aspect (Chapter 14.4.2).

### 21.3.1 'Want NP' use

In this use, *=wɑ̨1e2* 'want' attaches directly to a noun (53) or to the last element of a complex NP (54) which denotes the object wanted (i.e., stimulus). The constituent with *=wɑ̨1e2* then takes an /a/-class subject proclitic, which attaches to the left edge of the host, exactly like with *=ɑ̃1* 'have alienable.' The subject proclitic indexes the experiencer. ALL elements of the host NP retain their stress in isolation, behaving as independent prosodic words.

(53) *na4pa4ũ2wɑ̨1e2ʔi5tʃi2 i4 ŋe3a2 ai31ru5*
na4=pa4ũ2=wɑ̨1e2=ʔi5tʃi2 i4 ŋe3a2 ai31ru5
3.SBJ=bread=want=really DET(IV) DEM.MED(IV) dog(IV)
'That dog really likes/wants bread.' [CG24, 2019 CCI C24-C29,]

(54) *tʃa3ta2ʔre4 i4 ta3ra5 i4 tɛ̨1ʔe5tʃi2ʔi4wɑ̨1e2*
tʃa3=ta2ʔre4 i4 ta3ra5 i4 tɛ̨1=ʔi5tʃi2=ʔi4=wɑ̨1e2
1SGSBJ=two DET(IV) machete(IV) DET(IV) sharp=really=NMLZ(IV)=want
'I want two sharp machetes.' [SSG 2016.1.84 cf. LCS 2016.1.88]

The stimulus in the 'want' construction can be as large as a quantified noun phrase (54) or as small as an indefinite pronoun (55) or personal pronoun (56). It always takes the subject proclitic at left and the 'want' proclitic at right.

(55) *ku3tɑ̨2ʔkɨ4wɑ̨1e2?*
ku3=tɑ̨2ʔkɨ4=wɑ̨1e2
2SGSBJ=what?=want
'What do you want?' [CG1, 2019 CCI C1-C2,]

(56) Context: Turning down an offer of fish (fish is Noun Class I)
*ta4ã3 tʃa3tɨ31ma2wɑ̨1e2*
ta4ã3 tʃa3=tɨ31ma2=wɑ̨1e2
NEG 1SGSBJ=3(I).Pro=want
'I don't want it.' [FA1, 2019 CCI C27]

In the 'want NP' use, *=wɑ̨1e2* can also be read as the emotion verb 'love' (57).

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(57) *ta4ma3ta2ã4 wo5e3ĩ1kɨ2 tʃa3ku31ʔwą1e2*
ta4ma3=ta2ã4 wo5e3=ĩ1kɨ2 tʃa3=ku31=wą1e2
NEG=only simply=INFO 1SGSBJ=2SG.Pro=want
'I just don't love you any more.' [20170527_004]

The pronouns in (56–57) seem to be in the same position as an object proclitic, since they appear immediately after the subject proclitic. However, these pronouns are not object proclitics, either phonologically or syntactically. They have contour tones; this indicates that they bear primary stress, which object proclitics never do (Chapter 3.5.1). They also mark arguments with noun class/person values other than third person Class II/III/IV, which object proclitics can't (Chapter 10). Thus, rather than a proclitic, the pronoun in 'want Pronoun' constructions (such as 56) is a root, like the noun in a 'want Noun' construction (such as 53).

### 21.3.2 'Want Complement' use

To express wanting a proposition, speakers use a 'want Pronoun' construction as a main clause, plus a complement clause denoting the proposition. In the main clause, a third-person class II/III/IV pronoun acts as the host of *=wą1e2*. The complement clause is introduced by a complementizer, usually *na4*. It is identical to complement clauses with other complement-taking verbs (i.e., clauses where the complement-taking trigger is a verb root, rather than an enclitic) (Chapter 25.2.1). This structure is shown in (58), where *tʃa3na31ʔwą1e2* is the main clause, and the subordinate clause is all the material introduced by *na4* COMP.

(58) *ɟi2ma2 bo3te1 rɨ1 tʃa3na31ʔwą1e2 na4 na4ʔtʃi5ka2wa5 ta4ta2ã4 na1ŋu3ʔĩ3ʔ*
ɟi2ma2 bo3te1 rɨ1 tʃa3=na43=wą1e2 na4 na4=ʔtʃi5ka2=wa5
DEM.ANA(III) boat(III) TOP 1SG.SBJ=3=want COMP 3=place=ALL
ta4=ta2ã4 na1=ŋu3ʔĩ1=ʔ
FUT=only 3.SBJ.SC=store=SUB
'As for that boat, I want it to be stored right where it belongs.' [LFG, 20180707,]

If the content of the wish is known from context, the complement clause can be deleted completely (59).

(59) Context: 'He offered to take me back to his country.'
*ta4ma3 tʃa3na31ʔwą1e2 i4 tʃo1ma1ʔ.*
ta4ma3 tʃa3=na31=wą1e2 i4 tʃo1ma1
NEG 1SGSBJ=3Pro=want DET(IV) 1SG.TOP
'I didn't want (to go).' [ABS HALDI]

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The pronoun that acts as the host of *=wą1e2* 'want' generally has 3(II/III/IV) agreement, which is the default noun class. However, it can optionally agree in noun class with an argument of the complement clause instead. For instance, in (60), the main clause has a 3(I) pronoun because the underlying subject of the complement clause, *te1ʔe5* 'who?', is Class I.

(60) *te1ʔe5 ti41ʔĩ4 ɟa4 ku1tɨ31ma2wą1e5e3 na4 ta1ku1gɨ2ta2e2ʔĩ4?*
te1ʔe5 ti41ʔĩ4 ɟa4 ku1=tɨ31ma2=wą1e2=e3 na4
who?(I) 3(I).FOC DET(II) 2SGSBJ.SC=3(I)=want=NMLZ(I) COMP
ta1=ku1gɨ2ta2e3=ʔĩ4
3(I).SBJ.SC=play.soccer=SUB
'Who do you want to play soccer?' [LWG 2025.1.113]

This alternation between default noun class agreement on one hand, and agreement with an argument of the complement on the other, also occurs on the object of other complement-taking verbs, such as *u3* 'say' (Chapter 25). However, in 'say' complementation, the pronoun which undergoes the agreement alternation is syntactically an object. In 'want' complementation, on the other hand, it is arguably is not (for example, because it does not have the accusative or any other case).

Last, the strong deontic modal *na31ʔwą1e2* 'must' is morphologically derived from the complement-taking use of *=wą1e2* 'want/need'. However, the deontic modal is different from 'want' because it doesn't take a subject proclitic. I cover the deontic modal in Chapter 14.6.1.

## 21.4 Clauses with a numeral as the predicate

Numerals can be used as possessive predicates with the reading 'have Numeral Nouns.' Thus, the numeral predicate construction expresses both possession and quantification over the noun that it combines with.

When a numeral is used as a possessive predicate, it displays exactly the same syntax as *ʌe4* 'lack'. That is, if the possessed/quantified noun is inalienable, it attaches directly to the numeral as an enclitic. The numeral then takes an a-class subject proclitic, as shown in (61–63).

(61) *tʃa3wɨ43ʔi4ʔi3na3*
tʃa3=wɨ43ʔi4=ʔi3na3
1SGSBJ=one=NI:domestic.animal
'I have one domestic animal.' [SSG 2016.1.84]

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(62) *tʃo31rɨ3 pa3pa5 rɨ1 ta4ta2ʔre4mą1*
tʃo31rɨ3 pa3pa5 rɨ1 ta4=ta2ʔre4=mą1
1SG.POSS father(I) TOP 3(I)=two=NI:wife
'My father had two wives.' [ABS abu]

(63) *na4ta2ʔre4a3kɨ1ta2ã4*
na4=ta2ʔre4=a3kɨ1=ta2ã4
3.SBJ=two=NI:child=only
'They have only two children.' [2019 CCI C5, MA1,]

If the possessed/quantified noun is alienable, then the numeral takes the alienable incorporation enclitic *=a1rɨ3*. After *=a1rɨ3*, the possessed/quantified noun appears as an independent prosodic word. The last element of the possessed/quantified noun phrase bears the alienable incorporation enclitic *=ą̃1* (64–65). The numeral bears the subject proclitic. People judge it acceptable to use a complex noun phrase in this construction (65), but all attested examples, such as (64), involve only a noun stem.

(64) *nɨ31ma2 ra3ã1 na4ta2ʔre4a1rɨ3 mi3tʃi1ą̃1ʔã3*
nɨ31ma2 ra3ã1 na4=ta2ʔre4=a1rɨ3 mi3tʃi1=ą̃1=ʔã3
3.TOP TOP 3.SBJ=two=AL.INCORP cat=AL.INCORP=REP
'She has two cats, she said.' [AFG, AFG-LVI]

(65) *tʃa3ta2ʔre4a1rɨ3 pe4ʔtʃi1 i4 ta31ʔɨ4ą̃1*
tʃa3=ta2ʔre4=a1rɨ3 pe4ʔtʃi1 i4 ta43=ʔɨ4=ą̃1
1SGSBJ=two=AL.INCORP basket(IV) DET(IV) large=NMLZ(IV)=AL.INCORP
'I have two large baskets.' [LCS 2016.1.88, cf. SSG 2016.1.84]

The numeral predicate construction occurs with both native-vocabulary numerals, as shown above, and Spanish numerals, as in (66). Like other regular predicates, numeral predicates can appear in both main clauses (64–66) and relative clauses

(66) *ɲa4a2 tʃo43ʔni5 rɨ1 na4trese4tɨ1*
ɲa4a2 tʃo43ʔni5 rɨ1 na4=tres=e4tɨ1
DEM.PROX(IV) fish(IV) TOP 3.SBJ=three=NI:eye
'This fish has three eyes.' [LWG 2025.1.93]

(67) *ɟi2ma4 ɟa31tɨ3 ɟa4 ochoma5kɨ3*
ɟi2ma4 ɟa31tɨ3 ɟa4 ocho=mą1=kɨ3
DEM.ANA(II) man(II) DET(II) eight=NI:wife=NMLZ(II)
'the man that had eight wives' [LWG 2025.1.93, based on an example overheard in summer 2017]

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The numeral predicate construction is not an example of regular noun incorporation (Chapter 12) because numerals are not syntactically verbs in Ticuna. On the word class diagnostics described in Chapter 5.1, numerals are a subclass of nouns. Additionally, numerals cannot bear subject proclitics – i.e., be used as predicates – except in the numeral predicate construction. Using a numeral with a subject proclitic, but no incorporated nouns, is ungrammatical (68).

(68) **na4ta2ʔre4*
*na4=ta2ʔre4
*3.SBJ=two
(Intended reading: 'S/he has two.') [LWG 2025.1.101]

## 21.5 Clauses with a disease noun as the predicate

Nouns denoting diseases can also be used as nonverbal predicates, but on the same condition as numerals: if and only if the disease noun incorporates another noun. The incorporated noun must denote the body part affected by the disease.

Body parts in Ticuna include both alienable and inalienable nouns (Chapter 7.1.2). The disease predicate construction is possible with both noun types. If the body part is inalienable, such as *ra3ĩ1* 'nose' or *ku1tɨ2* 'foot,' then the part term attaches directly to the noun denoting the disease (69–70). If the part term is alienable, like *ko4nɨ3* 'tongue,' then it's licensed by the alienable incorporation construction. That is, *=a1rɨ3* appears on the predicate root, followed by the alienable part term, followed by *=ɰ̃1* (71).

(69) *tʃa3na1ra3ĩ1*
tʃa3=na1=ra3ĩ1
1SGSBJ=cold/flu=NI:nose
'I have a cold in my nose.' [LWG 2018.4.34]

(70) *na4tʃi4i1ku1tɨ2*
na4=tʃi4i1=ku1tɨ2
3.SBJ=insect.species=NI:foot
'It has *tʃi4i1* (a kind of parasite) in its foot.' [2019 C34 CCI, CG]

(71) *tʃa3tʃu31ri5a1rɨ3 ko4nɨ3ɰ̃1*
tʃa3=tʃu31ri5=a1rɨ3 ko4nɨ3=ɰ̃1
1SGSBJ=pinta=AL.INCORP tongue=AL.INCORP
'I have pinta (a skin disease) on my tongue.' [LWG 2018.4.34]

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The disease+body part construction is also possible with Spanish disease nouns, such as the Spanish noun *caspa* 'dandruff' in (72).

(72) *tʃa1caspae2ru4ʔu5tʃi2ʔ*
tʃa1=caspa=e2ru4=ʔi5tʃi2=ʔ
1SGSBJ.SC=SP:dandruff=head=really=SUB
'I have a lot of dandruff on my head.' [LSC-VSC, Laura]

The disease-denoting roots involved in this construction are nouns, not verbs, because they can't bear subject proclitics alone (73a, 74a). Instead, to express 'have a disease' with these roots, speakers use *=q̃1* 'have alienable' (73b, 74b).

(73) a. **tʃa3na1*
*tʃa3=na1
1SGSBJ=cold/flu
(Intended reading: 'I have a cold.')
Comment: Should be (73b)

b. *tʃa3na1q̃1*
tʃa3=na1=q̃1
1SGSBJ=cold/flu=have.al
'I have a cold.'
[LWG 2018.4.34]

(74) a. **tʃa3tʃu31ri5*
*tʃa3=tʃu31ri5
*1SGSBJ=pinta
(Intended reading: 'I have pinta.')
Comment: Should be (74b)

b. *tʃa3tʃu31ri5q̃1*
*tʃa3=tʃu31ri5=q̃1
*1SGSBJ=pinta=have.al
'I have pinta.'
[SSG 2018.4.36, LWG 2018.4.34]

Similar to the disease + body part construction, the corpus also includes examples of constructions where an animate noun, such as a personal name or animal species name, compounds with a body part. The animate noun + body part compound then functions as a predicate, taking subject proclitics, with the meaning 'have Body Part with the characteristics of Animate; have the Body Part of an

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Animate'. (75–77) provide an attested examples of this structure, which appears mostly in playful or joking contexts.

(75) *ma3 ta4ma3 ɟi1ʔI1ʔ na1we3ʔu5ku1tɨ2ʔɨ̃4ĩ4ʔ*
ma3 ta4ma3 ɟi1ʔI1ʔ na1=we3ʔu5=ku1tɨ2=ʔɨ̃4=ĩ4ʔ
PRF NEG FOC.SC 3.SBJ.SC=parrot=NI:foot=SUB=??
'S/he isn't pigeon-toed (lit. doesn't have parrot feet) any more.' [AFG, AFG-LVI]

(76) *na1Ka3re5ka1ka1tɨ3ʔ*
na1=Ka3re5ka1=ka1tɨ1=ʔ
3.SBJ.SC=personal.name=NI:forehead=SUB
'He has Ka3re5ka1's forehead, i.e., his forehead looks like Ka3re5ka1's.' [20180628_003
need attribution

(77) *na4to1ma2e3nɨ3tʃi3we3ɨ1ʔkɨ2*
na4=to1ma2=e3nɨ3=tʃi3we3=ɨ1ʔkɨ2
3.SBJ=non.Indigenous.person=NI:appearance=NI:face=INFO
'He has a mestizo-looking face.' [AFG, AFG-LVI]

Consultants were not enthusiastic about this construction when asked for judgments, even with attested examples, and accepted it inconsistently (78–79).

(78) *ku3we3ʔwu5pa3ra1ʔi5tʃi2*
ku3=we3ʔwu5=pa3ra1=ʔi5tʃi2
2SGSBJ=parrot=NI:leg=really
'You absolutely have the legs of a parrot, i.e. you have spindly legs.' [Said to me in early August 2018, LWG accepted 2018.4.34, SSG rejected 2018.4.36]

(79) a. **na4ʔai31tʃa1mɨ1ĩ3*
*na4=ai31=tʃa1mɨ1ĩ3
*3.SBJ=jaguar=NI:skin
(Intended reading: 'It has the skin of a jaguar.') [LWG 2018.4.34]

b. *na4ʔai31ma3tɨ4*
na4=ai31=ma3tɨ4
3.SBJ=jaguar=NI:design/markings
'It has the markings of a jaguar.' [SSG 2018.4.36]

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## 21.6 Verbless locative clauses

### 21.6.1 With regular nouns

In the verbless locative construction, a noun (80) or NP (81–82) denoting a place takes the locative case enclitic *=gu2* on its last element. The constituent with *=gu2* then takes an a-class subject proclitic on its first element. The construction expresses static location, i.e. 'be in Noun.'

The verbless locative construction is almost always nominalized (81–82). The nominalizations syntactically appear to be subject relative clauses – they suppress subject agreement on the verb and have nominalizers which agree in noun class with the subject of the verbless predicate. Sometimes they are in syntactic positions and contexts which support a relative clause interpretation, such as (82). However, very often the apparent subject relative actually functions as a main predicate. For example, (81) is an answer to a 'Where is NP?' question.

(80) *tʃa3tɨ3re1gu2*
tʃa3=tɨ3re1=gu2
1SGSBJ=port=LOC
'I'm in the port.' [LWG 2017 tone frames]

(81) *na4tʃi5ĩ1gu5e3ta2ã4*
na4=tʃi5ĩ1=gu2=e3=ta2ã4
3(IV)=house=LOC=NMLZ(I)=still
'It's still in her house.' [2019 CCI C21, CG21]

(82) ***ku3ʔpɨ1mɛ̨1ʔe3gu5ne1*** *tʃo31ʔna1 ku1ʔã3ʔgu2*
**ku3=pɨ1mɛ̨1ʔe3=gu2=ne1** tʃo31=na1
**2SG=wrist=LOC=NMLZ(III)** 1SG=RCP
ku1=ã3=gu2
2SGSBJ.SC=give.INANSGO=COND/SUB
'If you gave me **the one (Class III) that's on your wrist**' [LVI, LFG-MFG-LVI]

In the verbless locative construction, the noun phrase that hosts *=gu2* does not need to include only lexical nouns. It can also host relational nouns, such as *ta3nɨ3* 'among' in (83). The relational noun appears before *=gu2*.

(83) *tʃa3ta43ã5ɛ̃2 e3rɨ4 Ko3ri5 rɨ1* ***na4ta31ta3nɨ3gu2***
tʃa3=ta43ã5ɛ̃2 e3rɨ4 Ko3ri5 rɨ1 **na4=ta31=ta3nɨ3=gu2**
1SGSBJ=happy because Lord TOP **3.SBJ=1INCL=RN:among=LOC**
'I'm happy because the Lord **is among us.**' [Ana's Sermon,]

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The verbless locative can be used to express location in time, as well as space. For example, it appears on the Spanish noun *martes* 'Tuesday' in (84).

(84) *gu2a4ã4ma4 na1ʔĩ5tʃi2 e3ɾɨ4* ***na4=martes=gu2ʔ***
gu2a4=ã4ma4 nai1=ʔɨ5tʃi2 e3ɾɨ4 **na4=martes=gu2**
DEM.DIST(II)=other other(III)=really because **3.SBJ=SP:Tuesday=LOC**
'It's next (lit. that other) week, because **it's on Tuesday.**' [SCG, YCG-SCG-DGC]

### 21.6.2 With demonstratives and irregular spatial nouns

With a small number of nouns, it's possible to form a verbless locative construction without using *=gu2* LOC, i.e. simply by attaching the subject proclitic to the place-denoting NP. Specifically, this is possible with locative demonstratives and certain other spatial nouns that share their morphological properties.

First, recall from Chapter 11 that locative demonstratives, or the equivalents to *here* and *there*, mark case via tone and cannot take segmental case enclitics. Locative demonstratives **do** participate in the verbless locative construction, but due to the restriction against segmental case markers, they never bear *=gu2* in it. Instead, in the verbless locative construction, demonstratives either (a) appear with the tone melody for the locative case (and no segmental enclitic), or (b) appear in a suppletive form which is unique to the verbless locative construction.

Table 21.2 shows the verbless locative predicate form for each demonstrative, highlighting the predicate forms which are different from the regular locative-case forms. (85) provides an example of one locative demonstrative in the verbless locative construction.

Table 21.2: Forms of locative demonstratives in the verbless locative construction

| Demonstrative | Verbless Locative Construction Form |
|---|---|
| SPKR.PROX 'here near me' | nu2ʔũ4 |
| DYAD.PROX 'here between us' | ŋe2ʔa4 |
| SPKR.DIST 'there far from me' | ɟe2ʔe4 |
| Regional 'here around me' | nu2ʔma4 |
| MULTI (ANA/ADDR.PROX) 'there (anaphoric); there near you' | ŋẽ2ʔma4 |
| ANA.REM.PST 'there (anaphoric)' | ɟe2ʔma4 |

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(85) *ɟo43ʔni5 **ta4nu2ʔũ4** ta1 wi31ʔi5 ɟa4 Leuca*
ɟo43ʔni5 **ta4=nu2ʔũ4** ta1 wi31ʔi5 ɟa4 Leuca
in.the.meantime **3(I).SBJ=be.here** also CONT.FOC DET(I) Leuca(I)
'While this was going on, Leuca **was also here**.' [SCG, SCG-YCG-DGC]

Locative demonstratives which have irregular forms in the verbless locative construction take **regular** forms (but still take no *=gu2*) if they appear in this construction with another enclitic. For example, *ɟe5a2* 'there.Distal' has the regular locative form *ɟe2ʔa4* and the irregular verbless locative predicate form *ɟe2ʔe4*. However, in (86) it takes the enclitic *=(ã4)ma4* before the verbal morphology. It therefore surfaces as regular *ɟe2ʔa4*.

(86) *ɟe2ʔa4ma5ʔe3ta2ã4*
ɟe2ʔa4=ã4ma4=e3=ta2ã4
there.DIST.LOC=toward=NMLZ(I)=still
'He's farther over there.' [LVI, LFG-MFG-LVI]

(87) shows that it is ungrammatical to use a demonstrative with *=gu2* in the verbless locative construction, no matter what case allomorph the demonstrative takes.

(87) **na4nu2ʔa2gu2 / *na4nu5a2gu2 / *na4nu2ʔũ4gu2*
*na4=nu2ʔa2=gu2 / *na4=nu5a2=gu2 / *na4=nu2ʔũ4=gu2
*3.SBJ=here.LOC=LOC / *3.SBJ=here.ALL=LOC / *3.SBJ=be.here=LOC
(Intended reading: 'S/he was here.') [LWG 2025.1.101]

The (verbless) locative form of the multifunctional demonstrative, *ŋẽ2ʔma4*, and the equivalent form of the past anaphoric demonstrative, *ɟe2ʔma4*, can function as anaphoric location predicates with the reading 'be in the previously mentioned place.' This is shown in (88–89).

(88) Context: 'As for Mary, she supposedly went there to Veronica's family's place.'
*ti31ʔĩ1ka5ta2ã4 ni4 wo5e3 Lidia **ta1ŋẽ2ʔma5ʔĩ4***
ti31=ʔĩ1ka5=ta2ã4 ni4 wo5e3 Lidia
3=only=only FOC simply personal.name
**ta1=ŋẽ2ʔma4=ʔĩ4**
**3(I).SBJ.SC=be.there.ANA=SUB**
'Only Lidia **was there (at Veronica's)**.' [Laura, LSC-VSC]

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(89) Context: 'She said, "There's the food for you. Now you can go and eat with the pastor."'
*du1ĩ3ʔĩ4gɨ4ɨ1kɨ2* ***na4ɟe2ʔma4gɨ4*** *ga4 to1gɨ4*
du1ĩ3ʔĩ4=gɨ4=ɨ1kɨ2 **na4=ɟe2ʔma4=gɨ4** ga4
person(IV)=PL=INFO **3.SBJ=be.there.ANA.REM.PST=PL** DET.REM.PST
to1=gɨ4
other(IV)=PL
'Other people **were also there (i.e. with the pastor)**.' [NWG Brazil Trip]

The roots *ŋe2ʔma4* and *ɟe2ʔma4* also function as the language's basic locative verbs, as discussed in Chapter 11. However, in (88–89), they are clearly independent location predicates, since they lack an adjunct.

Besides demonstratives, there are a small number of other spatial nouns which also mark case via tone alternations. For example, *ɟa5ĩ2* 'far away' has a 52 tone pattern in the allative case, but 24 in the locative case (cf. Chapter 11). In the verbless locative construction, these nouns have two possible behaviors. They can take the locative tone melody only, like demonstratives (90). Or they can take the allative tone melody plus the segmental enclitic *=gu2*, as shown in (91). This second structure is not possible with demonstratives, as shown by (87) above.

(90) *rɨ1 nɨ31gɨ1 ni4ɟa2ʔĩ4*
rɨ1 nɨ31=gɨ1 ni4=ɟa2ʔĩ4
and 3=REFL **3.SBJ=far.away.LOC**
'They were **far away (locative tone)** from each other.' [ABS HALDI]

(91) *ta4ma3ɨ1kɨ2 nɨ31gɨ1na1* ***na4ɟa5ĩ2gu2***
ta4ma3=ɨ1kɨ2 nɨ31=gɨ1=na1 **na4=ɟa5ĩ2=gu2**
NEG=INFO 3=REFL=RCP **3.SBJ=far.away.ALL=LOC**
'They're not **far away** (allative tone + gu2) from each other.' [NWG Brazil Trip]

In a very small number of examples, people use constituents consisting of a lexical noun or pronoun, plus a relational noun, as locative predicates without =gu2. For example, in (92), the constituent *na4=ĩ1ta1* (3=RN:next.to) 'next to her' functions as a predicate without *=gu2*.

(92) *ni4na4ĩ1ta1ma3*
ni4=na4=ĩ1ta1=ma3
3DISTRIBSBJ=3POSS=RN:next.to=INFO
'They're next to her.' [20170818, LFG]

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# 22 The quotative verb

Ticuna has a morphologically and syntactically irregular quotative verb. This verb is derived, in part, from the speaker-proximal demonstrative. It is used to introduce direct quotations of speech and thoughts, to depict sounds, and to introduce depictions of actions (e.g., gestures). The quotative can also be used in manner anaphora.

The quotative verb is by far the most common verb in the corpus (other than the focus marker/copula, which no longer acts as a verb in many uses). There are 1860 tokens of the quotative, compared to 1175 tokens of the next most common verb, *ũ43* 'go.'

In this chapter, §22.1 describes the morphological form of the quotative, §22.2 discusses its syntax, and §22.3 examines how it is used to introduce direct speech reports and other demonstrations.

## 22.1 Morphological form

The quotative can be marked for all three clause types: main, subordinate, and imperative. In each clause type, it has a different morphological structure from regular verbs.

Table 22.1 presents the main-clause and subordinate-clause forms of the verb. While I set off the syllables of the quotative with hyphens in Table 22.1 for expository purposes, I analyze the quotative as synchronically monomorphemic and represent it as monomorphemic in examples. All quotative forms have stress on the initial syllable (*ɲa4* or *ŋi*).

§22.1.1 and §22.1.2 discuss the main-clause and subordinate-clause forms of the quotative in Table 22.1, including why these paradigms should be considered irregular. §22.1.3 describes quotative imperatives, §22.3.2 discusses the relationship of the quotative to the speaker-proximal demonstrative, and §22.1.5 describes irregular processes that can occur when the quotative follows the interrogative form *ɲu1ʔũ4* 'say what?' or the anaphoric demonstrative *ŋe3ma2*.

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Table 22.1: Main-clause and subordinate-clause forms of the quotative verb (LWG 2025.105)

| Subject | Main | Subordinate | Note |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | ɲa5-tʃa3-gɨ3rɨ1 | ɲa5-tʃa3 | |
| 2SG | ɲa5-ku3-gɨ3rɨ1 | ɲa5-ku3 | |
| 3(I) | ɲa5-ta4-gɨ3rɨ1 | ɲa5-ta4(-gɨ1) | MC same as 1INCL |
| 3(II/III/IV) | ɲa3-na4-gɨ3rɨ1 | ɲa4a2ʔ | Always has final ʔ |
| 3(V) | ŋi5-gɨ3rɨ1-gɨ1 | ŋi5ʔ | MC is not **ŋi5-gɨ3rɨ1*. SC has no corpus tokens. |
| 1INCL | ɲa5-ta4-gɨ3rɨ1 | ɲa4a2-gɨ1 | |
| 1EXCL | ɲa5-ta3-gɨ3rɨ1 | ɲa5-ta3-gɨ1 | |
| 2PL | ɲa5-pe3-gɨ3rɨ1 | ɲa5-pe3-gɨ1 | |

### 22.1.1 Main clauses

The main-clause forms of the quotative appear in the second column of Table 22.1. Like regular verbs, the quotative agrees with its subject in person, number, and noun class. As the table shows, seven of the eight forms have the initial syllable *ɲa*. This syllable has tone 5, except in the third-person Class II/III/IV form, where it has tone 3. As discussed in §22.1.4, the *ɲa* formative is almost certainly derived from the speaker-proximal demonstrative *ɲa4a2*.

Following the *ɲa* syllable, there is a syllable which has the same form as a regular main-clause, /a/-class subject proclitic. After this syllable, there is another formative, which is shown in Table 22.1 as [gɨ3rɨ1]. However, it can also be pronounced as [rɨ3gɨ1] (with the same tone pattern, but metathesizing the onsets of the two syllables). Variation between [gɨ3rɨ1] and [rɨ3gɨ1] in this formative occurs both within and across speakers. For example, Lilia produced the 2SG.SBJ form as both *ɲa5ku3rɨ3gɨ1* and *ɲa5ku3gɨ3rɨ1* during the same session (LWG 2025.1.105).

The third-person Class V form of the quotative is irregular. It has the initial syllable [ŋi] (related to the 3lV pronoun) rather than [ɲa], and it does not include the regular 3(V) main-clause subject proclitic, which is *i4=*. The [ŋi] syllable is instead followed directly by the formative [gɨ3rɨ1gɨ1]. Lilia judged that using only [gɨ3rɨ1], as in the other forms, was ungrammatical. The 11 corpus tokens of the form are consistent with this.

In all main-clause forms of the quotative, there is a single stress which falls on the initial syllable – that is, on [ɲa] in the forms other than 3(V), and on [ŋi] in the 3(V) form. There is no stress on the syllable with the form of a subject proclitic, and there is also no stress on the [gɨ3rɨ1] formative. Since verb roots always

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have initial stress, this indicates that the [gɨ3rɨ1] formative in the quotative is not prosodically a verb root.

Additionally, the subject proclitic-like syllables in the quotative are not prosodically the same as subject proclitics. They form part of the same Prosodic Word as the preceding syllable, while regular subject proclitics are extrametrical (Chapter 3.5.1.1).

### 22.1.2 Subordinate clauses

The subordinate-clause forms of the quotative appear in the third column of Table 22.1. As the table shows, the subordinate-clause forms of the quotative vary from each other and from regular verb forms much more than the main-clause forms.

The 1SG, 2SG, and 3(I) subordinate-clause forms of the quotative all have the same structure. They begin with the syllable *ɲa5*, like most main-clause forms. This syllable is followed by a syllable which has the form of a *main-clause* (not subordinate-clause) /a/-class subject proclitic. The subject proclitic-like syllable, however, is the final element of the stem for the 1SG and 2SG forms. Nothing appears from the [gɨ3rɨ1] ~ [rɨ3gɨ1] formative. For the 3(I) form, however, the syllable *gɨ1* from the [gɨ3rɨ1] formative can optionally appear, and actually appears in 117 of 120 tokens.

The 3(II/III/IV) subordinate-clause form has a unique structure. It consists only of the formative *ɲa4a2*, which is identical to the Class IV speaker-proximal demonstrative, plus a glottal stop. There is no syllable resembling a subject proclitic, and there is also no reflex of the [gɨ3rɨ1] formative from the main clause. The form is sometimes reduced to a monosyllable *ɲa4ʔ*. Likewise, the 3(V) subordinate-clause form consists of only the *ŋi5* formative that appears as the initial syllable of the main-clause form, plus a glottal stop.[1]

The 1INCL subordinate-clause form most closely resembles the 3(II/III/IV) form. It consists of the *ɲa4a2* formative plus the syllable *gɨ1* seen in the 3(I) form. There is no subject proclitic material, but we do not expect any because the 1INCL.SC proclitic for /a/-class verbs is zero.

The 1EXCL and 2PL subordinate-clause forms, like the 1SG and 2SG, consist of the *ɲa5* formative, followed by a syllable with the form of a main-clause, /a/-class subject proclitic. However, after the subject proclitic-like syllable, the form includes the *gɨ1* formative.

[1]Due to the rarity of 3(V) subjects, there are no corpus tokens of this form. All other quotative forms are also found in the corpus.

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Subordinate-clause forms of the quotative are prosodically identical to main-clause forms. That is, they are a single Prosodic Word with stress on the initial *ɲa* or *ŋi* syllable.

### 22.1.3 Imperatives

The singular imperative form of the quotative is *ɲa4a2* (1). It has no underlying glottal stop, and therefore is identical to the speaker-proximal demonstrative.

(1) *tu4 tu4 tu4* ***ɲa4a2***
tu4 tu4 tu4 **ɲa4a2**
SSYMB:knocking **IMP.QUOT**
'Knock the door.' (Very lit.: 'Say *tu4 tu4 tu4*.') [LWG 2025.1.105]

To issue a quotative directive to multiple addressees, you can use either a main-clause (2) or a subordinate-clause form with a 2PL subject.

(2) *tu4 tu4 tu4* ***ɲa5pe3ri3gi1***
tu4 tu4 tu4 **ɲa5pe3ri3gi1**
SSYMB:knocking **2PL.SBJ.QUOT**
'You guys, knock the door.' (Very lit.: 'You guys, say *tu4 tu4 tu4*.') [LWG 2025.1.105]

### 22.1.4 Relationship between the quotative and speaker-proximal demonstrative

The quotative verb is derived from the demonstrative *ɲa4a2*, which is the Class IV form of the speaker-proximal. Outside of this demonstrative, the quotative, and interrogative pronouns, the phoneme /ɲ/ is very rare in the lexicon; therefore, there is no other plausible grammaticalization source.

More specifically, the quotative reflects the use of *ɲa4a2* to draw attention to a part of the upcoming discourse (a 'discourse presentative' use). For example, in (3), RGW has been complaining about chronic pain in her hands and saying that biomedical treatments do not help. Avoiding exposing her hands to heat, which is a traditional treatments, does help. As she describes the heat-avoidance treatment, her addressee and father DGG shows no uptake. In (3b), RGW therefore produces a turn consisting only of the speaker-proximal demonstrative, the presentative interjection *di1ʔ*, and a pulmonic ingressive sound. Then, in (3c), DGG reacts to the turn in (b) with a continuer. This is his first turn in 20 seconds. In (3d), RGW repeats the same assertion which she made in (a) and previously; this time, following the presentative, DGG responds with his own turn.

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(3) a. RGW: *ŋe³ma²kạ¹ e³kạ¹ wa³¹ʔi⁵ ni⁴ʔĩ⁴ɨ̃¹kɨ²ⁱ⁴ tʃau¹ʔkạ¹ ta³¹a¹ne¹tʃi¹gɨ¹ʔɨ¹ra³ʔĩ⁴, pa² pa³*
ŋe³ma²kạ¹ e³kạ¹ wa³¹ʔi⁵ ni⁴ʔĩ4=ɨ̃¹kɨ²ⁱ⁴ tʃau¹=kạ¹
that's.why INFO CONT.FOC FOC=INFO DET(IV) 1SG=PURP
ta³¹a¹ne¹=tʃi¹gɨ¹=ɨ¹ra¹=ʔĩ⁴ pa² pa³
pass.disease=DISTRIB=sorta=SUB VOC father.VOC
'Well, actually, it's because of that that I've been gradually getting a little better, dad.'

b. RGW: ***ɲa⁴a²*** *dɨ¹ʔ* ((ingressive))
**ɲa4a2** dɨ1ʔ ((ingressive)) '**Here it is**, listen up,'
**DEM.PROX(IV)** INTJ:look! yes

c. DGG: *m³¹*
'Mmm'

d. RGW: *kɨ⁵¹, tʃau¹ʔkạ¹ ta³¹a¹ne³ʔĩ⁴, ta⁴ma³ pa³1ʔa2 de⁴³ʔa⁵ʔĩ³ tʃa³dau⁴³*
kɨ⁵¹ tʃau¹=kạ¹ ta³¹a¹ne¹=ʔĩ⁴ ta⁴ma³ pa³1ʔa2 de⁴³ʔa⁵=ʔĩ³
INTJ:pursuit 1SG=PURP pass.disease=SUB NEG quickly water=ACC
tʃa³=dau⁴³
1SG.SBJ=touch
'Really, I'm getting better, (it's because) I don't touch (hot) water early in the morning.'

[20170527-002]

In other words, the demonstrative *ɲa4a2* introduces especially important parts of the discourse or draws attention to it as a whole (as in 3). This function is a natural grammaticalization source for the quotative.

### 22.1.5 Fusion of quotative with other words

The quotative can optionally undergo phonological fusion with the word before it. This happens with only three words: *ɲu1ʔũ4*, which is an interrogative marker that occurs only with the quotative; the anaphoric demonstrative *ŋe3ma2*; and the remote past anaphoric demonstrative *ɟe4ma4*.

First, the interrogative marker *ɲu1ʔũ4* (also pronounced *ɲu1ʔã5*) appears with the quotative verb to form the question 'what did Subject say/do?', as discussed in Chapter 27.1.2.3. The collocation *ɲu1ʔũ4* + QUOT occurs 157 times in the corpus. In eight of the 157 tokens (0.5%), the collocation is phonologically reduced. Reduction always involves reducing the initial *ɲ* of the verb to nasality on the following vowel (4) and can additionally involve deleting the second syllable of

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the interrogative marker (4). Consultants sometimes felt that the reduced form of the collocation was a single word (4), but it is hard to tell where stress falls in these conversational examples. Morphologically, five of the eight tokens of reduction involve the 3(I) form of the quotative, two involve the 1SG, and one (produced by a child but judged correct) involves the 2SG.

(4) *ɲu1ʔã4 **ã5**ta4gi3ʔ?*
ɲu1ʔã4 **ɲa5**ta4gi1=ʔ
do/say.what? 3(I).SBJ.SC.QUOT=SUB
'What did she say/do?' [Edith, SCG-YCG-DGC]
*ɟi31ʔe2ma4 ra3ã3i2ʔki4 ma3 **ɲu1ʔã5ta4gi3ri1***
ɟi31ʔe2ma4 ra3ã3=i2ʔki4 ma3 **ɲu1ʔã4** **ɲa5ta4gi3ri1**
DEM.MULTI(I) TOP=INFO PRF **do/say.what? 3(I).SBJ.QUOT**
'What is she doing/saying now?' [Menrys, LFG-MFG-LVI]

Alongside the 157 tokens of the collocation *ɲu1ʔũ4* + QUOT, there are 150 tokens of the anaphoric demonstrative *ŋe3ma2* immediately followed by the quotative. Two of these tokens reduce the *ɲ* of the quotative to nasality on the following vowel. The reduced tokens are a 1SG main-clause form, shown in (5), and a 1SG subordinate-clause form. Consultants judged both reduced tokens with *ŋe3ma2* to be two words.

(5) *ni31ʔĩ3 ŋe3ma2 **a5**tʃa3gi3ri1ʔã3*
ni31=ʔĩ3 ŋe3ma2 **ɲa5**tʃa3gi3ri1=ʔã3
3=ACC DEM.MULTI(IV) 1SG.SBJ.QUOT=REP
'I said that to her.' [Edith, SCG-YCG-DGC]

Last, there are four tokens of the remote-past anaphoric demonstrative *ɟe4ma4* followed by the quotative. In one of these tokens, the speaker completely deletes the *ɲa* syllable of the quotative and instead produces it as a single word with the demonstrative, which is not reduced. Like most reduced tokens of *ɲu1ʔũ4* with the quotative, this form has a 3(I) subject (6).

(6) *e3kạ1ʔi1ki2 ɟe4ʔgu4ma4 ri1, ga4 no51ri3 no31ʔẽ5 na1 **ɟe4ma5ta4gi3ʔ***
e3kạ1=ʔi1ki2 ɟe4ʔgu4ma4 ri1 ga4 no51ri3
INFO:that's.why=INFO then TOP DET.REM.PST 3.POSS
no31ʔẽ5 na1 **ɟe4ma4** **ɲa5ta4gi3ʔ**
grandmother COMP? **DEM.MULTI(IV) 3(I)SBJ.SC.QUOT**
'So then their grandmother said...' [NWG Brazil Trip]

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Since /ɲ/ is only licensed in stressed syllables (Chapter 3.4), reduction of /ɲ/ in the quotative probably reflects that the quotative verb, in at least some tokens, forms one stress domain with the preceding word and loses its own initial stress. In other words, the quotative is on its way to becoming a enclitic discourse marker. Other discourse markers, such as the marker *e3kạ1* (< *ŋe3ma2kạ1*) which appears as the firs word in (6), have also lost the stress-licensed segments found in their grammaticalization sources (Chapter 31).

## 22.2 Syntax

The quotative agrees in noun class with its subject, who is the person that produced the original speech. It can also include an object, who is the person that heard the speech. For example, in (7), the first token of the quotative, *ɲa42*, has a pro-dropped third-person, non-Class I subject, and has the name *A3le1* as its object.

(7) *ĩ1ne1ã4ma4* ***A3le1ʔĩ̃3 ɲa42ʔ****, "ta2ʔũ4 na43ma4ã2 ku1rɨ3ɲa31ʔĩ̃4,"*
*ɲa3na4gɨ3r+1*
ĩ1ne1ã4ma4 **A3le1=ʔĩ̃3 ɲa4a2ʔ** ta2ʔũ4 na43=ma4ã2 ku1rɨ3=ɲa43=ʔĩ̃4
ɲa3na4gɨ3r+1
2.days.ago **Alex=ACC** 3SBJ.SC.QUOT NEG.IMP 3=COM 2SG.SBJ=run.SG=SUB
3.SBJ.QUOT
'She said to Alex yesterday, "Don't go crashing into it."'[2] [Adriana, AFG-LVI]

The object of the quotative always has the accusative case and is realized as a free word, even if it is a third-person pronoun (8). The object typically occurs before the verb (7–8), like the objects of regular verbs. It can also occur after the verb (9–10), but in this position its behavior is anomalous compared to all other postverbal objects. While all other postverbal objects are caseless, postverbal objects of the quotative still have the accusative case. Furthermore, while all other postverbal objects must be resumed by a preverbal pronominal or proclitic object, postverbal objects of the quotative do not need to be resumed. Outside of the quotative, only verb stems derived with the comparative *-ma2e3* display this object syntax (Chapter 19.2.2).

(8) *ĩ1ne1ã4ma4 wa31ʔi5* ***nɨ31ʔĩ̃3*** *ŋe3ã2* ***a5tʃa3ʔĩ̃4****, "pa2 bu3ʔĩ̃4gɨ4..."*

[2] *ɲa43* + COM is an oblique-object verb meaning 'run/bump/crash into.'

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ĩ1ne1ã4ma4 wa31ʔi5 **ni31=ʔĩ3** ŋe3ma2 **ɲa5tʃa3=ʔĩ4** pa2
2.days.ago CONT.FOC **3=ACC** DEM.ANA(IV) **1SG.SC.QUOT=SUB** VOC
bu3ʔĩ4=gi4
child=PL
'The day before yesterday, I said to them, "Kids..."' [Victoria, LFG-MFG-LVI]

(9) *ŋe4ʔgu2ma3 ri1* ***ɲa3na4gi3ri1 tʃo31ʔĩ3*** *"a3!"*
ŋe4ʔgu2ma3 ri1 **ɲa3na4gi3ri1 tʃo31=ʔĩ3** a3
then TOP **3.SBJ.QUOT** **1SG=ACC** INTJ:ah!
'Then he **said to me**, "Ah!"' [DGG HALDI]

(10) *"ojalá,"* ***ɲa3na4gi3ri1*** *a4 o1ʔi5* ***ni31ʔĩ3***
ojalá **ɲa3na4gi3ri1** a4 o1ʔi5 **ni31=ʔĩ3**
SP:I.hope! **3.SBJ.QUOT** DET(IV) grandfather(IV) **3=ACC**
'Then grandpa **said to her**, "I hope so!"' [Veronica, LSC-VSC]

When the quotative combines with the interrogative marker *ɲu1ʔũ4* or with an anaphoric demonstrative, the interrogative marker/anaphoric demonstrative always occurs before the quotative verb and never has case. Looking to the relative positions of the quotative and the speech report, the quptative occur before the report (11), after it (12), or in both positions (7).

(11) *we5na1ma3 ga4 bu3ʔĩ4gi4 ri1 na31ʔką1 ni4bu3ʔmi1 ri1* ***ɲa3na4gi3ri1****, "pa2 o1ʔi5, tą2a4ki4 ni41ʔĩ4 ku1ŋõ5ʔĩ4?"*
we5na1=ma3 ga4 bu3ʔĩ4=gi4 ri1 na43=ką1 ni4=bu3ʔmi1 ri1
again=INFO DET.REM.PST child=PL and 3=PURP 3.SBJ=run.PLS and
**ɲa3na4gi3ri1** pa2 o1ʔi5 tą2a4ki4 ni41ʔĩ4 ku1=ŋõ1=ʔĩ4
**3.SBJ.QUOT** VOC old.man what? FOC 2SBJ.SC=eat=NMLZ(IV)
'Then the (DET) children ran up to him and **said**, "Old man, what are you eating?"' [LWG t+e]

(12) *"ni3ku3ɯą1"* ***ɲa4ʔã3***
ni31=ʔĩ3 ku3=ɯą1 **ɲa4a2ʔ=ã3**
3=ACC 2SG.SBJ=know **3.SBJ.QUOT=REP**
'She said, "Do you know?"' [Victoria, LFG-MFG-LVI]

It is also possible for the quotative verb to occur on its own, without an overt speech report. This is usually interpreted as anaphoric to previous speech, as in (13b). However, quotatives with no overt speech report can also be interpreted as referring to a non-verbal action or demonstration. I discuss this use further in §22.3.

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(13) a. FA1: *tama3 ta43ʔi5tʃi2ʔĩ4gu2 ta1na3ʔi43ma3re2ʔĩ4?*
ta4ma3 ta43=ʔi5tʃi2=ʔĩ4=gu2
NEG big=really=NMLZ(IV)=LOC
ta1=na3=i43=ma3re3=ʔĩ4
3(I).SBJ.SC=3.OBJ=put.INAN.SG=just=SUB
'Why didn't he just put it (up for sale) at a higher (price)?'

b. Child 17 Caregiver: ***ɲa5ta4gi3ʔ***
**ɲa5ta4gi3=ʔ**
3(I).SBJ.QUOT.SC=SUB
'That's what s/he said (s/he had the same question).'
[Child 17 Free Play]

The quotative is allowed to take number and aspectual enclitics, such as the verbal plural enclitic in (14), but this occurs in much less than 10% of quotative tokens. Most enclitic tokens on the quotative are instead subordinators or discourse markers.

(14) *ɟe4ma4gi4 ni4 ga4 i4ʔ pa2 Ko3ri5ʔ ri1 da31ʔe2gi4ma4 ti41ʔĩ4* ***ɲa4a2gi5ʔ***
ɟe4ma4=gi4 ni4 ga4 i4ʔ pa2 Ko3ri5=ʔ ri1
DEM.REM.PST=PL FOC DET.REM.PST INFO VOC Lord=VOC TOP
da31ʔe2=gi4=ã4ma4 ti41ʔĩ4 **ɲa4a2=gi4=ʔ**
DEM.PROX(I)=PL=CONTRAST 1INCL.SBJ.COP **3.SBJ.SC.QUOT=PL=NMLZ(IV)**
'They were the ones **who said**, 'Lord, here we are."' [Victoria, LFG-MFG-LVI]

Many examples of the quotative take the reportative *=ʔã3* on the verb, as seen in (5) and (11). This does not contribute any additional reportative meaning to the utterance. For example, Victoria in (11) is quoting speech which she personally heard, not quoting speech that she knows about only by hearsay.

The quotative introduces quotations, not indirect speech/attitude reports. This is clear because all of the deictic elements in reports with the quotative, such as pronouns, take the values for the original speech event. For example, the second person refers to the addressee of the original speech, not the addressee now. In contrast, in indirect speech reports (Chapter 25.2.1.2), deictics take values for the current speech event. There are also various syntactic differences between direct and indirect speech reports – for example, the verb inside an indirect speech report must have the general subordinator *=ʔ(ĩ4)*, while this is not required on verbs inside quotations (e.g., 14).

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## 22.3 Semantics and pragmatics

The quotative has several distinct uses. It can introduce quotations of speech and thoughts (§22.3.1), including statements about what someone should hypothetically have said. However, it also introduces sound-symbolic words, demonstrations of actions, and gestures (§22.3.2), and it can combine with uninflected verb stems to form complex predicates. Additionally, the quotative can be used for anaphora and cataphora to speech reports, propositions, and demonstrations (§22.3.3), especially in combination with anaphoric demonstratives.

### 22.3.1 Introducing speech reports

Most tokens of the quotative, including all of (7–14), introduce quotations of another person's actual speech in the past or present. Reports of actual thoughts are introduced with the quotative too (15).

(15) *ka1ʔni4, ʎe3wa̱1 na43gu2 tʃa1ʔĩ3nɨ2ʔĩ4, ma2na4 tʃo31gɨ1 tʃa1ɟo1ʔme5ʔĩ4,* ***ɲa5tʃa3ʔ***
ka1ʔni4 ʎe3wa̱1 na43=gu2 tʃa1=ĩ3nɨ3=ʔĩ4 ma2na4 tʃo31=gɨ1
INFO last.night 3=LOC 1SG.SBJ.SC=think=SUB EPIST 1SG=REFL
tʃa1=ɟau1ʔ=me̱1=ʔĩ4 **ɲa5tʃa3=ʔ**
1SG.SBJ.SC=wash=NI:hand=SUB **1SG.SBJ.SC.QUOT=SUB**
'Last night, I was thinking that I should wash my hands, **I said/thought**.'
[Caregiver, Child 27 Free Play]

Speakers also sometimes use the quotative to introduce a speech report that models what another person, usually the addressee, should have said in the past (16) or should say next now (17). For example, when adults prompt children, either to use a specific lexical item (as in 17) or to repeat an entire turn provided by the adult, they always use the quotative. Hypothetical and directive speech reports like this often have the 2SG quotative plus the counterfactual. However, this structure is not obligatory – for example, people also use the imperative quotative in prompts like (17).

(16) *a3ʔ ɨ3ɨ31 ɲa5ku3ʔĩ4 tʃi4*
a3ʔ ɨ3ɨ31 ɲa5ku3=ʔĩ4 tʃi4
INTJ:ah INTJ:yes 2SG.SBJ.QUOT.SC=SUB CNTF
'You should have said, "Ah, uh-huh." (i.e., you should have accepted)'
[Veronica, LSC-VSC]

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(17) a. Child: *ɟo3ho1ʔĩ4*
ɟo3ho1=ʔĩ4
SP:red=NMLZ(IV)
'The red [Spanish root] one.'

b. Caregiver: *dau1ʔĩ4 ɲa5ku3ʔĩ4 tʃi4*
dau4=ʔĩ4 ɲa5ku3=ʔĩ4 tʃi4
red=NMLZ(IV) 2SG.SBJ.SC=SUB CNTF
'You should say 'the red [Ticuna root] one."'

(C40-C41 CCI)

People sometimes use the quotative to introduce ideas which are actually being expressed for the first time, like the English expression *I'd say*. In this discourse-marker-like use, the quotative typically occurs in the first-person inclusive form (18), including in contexts where there is no one else who would plausibly produce the 'reported' speech besides the speaker. However, there are also some tokens with the first-person singular (19).

(18) ɲu5ʔkɨ3 ta4 ŋe5ã2 pe31gi1 pe3ri3wo1ĩ1 **ɲa4gi3ʔ**
ɲu5ʔkɨ3 ta4 ŋe5ma2 pe31=gi1
soon FUT there.ADDR.PROX 2PL=REFL
pe3ri3=wo1-ĩ1 **ɲa4gi1=ʔ**
2PL.SBJ=discard.PL-DIR:downward **1INCL.SBJ.SC.QUOT=SUB**
'You guys are about to push each other over over there, **I'd say** (lit. **we are saying**).'
[Lizeth, LFG-MFG-LVI]

(19) *pa2 Ta3, **ɲa5tʃa3ri3gi1**, me31ã2 ta4 i5ku1ri3to1ma3re2ʔĩ4ʔ*
pa2 Ta3 **ɲa5tʃa3ri3gi1** me31ã2 ta4 i5=ku1ri3=to1=ma3re3=ʔĩ4
VOC Tais.VOC **1SG.SBJ.QUOT** well FUT VCL=2SG.SBJ.SC=sit=just=SUB
'Tais, **I'm telling you (lit. I'm saying)**, you need to just sit quietly.' [Lizeth, LFG-MFG-LVI]

In another use which is not precisely a speech report, the quotative can also introduce names (20), as well as the lyrics (21) or titles of songs. This use still introduces demonstrations in the form of conventional words, but they probably should not be described as speech reports, since they are not attributed to a speaker. Uses of the quotative for names and titles take the third-person, non-Class I form.

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(20) *Bellavista* ***ɲa3na4gi3ri1*** *i4 no51ri3 ĩ31a1ne1.*
Bellavista **ɲa3na4gi3ri1** i4 no51ri3 ĩ31a1ne1
place.name **3.SBJ.QUOT** DET(IV) 3.POSS town(IV)
'Their town **is called** Bellavista.' [YCG HALDI]

(21) Context: Hearing the neighbors' music.
*Tu3pa3na1a1ri3 e3ri4 na4 ta1 "aleluia"* ***ɲa3na4gi3ri1***
Tu3pa3na1=a1ri3 e3ri4 na4 ta1 aleluia **ɲa3na4gi3ri1**
Christian.God=POSS because COMP also? SP:hallelujah 3SBJ.QUOT
'It's a Christian (song), because it goes (lit. is saying) 'Hallelujah."
[Adriana, AFG-LVI]

### 22.3.2 Introducing demonstrations other than speech reports

The quotative can also introduce demonstrations (in the sense of Clark & Gerrig 1990) of events other than speech. To begin with the most speech-like example, Ticuna does not have ideophones, but does have a small repertoire of conventional sound-symbolic words, such as *tu4 tu4 tu4* 'knocking door.' This expression is usually introduced with the quotative (22).

(22) *ta4gu2ma3 a3ri1 nu5a2 tu4 tu4 tu4* ***ɲa4a2ʔ***
ta4gu2ma3 a3ri1 nu5a2 tu4 tu4 tu4 **ɲa4a2=ʔ**
never INFO here.ALL SOUND.SYMB:knocking **3.SBJ.SC.QUOT=SUB**
'She had never knocked the door here before.' [Victoria, LFG-MFG-LVI]

Speakers also sometimes use less conventional, more phonologically marked words, such as *põ3* 'pow!; crashing sound' in (23), to depict sounds.[3] Such less conventional sound-symbolic words are also introduced with the quotative.

(23) *põ3 ɲa5tʃa3ri3gi1*
põ3 ɲa5tʃa3ri3gi1
SOUND.SYMB:pow! 1SG.SBJ.QUOT
'I went (lit. said), "Pow!"' [MC1, C40-C41 CCI]

The quotative also introduces gestures and bodily actions that demonstrate or depict an event. These uses are easiest to find in the imperative and the second-person singular. For example, in (24), the speaker dabs the inside of her mouth with her finger, while producing an imperative form of the quotative, to show how her addressee should apply a medicine. However, uses of the quotative with

[3] *Põ3* is phonotactically unusual because it has a sequence of a stop plus nasal vowel.

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visible demonstrations also occur in the declarative. In (25), for instance, the speaker produces the quotative, then depicts the route of a boat using a manual gesture.

(24) *ŋe3a2ma4ã2i5ra1, **ɲa4a2** di1ʔ*
ŋe3a2=ma4ã2=i5ra1 **ɲa4a2** di1ʔ
DEM.MED(IV)=COM=first **QUOT.IMP** INTJ:look
'(You should treat your sore) with that stuff first, go like this, look.'
((dabbing inside of mouth with finger)) [KGW, 20170527-004]

(25) Context: Q: 'How do you get to Bellavista?' A: 'It's difficult...' *e3ri4 Rio Amazonasgu2ta2ã4 **ɲa5ta4gi3ri1***
e3ri4 Rio Amazonas=gu2=ta2ã4 **ɲa5ta4gi3ri1**
because SP:river SP:Amazon=LOC=only **1INCL.SBJ.QUOT**
'Because right on the Amazon River, one has to go like this ((depictive gesture: turning boat)).' [DGG HALDI]

The quotative verb can also combine directly with the bare roots of regular, lexical verbs that are not sound-symbolic. For example, it combines with the verb *tu51* 'pull' in the first clause of (26), and with *dau2* 'see' in (27). In my corpus, this construction occurs only with transitive roots. However, the verb root in the construction (and in fact, the entire predicate) never has an expressed object. Additionally, the verb root is always read as denoting a punctual event – similar to English *give it a pull* or Spanish *darle una mirada* – even if it is not underlyingly an achievement/punctual.

(26) *tu51 **ɲa4a2ʔ**, ɟe5a2ma4 tuuu51*
tu51 **ɲa4a2ʔ** ɟe5a2=ãma4 tu51
pull **IMP.QUOT** there.ALL=toward pull
'Pull it, pull it over there.' (Caregiver, Child 44 Free Play)

(27) *dau2 **ɲa5tʃa3ʔ***
dau2 **ɲa5tʃa3=ʔ**
see **1SG.SBJ.SC.QUOT=SUB**
'(As he looked on intently), I took a (quick) look too.' [NWG Brazil Trip]

Besides causing these changes to the syntax and semantics of the verb root, the verb root + QUOT construction does not generally co-occur with a demonstration of the action. Therefore, it is probably better interpreted as a type of complex predication than as a type of demonstration.

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### 22.3.3 Anaphora and cataphora to speech reports and demonstrations

The quotative can also be used in anaphora to a previous part of the discourse, especially previous reports of speech or thoughts. For example, in (28a), the first speaker expresses her thoughts from the previous day using the quotative. In (28b), the second speaker expresses that she had the same thought about washing her hands, using the quotative plus the anaphoric demonstrative *ŋe3ma2*.

(28) a. Child 27 Caregiver: *ka1ʔni4, ʎe3wa̱1 na43gu2 tʃa1ʔĩ3ni2ʔĩ4, ma2na4 tʃo31gɨ1 tʃa1ɟo1ʔme5ʔĩ4, ɲa5tʃa3ʔ*
ka1ʔni4 ʎe3wa̱1 na43=gu2 tʃa1=ĩ3ni3=ʔĩ4 ma2na4 tʃo31=gɨ1
INFO last.night 3=LOC 1SG.SBJ.SC=think=SUB EPIST 1SG=REFL
tʃa1=ɟau1ʔ=me̱1=ʔĩ4 ɲa5tʃa3=ʔ
1SG.SBJ.SC=wash=NI:hand=SUB 1SG.SBJ.SC.QUOT=SUB
'Last night, I was thinking that I should wash my hands, I said/thought.'

b. Child's FBW: *ŋe3ma2* ***ɲa5tʃa3tʃi4re5ʔĩ4*** *ta1 ĩ1ʔne1*
ŋe3ma2 **ɲa5tʃa3=tʃi4re̱1=ʔĩ4** ta1 ĩ1ʔne1
**dem.ana**(IV) **1SG.SBJ.SC.QUOT=ANTIPRF=SUB** also yesterday
'I was **thinking/saying that** yesterday too, actually.'
[Child 27 Free Play]

Sometimes, the quotative is used as anaphora to an entire proposition expressed previously in the discourse, even if that proposition does not involve any reported speech. For example, in (29), the speakers have been discussing how one of their neighbors is suffering from a disease. Menrys observes in line (a) that the neighbor has become pale, without using any reported speech or thought. Despite the lack of a report, Lizeth agrees in line (b) using the quotative.

(29) a. Menrys: *ŋɨ3ɨ1, ɲu1ʔũ4tʃi4 ta4tʃo̱1ʔã4tʃi4kɨ5ra1ĩ1 ka2a4na4?*
ŋɨ3ɨ1 ɲu1ʔũ4tʃi4 ta4=tʃo̱1=ʔã4tʃi4=kɨ5ra1ĩ1 ka2a4na4
INTJ:yes also 3(I).SBJ=white=ACHV=INFER INTJ:tag
'Yes, and she's gotten really pale too, hasn't she?'

b. Lizeth: *mmm31,* ***ŋe3ma2 ɲa5ta3gɨ5ʔĩ4*** *ni4*
mm31 **ŋe3ma2 ɲa5ta3gɨ5ʔĩ4** ni4
INTJ:mm **DEM.ANA(IV) 3(I).SBJ.SC.QUOT** FOC
'Mm-hm, she **has done that** (gotten pale).'
[MFG-LFG-LVI]

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The quotative can also be used cataphorically to indicate that a speech report will appear later in the discourse. For instance, in (30), Yaneth is describing a dispute which took place in the courtyard of a local government building. In line (a), she indexes that the report is coming soon by using a quotative verb with no report. In line (b), she provides additional information about the speech event, but still does not report any speech. In line (c), the report actually begins. Beyond the cataphoric quotative token in line (a), line (c) does not take any additional grammatical marking as a speech report.

(30) Context: 'They had an argument.'

a. **ɲa5ta4gi3ʔĩ4**a3ri1 UGEL=ą̃1ti3
**ɲa5ta4gi3=ʔĩ4**=a3ri1 UGEL=ą̃1ti3
**3(I).SBJ.SC.QUOT=SUB**=INFO organization.name=yard
'They said the following in the yard of the UGEL (school board) (building).'

b. a1de43ʔa̱2gu2ta2ã4ʔã3 ga4 di1ʔwa5 a4 na1ŋa4ʔĩ2ãʔĩ4ʔã3 ga4 I3ve5
a1=de43ʔa2=gu2=ta2ã4=ʔã3 ga4 di1ʔwa5 a4
3.SBJ.SC=talk=COND/SUB=still=REP DET.REM.PST at.last DET
na1=ŋa4ʔĩ2=ã1=ʔĩ4=ʔã3 ga4 I3ve5
3.SBJ.SC=answer=3.SBJ>3.OBJ.SC=SUB=REP DET.REM.PST Ivet
'While they were still talking, Ivet responded to them.'

c. *"na4a3ri1 ku31tʃi3ga1a3ri1 ti4de43ʔa2gi4a3ri1, pa2 ʌe3..."*
na4=a3ri1 ku31=tʃi3ga1=a3ri1
COMP=INFO:CNG 2SG=RN:about=INFO:CNG
ti4=de43ʔa2=gi4=a3ri1 pa2 ʌe3
1EXCL.SBJ=talk=PL=INFO:CNG VOC woman.VOC
'(They said,) "As we've been saying, we are not talking about you, ma'am..."

[Yaneth, YCG-SCG-DGC]

The anaphoric demonstrative *ŋe3ma2* is generally not used cataphorically, including in propositional cataphora (Skilton 2019: ch. 7). However, *ŋe3ma2* plus the quotative *can* be used cataphorically. For example, before (8) (reproduced from §22.2), Victoria has been describing how she plans to go shopping after I pay her for her participation. She has been discussing what she will buy for herself, but then she shifts to reporting what she promised to buy for the children of her household. In (8), she introduces the report of her speech to the children with *ŋe3ma2* and the quotative. Since the speech to the children has not been discussed in the discourse so far, this use can only be cataphoric.

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(8) *ĩ1ne1ã4ma4 wa31ʔi5 nɨ31ʔĩ3* ***ŋe3ã2 a5tʃa3ʔĩ4****, "pa2 bu3ʔĩ4gɨ4..."*
ĩ1ne1ã4ma4 wa31ʔi5 nɨ31ʔĩ3 **ŋe3ma2** **ɲa5tʃa3=ʔĩ4** pa2
2.days.ago CONT.FOC 3=ACC **DEM.ANA(IV) 1SG.SC.QUOT=SUB** VOC
bu3ʔĩ4=gɨ4
child=PL
'The day before yesterday, I **said** (lit., **said that**) to them, "Kids..."'
[Victoria, LFG-MFG-LVI]

People also use *ŋe3ma2* with the quotative to refer to actions that are ongoing at the time of speech, or that have just finished. For example, in (31a) (reproduced from 26), a caregiver tells their child to pull on a toy. The child complies with this, and the caregiver then expresses their approval by saying *ŋe3ma2* plus the 2SG subordinate form of the quotative in (31b).

(31) a. *tu51 ɲa4a2ʔ, ɟe5a2ma4 tuuu51*
tu51 **ɲa4a2ʔ** ɟe5a2=ãma4 tu51
pull **IMP.QUOT** there.ALL=toward pull
'Pull it, pull it over there.'

b. **ŋe3ma2 ɲa5ku3ʔ**
**ŋe3ma2** **ɲa5ku3=ʔ**
**DEM.ANA(IV) 2SG.SBJ.SC.QUOT=sub**
'**(Right), you go like that.**'
[Caregiver, Child 44 Free Play]

While quotatives with any subject can index ongoing events, the expression *ŋe3ma2 ɲa5ku3ʔ(ĩ4)* (DEM.ANA(IV) 2SG.SBJ.SC.QUOT=**sub**) 'you go like that' is extremely conventional, especially in child-directed speech. Because of its conventionality, the anonymous research assistant preferred to translate this expression as *Muy bien!* 'well done!,' rather than using the manner demonstrative *así*, which was her preferred translation for most other uses of the quotative.

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# 23 Relative clauses

In this chapter I describe headed relatives (§23.1), followed by headless relatives (§23.2) and finally free relatives (§23.3). My goal is to abstract away from differences in argument structure between verbs (of the relative), and in noun class between head nouns, and focus instead on differences in the formation of different types of relative. To achieve this, the chapter relies mostly on minimally different elicited examples.

## 23.1 Headed relatives

Headed relative clauses can be formed if the head acts as a subject (§23.1.1), object (§23.1.2, §23.1.3), or adjunct (§23.1.4) inside the relative clause. Each of these syntactic roles for the head will lead to a different structure within the relative clause. Non-restrictive relative clauses are identical to restrictive relatives of the same syntactic structure (§23.1.7).

Relative clauses headed by possessors are also possible (§23.1.5), but these structures are hard to find and are not very consistently accepted in elicitation. Most possessor relatives compete with subject and object relative clauses involving noun incorporation, and people prefer the argument relatives when they are possible.

Relativizing on the standard of comparison (in a comparative construction) is acceptable as well (§23.1.6), but in Ticuna comparatives are syntactically transitive verbs. Therefore, this is simply a special case of relativizing on an object.

### 23.1.1 Subject relatives

In a subject relative, the head noun phrase, including any modifiers other than the relative clause, appears first.

The head is immediately followed by a determiner. If the relative clause is temporally neutral, the determiner agrees in noun class with the head noun. If the relative (not the matrix clause) is remote past, then the determiner has the form *ga4* regardless of the head's noun class (Chapter15.3). This suppression of noun class agreement can be seen by comparing (1) and (2). In both of these

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the head noun is Class I, but in (1) the relative has present temporal reference and in (2) it has remote past temporal reference. As a result, (1) has an agreeing determiner, but (2) simply has *ga4*.

After the determiner, we get the relative clause proper. The verb of this clause has two unique characteristics. First, it has a nominalizer which agrees in noun class with the head. Second, it does not display noun class agreement on the subject proclitic; if the verb is /a/-class, it does not display a subject proclitic at all. This is a form of anti-agreement (Baier 2018).

(1–5) give examples of noun class agreement on relative clauses. All verbs in these examples are /a/-class and therefore have zero subject proclitics (see below on the form of agreement in subject relatives).

(1) *mu3ɲe4ka1 a4 ta31e3 nu5a2 tɨ31ʔĩ3 na1ʎe43*
mu3ɲe4ka1 a4 ta43=e3 nu5a2 tɨ31=ʔĩ3 na1=ʎe43
doll(I) DET(I) big=NMLZ(I) here.ALL 3(I)=ACC IMP=transport:InamO
'The doll (Class I) that's big, bring it here.'
[2019 C10-C13 CCI, CG, 7:43]

(2) *ɟe4ma4ʔĩ3 ga4 tʃo31ma4ã2ɨ1kɨ2 ti1ʔu2ʔĩ4 ga4 gu31ʔe2ma4 ta31e3ɟa̱1 ga4 Ka3ni3ma3ru1wa5ne4 ũ31e3*
ɟe4ma4=ʔĩ3 ga4 tʃo31=ma4ã2=ɨ1kɨ2
DEM.REM.PST(IV)=ACC DET.REM.PST 1SG=COMINST=INFO
ti1=u3=ʔĩ4 ga4 gu31ʔe2ma4 ta31=e3ɟa̱1
3(I)SBJ.SC=say=SUB DET.REM.PST DEM.REM.PST(I) 1INCL=sister
ga4 Ka3ni3ma3ru1=wa5=ne4 ũ43=e3
DET.REM.PST place.name=ALL=SOURCE go.SG=NMLZ(I)
'That was what she told me, that sister (Class I) who had come from Canimarú.'
[NWG Trip 24:27]

(3) *nɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa3dau2 ɟa4 tʃe3ra1 ɟa4 tʃi31ʔe2kɨ3*
nɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=dau2 ɟa4 tʃe3ra1 ɟa4 tʃi31ʔe2=kɨ3
3=ACC 1SGSBJ=see DET(II) handsaw(II) DET(II) bad=NMLZ(II)
'I saw the saw (Class II) that was bad.'
[LWG 2017.1.82]

(4) *nɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa3dau2 ɟa1 tɨ1e1 ɟa1 tʃi31ʔe5ne1*
nɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=dau2 ɟa1 tɨ1e1 ɟa1 tʃi31ʔe2=ne1
3=ACC 1SGSBJ=see DET(III) manioc(III) DET(III) bad=NMLZ(III)
'I saw the manioc (Class III) that was bad.'
[LWG 2017.1.82]

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(5) *tʃo31ʔĩ5 na4ŋe2ʔma4 i4 tʃau1pa3ne3 kɨ2a4na4 i4 ta2gu4kɨ1ą̃1 i1ʔĩ1ʔĩ4*
tʃo31=ʔĩ5 na4=ŋe2ʔma4 i4 tʃau1=pa3ne3 kɨ2a4na4 i4
1SG=BEN 3SBJ=be.in.place DET(IV) 1SG=paperwork(IV) right? DET(IV)
ta2gu4=kɨ1ą̃1 i1=ĩ4=ʔĩ4
downriver=originating.from 3SBJ.REL=Cop=NMLZ(IV)
'I have a Brazilian passport, right (lit. a document (Class IV) that is from downriver).'
[NWG Trip 4:32]

Including subject proclitics inside of /a/-class subject relatives is ungrammatical, as shown for a Class I subject in (6)a and for a Class IV subject in (6)b.

(6) a. *tɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=dau2 ɟa4 da31ʔe2 bu3e3 ɟa4 (*ta1=)tai31ɟa5e3*
tɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=dau2 ɟa4 da31ʔe2 bu3e3 ɟa4
3(I)=ACC 1SGSBJ=see DET(I) DEM.PROX(I) baby(I) DET(I)
(*ta1=)tai31ɟa2=e3
(*3(I)SBJ.SC=)hungry=NMLZ(I)

b. *nɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa3dau2 a4 ɲa4a2 bu3ʔĩ4 i4 (*na1=)tai31ɟa2ʔĩ4*
nɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=dau2 a4 ɲa4a2 bu3ʔĩ4 i4
3(IV)=ACC 1SGSBJ=see DET(IV) DEM.PROX(IV) child(IV) DET(IV)
(*na1=)tai31ɟa2=ʔĩ4
(*3SBJ.SC=)hungry=NMLZ(IV)

'I saw this hungry baby (Class I) / child (Class IV).' [LWG 2024.1.38-39]

It is important that what subject relatives suppress is *noun class agreement* on subject proclitics, not the *presence* of subject proclitics. /a/-class subject relatives lack overt subject proclitics. However, /i/-class subject relatives have them – they take the reduced, non-noun-class specific subject proclitic *i1=*. They cannot take the proclitics used for other /i/-class subordinate clauses, such as *ti1=* for a class I subject or *ɟa1=* for a class II/III/IV subject (7), because those proclitics express noun class agreement.

(7) a. *tɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa3dau2 ɟa4 da31ʔe2 bu3e3 ɟa4 ✓i1dą̲2we3e3 / *ti1dą̲2we3e3*
tɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=dau2 ɟa4 da31ʔe2 bu3e3 ɟa4
3(I)=ACC 1SGSBJ=see DET(I) DEM.PROX(I) baby(I) DET(I)
✓i1=dą̲2we1=e3 / *ti1=dą̲2we1=e3
✓3SBJ.SC=sick=NMLZ(I) / *3(I)SBJ.SC=sick=NMLZ(I)

b. *nɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa3dau2 a4 ɲa4a2 bu3ʔĩ4 i4 ma3rɨ3 ✓i1dą̲2we3ʔĩ4 / *ɟa1dą̲2we3ʔĩ4*

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ni̱31ʔĩ3 tʃa3dau2 a4 ɲa4a2 bu3ʔĩ4 i4 ma3ri̱3
3(IV)=ACC 1SGSBJ=see DET(IV) DEM.PROX(IV) child(IV) DET(IV) PRF
✓i1dą̃2we3ʔĩ4 / *ɲa1dą̃2we3ʔĩ4
✓3SBJ.SC=sick=NMLZ(IV) / *3(IV)SBJ.SC=sick=NMLZ(IV)
'I saw this sick baby (Class I) / child (Class IV).' [LWG 2024.1.38-39]

/r/-class subject relatives follow the same pattern. The verb of an /r/-class subject relative takes only the non-noun-class specific subject marker *ri̱3=* (8). It cannot take the full proclitics used for other /r/-class subordinate clauses, which are *ta1ri̱3=* (class I) and *na1ri̱3=* (class IV).

(8) a. *ti̱31ʔĩ3 tʃa3dau2 ɲa4 da31ʔe2 bu31e3 ɲa4 ✓ri̱3nąʔe3 / *ta1ri̱3nąʔe3*
ti̱31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=dau2 ɲa4 da31ʔe2 bu31e3 ɲa4
3(I)=ACC 1SGSBJ=see DET(I) DEM.PROX(I) baby(I) DET(I)
✓ri̱3=na1=e3 / *ta1ri̱3=na1=e3
✓3.SBJ.SC=stop.crying=NMLZ(I) / *3.SBJ.SC=stop.crying=NMLZ(I)

b. *ni̱31ʔĩ3 tʃa3dau2 a4 ɲa4a2 bu3ʔĩ4 i4 ✓ri̱3nąʔʔĩ4 / *na1ri̱3nąʔʔĩ4*
ni̱31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=dau2 a4 ɲa4a2 bu3ʔĩ4 i4
3(IV)=ACC 1SGSBJ=see DET(IV) DEM.PROX(IV) child(IV) DET(IV)
✓ri̱3=na1=ʔĩ4 / *na1ri̱3=na1=ʔĩ4
✓3.SBJ.SC=stop.crying=NMLZ(IV) / *3.SBJ.SC=stop.crying=NMLZ(IV)
'I saw this baby (Class I) / child (Class IV) who stopped crying.' [LWG 2024.1.39-40]

While I've glossed *i1=* and *ri̱=* above as '3SBJ.SC,' note that the agreement which occurs in subject relative clauses is identical to the agreement in subordinate clauses with first person inclusive subjects and impersonal (human) subjects. Subject agreement in subordinate clauses in general is discussed further in Chapter 6.1.1.2.

### 23.1.2 Object relatives: objects of psych verbs

Other headed relative clauses share most of the structure of subject relatives. Specifically, the structure of a relative clause in Ticuna is always Head + Determiner + Relative; the determiner always either agrees in noun class with the head or is *ga4* DET.REM.PST (which never undergoes noun class agreement); and the verb of the relative always bears a nominalizer agreeing in class with the head.

What differs between types of relative clauses is the treatment of the head within the relative. Specifically, in subject relatives, the head is always gapped

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and noun class agreement (on the verb, with the head) is suppressed. However, in other types of relative, the head is generally resumed as a pronoun with no changes in agreement.

Relatives where the head is the object of a psych verb provide a good example of the resumption strategy. Relatives where the head is the object of a causative verb are much more complex, so I'll deal with them second.

In a relative where the head is a psych verb object, the head is obligatorily resumed. Specifically, it's realized as an accusative-marked pronoun immediately preceding the verb, as shown by the pronoun *ni31=ʔĩ3* (3=ACC) in (9). This is exactly the same object syntax as you would see in a matrix clause with a psych verb and pronominal object. Gapping the psych object is ungrammatical (10).

(9) *wi43ʔi4 i4 me31ʔĩ4ma3 ni41ʔi4 a4 o43re4 i4 to31ma4ã2 ni31ʔĩ3 ki1ʔu2ʔĩ4*
wi43ʔi4 i4 me43=ʔĩ4ma3 ni41ʔi4 a4 o43re4
one DET(IV) good=NMLZ(IV)=INFO 3SBJ.Cop DET(IV) word(IV)
i4 to31=ma4ã2 ni31=ʔĩ3 ki1=u3=ʔĩ4
DET(IV) 1EXCL=COMINST 3=ACC 2SGSBJ=say=NMLZ(IV)
'The message that you told us is a good thing.' [NWG Trip 33:07]

(10) *Bi3tu5 ri1 ni31ʔĩ3 na4dau2ʔtʃa1ĩ1 i4 ŋe3ma2 bu3ʔĩ4 i4 tʃo1ma1 *(ni31ʔĩ3) tʃa1kʷa5ʔĩ4*
Bi3tu5 ri1 ni31=ʔĩ3 na4=dau2=tʃa1ĩ1 i4 ŋe3ma2 bu3ʔĩ4
Victoria TOP 3=ACC 3SBJ=see=PROSP DET(IV) DEM.Multi(IV) child(IV)
i4 tʃo1ma1 *(ni31=ʔĩ3) tʃa1=kʷa1=ʔĩ4
DET(IV) 1SG.TOP *(3=ACC) 1SGSBJ.SC=know=NMLZ(IV)
'Victoria wants to see the child (Class IV) that I know.' [LWG 2018.1.15, 2024.1.40]

Inside an object relative clause, the resumptive object pronoun displays full noun class agreement, as in matrix clauses. For example, in (11), the Class I head is still resumed by a Class I object pronoun inside the relative clause. The noun class agreement is obligatory – you cannot use Class IV, the default noun class. Thus, there is no anti-agreement in object relatives, only subject relatives. Also, as shown by the second ungrammatical form in this example, you cannot gap the object in a psych-verb object relative. This contrasts with the structure of other object relatives, as discussed next.

(11) *Bi3tu5 ri1 ti31ʔĩ3 na4dau2ʔĩtʃa1ĩ1 ɟa4 ɟi31ʔe2ma4 bu3ʔe3 ɟa4 tʃo1ma1 [✓ti31ʔĩ3 / *ni31ʔĩ3 / *∅] tʃa1kʷa5e3*

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Bi3tu5 ri1 ti31ʔĩ3 na4dau2ʔĩtʃa1ĩ1 ɟa4 ɟi31ʔe2ma4 bu3ʔe3 ɟa4
Victoria TOP 3=ACC 3.SBJ=see=PROSP DET(I) DEM.MULTI(I) baby(I) DET(I)
tʃo1ma1 [✓ti31=ʔĩ3 / *ni31ʔ=ĩ3 / *∅] tʃa1=k$^{w}$a̱1=e3
1SG.TOP [✓3(I)=ACC / *3=ACC / ∅] 1SGSBJ.SC=know=NMLZ(I)
'Victoria wants to see the baby (Class I) that I know.' [LWG 2024.1.40]

### 23.1.3 Object relatives: objects of causative verbs

Psych verbs treat all types of objects the same; there is no differential object marking. In contrast, causative verbs have a great deal of differential object marking based on the animacy and noun class of the object. This DOM extends to and affects the formation of object relative clauses containing causative verbs.

We'll start with Class I. When the head is Class I, a causative-object relative clause is identical to a psych-object relative clause. That is, the object is obligatorily resumed inside the relative clause as a Class I accusative pronoun. It cannot be gapped (12). This is one example of the generalization that the DOM distinction between psych verbs and causative verbs collapses when the object is Class I (Chapter 10).

(12) *ti31ma2ka̱1 tʃa3dau2 ɟa4 dau2ki3 ɟa4 nu5a2 *(ti31ʔĩ3) tʃa1ʎe31ʔe3*
ti31ma2=ka̱1 tʃa3=dau2 ɟa4 dau2ki3 ɟa4 nu5a2 *(ti31=ʔĩ3)
3(I)=PURP 1SGSBJ=look.for DET(I) mirror(I) DET(I) here.ALL *(3(I)=ACC)
tʃa1=ʎe43=ʔe3
1SGSBJ.SC=transport.INANO=NMLZ(I)
'I'm looking for the mirror that I brought.' [LWG 2018.1.83]

Now look to Class II. When the head of an object relative is Class II, it is typically resumed inside the relative clause, as in (13). The form of the resumption is always as a proclitic to the verb. People will sometimes accept gapping the Class II object, but they always volunteer structures with resumption. Class II causative objects are the only arguments that can be resumed as proclitics inside a relative clause (Class I and V arguments are resumed too, but as pronouns). This is part of the overall unusual object syntax of Class II (again see Chapter 10).

(13) *na31ʔka̱1 tʃa3dau2 ɟa4 tʃe3ra1 ɟa4 nu5a2 tʃa1(na3)ʎe31ki3*
na43=ka̱1 tʃa3=dau2 ɟa4 tʃe3ra1 ɟa4 nu5a2
3=PURP 1SGSBJ=see DET(II) handsaw(II) DET(II) here.ALL

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tʃa1=(na3=)ʎe43=kɨ3
1SGSBJ.SC=(3.OBJ=)transport.INANO=NMLZ(II)
'I'm looking for the saw that I brought.' [LWG 2018.1.83]

Class III objects are obligatorily gapped (14). In a matrix clause or a non-relative subordinate clause, these objects would be expressed (like Class II objects) as proclitics to the verb. However, resuming the Class II object with a proclitic inside the relative clause is ungrammatical.

(14) *na31ʔkɑ̨1 tʃa3dau2 ɟa1 ʎu3e3 ɟa1 nu5a2 tʃa1(*na3)ʎe31ʔĩ5ne1*
na43=kɑ̨1 tʃa3=dau2 ɟa1 ʎu3e3 ɟa1 nu5a2
3=PURP 1SGSBJ=look.fot DET(III) canoe(III) DET(III) here.ALL
tʃa1=(*na3=)ʎe43=ʔĩ5ne1
1SGSBJ.SC=(*3OBJ=)transport:InamO=NMLZ(III)
'I'm looking for the canoe that I brought.' [LWG 2018.1.83]

Class IV objects behave exactly like Class III. They must be gapped inside the relative clause; resuming them with proclitics is ungrammatical (15).

(15) *na31ʔkɑ̨1 tʃa3dau1 i4 ta3ra5 i4 nu5a2 tʃa1(*na3)ʎe31ʔĩ4*
na43=kɑ̨1 tʃa3=dau1 i4 ta3ra5 i4 nu5a2
3=PURP 1SGSBJ=look.for DET(IV) machete(IV) DET(IV) here.ALL
tʃa1=(*na3=)ʎe43=ʔĩ4
1SGSBJ.SC=(*3OBJ=)transport:InamO=NMLZ(IV)
'I'm looking for the machete that I brought.' [LWG 2018.1.83]

Animacy does matter to DOM, specifically for the objects of causative verbs. However, it doesn't matter to the formation of causative-object relatives. (16) is a class IV example of an animate object RC with exactly the same structure as the inanimate example in (15). The only difference is that the speaker must use the verb ga4 'transport:AnimO' instead of ʎe43 'transport:InamO' because of the animate object (both of these verbs are causative).

(16) *Bi3tu5 rɨ1 nɨ31ʔĩ3 na4dau2ʔtʃa1ĩ1 i4 ŋe3ma2 bu3ʔĩ4 i4 nu5a2 tʃa1(*na3)ga1ʔĩ4*
Bi3tu5 rɨ1 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 na4=dau2=tʃa1ĩ1 i4 ŋe3ma2 bu3ʔĩ4
Victoria TOP 3=ACC 3SBJ=see=PROSP DET(IV) DEM.Multi(IV) child(IV)
i4 nu5a2 tʃa1=(*na3=)ga4=ʔĩ4
DET(IV) here.ALL 1SGSBJ.SC=(*3OBJ=)transport:AnimO=NMLZ(IV)
'Victoria wants to see the child that I brought.' [LWG 2018.1.15]

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Most of the examples above were elicited, so (17) provides a spontaneous example of a causative object RC. The object is class III, and is gapped, as in the elicited Class III example (14) above.

(17) *te1ʔe5a1rɨ3ã3 tʃi3q̃1 ɟa1 ti3a1 ro3de1 ŋe5ma2 ʎe31ʔĩ5ne1?*
te1ʔe5=a1rɨ3=ã3 tʃi3q̃1 ɟa1 ti3a1 ro3de1 ŋe5ma2
who?=POSS=Rep plant.sp DET(III) SP:aunt Rode there.ANA.all
ʎe43=ʔĩ5ne1?
transport:InamO=NMLZ(III)
'Whose, reportedly, is the uvilla [Amazonian Grape, *Pourouma cecropiifolia*] that Aunt Ro3de1 is taking?' [20170818 LVI 6:46]

ALL verbs borrowed/code-switched from Spanish behave as causative for object syntax purposes (Chapter 6.2.1). This includes behaving as causative in the formation of object relatives. (18) shows an object relative where the verb, *funda* 'found organization,' is a completely unadapted borrowing/code-switch into Spanish. Because the head belongs to a gappable noun class (Class III), it is gapped, just as with the native-vobulary verb in (14).

(18) *ŋe5ma2 na4ŋe2ʔma4 ɟa1 wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa1 ʎu3ta3ke1ʔe3pa4ta3ĩ1, kɨ2a4na4, ɟa1 panamericanaɨ1kɨ2 fundagɨ5ne1*
ŋe5ma2 na4=ŋe2ʔma4 ɟa1 wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa1
there.ANA.ALL 3SBJ=be.in.placet DET(III) one DET(III)
ʎu3ta3ke1ʔe3=pa4ta3ĩ1 kɨ2a4na4 ɟa1 panamericana=ɨ1kɨ2
people.assemble=building right? DET(III) organization.name=INFO
funda=gɨ4=ne1
SP:found=PL=NMLZ(III)
'There's a church there, right, which the Pan-American (missionaries) founded.' [NWG, NWG-ABS Visit, 28:42]

### 23.1.4 Adjunct relatives

You can relativize on any kind of adjunct. The structure of an adjunct relative clause is identical to the structure of a psych-object relative clause. That is, the head is resumed inside the relative clause with a pronoun. The resumptive pronoun agrees with the head in noun class and bears the case which the head would be assigned if it were in situ. The determiner introducing the relative and the nominalizer on the relative also agree with the head in noun class.

The following three examples show relative clauses where the head is an adjunct. In (19) the adjunct is allative, in (20) locative and in (21) recipient case. In

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(20) and (21), it's arguable whether the head is really an adjunct. While the heads here are marked with oblique cases, it is because they are objects of oblique-object verbs (Chapter 6.2.1), not truly optional adjuncts like (19). However, whether an oblique case is assigned by the verb or not, the structure used to relativize an oblique/adjunct is always the same.

(19) *ã4kɨ4wa5 ŋe2ʔma5ne1 ni41ʔĩ4 a1 ɟi2ma2 ɟa1 ʎu3ta4ke1ʔe3pa4ta3ĩ, na43wa5 pastor i1ɟa1ʔĩ1ʔĩ5ne1*
ã4kɨ4=wa5 ŋe2ʔma4=ne1 ni41ʔĩ4 a1 ɟi2ma2 ɟa1
HESIT=ALL be.in.place=NMLZ(III) FOC DET(III) DEM.MULTI(III) DET(III)
ʎu3ta4ke1ʔe3=pa4ta3ĩ na43=wa5 pastor i1ɟa1=ĩ4=ʔĩ5ne1
people.assemble=building 3=ALL SP:pastor 3.SBJ.SC=COP=NMLZ(III)
'It's in whatsitcalled, that one, the church where he is pastor.' [NWG, NWG Trip 25:48]

(20) *Bi3tu5 rɨ1 nɨ31ʔĩ3 na4dau2ʔtʃa1ĩ1 i4 ŋe3ma2 bu3ʔĩ4 i4 *(na43gu2) tʃa1rɨ3ʔĩ3nɨ2ʔĩ4*
Bi3tu5 rɨ1 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 na4=dau2=tʃa1ĩ1 i4 ŋe3ma2 bu3ʔĩ4
Victoria TOP 3=ACC 3.SBJ=see=PROSP DET(IV) DEM.MULTI(IV) child(IV)
i4 *(na43=gu2) tʃa1rɨ3=ĩ3nɨ3=ʔĩ4
DET(IV) *(3(IV)=LOC) 1SG.SC=think=NMLZ(IV)
'Victoria wants to see the child that I thought about.' [LWG 2018.1.15]

(21) *Bi3tu5 rɨ1 nɨ31ʔĩ3 na4dau2ʔtʃa1ĩ1 i4 ŋe3ma2 bu3ʔĩ4 i4 *(nɨ31ʔna1) tʃa1dau2ʔĩ4*
Bi3tu5 rɨ1 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 na4dau2=tʃa1ĩ1 i4 ŋe3ma2 bu3ʔĩ4
Victoria TOP 3=ACC 3.SBJ=see=PROSP DET(IV) DEM.MULTI(IV) child(IV)
i4 *(nɨ31=na1) tʃa1=dau2=ʔĩ4
DET *(3=RCP) 1SGSBJ=take.care=NMLZ(IV)
'Victoria wants to see the child that I take care of.' [LWG 2018.1.15]

### 23.1.5 Possessor relatives

Some languages allow relativization on adjuncts, but not on possessors (Keenan & Comrie 1977). Ticuna is somewhat more permissive: you can form a relative clause on either an inalienable possessor (22), or an alienable one, as in (23). The possessor is resumed inside the relative as a pronoun, exactly as with an adjunct relative. The resumptive pronoun then behaves as an inalienable or alienable possessor according to the status of the possessed noun.

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(22) *Bi3tu5 rɨ1 nɨ31ʔĩ3 na4dau2ʔtʃa1ĩ1 i4 ŋe3ma2 bu3ʔĩ4 i4 na4e3ɟa1ʔĩ3 tʃa1kʷa5ʔĩ4*
Bi3tu5 rɨ1 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 na4dau2=tʃa1ĩ1 i4 ŋe3ma2 bu3ʔĩ4
Victoria TOP 3=ACC 3.SBJ=see=PROSP DET(IV) DEM.MULTI(IV) child(IV)
i4 na4=e3ɟą1=ʔĩ3 tʃa1=kʷą1=ʔĩ4
DET(IV) 3=sister=ACC 1SGSBJ.SC=know=NMLZ(IV)
'Victoria wants to see the child whose sister I know.' [LWG 2018.1.16]

(23) *nɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa3dau2ʔtʃa1ĩ1 ɟa1 ɟi2ma2 ĩ43 ɟa1 no51rɨ3 ɟo3ra5ma4ã2 tʃi1de43ʔa5ne1*
nɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=dau2=tʃa1ĩ1 ɟa1 ɟi2ma2 ĩ43 ɟa1
3=ACC 1SGSBJ=see=PROSP DET(III) DEM.MULTI(III) house(III) DET(III)
no51rɨ3 ɟo3ra5=ma4ã2 tʃi1=de43ʔa2=ne1
3.POSS owner=COMINST 1SGSBJ.SC=talk=NMLZ(III)
'I want to see the house whose owner I talked to.' [LWG 2024.1.42]

These possessor relative examples are possible, but they're hard to find (which is why both of the above examples are elicited). Furthermore, both Lilia and other consultants had fairly variable judgments toward possessor relatives across verbs and presentations of the same verb, and overall they rejected them more than they accepted them.

Instead, because the head of a possessor relative is almost always more information-structurally prominent than the possessum, possessor relative constructions tend to undergo possessor-raising noun incorporation. This is seen in the attested example in (Ex) and the elicited one in (25). As discussed in Chapter 12, incorporation moves a possessed argument into the verb stem and raises the underlying possessor to the previous possessum's argument position. Thus, the possessor relative becomes a subject or object relative.

(24) *rɨ1 ma5a1rɨ3 ko4nɨ3ʔĩ5tʃi2ã5ʔĩ4 na4ŋo1*
rɨ1 mą1=a1rɨ3 ko4nɨ3=ʔĩ5tʃi2=ą̃1=ʔĩ4 na4=ŋo1
and be.long=AL.INCORP tongue=very=AL.INCORP=NMLZ(IV) 3SBJ=eat
'The one whose tongue is really long is eating.' [2019 C10-C13 CCI, CG, 27:45]

(25) *Bi3tu5 rɨ1 nɨ31ʔĩ3 na4dau2ʔtʃa1ĩ1 i4 ŋe3ma2 bu3ʔĩ4 i4 ɟu2e3ɟa5ʔĩ4*
Bi3tu5 rɨ1 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 na4dau2=tʃa1ĩ1 i4 ŋe3ma2 bu3ʔĩ4
Victoria TOP 3=ACC 3.SBJ=see=PROSP DET(IV) DEM.MULTI(IV) child(IV)
i4 ɟu2=e3ɟą1=ʔĩ4
DET(IV) die=sister=NMLZ(IV)
'Victoria wants to see the child whose sister died.' [LWG 2018.1.16]

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The possessed arguments in (22) and (23) don't undergo incorporation because they're not in syntactic positions that allow it.

#### 23.1.5.1 Comment: Relativizing on an adjunct/possessor vs. juxtaposing two main clauses

For Class IV adjunct and possessor relatives, it can be hard to tell whether a given clause is actually a relative vs. is a separate, matrix clause which happens to share an argument with the preceding clause. This is because of the following features:

1. Adjunct and possessor relatives in Ticuna never have gaps.
2. The class IV relativizer is the same as the general subordinator.
3. The general subordinator appears on many clauses which syntactically behave exactly like main clauses (Chapter 6.1.1.2).

However, it's clear that examples like (19) and (23) are relatives and not sequences of two main clauses. This is because their nominalizers agree in noun class with the (non-Class IV) head of the relative, which should only be possible if they're part of the same noun phrase as the head.

### 23.1.6 Standard of comparison relatives

Relativizing on the standard of comparison is the cross-linguistically most marked type of relativization. However, it's still possible in Ticuna. As background, comparative constructions are extremely infrequent in corpus materials, but do exist (Chapter 19.2.2). They are formed by adding the suffix *-ma2e3* to verbs, primarily statives.

Comparative verbs derived with *-ma2e3* behave syntactically like psych transitive verbs, with the standard of comparison expressed as the object of the verb. A relative formed on the standard of comparison looks just like a psych-object relative (26).

(26) Context: I'm at a party and all the guests that I'm younger than left. Now I'm the oldest person there.
*ma3ɾi3 na4wo5e1gu1 i4 gu5ʔĩ4ma3 i4 du1ĩ3ʔĩ4gɨ4 i4 nɨ31ʔĩ3*
*ʧa1ɾi3bu31ma2e2ʔĩ4*

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ma3ri3 na4wo5e1gu1 i4 gu5ʔĩ4ma3 i4 du1ĩ3ʔĩ4gɨ4 i4 nɨ31ʔĩ3
ma3ri3 na4=wo5e1gu1 i4 gu5ʔĩ4ma3 i4 du1ĩ3ʔĩ4=gɨ4 i4 nɨ31=ʔĩ3
tʃa1rɨ3bu31ma2e2ʔĩ4 PRF 3SBJ=return.PLS DET(IV) all(IV) DET(IV)
tʃa1rɨ3=bu31-ma2e2=ʔĩ4
person(IV)=PL DET(IV) 3=ACC 1SGSBJ.SC=young-COMPAR=NMLZ(IV)
'All of the people that I'm younger than already went back.' [LWG 2024.1.41]

### 23.1.7 Non-restrictive relatives

Non-restrictive relative clauses are acceptable. I have no convincing examples of this type of relative in spontaneous materials, but consultants have no trouble with them in elicitation, especially if they are topicalized.

Non-restrictive relatives have the same structure as other headed relatives, except that people often delete the determiner introducing the relative. For example, while (27) is acceptable with a determiner, the consultant volunteered it without one.

(27) Context: I'm giving a presentation about Julio Kahn, the sometime mayor of Caballococha.
*Julio Kahn (ɟa4) Limagu2 bu3kɨ3 rɨ1 nɨ31ʔĩ5 na4ŋe2ʔma4 i4 cincuenta años.*
Julio Kahn (ɟa4) Lima=gu2 bu31=kɨ3 rɨ1 nɨ31=ʔĩ5
Julio Kahn (DET(II)) place.name=LOC be.born=NMLZ(II) TOP 3=BEN
na4=ŋe2ʔma4 i4 cincuenta años
3.SBJ=be.in.place DET(IV) SP:50 SP:year.PL
'Julio Kahn, who was born in Lima, is 50 years old.' [LWG 2017.3.122]

## 23.2 Headless relatives

Headless relatives are allowed and easy to find in discourse. They have the same structure as the post-head portion of a headed relative. That is, they consist of a determiner followed by a nominalized clause; the nominalized clause has either a gap or a resumptive pronoun replacing the head, as appropriate to its syntactic role. The noun class of the determiner, resumptive pronoun, and nominalizer all agree in noun class with the absent head.

(28) is an example of a completely headless relative, which happens to be an object relative.

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(28) *celularwa5 tɨ31ʔɨ̃3 na4=publica=gɨ4 ɟa4 ĩ1ʔne1ã4ma4 tɨ31ʔɨ̃3 ɟa3ɟau1ʔgɨ5ʔe3 ka2ʔna4ʔ.*
celular=wa5 tɨ31=ʔɨ̃3 na4=publica=gɨ4 ɟa4 ĩ1ʔne1ã4ma4
SP:cell.phone=ALL 3(I)=ACC 3.SBJ=SP:post/share=PL DET(I) 2.days.ago
tɨ31=ʔɨ̃3 ɟa3=ɟau1ʔ=gɨ4=ʔe3 ka2ʔna4ʔ
3(I)=ACC 3.SBJ.SC.AM=grab=PL=NMLZ(I) right?
'On their phones, they$_i$ posted (about) the one (Class I) that they$_j$ came and arrested (lit. grabbed) the other day, right.' [Laura, LSC-VSC, 26:25]

Often, an otherwise headless relative will bear an anaphoric demonstrative – the temporally neutral anaphor *ŋe3ma2* or the remote past anaphor *ɟe4ma4* – in the location where a (nominal) head would otherwise appear, as shown in (29). People usually omit the determiner introducing the relative in this construction, such that the only determiner involved is the one introducing the demonstrative.

(29) *"tu4 tu4 tu4" ɲa4a2ʔɨ̃4 ga4 gu2ma4 ɟe5ma2 to31ʔɨ̃3 ɟa3ga4gɨ5kɨ3*
"tu4 tu4 tu4" ɲa4a2ʔɨ̃4 ga4 gu2ma4
SSymb:knocking 3.SBJ.SC.QUOT DET.REM.PST DEM.REM.PST(II)
ɟe5ma2 to31=ʔɨ̃3 ɟa3=ga4=gɨ4=kɨ3
there.REM.PST.ALL 1EXCL=ACC 3.SBJ.SC.AM=transport:ANIMO=PL=NMLZ(II)
'That one knocked the door (lit. said "tu tu tu"), the one who had come to pick us up from there.' [NWG Brazil Trip 18:18]

Many common nouns in Ticuna, and almost all native-vocabulary human common nouns, are nominalizations which could be interpreted as headless subject relatives. These words probably shouldn't be analyzed as nominalizations synchronically, which is why I've just called them "nouns" instead. ALL the same, the number of these nouns/nominalizations speaks to the commonness and productivity of headless relatives in the language.

(30) is a list of human common nouns which could be analyzed as headless subject relatives. It is not at all exhaustive. (31) provides examples of nonhuman common nouns with the same structure.

(30) Selected human nouns which could be analyzed as subject relatives
a. *bu3e3* < *bu31=e3* (young=NMLZ(I)) 'baby'
b. *bu3ʔɨ̃4* < *bu31=ʔɨ̃4* (young=NMLZ(IV)) 'child'
c. *du1ɨ̃3ʔɨ̃4* < *du1ɨ̃1=ʔɨ̃4* (be.human=NMLZ(IV)) 'person'
d. *ʎe3ʔɨ̃4* < *ʎe31=ʔɨ̃4* (be.female=NMLZ(IV)) 'woman'

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e. *ʎe3tɻ̱2kɨ3* < *ʎe3tɨ1-kɨ3* (young.of.man-NMLZ(II)) 'teenage boy, young man'

f. *pa4kɨ3* < *pa4=kɨ3* (young.of.woman=NMLZ(V)) 'teenage girl, young woman'

(31) Selected non-human nouns which could be analyzed as subject relatives

a. *mu1kɨ3* < *mu4=kɨ3* (many-NMLZ(II)) 'flood, rainy season'

b. *ʎu1ne3ʔĩ4* < *ʎu1ne1=ʔĩ4* (dawn-NMLZ(IV)) 'day'

## 23.3 Free relatives

Free relatives are formed with interrogative pronouns. The interrogative pronoun appears first, followed by a determiner, then the nominal head if one is present. The head is followed by another determiner, and the relative appears last. (32) is an example of a free relative with a nominal head.

(32) Context: I went to a small village to recruit children to study in the secondary school in my bigger town.
*ɲɻ̱1ʔre5 ga4 bu3ʔĩ4gɨ4 ga4 nu5a2 ʎu5e3tʃa1ɨ̃3ʔĩ4 rɨ1 tʃo31ma4ã2 ni4de43ʔa2gɨ4*
ɲɻ̱1ʔre5 ga4 bu3ʔĩ4=gɨ4 ga4 nu5a2
how.many? DET.REM.PST child(IV)=PL DET.REM.PST here.ALL
ʎɻ̱1-e3=tʃa1ɨ̃1=ɨ̃4 rɨ1 tʃo31=ma4ã2 ni4=de43ʔa2=gɨ4
learn-PL=PROSP=NMLZ(IV) TOP 1SG=COMINST 3.SBJ=talk=PL
'However many children that wanted to study here, (that many) spoke to me.' [KSC: 2018.1.130]

If a free relative doesn't have a nominal head, it generally has an anaphoric demonstrative instead. A determiner introduces the demonstrative, but there is no second determiner between the demonstrative and relative clause (this is the same as in other relatives headed by demonstratives). That is, the structure of the free relative is Pro + DET + DEM + Relative. The interrogative pronouns equivalent to 'who?' and 'what?' have noun class, and the determiner, demonstrative, and relative all agree in noun class with them, as shown for 'what/anything' in (33) and for 'who' in (34).

(33) Context: Carlos went hunting.
*tɻ̱2kɨ4 i4 ŋe3ma2 ɟa1ma5ʔĩ4 i4 Ka3ru1 rɨ1 Bi3tu1na1 ta1na4ʔã3*

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tą̠2ki̱4 i4 ŋe3ma2 ɟa1=mą̠1=ʔĩ̱4 i4
what?(IV) DET(IV) DEM.MULTI(IV) 3.SBJ.SC=kill.SGO=NMLZ(IV) DET(IV)
Ka3ru1 ri̱1 Bi3tu1=na1 ta1=na4=ã3
Carlos TOP Victoria=RCP some(IV)=3.SBJ=give.INAN.SG
'Anything Carlos killed, he gave Victoria some.' [YCG: 2017.3.187]

(34) Context: My mother traveled to a distant place alone. I don't know what happened there yet, but I'd like to reward anyone who helped her.
*te1ʔe5 ga4 gu31ʔe2ma4 tʃo31ri̱3 ma3ma5ʔĩ̱3 ri̱3ʎi̱2ʔẽ4ẽ2ʔe3 ri̱1 ta4 ti̱31ʔĩ̱5 tʃa3ʔã3ma3re3ą̃1*
te1ʔe5 ga4 gu31ʔe2ma4 tʃo31ri̱3 ma3ma5=ʔĩ̱3
who?(I) DEM.REM.PST DEM.REM.PST(I) 1SG.POSS mother=ACC
ri̱3=ʎi̱2ʔẽ4ẽ3=ʔe3 ri̱1 ta4 ti̱31=ʔĩ̱5 tʃa3=ã3ma3re3=ą̃1
3.SBJ.SC=help=NMLZ(I) TOP FUT 3(I)=BEN 1SGSBJ=gift=have
'Anyone who helped my mother, I'll give them a present.' [YCG: 2017.3.187]

Something which is difficult to convey in the translations of these free relatives is that they don't entail the existence of any referents that meet the description of the free relative. For example, YCG found it coherent to continue (33) by saying 'But he might not have killed anything' or (34) by saying 'But it's possible that no one helped her.'

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# 24 Focus constructions

Focus constructions are formed in two ways:

1. Relative clause-like strategy: The focused constituent is fronted. It's followed by a copula that agrees with the focused constituent in noun class, then by a relative clause.

2. Complement clause-like strategy: The focused constituent is fronted. It's followed by a copula that has default noun class agreement, then by a clause that looks formally like a complement clause.

The first type of focus construction is a classic cleft. The second type, on the other hand, probably should not be analyzed as a cleft because the focus remnant (the part after the copula) is not syntactically a relative clause.

Which kind of focus construction speakers use depends on the syntactic role of the focused constituent. Subject focus of noun phrases always uses the relative clause strategy (§24.1). Focus of constituents that are not nouns, such as adverbs, always uses the complement clause strategy (§24.2). Focus of subjects that are not noun phrases – such as first- and second-person pronouns – and focus of non-subject noun phrases follows a more complex set of constraints (§24.3 – 24.4).

In this chapter I exclusively describe the syntax of the focus construction. For the pragmatic contexts that lead people to use focus, see Chapter 28.

## 24.1 Subject focus

I will start this discussion with the subject focus construction, since it is the simplest type of noun focus. Allof these examples are elicited, because subject focus is not very common in spontaneous materials.

In the subject focus construction, the focused NP is fronted. For example, in (1), the focused NP is *tʃo31rɨ3 ma3ma5* 'my mother.' Following the focused NP, the copula occurs. It occurs in noun class with the focused noun. In (1), because *ma3ma5* 'mother' has Class I (honorific) agreement, the copula appears in the 3(I)

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form. After the copula, a clause appears which is identical in form to a subject relative clause (Chapter 23). This clause in (1) is *ɟa4 tʃo31ma4ã2 nu5a2 ũ31e3* 'who came with me.' The post-copular clause is introduced by a copula agreeing with the focused constituent in noun class, which in (1) is *ɟa4* DET(I); does not contain a subject NP; does not (and cannot) have noun class agreement on the verbal subject proclitic; and does have a nominalizer on the verb agreeing in noun class with the focused constituent, which in (1) is *=e3* 'NMLZ(I)'.

(1) Context: Q: Who came here with you? A:
*tʃo31rɨ3 ma3ma5 ti4ʔĩ4 ɟa4 tʃo31ma4ã2 nu5a2 (*ta1ʔ)ũ31e3*
tʃo31rɨ3 ma3ma5 ti4ʔĩ4 ɟa4 tʃo31=ma4ã2 nu5a2
1SG.POSS mother(I) 3(I).SBJ.COP DET(I) 1SG=COM here.ALL
(*ta1=)ũ43=e3
(*3(I).SBJ.SC=)go.SG=NMLZ(I)
'*My mother* came here with me.'[1] [LWG: 2018.1.19]

The cleft strategy is the only way you can focus a subject, unless it is a first or second person subject pronoun. It ungrammatical to use the complement clause-like focus strategy, as shown in (2).

(2) a. Relative strategy
✓*te1ʔe5 ti4ʔĩ4 a4 i1pa2ʔe3?*
✓te1ʔe5 ti4ʔĩ4 a4 i1=pa1=e3
who?(I) 3(I).SBJ.COP DET(I) SBJ.REL=tired=NMLZ(I)
'Who is tired?'

b. Complement strategy
**te1ʔe5 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 i1pa2ʔĩ4?*
*te1ʔe5 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 i1=pa1=ʔĩ4
*who?(I) 3.SBJ.COP DET(IV) SBJ.REL=tired=SUB
(Intended reading: 'Who is tired?')
[KSC: 2018.1.67]

### 24.1.1 No third-person subject agreement inside the focus remnant

In both subject focus constructions and subject relative clauses, agreement is suppressed on the verbal subject proclitic. I have already shown this for subject relative clauses in Chapter 23.1.1, and here I will demonstrate it for subject focus constructions as well.

[1]Focused constituents are italicized in the gloss line throughout this chapter.

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For a-class verbs such as *ũ43* ‘go’ in (1), the subject proclitic inside the focus remnant is simply deleted. This applies to all five noun classes, as shown by the paradigm in (3).

(3) Q: Who won? A:

a. *ɟi31ʔe2ma4 ʎe3ʔe3 ti4ʔĩ4 ɟa4 (*ta1)ga3na3e3*
ɟi31ʔe2ma4 ʎe31=ʔe3 ti4ʔĩ4 ɟa4
DEM.ANA(I) female=NMLZ(I) 3(I).SBJ.COP DET
(*ta1=)ga3na1=e3
(*3(I).SBJ.SC=)win=NMLZ(I)
‘*That (anaphoric) woman (I)* won.’

b. *ɟi2ma4 ʎe3ʔtɨ2kɨ3 ni4ʔĩ4 ɟa4 (*na1)ga3na3kɨ3*
ɟi2ma4 ʎe3ʔtɨ1=kɨ3 ni4ʔĩ4 ɟa4
DEM.ANA(II) be.young.adult=NMLZ(II) 3.SBJ.COP DET(II)
(*na1=)ga3na1=kɨ3
(*3.SBJ.SC=)win=NMLZ(II)
‘*That (anaphoric) young man (II)* won.’

c. *ɟi2ma2 ʎu31e3 ni41ʔĩ4 ɟa1 (*na1)ga3na1ne1*
ɟi2ma2 ʎu31e3 ni41ʔĩ4 ɟa1 (*na1=)ga3na1=ne1
DEM.ANA(III) canoe(III) 3.SBJ.COP DET(III) (*3.SBJ.SC=)win=NMLZ(III)
‘*That (anaphoric) boat (III)* won (a race).’

d. *ŋe3ma3 bu3ʔĩ4 ni41ʔĩ4 i4 (*na1=)ga3na3ʔĩ4*
ŋe3ma3 bu3ʔĩ4 ni41ʔĩ4 i4 (*na1=)ga3na1=ʔĩ4
DEM.ANA(IV) child(IV) 3.SBJ.COP DET(IV) (*3.SBJ.SC=)win=NMLZ(IV)
‘*That (anaphoric) child (IV)* won.’

e. *ŋe4ma2 pa4kɨ3 i3ɟi1ʔĩ4 i4 (*na4)ga3na1kɨ3*
ŋe4ma2 pa4=kɨ3 i3ɟi1ʔĩ4 i4
DEM.ANA(V) be.young.woman=NMLZ(V) 3(V).SBJ.COP DET(V)
(*na4=)ga3na1=kɨ3
(*3(V).SBJ.SC=)win=NMLZ(V)
‘*That (anaphoric) young woman (V)* won.’

[LWG: 2024.1.73]

If the verb of a subject focus construction belongs to the i-class or r-class conjugations, suppression of subject agreement works differently. Rather than having all proclitics deleted, the verb takes a proclitic which expresses conjugation class only. For the /i/-class, the conjugation class proclitic is *i1=*, and for the /r/-class,

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the conjugation class proclitic is *rɨ3=*. The conjugation class proclitic is identical regardless of the noun class of the subject, as shown by the paradigm of all four animate noun classes in (4). This pattern is, again, exactly the same as subject agreement in subject relative clauses with /i/-class and /r/-class verbs (Chapter 23.1.1).

(4) Q: Who is sick? A:

a. *tʃo31rɨ3 ma3ma5 ti4ʔĩ4 ɟa4* ***i1dą2we3e3***
tʃo31rɨ3 ma3ma5 ti4ʔĩ4 ɟa4 **i1=dą2we1=e3**
1SG.POSS mother(I) 3(I).SBJ.COP DET(I) **SBJ.REL.I=sick=NMLZ:I**

b. *ɟi2ma4 ɟa31tɨ1 ni4ʔĩ4 ɟa4* ***i1dą2we3kɨ3***
ɟi2ma4 ɟa31tɨ1 ni4ʔĩ4 ɟa4 **i1=dą2we1=kɨ3**
DEM.ANA(II) man(II) 3.SBJ.COP DET(II) **SBJ.REL.I=sick=NMLZ:II**

c. *tʃau1a3kɨ1 ni4ʔĩ4 i4* ***i1dą2we3ʔĩ4***
tʃau1=a3kɨ1 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 **i1=dą2we1=ʔĩ4**
1SG=child(IV) 3.SBJ.COP DET(IV) **SBJ.REL.I=sick=NMLZ(IV)**

d. *ŋe4ma2 pa4kɨ3 i3ɟi1ʔĩ4 i4* ***i1dą2we1kɨ3***
ŋe4ma2 pa4=kɨ3 i3ɟi1ʔĩ4 i4
DEM.ANA(V) be.young.woman=NMLZ(V) 3(V).SBJ.COP DET(V)
**i1=dą2we1=kɨ3**
**SBJ.REL.I=sick=NMLZ(V)**

'*My mother (I) / that (anaphoric) man (II) / my child (IV) / that (anaphoric) young woman (V)* is sick.' [DGG: 2017.3.137]

So far I have only discussed animate subjects. But inanimate subjects, like those in noun class III, can still be focused. The construction is the same as for animates, as shown in (3c) above and (5) below.[2]

(5) *ɟi2ma2 na3ra4ɲa1 ni4ʔĩ4 ɟa1 o2ʔĩ5ne1*
ɟi2ma2 na3ra4ɲa1 ni4ʔĩ4 ɟa1 o1=ʔĩ5ne1
DEM.ANA(III) orange.tree(III) 3.SBJ.COP DET(III) bear.fruit=NMLZ(III)
'*That orange tree* bore fruit.' [DGG: 2017.3.137]

Transitive subject focus is identical to intransitive subject focus. When you focus a transitive subject, the subject marking on the verb is suppressed, but any object proclitic on the verb, such as *na3=* 3OBJ in (6), remains.

[2]The verb *o1* 'bear fruit' in (5) is /a/-class, so we don't expect a conjugation class marker on the verb here.

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(6) *tʃau1a3kɨ1 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 na3ɟa1ʔu2ʔĩ4*
tʃau1=a3kɨ1 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 na3=ɟau1ʔ=ʔĩ4
1SG=child(IV) 3.SBJ.COP DET(IV) 3.OBJ=wash=NMLZ(IV)
'*My child* washed it.' [LWG: 2017.3.127]

## 24.2 Focus of constituents that are not nouns

It is possible in Ticuna to syntactically focus adverbs, negation, subordinate clauses, and other non-nominal constituents. Focus on these constituent types, like subject focus, only allows one type of construction. However, the focus construction for these constituent types looks like a complement clause, not a relative clause.

### 24.2.1 Negation and adverb focus

Let's now walk through the complement-like focus construction using the example in (7). In this example the focused constituent is *tau2ta4ma2* 'Neg+FUT.' It's fronted, then immediately followed by the copula, which is in the 3SBJ form (not, for example, 3(I)SBJ). Following the copula, there is a class IV determiner, then a subordinate clause. The verb of the subordinate clause has typical subject agreement (from the subordinate clause paradigm) and bears the subordinator *=ʔĩ4*. This is homophonous with the class IV nominalizer. However, unlike the nominalizer, very often the subordinator *=ʔĩ4* is pronounced as just a glottal stop with no vowel (see also Chapter 25).[3]

(7) *tau2ta4ma3 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 ku31ʔna1 tʃa1ka1gɨ5ʔĩ4*
tau2ta4ma3 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 ku31=na1 tʃa1=ka1gɨ4=ʔĩ4
NEG+FUT 3.SBJ.COP DET(IV) 2SG=RCP 1SGSBJ.SC=call=SUB
'I *will not* call you.' [LWG: 2018.1.19]

(8) is a conversational example of negation focus with exactly the same structure as (7). Note that despite the 3(I) subject agreement inside the subordinate clause, the copula/focus marker has the default 3(IV)SBJ form and the focus remnant has the general/class IV subordinator. The copula does not occur in the 3(I) subject form (which would be *ti4ʔĩ4*) and the verb does not bear a class I nominalizer (which would be *=e3*). Thus, this is clearly focus on the negation marker (which has no noun class) and not on an argument (as the only argument is class I).

[3]Further reducing the level of marking in the focus remnant, there are some corpus examples – such as (27b) later in this chapter – where the subordinator is completely omitted, and the verb of the focus remnant is produced with main-clause inflection.

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(8) *ta4ma3 ni4ʔĩ4 ta1rɨ3ʎu3ʔĩ4*
ta4ma3 ni4ʔĩ4 ta1rɨ3=ʎu31=ʔĩ4
NEG 3.SBJ.COP 3(I).SBJ.SC=fall.SG=SUB
'It did *not* fall.' [2019-C19 CCI 30:41]

### 24.2.2 Predicate focus

As well as focusing negation and other adverbs, it is also possible to focus predicates. In a predicate focus construction, the predicate is fronted. It has main clause inflection and no subordinator (9, 10a), and it's immediately followed by the copula. The copula always appears in the same 3SBJ form that we saw above, even if – as in (9) – the predicate has no third person arguments. Any arguments or modifiers following the copula are introduced by determiners which agree with them in noun class (as are all postverbal arguments, Chapter 13.2).

Using the general subordinator *=ʔ(ĩ4)* on the focused predicate is ungrammatical (10b). However, it *is* possible to focus other types of subordinate clause; see §24.2.3.

(9) *tʃa3ʎe4tʃa1ĩ1wa̱1e3 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 tʃo1ma1*
tʃa3=ʎe4tʃa1ĩ1=wa̱1e3 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 tʃo1ma1
1SGSBJ=love=HABIT 3.SBJ.COP DET(IV) 1SG.TOP
'(Anywhere they don't talk to me,) I become *sad*.' [TGC, 20180628_002, 4:03]

(10) Q: What are the kids doing now? A:

a. ✓*i5na4po4ʔgɨ1ta2e3gɨ4 ni4ʔĩ4*
✓i5=na4=po4ʔgɨ1ta2e3=gɨ4 ni4ʔĩ4
✓IPFV=3.SBJ=play.volleyball=PL 3.SBJ.COP

b. **i5na1po4ʔgɨ1ta2e3gɨ5ʔĩ4 ni4ʔĩ4*
*i5=na1=po4ʔgɨ1ta2e3=gɨ4=ʔĩ4 ni4ʔĩ4
*IPFV=3.SBJ=play.volleyball=PL=SUB 3.SBJ.COP

'They're *playing volleyball*.' [LWG 2024.1.83]

If a predicate that's being focused has overt arguments or modifiers, they can appear in either the focus remnant, or in the focused constituent (adjacent to the predicate). (9) above shows the intransitive subject *tʃo1ma1* '1SG.TOP' appearing in the focus remnant, while (11) shows the transitive object *na31ma1* 'road' appearing in the focused constituent.

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(11) *na31ma3 ta4ã3 na4me43ẽ4ẽ3 ni4ʔĩ4*
na43=ma3 ta4=ã3 na4=me43ẽ4ẽ3 ni4ʔĩ4
DfltPOSS=road FUT=REP 3.SBJ=fix 3.SBJ.COP
'It's supposedly going to *fix the road.*' [2019-C10-C13 CCI, 2:34]

Whether the arguments of a focused predicate are fronted vs. remain in the focus remnant is not determined by their syntactic position. For example, with predicate focus on a transitive verb specifically, the subject can be fronted, alone or with the object (12); the object (11, 13) can be fronted alone; or the predicate can be fronted to the exclusion of all arguments (14).

(12) Q: What happened to your necklace? A:
*o2ʔõ4 tɨ31ʔĩ3 ti4kau1ɟe3ʔẽ4ẽ3 ni4ʔĩ4 ɟa4 tʃau1tʃa3gi1*
o2ʔõ4 tɨ31=ʔĩ3 ti4=kau1ɟe3-ʔẽ4ẽ3 ni4ʔĩ4 ɟa4 tʃau1=tʃa3gi1
baby(I) 3(I)=ACC 3(I).SBJ=break-CAUS 3.SBJ.COP DET(I) 1SG=necklace(I)
*'The baby broke* my necklace.' [LWG 2024.1.84]

(13) Q: What is Nixon doing for you? A:
*tʃo31rɨ3 mo3to1 na4me43ẽ4ẽ3 ni4ʔĩ4 a4 Ni3ʔma5 i4 tʃau1ʔkạ1*
tʃo31rɨ3 mo3to1 na4=me43ẽ4ẽ3 ni4ʔĩ4 a4
1SG.POSS motorcycle(III) 3.SBJ=fix 3.SBJ.COP DET(II)
Ni3ʔma5 i4 tʃau1=kạ1
personal.name(II) DET(IV) 1SG=PURP
'Nixon is *fixing my motorcycle* for me.' [LWG 2024.1.83]

(14) Q: What is Nixon doing for you? A:
*na4*(na3)me43ẽ4ẽ3 ni4ʔĩ4 ɟa1 tʃo31rɨ3 mo3to5 i4 Ni3ʔma5*
na4=*(na3=)me43ẽ4ẽ3 ni4ʔĩ4 ɟa1 tʃo31rɨ3 mo3to5 i4
3.SBJ=*(3.OBJ)=fix 3.SBJ.COP DET(III) 1SG.POSS motorcycle(III) DET(IV)
Ni3ʔma5
personal.name
'Nixon is *fixing* my motorcycle.' [LWG 2024.1.84]

As part of the generalization that all verbs must have some preverbal realization of the object (Chapter 6.3), (12) and (14) have respectively a free pronominal object and an object proclitic before the fronted verb. This pronominal material is obligatory (14). However, what is important in these examples is that the object *noun phrase* is left in the focus remnant, rather than being fronted alongside the predicate.

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Note that despite the flexibility to focus *either* the subject or the object alongside the verb, I do not have any clear examples where *both* the agent and object are fronted together with a transitive verb.

### 24.2.3 Subordinate-clause focus

Besides focusing the main predicate, speakers can also focus subordinate clauses. This happens mainly with conditional antecedent/temporal overlap subordinate clauses formed with *=gu2*. When a subordinate clause is focused, the entire clause is fronted. It is followed by an invariant copula/focus marker. The verb of the (original) matrix clause, and its arguments or modifiers, go after the copula. The original matrix clause verb takes subordinate clause inflection and the subordinator *=ʔĩ4*, like the verb in an adverb focus construction. (15) demonstrates focus on a *=gu2* subordinate clause.

(15) *na2tɨ4rɨ4 [ɲu̯1ʔma5rɨ5ĩ1 na1ʔã3mɨ1kɨ3gu2]*$_{\textit{Subordinate Clause}}$ *wi31ʔi5 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 [ɲu1ʔũ4 ɲa4ʔkɨ5ra1ɨ̃1ma3re2ʔĩ4]*$_{\textit{Main Clause}}$

na2tɨ4rɨ4 ɲu̯1ʔma5=rɨ5ĩ1 na1=ã3=mɨ1kɨ3=gu2 wi31ʔi5

but now=like 3.SBJ.SC=have=NI:companion=SUB CONT.FOC

ni4ʔĩ4 i4 ɲu1ʔũ4 ɲa4=kɨ5ra1ɨ̃1=ma3re3=ʔĩ4

3.SBJ.COP DET(IV) how? QUOT=INFER=just=SUB

'But like now, *when she's with her friends*, she just does whatever (doesn't listen to me).' [MFG, MFG-LFG-LVI, 25:35]

### 24.2.4 Comparing focus on non-nominal constituents vs. subject focus

Adverb, predicate, and subordinate-clause focus constructions are different from subject (i.e., relative-like) focus constructions in two ways.

First, in these constructions the copula does not undergo agreement. It appears in the 3(II/III/IV)SBJ form, even if the clause has no third-person arguments (as in 9), or even if all the arguments belong to other noun classes (e.g., 8). The lack of agreement suggests that the copula in the complement-like focus construction isn't (any longer) the copula verb; instead, it's a frozen focus marker. Because of this, I gloss the 'copula' in these constructions as 'FOC' rather than 'Cop' in the rest of this chapter and work. The copulas in subject focus constructions will still be glossed as '3SBJ.Cop,' '3(I)SBJ.Cop,' and so on, since they do actually require arguments with specific person and noun class features.

Second, in complement-like focus constructions, unlike in subject focus constructions, the focus remnant clearly is not a relative clause, because it does not

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need to contain a verb or other predicate (see 8 and 11, among others). Even when the focus remnant does have a verb, it doesn't have the defining characteristics of relative clauses in the language, such as resumptive pronouns for relativized arguments and noun class agreement on the nominalizer/subordinator (Chapter 23). The remnant in a cleft-like focus construction, on the other hand, is identical to a relative clause.

## 24.3 Focus on noun phrases other than subjects

When a noun which is not the subject is focused, it can potentially participate in either a relative-like or a complement-like focus construction. The possibilities depend on the noun's syntactic role, and if it is an object, on how it is treated within the language's general DOM system (Chapter 10).

### 24.3.1 Objects of psych verbs

I'll start with the objects of psych verbs. These are always expressed as free words – pronouns or NPs – with the accusative case. They can participate in either the relative-like or the complement-like focus construction.

When a psych verb object is focused with the *relative-like* focus construction, the object is fronted without any case marking, then followed by a copula that agrees with it in noun class. After the copula, the focus remnant is expressed as a subordinate clause. It is formally identical to a psych-object relative clause. That is, the focus remnant is introduced by a determiner agreeing with the head/focused constituent in noun class; contains an accusative resumptive pronoun, which also agrees in noun class; has typical (not reduced) subordinate-clause inflection on the verb; and has a nominalizer, again agreeing in noun class, on the verb. This structure is shown in (16).

(16) *[gu31ʔe2 bu3e3]*$_{\textit{Focused Constituent}}$ *ti4ʔĩ4 [ɟa4 ti31ʔĩ3 tʃa1dau5e3]*$_{\textit{Focus Remnant}}$
gu31ʔe2 bu3e3 ti4ʔĩ4 ɟa4 ti31=ʔĩ3 tʃa1=dau2=e3
DEM.DIST(I) baby(I) 3(I).SBJ.COP DET(I) 3(I)=ACC 1SGSBJ.SC=see=NMLZ(I)
'I saw *that baby (Class I).*' [SSG 2018.1.25]

In the *complement-like* focus construction for psych verb objects, the object is fronted *bearing the accusative case marker*. The copula follows the fronted object, but takes the 3(IV) form regardless of the noun class of the fronted object. Following the copula, the focus remnant is expressed as a subordinate clause. It is introduced by a determiner, doesn't include any object, and takes a nominalizer

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on the verb. The copula, the determiner introducing the focus remnant, and the nominalizer on the verb of the focus remnant are always class IV in this type of construction, even if the focused constituent is not. For example, in (17), the focused constituent is class I (based on the agreement on the demonstrative) but all of the morphology on the copula and focus remnant is class IV.

(17) *[gu31ʔe2 bu3e3ʔĩ3]$_{Focused\ Constituent}$ ni4ʔĩ4 [i4 tʃa1dau2ʔĩ4]$_{Focus\ Remnant}$*
gu31ʔe2 bu3e3=ʔĩ3 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 tʃa1=dau2=ʔĩ4
DEM.DIST(I) baby(I)=ACC FOC COMP 1SGSBJ.SC=see=SUB
'I saw *that baby (Class I)*.' [SSG 2018.1.25]

I take the lack of concord on the copula and within the focus remnant in (17) to mean that, in a complement-like object focus construction, the 'copula,' 'determiner' and 'nominalizer' are not really members of these categories. Instead, they are respectively a focus marker, a complementizer, and a general subordinator (i.e., not specifically a relativizer). This is the same as focus constructions for non-nominal constituents, as discussed in §24.2.4.

The alternation between relative-like and complement-like structures for psych object focus is possible regardless of the noun class of the focused object. For instance, while (16–17) had a Class I focused constituent, (18) demonstrates that both structures are also possible with a Class IV focused constituent. For this class, the agreement on the focus remnant is the same in both constructions, but the structures are still different in that the complement-like construction (a) does not include a resumptive pronoun in the focus remnant, and (b) has case on the focused constituent.

(18) a. *tʃau1a3kɨ1 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 Ka3ru1 ni31ʔĩ3 dauʔ2ĩ4*
tʃau1=a3kɨ1 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 Ka3ru1 ni31=ʔĩ3 dau=ʔ2ĩ4
1SG=child(IV) FOC DET(IV) Carlos 3(IV)=ACC see=NMLZ(IV)
b. ***tʃau1a3kɨ1ʔĩ3** ni4ʔĩ4 i4 na1dau2ʔĩ4 i4 Ka3ru1*
**tʃau1=a3kɨ1=ʔĩ3** ni4ʔĩ4 i4 ∅ na1=dau2=ʔĩ4 i4
**1SG=child(IV)=ACC** FOC COMP **Gap** 3.SBJ.SC=see=SUB DET(IV)
Ka3ru1
Carlos(IV)
'Carlos saw *my child (Class IV)*.' [LWG 2017.3.128]

### 24.3.2 Objects of causative verbs

Next, we will look to focus on the objects of causative verbs.

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Unlike for the objects of psych verbs, noun class is critical for understanding this topic. As discussed in Chapter 10, how the pronominal object of a causative verb is realized depends on its word class and noun class. In a simple main clause, Class I and V objects are free pronouns, while Class II, III, and IV objects are proclitics to the verb.

This same division by noun class also governs the syntax of object relative and object focus constructions with causative verbs. In an object relative clause, objects which can be realized as proclitics are either gapped (Classes II-IV) or resumed as proclitics (optional and acceptable for Class II only). In contrast, objects which would be realized as free pronouns (Classes I and V) are resumed as pronouns inside the relative (Chapter 23).

Looking to focus constructions, the division between pronoun-object and proclitic-object noun classes determines which focus strategies are possible.

For a *Class I or Class V* object of a causative, *either* the relative or the complement-like focus construction is acceptable. Each construction looks exactly like the equivalent structure for a psych verb. For example, (19a) has a relative-like structure. The focused object is fronted without case; the copula and remnant agree with the object in noun class; and the remnant contains a resumptive pronoun, exactly as in (16). On the other hand, (19b) has a complement-like structure with i) case on the focused constituent, ii) no concord on the remnant, and iii) no resumption, just as in (17).

(19) a. *te1ʔe5 ti4ʔĭ4 ɟa4 ti31ʔĭ3 nu5a2 ku1ga1ʔe3?*
te1ʔe5 ti4ʔĭ4 ɟa4 ti31=ʔĭ3 nu5a2
who?(I) 3(I)Sj.COP DET(I) 3(I)=ACC here.ALL
ku1=ga4=e3
2SGSBJ.SC=transport:ANIMO=NMLZ(I)

b. *te1ʔe5ʔĭ3 ni4ʔĭ4 i4 nu5a2 ku1ga1ʔĭ4?*
te1ʔe5=ʔĭ3 ni4ʔĭ4 i4 nu5a2 ku1=ga4=ʔĭ4
who?(I)=ACC FOC COMP here.ALL 2SGSBJ.SC=transport:ANIMO=SUB

'Who did you bring here?' [LWG 2018.1.36]

On the other hand, for a Class II, III, or IV object of a causative, *only* the relative-like focus construction is acceptable. That is, when focusing an object of these noun classes, the focused constituent does not have case (20) and the remnant undergoes concord with the focused constituent (i.e., the determiner introducing the remnant, and the nominalizer on its verb, agree with the focused constituent in noun class; see 21). This is shown in (20) for a Class IV object and (21) for a Class III object.

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(20) *wɨ43ʔi4 i4 bu3ʔĩ4(*ʔĩ3) ni4ʔĩ4 i4 nu5a2 tʃa1ga1ʔĩ4*
wɨ43ʔi4 i4 bu3ʔĩ4(=*ʔĩ3) ni4ʔĩ4 i4 nu5a2
one DET(IV) child(=*ACC) 3(IV).SBJ.COP DET(IV) here.ALL
tʃa1=ga4=ʔĩ4
1SGSBJ.SC=transport:ANIMO=NMLZ(IV)
'I brought *a child* (Class IV).' [LWG 2018.1.19]

(21) *wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa1 ʎu31e3 ni4ʔĩ4 ɟa1 nu5a2* ✓*tʃa1ʎe31ʔĩ5ne1 / *tʃa1ʎe31ʔĩ4*
wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa1 ʎu31e3 ni4ʔĩ4 ɟa1 nu5a2
one DET(III) canoe(III) 3(III).SBJ.COP DET(III) here.ALL
✓tʃa1=ʎe43=ʔĩ5ne1 /
✓1SGSBJ.SC=transport.INANO=NMLZ(III) /
*tʃa1=ʎe43=ʔĩ4
*1SGSBJ.SC=transport.INANO=NMLZ(IV)
'I brought *a canoe* (Class III).' [LWG 2018.1.36]

The resumption of a Class II, III, or IV causative object inside the focus remnant follows the pattern for object relative clauses. As discussed in Chapter 10, the generalization is that Class II causative objects are resumed as proclitics in relative clauses and focus constructions (22), while Class III and IV objects are gapped, not resumed (23, 24).

(22) *ɟi2ma4 bu3kɨ3 ni4ʔĩ4 ɟa4 nu5a2 tʃa1*(na3)ga1kɨ3*
ɟi2ma4 bu3kɨ3 ni4ʔĩ4 ɟa4 nu5a2
DEM.ANA(II) boy(II) 3(II).SBJ.COP DET(II) here.ALL
tʃa1=*(na3=)ga4=kɨ3
1SGSBJ.SC=*(3.OBJ=)transport:ANIMO=NMLZ(II)
'I brought *that (anaphoric) boy* (Class II).' [LWG 2018.1.36]

(23) *wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa1 ʎu31e3 ni4ʔĩ4 ɟa1 nu5a2 tʃa1(*na3)ʎe31ʔĩ5ne*
wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa1 ʎu31e3 ni4ʔĩ4 ɟa1
one DET(III) canoe(III) 3(III).SBJ.COP here.ALL
nu5a2 tʃa1=(*na3=)ʎe43=ʔĩ5ne
1SGSBJ.SC=(*3.OBJ=)transport.INANO=NMLZ(III)
'I brought *a canoe* (Class III).' [LWG 2018.1.36]

(24) *ŋe3ma2 bu3ʔĩ4 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 nu5a2 tʃa1(*na3)ga1ʔĩ4*
ŋe3ma2 bu3ʔĩ4 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 nu5a2
DEM.ANA(IV) child(IV) 3(IV).SBJ.COP DET(IV) here.ALL

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tʃa1=(*na3)=ga4=ʔĩ4
1SGSBJ.SC=(*3.OBJ=)transport:ANIMO=NMLZ(IV)
'I brought *that (anaphoric) child* (Class IV).' [LWG 2018.1.36]

Looking across all subject and object focus types, the generalization here is that if it is possible to express an argument as a verbal proclitic, then it can *only* be focused using the relative strategy. This applies to all subjects (expressed via subject proclitics) and to Class II/III/IV objects of causatives (expressed via object proclitics). If an argument can't be expressed by a proclitic – for example, because it's a psych verb object, or because it's a causative object belonging to Class I – then either the relative-like or the complement-like strategy is possible.

### 24.3.3 Adjuncts

Adjuncts generally can't be replaced by proclitics in Ticuna, so the generalization that I gave above predicts that either relative-like or complement-like focus will work for adjuncts.

This is correct, and holds for all different types of adjuncts, as well as nouns in all noun classes. These constituents can always be focused using either the relative-like or the complement-like strategy. (25–27) provide three examples of adjunct focus, with adjuncts bearing the purposive, locative, and allative cases respectively. Each example demonstrates that both strategies are possible. Each example also provides a noun of a different class – Class I in (25), Class IV in (26), and Classes III in (27a) – to demonstrate that, unlike in object focus, noun class does not affect what adjunct focus structures are possible.

(25) a. *wo3ru3a1 ti4ʔĩ4 ɟa4 tɨ31ma2kɑ̨1 tʃa1dau5ʔe3*
wo3ru3a1 ti4ʔĩ4 ɟa4 tɨ31ma2=kɑ̨1
mirror(I) 3(I).SBJ.COP DET(I) 3(I)=PURP
tʃa1=dau2=e3
1SGSBJ.SC=see/look.for=NMLZ(I)

b. *wo3ru3a1kɑ̨1 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 tʃa1dau2ʔĩ4*
wo3ru3a1=kɑ̨1 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 tʃa1=dau2=ʔĩ4
mirror(I)=PURP FOC COMP 1SGSBJ.SC=see/look.for=SUB
'I looked for *the mirror*.' [DGG 2017.3.138]

(26) a. *ŋe3ma2 bu3ʔĩ4 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 na43gu2 e5tʃa1rɨ3ʔĩ3nɨ2ʔĩ4*
ŋe3ma2 bu3ʔĩ4 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 na43=gu2
DEM.ANA(IV) child(IV) 3(IV).SBJ.COP DET(IV) 3=LOC
e5=tʃa1rɨ3=ĩ3nɨ3=ʔĩ4
IPFV=1SGSBJ.SC=hear/think=NMLZ(IV)

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b. *ŋe3ma2 bu3ʔĩ4gu2 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 e5tʃa1rɨ3ʔĩ3nɨ2ʔĩ4*
ŋe3ma2 bu3ʔĩ4=gu2 ni4ʔĩ4 i4
DEM.ANA(IV) child(IV)=LOC FOC COMP
e5=tʃa1rɨ3=ĩ3nɨ3=ʔĩ4
IPFV=1SGSBJ.SC=hear/think=SUB
'I was thinking about *that (anaphoric) child*.' [SSG 2018.1.36]

(27) a. *da31a1 wa31ʔi5 ni4ʔĩ4 ku3ru3pi3ra1 na43wa5 ɟu2ʔu5tʃi2ne1*
da31a1 wa31ʔi5 ni4ʔĩ4 ku3ru3pi3ra1 na43=wa5
DEM.PROX(III) CONT.FOC 3(III).SBJ.COP curupira 3=ALL
ɟu2=ʔɨ5tʃi2=ne1
die=really=NMLZ(I)
'The curupira will really die because of *this one* (a gun).'
[2019-C10-C13 CCI CG 24:03]

b. *ŋe3ma2wa5 ni4ʔĩ4 tʃo31ʔĩ5 na4ʔo2*
ŋe3ma2=wa5 ni4ʔĩ4 tʃo31=ʔĩ5 na4=o2
DEM.ANA(IV)=ALL FOC 1SG=BEN 3.SBJ=quit
'I recovered from it (lit. it quit me) because of *that* (a medicine).'
[2019-C27 CG 35:15]

In elicitation, people consistently volunteered the complement-like strategy first when expressing adjunct focus. The complement-like strategy also seems more common in the corpus, but the relative-like strategy is also certainly present, including in nearly identical semantic roles. For example, the two allative focus examples in (27) are both from conversations and both introduce inanimate causers or instruments. However, (27a) uses the relative-like focus strategy while (27b) uses the complement-like strategy.

### 24.3.4 Possessors

It is more complex to focus possessors than to focus other constituent types, since (a) extracting possessors is somewhere between impossible and dispreferred in Ticuna depending on the construction (§23.1.5) and (b) inalienable possessa depend on their possessors phonologically.

Most focused possessors occur as the predicates in copular constructions, such as (28). These are subject to the rules for focus in copular constructions (§24.4.2).

(28) ***te1ʔe5a1rɨ3*** *wa31ʔi5 ni4ʔĩ4 a4 gu2a4 o3ɟa1?*

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**te1ʔe5=a1ri3** wa31ʔi5 ni4ʔĩ4 a4 gu2a4 o3ɟa1
**who?=POSS** CONT.FOC 3(II).SBJ.COP DET(II) DEM.DIST(II) pot(II)
'**Whose** is that pot?' [RGW, 20170527-002]

In contrast, if an interrogative alienable possessor is inside of an *argument*, then it is degraded to focus the possessor alone. Instead, generally the entire alienably possessed NP is focused, as shown in (29) and (30a). It is acceptable, but never occurs in the corpus and was never volunteered, to extract just the alienable possessor (30b) and resume it inside the focus remnant, as occurs with adjunct and psych-object focus constructions.

(29) ***te1ʔe5a1ri3ã3*** *tʃi3ą̃1 ɟa1 ti3a1 Ro3de1 ŋe5ma2 ʎe31ʔĩ5ne1?*
**te1ʔe5=a1ri3=ã3** tʃi3ą̃1 ɟa1 ti3a1 Ro3de1
**who?(I)=POSS=REP** Amazonian.Grape(III) DET(III) aunty Rode
ŋe5ma2 ʎe43=ʔĩ5ne1
there.ANA.ALL transport.INAN=NMLZ(III)
'**Whose** is the Amazonian Grape that aunty Rode is bringing?' [LVI, 20170808]

(30) a. ***te1ʔe5a1ri3*** *ta31ʔi3 ɟa1 ne5ku1ta4e5ne1?*
**te1ʔe5=a1ri3** ta31ʔi3 ɟa1
**who?(I)=POSS** P.caimito(III) DET(III)
ne5=ku1=ta4e3=ne1
some(III)=2SG.SBJ.SC=buy=NMLZ(III)
'Whose caimito did you buy?' (volunteered)

b. **te1ʔe5** ti4ʔĩ4 ɟa4 ti31ma2a1ri3 ta31ʔi3 ne5ku1ta4e2e3?
**te1ʔe5=a1ri3** ti4ʔĩ4 ɟa4 ti31ma2a1ri3 ta31ʔi3
**who?(I)=POSS** 3(I).SBJ.COP DET(I) 3(I).POSS P.caimito(III)
ne5=ku1=ta4e3=e3
some(III)=2SG.SBJ.SC=buy=NMLZ(III)
'Whose caimito did you buy?' (accepted)
[LWG 2025.1.117]

If you are focusing an **inalienable** possessor, then you must front the entire possessed NP, as in (31) and (32a). Attempting to focus the possessor and then resume it inside the focus remnant is mostly judged ungrammatical (32b).

(31) *te1ʔe5a3kɨ1gɨ4 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 ɲa4a2?*
te1ʔe5=a3kɨ1=gɨ4 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 ɲa4a2
who?=child=PL 3(IV).SBJ.COP DET(IV) DEM.PROX(IV)
'Whose children are these?' [SSG HALDI]

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(32) a. tą̱2ʔkɨ4a5ta4ĩ2 i4 nu5a2 ku1ʌe31ʔĩ4?
tą̱2ʔkɨ4=a5ta4ĩ2 i4 nu5a2 ku1=ʌe43=ʔĩ4
what?=cap DET(IV) here.ALL
2SG.SBJ.SC=transport.INAN=NMLZ(IV)

b. *tą̱2ʔkɨ4 i4 na4a5ta4ĩ2 i4 nu5a2 ku1ʌe31ʔĩ4?
*tą̱2ʔkɨ4 i4 na4=a5ta4ĩ2 i4 nu5a2
*what? DET(IV) 3=cap DET(IV) here.ALL
ku1=ʌe43=ʔĩ4
2SG.SBJ.SC=transport.INAN=NMLZ(IV)

'What did you bring the cap of?' [LWG 2025.1.117]

## 24.4 Less common types of focus

There are a few types of focus that don't fit into the classification that I've just laid out. These include focus on first and second person pronouns (§24.4.1) and focus in copular constructions (§24.4.2).

### 24.4.1 Focus on first- and second-person pronouns

Focus of first- and second-person pronouns mostly looks like focus on noun phrases, but there are two differences.

First, recall from §24.1.1 that in subject focus constructions with third-person subjects, the verb of the focus remnant takes reduced subject agreement – expressing only the verb class of the verb, but no features of the subject. On the other hand, when a first- or second-person subject is focused, the verb takes subject agreement from the regular subordinate-clause paradigm. For example, in (33), when the 1SG subject is focused, the verb takes regular 1SG subordinate clause subject agreement. The same applies for the 2PL subject and its agreement in (34).

(33) *tʃo1ma1 ni4ʔĩ4 na31a1ne1wa5 tʃa1ʔũ43ũ5ʔĩ5ʔĩ4*
tʃo1ma1 ni4ʔĩ4 na31=a1ne1=wa5
1SG.TOP FOC DfltPOSS=garden=ALL
tʃa1=ũ43=ɨ4ʔĩ4=ʔĩ4
1SGSBJ.SC=go.SG=DIR:back.and.forth=SUB
'*I* go to the garden all the time.' [2019 C27 CCI, CG, 34:45]

(34) *pe1ma1 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 pe1na3ɟa1ʔu2ʔĩ4*

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pe1ma1 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 pe1=na3=ɟau1ʔ=ʔĩ4
2PL.TOP FOC COMP 2PLSBJ.SC=3.OBJ=wash=SUB
*'Y'all* washed it.' [DGG 2017.3.149]

Besides the presence of subject marking, the other difference between first-/second-person subject focus and third-person subject focus relates to agreement. While the copula/focus marker must agree with the subject in person, number, and noun class in third-person subject focus, it does not agree in first/second-person subject focus. Instead, in all corpus examples and all volunteered elicited examples, including (33–34) above, the copula/focus marker takes the invariant form *ni4ʔĩ4*. Consultants did accept first/second-person subject focus constructions with an agreeing copula, such as (35), but they never volunteered them.

(35) *pe1ma1 pi3ʔĩ4 i4 pe1na3ʃa1ʔu2ʔĩ4*
pe1ma1 pi3ʔĩ4 i4 pe1=na3=Jau1ʔ=ʔĩ4
2PL.TOP 2PLSBJ.COP DET(IV) 2PL.SC=3.OBJ=wash=SUB
*'Y'all* washed it.' [DGG 2017.3.149]

Focus on first-/second-person pronouns with syntactic roles other than subject is identical to focus on third-person arguments with the same roles, except that there is never person/number concord on the copula/focus marker. That is, both complement-like (36a) and relative-like (36b) strategies are possible. However, all corpus examples, such as (36a), and all volunteered elicited examples use the complement-like strategy.

(36) a. *tʃo31ʔna1 ni4ʔĩ4 na1ʔã3ã5ʔĩ4*
tʃo31=na1 ni4ʔĩ4 na1=ã3=ą̃=ʔĩ4
1SG=BEN FOC 3.SBJ.SC=give.INANO=3>3.SC=SUB
'He gave it *to me*.' [LGC HALDI 12:53]

b. *tʃo1ma1 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 tʃo31ma4ã2 i5ɟa1de43a2ʔĩ4 ɟa4 Ka3ru1*
tʃo1ma1 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 tʃo31=ma4ã2 i5=ɟa1=de43a2=ʔĩ4
1SG.TOP FOC DET(IV) 1SGSBJ=COM IPFV=3.SBJ.SC=talk=NMLZ(IV)
ɟa4 Ka3ru1
DET(II) Carlos(II)
'Carlos was talking *to me*.' [DGG 2017.3.149]

### 24.4.2 Focus in copular constructions

You can focus either the argument nominal (37) or the predicate nominal (38) in a copula construction. The focused constituent is fronted. The copula follows it

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and agrees for noun class with the argument nominal. The non-focused nominal and any modifiers come last. There is no verb in the focus remnant, because the copula acts as both verb and focus marker in this construction.

(37) Context: Assigning roles to different toys in a child's game.
*da31ʔe2 ti4ʔĩ4 a4 na31ʔtʃi1ʔi3*
da31ʔe2 ti4ʔĩ4 a4 na43=tʃi1ʔi3
DEM.PROX(I) 3(I).SBJ.COP DET(I) DFLTPOSS=ghost
'*This one* is a ghost (the other toys are not ghosts).' [2019-C10-C13 CCI, CG, 25:31]

(38) *tʃo31rɨ3 ti4ʔĩ4 a4 da31ʔe2*
tʃo31rɨ3 ti4ʔĩ4 a4 da31ʔe2
1SG.POSS 3(I).SBJ.COP DET(I) DEM.PROX(I)
'This one is *mine* (not yours).' [2019-C12-CCI CG 14:04]

When focusing the argument nominal, it's also possible to use a regular subject focus construction with the copula appearing twice: *both* as the focus marker *and* as the verb of the focus remnant. This is shown in (39). In this example, the focused constituent is the argument nominal. It's followed by a main-clause form of the copula, which acts as the focus marker. The focus remnant then consists of the predicate nominal (a borrowing), followed by the second token of the copula. It is in subordinate clause form, with the same morphology as the verb of any other subject focus construction.

(39) Context: Discussing multiple soccer balls. One has been extensively patched, another has not.
*ɟi31ʔe2ma4 ti4ʔĩ4 a4 originalgɨ4ʔɨ1ra1 i1ʔĩ1ʔe3*
ɟi31ʔe2ma4 ti4ʔĩ4 a4 original=gɨ4=ʔɨ1ra1
DEM.ANA(I) 3(I).SBJ.COP DET(I) SP:original=PL=sort.of
i1=ĩ4=e3
3.SBJ.REL=COP=NMLZ(I)
'*That one* (near you) is sort of original.' [Veronica, LSC-VSC]

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# 25 Subordination and coordination

Ticuna discourse is extremely hypotactic, displaying a high ratio of subordinate clauses to main clauses. For example, the general subordinator *=ʔ̃ɨ4* is by far the most frequent bound verbal morpheme in conversation between adults. This single subordinator makes up more than 16% of all verbal bound morpheme tokens and is more than twice as frequent as the next most frequent verbal affix or clitic.

Chapter 23 covered one of the most common types of subordination – relativization. In this chapter, I discuss two further common types of subordinate clause:

- Subordinate clauses with the verbal subordinator *=(ʔ)gu2* (25.1). These are mainly temporal subordinate clauses and conditional antecedents, but can also be used in attitude reports.
- Subordinate clauses with the verbal subordinator *=ʔ(ʔ̃ɨ4)* (25.2). These are mainly complement clauses, which are used in attitude reports and in other types of complementation, such as with phasal verbs. However, with additional morphology, they can also form purpose clauses.
- Clauses introduced with *e3rɨ4*/*ɟe4rɨ4* 'because' (25.3), which have main clause verb forms and express reasons.

§25.4 groups together various less frequent types of subordinate clause, such as subordinate clauses of manner, and discusses each of them. §25.5 discusses coordination of noun phrases, verb phrases, and clauses.

Before I move into the discussion of subordinate clauses, I note that I use the terms 'main clause' and 'subordinate clause' in two different ways: (1) as the name of inflectional categories of the verb, and (2) as a term for clauses that can (main) / cannot (subordinate) be used independently outside a context of ellipsis.

As I described in Chapter 6, all Ticuna verbs are inflected for both subject and clause type. Per that chapter, the language has 3 clause types: main, subordinate, and imperative. There is a close, but not 1:1, match between whether a clause is syntactically subordinate and whether its verb takes 'subordinate clause' inflection. Chapter 6.1.1.2 has already covered the fact that people frequently use

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morphologically 'subordinate' verbs as the sole clause of a totally non-elliptical utterance. In this chapter we'll see that morphologically 'main clause' verbs can also be used in one kind of arguably subordinate clause: clauses introduced with *e3ɾi4*/*ɟe4ɾi4* 'because'. However, **all** other kinds of subordinate clauses **do** require subordinate-clause inflection. That is why I refer to this inflectional category as 'subordinate'.

## 25.1 Subordinate clauses with *=(ʔ)gu2*

The main functions of *=(ʔ)gu2* clauses are to express temporal overlap between subordinate clause and main clause events (§25.1.1) and to form conditionals (§25.1.2). These clauses also have additional functions where they express propositional attitudes and wishes (§25.1.3, §25.1.4). However, the attitude and wish functions are much less common that the temporal overlap and conditional ones.

In all kinds of *=(ʔ)gu2* clause, the verb of the subordinate clause takes subordinate clause inflection and the enclitic *=(ʔ)gu2*. *=(ʔ)gu2* appears after all other suffixes and enclitics, except information-structural enclitics. It is unclear to me what conditions the appearance of the glottal stop in the enclitic.

*=(ʔ)gu2* subordinate clauses usually come before the main clause. Additionally, when the subordinate clause is first, very often the topic marker *ɾi1* appears between the subordinate clause and main clause. (1) provides an example of the [Subordinate Clause] [TOP] [Main Clause] structure. The *=(ʔ)gu2* clause here conveys temporal overlap.

(1) ***ĩ3pa3 tʃa1ʌe4te4gu2*** *ɾi1 ɲa4a2ta2ã4 ɟi1ʔi1ʔĩ4 i4 tʃau1ã5ẽ2.*
**ĩ3pa3 tʃa1=ʌe4=te4=gu2** ɾi1
**long.ago 1SGSBJ=lack=NI:husband=COND/SUB** DEM.PROX(IV)=only
ɲa4a2=ta2ã4 ɟi1ʔi1ʔĩ4 i4 tʃau1=ã5ẽ2
3.SBJ.SC.COP DET(IV) 1SG=heart
'A long time ago when I wasn't married, **this same (idea)** was (in) my mind.' [Veronica, LSC-VSC]

While the subordinate clause in a *=(ʔ)gu2* construction comes first in most textual examples, and people nearly always use it first in elicitation, it **can** come second. For instance, (2) is a conditional sentence. The first clause is the main clause/conditional consequent, and the **second** clause is the subordinate clause, which is a conditional antecedent with *=(ʔ)gu2*.

(2) *ta2a4ki4 ta4a3ɾi1 i1da2we3ni2ʔĩ4 e3ga4 ni31wa5 na1ta2ʔu2ʔgu2?*

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ta2a4kɨ4 ta4=a3rɨ1 i1=da2we3nɨ3=ʔĭ4 e3ga4 nɨ31wa5
what? FUT=INFO IMPERS.SBJ.SC=watch=SUB if INFO
na1=tau2ʔ=gu2
3.SBJ.SC=NEG.EXIST=COND/SUB
'(On independence day,) what will we watch if there's no (parade)?'
[Laura, LSC-VSC]

### 25.1.1 Temporal subordinate clause with *=(ʔ)gu2*

Whether *=(ʔ)gu2* clauses are interpreted as temporal subordinate clauses vs. as conditional antecedents correlates strongly with the presence of connectives, such as *e3ga4* 'if' in (2), in the subordinate clause.

If there's no connective introducing a *=(ʔ)gu2* subordinate clause, the clause will usually be interpreted as expressing temporal overlap between the subordinate clause event and the main clause event.

We already saw the temporal reading of *=(ʔ)gu2* in (1) above, where the time period of the subordinate clause ('when I wasn't married') includes the entire time period of the main clause ('I had these same ideas'). (3) provides another example of complete temporal overlap, this time with a dynamic verb in the subordinate clause: the time period of the subordinate clause 'when it rains' and the time period of the main clause 'you can't go anywhere' are the same.

(3) *na1pu3ʔgu2 rɨ1, ta2ʔu2wa5ma3 ku3ʌu3*
na1=pu3=gu2 rɨ1 tau2ʔ=wa5=ma3 ku3=ʌu3
3.SBJ.SC=rain=COND/SUB TOP nothing=ALL=INFO 2SGSBJ=arrive
'When it rains, you can't get anywhere.' [HGC HALDI]

Temporal subordinate clauses with *=(ʔ)gu2* can also convey temporal overlap where the main clause time is properly included in the subordinate clause time. This is the case in (4), where the time period of the subordinate clause ('when I looked inside at them') is a point within the longer time period of the main clause ('they were getting soft'). Note that this example could potentially also be seen as a propositional attitude use of *=(ʔ)gu2* (cf. §25.1.3).

(4) *no31ʔri5 ŋe5a2 tʃa1rɨ3dau2ku2ta3nɨ3gu2 ra3ã1 na4do43ã4tʃi4ta3nɨ3*
no31ʔri5 ŋe5a2
earlier.today there.DIST.ALL
tʃa1rɨ3=dau2-ku2=ta3nɨ3=gu2 ra3ã1
1SGSBJ.SC=see-DIR:inward.PLO=Coll=COND/SUB TOP

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na4=do43=ã4tʃi4=ta3nɨ3
3.SBJ=soft=ACHV=Coll
'When I looked in there (in the freezer) at them (popsicles) earlier, they were getting soft (because of the temperature).' [Veronica, LSC-VSC]

However, temporal overlap isn't the only possible reading of a *=(ʔ)gu2* temporal subordinate clause. They can also be read as conveying temporal sequence – that the main clause occurs after the subordinate clause – especially if the subordinate clause verb is an achievement or accomplishment. (5) is an example of the temporal sequence reading with an achievement and (6) is one with an accomplishment.

(5) *ɟi51ʔkɨ3 i5na1ʎu3ʔgu2 rɨ1, na43ma4ã2 nɨ31ʔĩ3 i1ʔu3*
ɟi51ʔkɨ3 i5=na1=ʎu3=gu2 rɨ1 na43=ma4ã2 nɨ31=ʔĩ3
later VCL=3.SBJ.SC=arrive=COND/SUB TOP 3=COM 3=ACC
i1=u3
IMP=say
'When he arrives later, tell him.' [20180707]

(6) a. *ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3 ta4 ʎe1ʔta5ã4ma4 ta4 a3wã4ʔna1gɨ4ą̃1gu2*
ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3 ta4 ʎe1ʔta5=ã4ma4 ta4
when FUT where?=toward FUT
a3=wã4ʔna1=gɨ4=ą̃1=gu2
3.SBJ.SC=open=PL=3.SBJ>3.OBJ.SC=COND/SUB
'When they open it (a valve) in another direction,'

b. *ŋe5ma2ã4ma4 ta4 ni41ʔĩ4 a1tʃu3ʔtʃu3ʔĩ4*
ŋe5ma2=ã4ma4 ta4 ni41ʔĩ4 a1=tʃu3ʔtʃu1=ʔĩ4
there.ANA.ALL=toward FUT FOC 3.SBJ.SC=drip=SUB
'The water will run in that direction.'
[2019 C27 CCI]

These examples all involve subordinate clause and main clause verbs with no aspect marking. If you add aspect markers to either verb of a temporal overlap subordinate clause construction, the available readings (overlap vs. sequence) change significantly. The discussion of aspect in Chapter 14 provides many examples of temporal overlap subordinate clauses.

There is also a temporal sequence subordinate clause construction that involves the enclitic *=we5na2* 'after', which can be combined with *=(ʔ)gu2*. I discuss this in the next chapter.

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### 25.1.2 Conditional antecedent subordinate clause with *=(ʔ)gu2*

#### 25.1.2.1 Form of a regular conditional

In a conditional, the antecedent clause appears as the subordinate clause. The subordinate clause is usually introduced by the connective *e3ga4* 'if', and the subordinate clause verb bears *=(ʔ)gu2*. The consequent clause appears as the main clause and has no additional marking. This structure is shown in (7), which has the antecedent before the consequent, and again in (8), which has the consequent before the antecedent. Antecedent-first is the more common order.

(7) *[e3ga4 tau1ne3kɨ3gu2 ŋe5ma2 ku1ʔũ43ʔgu2]*$_{SC/Antecedent}$ *rɨ1, [na4ɟa5ĩ2 ni41ʔĩ4]*$_{MC/Consequent}$ *pa2 ɟa31*
e3ga4 tau1ne3kɨ3=gu2 ŋe5ma2 ku1=ũ43=gu2 rɨ1
if dry.season=LOC there.ANA.ALL 2SGSBJ.SC=go.SGS=COND/SUB TOP
na4=ɟa5ĩ2 ni41ʔĩ4 pa2 ɟa31
3.SBJ=far FOC VOC male.VOC
'If you go there in the dry season, it's far away (i.e. you have to take a longer route), brother.' [NWG, NWG-ABS Visit]

(8) *nu5a2ma4ta2ã4, [i4 tau2ʔta4ã2 pe3ʎo1]*$_{MC/Consequent}$*, [e3ga4 ɟe5a2ma4 pi1ʔĩ43gu2]*$_{SC/Antecedent}$
nu5a2=ma4ta2ã4 i4 tau2ʔta4ã2 pe3=ʎo1 e3ga4
here.ALL=toward=only DET(IV) NEG.FUT 2PLSBJ=appear if
ɟe5a2=ma4 pi1=ĩ43=gu2
there.DIST.ALL=toward 2PL.SC.SBJ=go.PLS=COND/SUB
'(Come) back right here, you won't appear on the camera if you go over there.' [2019 C1-C2 CCI]

#### 25.1.2.2 Form of a counterfactual conditional

To form a non-future counterfactual conditional, the second-position enclitic *tʃi4* 'Counterfactual' is used. It usually appears in both the main clause and the subordinate clause (9). However, the counterfactual marker can also appear in the main clause only (10). Both of these examples also demonstrate that conditional antecedents do not **need** to be introduced with *e3ga4*, even though they often are (as in 7 and 8).

(9) *no51rɨ3 secundaria* ***tʃi4*** *nɨ31ʔĩ5 a1gu5e3gu2, ma3rɨ3* ***tʃi4*** *ŋe3ma2wa5 postulaʔ*

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no51rɨ3 secundaria **tʃi4** nɨ31=ʔĩ5 a1=gu̯1-e3=gu2 ma3rɨ3
3.POSS SP:secondary **CNTF** 3=BEN 3.SBJ.SC=finish-PL=COND/SUB PRF
**tʃi4** ŋe3ma2=wa5 postula=ʔ
**CNTF** DEM.ANA(IV)=ALL SP:apply=SUB
'If he had been finished with high school, he would have applied to that (the police academy) (but he didn't because he was ineligible).' [20170818]

(10) *tɨ31ʔĩ3 i1ʔɨ̰2gu2 rɨ1e3kɑ̰1 na4ʔ me31ã2 **tʃi4**ã3 dobleɑ̰̃1gɨ5ʔĩ4 kɨ2a4na4*
tɨ31=ʔĩ3 i1=ɨ̰2=gu2 rɨ1=e3kɑ̰1 na4ʔ me31ã2
3(I)=ACC 1INCL.SBJ.SC=make=COND/SUB TOP=INFO COMP well
**tʃi4**=ã3 doble=ɑ̰̃1=gɨ4=ʔĩ4 kɨ2a4na4
**CNTF**=REP SP:double=have=PL=SUB INTJ:tag
'If we had done it ourselves, we would really have made double the money, right?' [2019 CCI, C3-C7]

While *tʃi4* CNTF expresses counterfactuality in all conditional antecedents that have present/past temporal reference, it does **not** necessarily express counterfactuality in antecedent or consequent clauses with **future** temporal reference. Instead, in clauses with future temporal reference, *tʃi4* CNTF typically expresses that the event is unlikely. This reading is shown in (11).

(11) *e3rɨ4 ŋẽ2ʔgu2ma3 **tʃi4** e3rɨ4 tau2tʃi4ã3 Ma3ri1 ŋe5a2 na3mu2ʔgu2 rɨ1, I3tʃi4tu1wa5 **tʃi4** ni4*
e3rɨ4 ŋẽ2ʔgu2ma3 **tʃi4** e3rɨ4 tau2tʃi4ã3 Ma3ri1 ŋe5a2
because then **CNTF** because NEG.CNTF Mari there.DIST.ALL
na3=mu2=gu2 rɨ1 I3tʃi4tu1=wa5 **tʃi4** ni4
3.OBJ=send=COND/SUB TOP Iquitos=ALL **CNTF** FOC
'Because if Mari doesn't (CNTF) send him there, he'll (CNTF) (go) to Iquitos.' [LSC-VSC, Laura,]

Outside its use in conditionals, *tʃi4* CNTF can also be used in a monoclausal counterfactual statement or in the main clause of an attitude report. Since these functions do not involve subordination (at least of the clause with *tʃi4* CNTF), they are covered in the chapter on modality (Chapter 14.6.2).

#### 25.1.2.3 Generic conditionals

To express a generic or habitual conditional statement, i.e. one where the antecedent and consequent both happen on a regular basis, speakers use a conditional structure with indefinite pronouns in the antecedent and/or consequent.

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For instance, in (12), the preceding discourse is about how the addressee, an old woman, gets a fever every time that she goes to the daughter's farm with her. After this happens several times, the daughter summarizes the situation using a generic conditional.

(12) *ki3ʔa31ʔi4ne1 e3ga4 tạ2ʔkɨ4 ku1ʔị2ʔgu2*
ki3=a31ʔi4ne1 e3ga4 tạ2ʔkɨ4 ku1=i2=gu2
2SGSBJ=fever if what? 2SGSBJ.SC=do=COND/SUB
'You get a fever whenever you do something/anything.'
[Shavelli, SCG-YCG-DGC]

Using the indefinite pronoun *ʎe1ʔĩ4rɨ4ĩ2* 'any/which one' in a conditional leads to a reading where the conditional doesn't depend on the identity of the argument, like with English *whoever*, *whatever*, and so on (13).

(13) Context: Discussing if a medication is available over the counter.
*ʎe2e3rɨ4e3ma3re3 ta2i5ka1ʔgu2, tɨ31ʔna1 na4na3ʔã3?*
ʎe2e3rɨ4e3=ma3re3 ta2=i5=ka1=gu2 tɨ31=na1
anyone(I)=just some(IV)=VCL=ask.for=COND/SUB 3(I)=RCP
na4=na3=ã3
3.SBJ=3.OBJ=give.INANSGO
' 'If just anyone$_i$ asks for some, do they$_j$ give it to them$_i$? ' [20170527 DGG]

#### 25.1.2.4 Biscuit conditionals

"Biscuit" conditionals are sentences that are formally conditionals, but where the consequent is true regardless of the truth of the antecedent. The conditional type is named for English examples like "If you'd like some biscuits, they're in the tin" (Austin 1970).

Biscuit conditionals are easy to find in the corpus: (14) and (15) are two examples. They look identical to other non-counterfactual conditionals.

(14) *tʃo31ʔna1 pi1ka1ʔgu2 na4 inglesḳa1, na4 ku31ʔĩ3 tʃa3ʎụ1ʔẽ4ẽ3 i4 ɲa4a2ʔ*
tʃo31=na1 pi1=ka1=gu2 na4 ingles=ḳa1 na4
1SGSBJ=RCP 2PLSBJ.SC=ask.for=COND/SUB COMP English=PURP COMP
ku31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=ʎụ1-ʔẽ4ẽ3 i4 ɲa4a2=ʔ
2SG=ACC 1SGSBJ=learn-CAUS DET(IV) 3.SBJ.SC.QUOT=SUB
"'If you ask me for English, I can teach you," he said.' [RGW, 20170527]

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(15) *e3ga4ɨi1ʔkɨ2 na3ʎǫ1ʔẽ4ẽ3gu2 rɨ1 na4ʔã3ã1rɨ3ą̃1wę̃1ʔe3ʔi5tʃi2*
e3ga4=ɨi1ʔkɨ2 ∅=na3=ʎǫ1-ʔẽ4ẽ3=gu2 rɨ1
if=INFO 1INCL.SBJ.SC=3.OBJ=appear-CAUS=COND/SUB TOP
na4=ã3ã1rɨ3=ą̃1=wę̃1ʔe3=ʔi5tʃi2
3.SBJ=boyfriend=have=HABIT=really
'If we're being frank (lit. if we make it clear), she's always dating different men.' [LSC-VSC, Laura]

#### 25.1.2.5 No differences to tense or aspect in conditionals

In Ticuna, in contrast to many Indo-European languages, aspect and (nominal) tense marking behave the same in conditionals as in any other clause type. The only relationship between conditionals/counterfactuals and aspect is that *tʃi4* CNTF may be morphologically related to the aspectual enclitic *=tʃi4rę̃1* ANTIPRF, which is discussed in further detail in Chapter 14.3.2.

#### 25.1.2.6 *e3ga4* isn't required for interpretation of a *=(ʔ)gu2* clause as a conditional, or vice versa

For both temporal overlap and conditional uses of *=(ʔ)gu2*, there is a strong relationship between the presence of *e3ga4* if in the subordinate clause and the interpretation of the *=(ʔ)gu2* subordinate clause as a conditional antecedent (rather than a temporal subordinate clause). However, this relationship is not absolute. Some subordinate clauses with *e3ga4* are interpreted as temporal, and some subordinate clause without *e3ga4* are interpreted as conditionals.

(16) is an example of an subordinate clause that has *e3ga4* but receives a temporal, rather than conditional, interpretation in context. The speaker has asserted prior to this clause that after she received an injection, her pain completely stopped. She then restates this using an e3ga4…*=(ʔ)gu2* subordinate clause, which here can only be interpreted as describing **an event** temporally before the main clause, not **a condition** of the main clause.

(16) Context: 'After i got the injection, it (my hand) no longer hurt anywhere...'
*ŋ̃ĩ3, e3ga4 tʃo31ʔĩ̃3 na1pai1ʔgu3gu2, bai51 ʎe1ʔta5 tʃo31ʔĩ̃5 na1ʎu5ʔĩ̃4*
ŋ̃ĩ3 e3ga4 tʃo31=ʔĩ̃3 na1=pai1ʔgu3=gu2 bai51 ʎe1ʔta5
yes when/if 1SG=ACC 3.SBJ.SC=inject=COND/SUB not.at.all where?
tʃo31=ʔĩ̃5 na1=ʎų̃1=ʔĩ̃4
1SG=BEN 3.SBJ.SC=hurt=SUB
'Yeah, when (= after) they injected me, it didn't hurt anywhere at all.'

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[RGW 20170527]

Conversely, (9–10) above are examples of subordinate clauses that don't have *e3ga4*, but that are clearly read as conditional in context. They happen to both be counterfactual. However, you can also form a standard (i.e., non-counterfactual) conditional without *e3ga4*, such as (17).

(17) *wɨ43ʔi4 i4 ɟa31tɨ3ʔĩ4 ku31ʔĩ3 a1ʎau1ʔgu2ʔ, ta4ma3 tʃa3na31ʔwa̱1e2 na4ʔ ã4kɨ4 ɲu1ʔũ4 ɲa5ku3ma3re2ʔĩ4*
wɨ43ʔi4 i4 ɟa31tɨ3ʔĩ4 ku31=ʔĩ3 a1=ʎau1=gu2
one DET(IV) man(IV) 2SG=ACC 3.SBJ.SC=run.across=COND/SUB
ta4ma3 tʃa3=na43=wa̱1e2 na4ʔ ã4kɨ4 ɲu1ʔũ4
NEG 1SGSBJ=3=want COMP HESIT do/say.what?
ɲa5ku3=ma3re3=ʔĩ4
2SGSBJ.SC.QUOT=just=SUB
'If a man runs into you, I don't want you to just, um, do whatever (i.e., go out with him).' [Veronica, LSC-VSC]

### 25.1.3 Indirect speech/attitude report with *=(ʔ)gu2* on attitude verb

Subordinate clauses with *=(ʔ)gu2* can form indirect speech reports or attitude reports. This is not a common type of attitude report; most are formed with a complement clause instead.

In the attitude report construction with *=(ʔ)gu2*, the subordinate clause has the speech/attitude verb. It bears *=(ʔ)gu2*. The main clause contains the speech/attitude report. It can display either main clause inflection, as in (18), or subordinate clause inflection with the enclitic *=ʔ(ĩ4)*, as in (19). Connectives such as *e3ga4* can introduce the subordinate clause or main clause (19), but are not obligatory (18).

(18) *ma3ma5 nɨ31ʔĩ3 i1ʔu3ʔgu2 na4gu5ʔĩ4ra3ĩ1*
ma3ma5 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 i1=u3=gu2 na4=gu5ʔĩ4=ra3ĩ1
mother 3=ACC 3.SBJ.SC=say=COND/SUB 3.SBJ=all=kind
'Mom said that there are all kinds.' [20170630]

(19) *ka4ʔ e3ga4 nɨ31ʔĩ3 ɟa1ʔu3ʔgu2, rɨ1 ŋe5ma2 na1ʔũ31ʔtʃa1ĩ3ʔĩ4*
ka4ʔ e3ga4 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 ɟa1=u3=gu2 rɨ1 ŋe5ma2
INTJ:look if/when 3=ACC 3.SBJ.SC.I=say=COND/SUB TOP there.ANA.ALL
na1=ũ43=ʔtʃa1ĩ1=ʔĩ4
3.SBJ.SC=go.SGS=PROSP=SUB
'He$_i$ says that he$_j$ wanted to go there.' [Laura, LSC-VSC,]

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The *=(ʔ)gu2* attitude report construction is an 'indirect' speech or attitude report because there isn't any indexical shift in the main clause (the clause that expresses the attitude). Instead, indexicals in the main clause report reflect the deictic center and person values of speech event occurring now.

Additionally, in this construction there is no evidence that the main clause (with the report) is syntactically dependent on the subordinate clause (with the speech verb). The syntactic relationship is actually the reverse, so for the English gloss to structurally parallel the Ticuna in (18), it would need to be "As mom said, there are all kinds."

Speech/attitude reports with *=(ʔ)gu2* are very uncommon – the corpus materials contain less than 20. The much more common way to form an attitude report is with a clausal complement, as the corpus contains several hundred examples of speech/attitude reports with clausal complements. I describe this structure in §25.2.

### 25.1.4 Wish with monoclausal use of *=(ʔ)gu2*

People occasionally use formally subordinate clauses *=(ʔ)gu2* to express wishes or desires that aren't likely to be fulfilled. In the wish construction, the *=(ʔ)gu2* clause is the only clause in the utterance. There is no other clause (and therefore no syntactically main clause).

Besides bearing *=(ʔ)gu2* on the verb, wish clauses also contain the collocation *tʃi4=e3ɾi1 na4(ʔ)* (CNTF=INFO:cng COMP), as shown in (20).

(20) *tʃo31ʔna1* ***tʃi4e3ɾi1 na4*** *ta1na3ʔã3gu2ʔã3 tʃo31ɾi3 ã4ki4, tʃo1be3ra3ra3ĩ3ʔĩ4 tʃi4a3ɾi1*
tʃo31=na1 **tʃi4=e3ri1** **na4**
1SG=RCP **CNTF=INFO:cng COMP**
ta1=na3=ã3=gu2=ʔã3 tʃo31ɾi3 ã4ki4
3(I).SBJ.SC=3.OBJ=give.INANSGO=COND/SUB=REP 1SG.POSS HESIT
tʃo1=be3ra3=ra3ĩ1=ʔĩ4 tʃi4=a3ɾi1
1SG=lip=color=NMLZ(IV) CNTF=INFO
'I wish that she would give me a thing (lip gloss) that's the same color as my um lips.' [LFG-MFG-LVI]

The counterfactual marker is expected here, since it has a similar meaning in other clauses with future temporal reference (expressing that the event is unlikely to happen). However, it's unusual that the complementizer *na4ʔ* appears in the construction, because it normally introduces a complement clause with *=ʔ(ĩ4)*, as discussed below.

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Overall, the wish construction with *=(ʔ)gu2* looks like it could be elliptical, i.e. like it expresses a future conditional antecedent with ellipsis of the consequent. Pragmatically, though, it shouldn't be analyzed as elliptical, because there does not need to be any related antecedent or consequent earlier in the discourse for these clauses to be felicitous. For example, in (21) a woman expresses a wish to move to her parents' neighborhood. This is the first mention of her plan in the discourse, so there is no reasonably accessible consequent clause that could be undergoing ellipsis here.

(21) *ma3ri3 tʃi4e3ri1 na4 tʃa1ʔã3tʃi4ĩ3gu2, pa2 pa3, nu2a2.*
ma3ri3 tʃi4=e3ri1 na4 tʃa1=ã3=tʃi4ĩ3=gu2 pa2
PRF CNTF=INFO:CNG COMP 1SGSBJ.SC=have=NI:house=COND/SUB VOC
pa3 nu2a2
father.VOC here.LOC
'I hope that I can build a house here, dad.' [RGW 20170527]

### 25.1.5 Clauses with *=(ʔ)gu2* are syntactic islands

As I will show later in this chapter, it is possible to extract from other types of subordinate clauses in focus constructions/content questions. For example, it's acceptable to question constituents of complement clauses with *=ʔ(ĩ4)* (§25.2.1.5). This is **not** possible in subordinate clauses with *=(ʔ)gu2*. They are islands to focus extraction, as shown by (22a). Question formation *is* allowed inside the subordinate clause, but the interrogative pronoun must stay in situ rather than being focused (22b).

(22) Context: We're discussing the World Cup, and I ask which team you'd like to see win.

a. **ʎe1ʔĩ4ri4ĩ1 ni41ʔi4 i4 ku1ta43ã5ẽ2ʔĩ4 ta4 e3ga4 ga3na1gu2?*
*ʎe1ʔĩ4ri4ĩ1 ni41ʔi4 i4 ku1=ta43ã5ẽ2=ʔĩ4 ta4 e3ga4
*which(IV) FOC DET(IV) 2SGSBJ.SC=happy=SUB FUT if/when
ga3na1=gu2
win=SUB/COND
(Intended reading: 'Which one$_i$ is it that you'll be happy if they$_i$ win?')

b. *ku3ta43ã5ẽ2 ta4 e3ga4 ʎe1ʔĩ4ri4ĩ1 ga3na1gu2?*
ku3=ta43ã5ẽ2 ta4 e3ga4 ʎe1ʔĩ4ri4ĩ1 ga3na1=gu2
2SGSBJ=happy FUT if/when which(IV) win=SUB/COND
'You'll be happy if which one wins?'

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[LWG 2018.1.65-66, KSC 2018.1.66]

## 25.2 Subordinate clauses with *=ʔ(ɨ̃4)*

Subordinate clauses with *=ʔ(ɨ̃4)* function as complement clauses (§25.2.1) and purpose constructions (§25.2.2). In both uses of this subordinate clause type, the verb always bears subordinate clause inflection.

As defined by the name of the clause type, in both uses, the verb also bears some allomorph of the enclitic *=ʔ(ɨ̃4)*. What conditions the allomorphy of this enclitic is not entirely clear to me. Utterance-medially, the enclitic is usually realized *=ʔ(ɨ̃4)*; utterance-finally, it seems to vary freely between =7 and *=ʔ(ɨ̃4)*. The enclitic is the same as the Class IV nominalizer, except that the nominalizer is always realized with a vowel. Like the nominalizer, it always triggers the nominalizer tone circle (Chapter 4.3.1.1).

### 25.2.1 Complement clauses

Ticuna has many verbs which take clausal/sentential complements. Transitive complement-taking verbs include verbs of cognition and perception, such as *ʌɰ̨1* 'know/feel sensation', *=wɰ̨1e2* 'want,' and *õ2* 'believe'; verbs of communication, such as *u3* 'say'; phasal verbs, such as *ɨ2gɨ4* 'start'; and verbs used in the periphrastic causative construction, such as *mu2* 'send.' Some intransitive verbs, such as *ta43ã5ẽ2* 'happy' and *gu3ʔtʃa1* 'difficult,' can also take clausal complements. Finally, the deontic modal verbs *na31ʔwɰ̨1e2* 'be obligatory' and *na4me43* 'be allowed' are themselves intransitive main predicates. They express the proposition in their scope as a complement clause.

#### 25.2.1.1 Shared properties of all complement clauses

All complement clauses have certain properties in common.

First, if the main clause/embedding verb is transitive, it always has an object proclitic or a third-person object pronoun – depending on the object syntax class of the verb – in the preverbal object position. Except when there is concord between the preverbal object and an argument of the subordinate clause (§25.2.1.6), the preverbal object will be third person and belong to noun class IV.

For example, in (23), the main clause verb is *dau2* 'see.' This is a psych verb, and therefore it has a free 3(IV) pronoun in the object position (see Chapter 10.3.1 on differential object marking). On the other hand, in (24), the main clause verb

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is *ɨ2gɨ4* 'begin.' Since 'begin' is a transitive causative verb, it takes an object proclitic rather than a pronoun. After the embedding verb, there is a complementizer, followed by the complement clause. The form of the complementizer is discussed in the next section.

(23) *cumpleañoswa5 tʃa3ʔũ43 rɨ1 ta4ma3* ***nɨ31ʔɨ̃3 tʃa3dau2 na4*** *ɲu1ʔã1kɨ2 ɟi1ʔɨ̃4 nɨ31gɨ1 i5ɟa3ga4gɨ5ʔɨ̃4 ma3rɨ3 a4 ŋe5ma2*
cumpleaños=wa5 tʃa3=ũ43 rɨ1 ta4ma3 **nɨ31=ʔɨ̃3 tʃa3=dau2 na4**
SP:birthday=ALL 1SGSBJ=go.SGS and NEG **3=ACC 1SGSBJ=see** COMP
ɲu1ʔã1kɨ2 ɟi1ʔɨ̃4 nɨ31=gɨ1 i5=ɟa3=ga4=gɨ4=ʔɨ̃4 ma3rɨ3
how? SC.FOC 3=REFL VCL=AM=transport:ANIMO=SUB PRF
a4 ŋe5ma2
DET(IV) DEM.ANA(IV)
'I went to the birthday party and **I didn't see** how they left it together (lit. transported each other).' [20170527b]

(24) Context: AHS: 'When did they start that construction?'
*ɲu1ʔgu2a1kɨ2* ***ɨ2na4na3ʔɨ2gɨ4 ga4 na4ʔ*** *na1me43ɛ̃4ɛ̃3gɨ4ã1ʔɨ̃4*
ɲu1ʔgu2=a1kɨ2 **ɨ2=na4=na3=ɨ2gɨ4 ga4 na4ʔ**
when?=ADVBZ **VCL=3.SBJ=3.OBJ=begin COMP.REM.PST**
na1=me43ɛ̃4ɛ̃3=gɨ4=ã1=ʔɨ̃4
3.SBJ.SC=repair=PL=3.SBJ>3.OBJ=SUB
'(You mean,) when did they start repairing it?' [YCG HALDI]

If the embedding verb is intransitive, as with 'easy' or 'difficult,' nothing goes in the preverbal position, as shown in (25). The complementizer still directly follows the embedding verb.

(25) *mu1kɨ3gu2 rɨ1* ***na4tau3ʔtʃa1 na4*** *ŋɛ̃5ma2ma3 na4 i1ʌu2ʔɨ̃4*
mu1kɨ3=gu2 rɨ1 **na4=tau3ʔtʃa1 na4** ŋɛ̃5ma2=ma3 na4
wet.season=LOC TOP **3.SBJ=easy COMP** there.ANA.ALL=INFO COMP
i1=ʌu3=ʔɨ̃4
IMPERS.SBJ.SC=arrive=SUB
'During the rainy season, **it's easy** to get there.' [DGG HALDI]

Regardless of embedding verb properties, the complement clause always follows the last element in the embedding clause.

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#### 25.2.1.2 Embedded declaratives and content questions

Complement clauses are normally introduced by complementizers. The most common complementizer is the temporally and semantically neutral complementizer *na4(ʔ)*, which we have already seen in (23) and (25). The *na4(ʔ)* complementizer can occur with any type of *=ʔ(ĩ4)* complement. We have already seen examples of it with an an embedded content question in (23) and with a non-attitude complement in (25). Besides these complement types, it can also occur with embedded declaratives (26), embedded polar questions (§25.2.1.3), and embedded imperatives (§25.2.1.4).

(26) *nɨ31ʔĩ3 ta4ɱa̱1* ***na4*** *na1ʔã3ma3ʔĩ4 re3ka1ʔni4*
nɨ31=ʔĩ3 ta4=ɱa̱1 **na4** na1=ã3=ma̱1=ʔĩ4 re3ka1ʔni4
3=ACC 3(I).SBJ=know **COMP** 3.SBJ.SC=have=NI:wife=SUB INTJ:right?
'She found out that he had gotten remarried, right.' [Victoria, AFG-LVI]

If the complement clause has absolute remote past temporal reference, it can also be introduced with the remote past complementizer *ga4 na4(ʔ)*. We saw the remote past complementizer above in (24); (27) is another example. The remote past complementizer is composed of *ga4* DET.REM.PST and the neutral complementizer *na4(ʔ)*. Chapter 15 further discusses the temporal requirements of *ga4 na4(ʔ)*.

(27) *tʃa1bu31ʔgu2 rɨ1 po2ra4ã1kɨ2 tʃo31ʔĩ5 na4me43* ***ga4 na4ʔ*** *nɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa1da2ũ4 ga4 Don Lambert.*
tʃa1=bu31=gu2 rɨ1 po2ra4ã1kɨ2 tʃo31=ʔĩ5 na4=me43
1SGSBJ.SC=young=COND/SUB TOP very 1SG=BEN 3.SBJ=good
**ga4 na4ʔ** nɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃa1=dau2=ʔĩ4 ga4 Don
**COMP.REM.PST** 3=ACC 1SGSBJ.SC=see=SUB DET.REM.PST SP:HON
Lambert
personal.name
'When I was young, I really liked seeing Mr. Lambert.' [SSG HALDI]

If the **complement** clause contains focus, you can use the focus marker *ni41ʔĩ4*, or its variants *ni4* and *ɟi1ʔĩ1ʔ(ĩ4)*, after the focused constituent of the complement clause.[1] The focus marker can occur as the only marker introducing the complement clause, i.e. instead of a complementizer, as in (28). Or it can co-occur with the complementizer, as we saw in (23) above (repeated below).

[1] *ni4* is a sociolinguistic variant of *ni41ʔĩ4* that occurs in all contexts. *ɟi1ʔĩ1ʔ(ĩ4)* is the form of the copula that occurs in subordinate clauses. It also conveys focus inside subordinate clauses, primarily complement clauses.

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(28) *ta4ã3 ni3ta1ʍa̱1gi5ʔĩ4 ʎe1ʔta5ʔã3* ***ɟi1ʔĩ1ʔĩ4*** *na1ŋẽ2ʔma5ʔĩ4*
ta4ã3 ni3=ta1=ʍa̱1=gi4=ʔĩ4 ʎe1ʔta5=ʔã3 **ɟi1ʔĩ1ʔĩ4**
NEG 3.OBJ=3(I).SBJ.SC=know=PL=SUB where?=REP **SC.FOC**
na1=ŋẽ2ʔma4=ʔĩ4
3.SBJ.SC=be.in.place=SUB
'Reportedly, they don't know where s/he is.' [Adriana, AFG-LVI]

(23) *cumpleañoswa5 tʃa3ʔũ43 ri1 ta4ma3 ni31ʔĩ3 tʃa3dau2* ***na4*** *ɲu1ʔã1ki2* ***ɟi1ʔĩ4***
*ni31gi1 i5ɟa3ga4gi5ʔĩ4 ma3ri3 a4 ŋe5ma2*
cumpleaños=wa5 tʃa3=ũ43 ri1 ta4ma3 ni31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=dau2 **na4**
SP:birthday=ALL 1SGSBJ=go.SGS and NEG 3=ACC 1SGSBJ=see **COMP**
ɲu1ʔã1ki2 **ɟi1ʔĩ4** ni31=gi1 i5=ɟa3=ga4=gi4=ʔĩ4 ma3ri3
how? **SC.FOC** 3=REFL VCL=AM=transport:ANIMO=SUB PRF
a4 ŋe5ma2
DET(IV) DEM.ANA(IV)
'I went to the birthday party and I didn't see **COMP** how **FOC** they left it together (lit. transported each other).' [20170527b]

If the entire **main** clause is focused, as in (29–30), then you can use *ni41ʔĩ4* or *ni4* to introduce a complement clause. This doesn't require focus inside the complement clause. The focus marker can occur instead of *na4(ʔ)*, as in (29), or alongside it, as in (30).

(29) Context: The kids$_i$ don't know what their$_j$ house looks like, but...
*ni31ʔĩ3 tʃa3ʍa̱1* ***ni4*** *na1na3ɲu̱1ʔtʃi5ĩ1ra3ĩ3ʔĩ4*
ni31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=ʍa̱1 **ni4**
3=ACC 1SGSBJ=know **FOC**
na1=na3=ɲu̱1ʔ=tʃi5ĩ1=ra3ĩ1=ʔĩ4
3.SBJ.SC=3.OBJ=look/be.how?=NI:house=look.like=SUB
'*I do know* what their$_j$ house looks like.' [LWG comment on AFG-LVI]

In (30), *both* the entire main clause *and* a constituent within the complement clause are focused. The main clause is focused because it describes one of a set of alternatives for sending money (not all of which involve making a plan with the recipient). The complement clause contains focus because it is an embedded content question.

(30) Context: Discussing the set of possible ways to send money from Lima to Cushillococha.

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*e3rɨ4 na43ma4ã2 nɨ31ʔĩ3 ta4ʍa̱1gɨ4* ***nɨ41ʔĩ4 na4*** *ɲu̱1ʔã1kɨ2* ***ɟi1ʔĩ4*** *i4 to51ʔrɨ3 a4 cuenta*

e3rɨ4 na43=ma4ã2 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 ta4=ʍa̱1=gɨ4 **nɨ41ʔĩ4 na4**
because 3=COM 3=ACC IMPERS.SBJ=know=PL **FOC** **COMP**
ɲu̱1ʔã1kɨ2 **ɟi1ʔĩ4** i4 to51rɨ3 a4 cuenta
how? **SC.FOC** DET(IV) IMPERSPOSS DET(IV) SP:account

'*You plan with them* (the sender of a wire transfer) how your account will work (i.e. how you can pick up the money).' [LSC-VSC]

Multiple tokens of complementizers, especially *na4ʔ*, can occur in the same complement clause. For example, in (31), the complement clause is introduced by *ga4 na4(ʔ)*. The speaker then uses another token of *na4(ʔ)* before the verb of the complement, even though the complement clause does not introduce any embedded clauses of its own.

(31) *rɨ1 be1ʔma2na4 Tu3pa3na1 na4na31ʔwa̱1e2* ***ga4 na4ʔ*** *ɲu̱1ʔma5 rɨ1 i51ra1rɨ3wa5 po3pe4ra1ʔĩ3* ***na4ʔ*** *tʃa1ʍa5ʔɨ1ra3ʔĩ4.*

rɨ1 be1ʔma2na4 Tu3pa3na1 na4=na43=wa̱1e2 **ga4 na4ʔ**
and EPIST Christian.God 3.SBJ=3=want **COMP.REM.PST**
ɲu̱1ʔma5 rɨ1 i51ra1rɨ3wa5 po3pe4ra1=ʔĩ3 **na4ʔ**
now TOP a.little book/paper=ACC **COMP**
tʃa1=ʍa̱1=ʔɨ1ra1=ʔĩ4
1SGSBJ.SC=know=sort.of=SUB
'God must have wanted me to learn to read a little.' [DGG HALDI]

While almost all complement clauses in the corpus include complementizers, there are some examples without them. (32) is one clear instance of a complement clause with no complementizer.

(32) *ta2ʔu2ã1kɨ2ma3 ŋe5ma2 ta4ʌ́u3 e3rɨ4 na4gu3ʔtʃa1kɨ5ra1ĩ1ĩ1kɨ2 ŋe5ma2 i1ʌ́u2ʔ.*

ta2ʔu2ã1kɨ2=ma3 ŋe5ma2 ta4=ʌ́u3 e3rɨ4
impossible=INFO there.ANA.ALL IMPERS.SBJ=arrive because
na4=gu3ʔtʃa1=kɨ5ra1ĩ1=ĩ1kɨ2 ŋe5ma2 i1=ʌ́u3=ʔ
3.SBJ=difficult=INFER=INFO there.ANA.ALL IMPERS.SBJ.SC=arrive=SUB
'You can't go there because it's (too) difficult **to get there**.' [YCG HALDI]

#### 25.2.1.3 Embedded polar and alternative questions

Embedded content questions look the same as embedded declaratives, except that they contain focus. Several embedded content questions, such as (23) and

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(28), have already been shown above, so I will not discuss them further.

Complement clauses which are embedded **polar** questions are almost totally absent in the corpus. The only clear examples are (33) and (34). (33) looks exactly like an embedded declarative without focus. It is introduced with *na4*. (34) looks like an embedded declarative without focus. It has no overt complementizer.

(33) *nɨ31ʔɨ̃3 ku3ɱą̱1 na4 ku1na3me43ɛ̃4ɛ̃2??*
nɨ31=ʔɨ̃3 ku3=ɱą̱1 na4 ku1=na3=me43ɛ̃4ɛ̃3=ʔ
3=ACC 2SGSBJ=know COMP 2SGSBJ.SC=3.OBJ=fix=SUB
'Do you know if you can fix it?' [C3-C7 CCI, CG3]

(34) *na43gu2 tʃa3rɨ3ʔɨ̃3nɨ3tʃa1ɨ̃1 ta4 ai2ʔkɨ4ma4ã1kɨ2 ɟi1ʔɨ̃1ʔ*
na43=gu2 tʃa3rɨ3=ɨ̃3nɨ3=tʃa1ɨ̃1 ta4 ai2ʔkɨ4ma4=ã1kɨ2 ɟi1ʔɨ̃1ʔ
3=LOC 1SGSBJ=think=PROSP FUT true=ADVBZ SC.FOC
'I want to think about whether it's true.' [Victoria, LFG-MFG-LVI]

Instead of using a syntactically embedded polar question, speakers use other strategies to report polar questions. These include using a *=(ʔ)gu2* speech report; expressing the topic of the question as a nominal; or using a clause with a speech verb, followed by a clause with a direct quotation. (35) is an example of the last strategy. Line (a) contains the manner of speech verb *ka1* 'ask question,' with no complement. Line (b) then contains a direct speech report, introduced with the quotative verb, which reports the question.

(35) a. *na2tɨ4rɨ4 rɨ1 ma3rɨ3 nɨ31ʔna1 tʃa3ka1*
na2tɨ4rɨ4 rɨ1 ma3rɨ3 nɨ31=na1 tʃa3=ka1
but TOP PRF 3=RCP 1SGSBJ=ask.question
'But I already asked him.'

b. *ɲa5tʃa3ʔ, "ku31rɨ3 nɨ41ʔɨ̃4 a4 ɲa4a2 o3ta5?" ɲa4tʃa3gɨ3rɨ1*
ɲa5tʃa3=ʔ ku31rɨ3 nɨ41ʔɨ̃4 a4 ɲa4a2
1SGSBJ.SC.QUOT=SUB 2SG.POSS 3.SBJ.COP DET(IV) DEM.PROX(IV)
o3ta5 ɲa4tʃa3gɨ3rɨ1
chicken(IV) 1SGSBJ.QUOT
'I said, "Is this your chicken?"'
[AFG-LVI]

While embedded polar questions are hard to find in texts, people have no trouble producing them in elicitation. The main strategy used in elicitation was not a complement clause, but a different construction where the embedded question

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is introduced by the polar question complementizer *rɨ1*. This construction is discussed in §25.4.4.

The corpus includes a single example of an embedded alternative question (36). It is introduced with the complementizer *ʎo17i5* (see more on this item in the following paragraph) and has *=ʔ(ĩ4)* on the verb. Lilia found this example acceptable, but when asked to translate an embedded alternative question, she instead used the complementizer *rɨ1* plus a verb with *=ʔ(ĩ4)* (37).

(36) *ta4ma3 nɨ31ʔĩ3 ta4ʍą1, **ʎo1ʔi5** na1ma4ʔĩ2ʔ rɨ3ɛ̃1ʔna5 ma3rɨ3 na1ɟu2ʔĩ4*
ta4ma3 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 ta4=ʍą1 **ʎo1ʔi5** na1=ma4ʔ=ʔ
NEG 3=ACC 1EXCL.SBJ=know **COMP** 3.SBJ.SC=live.be.alive=SUB
rɨ3ɛ̃1ʔna5 ma3rɨ3 na1=ɟu2=ʔĩ4
or PRF 3.SBJ.SC=die=SUB
'We don't know whether she's alive or dead.' [HCG HALDI]

(37) *be1ʔma2na4 ta4ma3 nɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa3ʍą1 **rɨ1** na1ɟu2ʔ rɨ3ɛ̃1ʔna5 na1ma4ʔĩ2ʔ*
be1ʔma2na4 ta4ma3 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=ʍą1 **rɨ1** na1=ɟu2=ʔ
EPIST NEG 3=ACC 1SGSBJ=know **COMP** 3.SBJ.SC=die=SUB
rɨ3ɛ̃1ʔna5 na1=ma4ʔ=ʔ
or 3.SBJ.SC=live.be.alive=SUB
'I don't really know whether she/he/it is alive or dead.' [LWG 2025.1.112]

The complementizer *ʎo1ʔi5*, as shown in (36), appears in the Ticuna Bible as a complementizer introducing embedded polar questions. However, there are no examples of this use in my corpus and Anderson and Anderson (2017) describe it as old-fashioned. None of my consultants (who are much younger than HCG, the speaker of 36) used *ʎo1ʔi5* to translate Spanish embedded polar questions in elicitation. Lilia did, however, find it acceptable introducing an embedded polar question (38).

(38) *ta4ma3 nɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa3ʍą1 ʎo1ʔi5 ma3rɨ3 na1ɟu2ʔĩ4*
ta4ma3 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=ʍą1 ʎo1ʔi5 ma3rɨ3 na1=ɟu2=ʔĩ4
NEG 3=ACC 1SGSBJ=know COMP PRF 3.SBJ.SC=die=SUB
'I don't really know if she/he/it has died.' [LWG 2025.1.112]

#### 25.2.1.4 Embedded imperatives

Complement clauses that are embedded imperatives or directives are not common either. It's possible to form them like embedded declaratives: that is, introduce the clause with *na4(ʔ)* and use *=ʔ(ĩ4)* on the verb, as shown in (39).

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(39) *tʃau1ʔkɑ̨1 na1kɑ̨2ʔɨ̃4 ga4 o43re4ʔɨ̃3 na4 tʃi1ʔu2ʔɨ̃4 rɨ1*
tʃau1=kɑ̨1 na1=ka1=ʔɨ̃4 ga4 o43re4=ʔɨ̃3 na4
1SG=PURP 3.SBJ.SC=ask=SUB DET.REM.PST word=ACC COMP
tʃi1=u3=ʔɨ̃4 rɨ1
1SGSBJ.SC=say=SUB and
'They asked me to preach (lit. say the Word).' [NWG, NWG visit]

However, it's also possible to embed an imperative using the structure of a purpose clause (§25.2.2). This is shown in (40). In the purpose clause-like structure, the complementizer does not change; however, the verb bears *=ʔ(ɨ̃4)* SUB and then the purposive case marker *=kɑ̨1*, rather than only *=ʔ(ɨ̃4)* SUB.

(40) *tʃo31ʔna1 na4ka1gɨ4 na4 nɨ31ʔɨ̃3 tʃa1rɨ3ŋɨ2ɛ̃4ɛ̃3gɨ5ʔɨ̃4kɑ̨1.*
tʃo31=na1 na4=ka1=gɨ4 na4 nɨ31=ʔɨ̃3 tʃa1rɨ3=ŋɨ2ɛ̃4ɛ̃3=gɨ4=ʔɨ̃4=kɑ̨1
1SG=RCP 3.SBJ=ask=PL COMP 3=ACC 1SGSBJ.SC=help=PL=SUB=PURP
'They asked me to help them.' [YCG 2018.1.167]

The purpose clause-like embedded imperative structure, with na4...*=ʔ(ɨ̃4)=kɑ̨1*, also sometimes occurs as the complement of the verb *=wɑ̨1e2* 'want,' as shown in (41).

(41) *tɨ31ɨ̃5 na31ʔwɑ̨1e2ʔɨ̃4 i4 na4 me31ã2 i1ma4ʔe2ɨ̃4kɑ̨1, na4ʔ ɟi31gɨ1 i1ʌe4tʃa1ɨ̃1gɨ5ʔɨ̃4kɑ̨1*
tɨ31=ɨ̃5 na31=wɑ̨1e3=ʔɨ̃4 i4 na4 me31ã2
IMPERS=BEN 3=want=SUB DET(IV) COMP well
i1=ma4ʔ-e3=ɨ̃4=kɑ̨1 na4ʔ ɟi31=gɨ1
IMPERS.SBJ.SC=live.be.alive-PL=SUB=PURP COMP IMPERS=REFL
i1=ʌe4tʃa1ɨ̃1=gɨ4=ʔɨ̃4=kɑ̨1
IMPERS.SBJ.SC=love=PL=SUB=PURP
'For us (people in general), He (God) wants us to live well (PURP), to love one another (PURP).' [MFC ibi]

As well as the complement of 'want,' clauses marked with the purposive can also occur as the complement of the modal verbs *na31ʔwɑ̨1e2* 'be obligatory' (derived from 'want') and *na4me43* 'be allowed,' as shown in (42).

(42) *na4me43 ni41ʔɨ̃4 na4 o43re4ʔɨ̃3 tʃi1ʔu2ʔɨ̃4(kɑ̨1)*
na4me43 ni41ʔɨ̃4 na4 o43re4=ʔɨ̃3 tʃi1=u3=ʔɨ̃4=kɑ̨1
deontic.should FOC COMP word=ACC 1SGSBJ.SC=say=SUB=PURP
'I'm allowed to preach (PURP).' [LWG 2025.1.112]

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#### 25.2.1.5 Status as syntactic islands

It's acceptable to extract the arguments inside some types of complement clause (although there are no examples of this in the corpus). For example, with *=wa̱1e2* 'want,' *na31ʔwa̱1e2* 'be obligatory,' and *na4me43* 'be allowed,' it's possible to question the subject, object, or adjuncts inside the complement clause. (43–45) demonstrate the acceptability of extracting a variety of arguments with 'want' (see the next section for why there is concord between the object of the verb 'want' and the extracted argument). (46) and (47) demonstrate extraction of the subject from the complement of 'be obligatory' and 'be allowed.'

(43) *te1ʔe5 ti41ʔĩ4 ɟa4 ku1tɨ31ma2wa̱1e5e3 na4 ta1ku1gɨ2ta2e2ʔĩ4?*
te1ʔe5 ti41ʔĩ4 ɟa4 ku1=tɨ31ma2=wa̱1e2=e3 na4
who?(I) 3(I).FOC DET(II) 2SGSBJ.SC=3(I)=want=NMLZ(I) COMP
ta1=ku1gɨ2ta2e3=ʔĩ4
3(I).SBJ.SC=play.soccer=SUB
'Who do you want to play soccer?' [LWG 2025.1.113]

(44) *te1ʔe5 ti41ʔĩ4 ɟa4 ku1tɨ31ma2wa̱1e5e3 na4 tɨ31ʔĩ3 na1dau2ʔĩ4?*
te1ʔe5 ti41ʔĩ4 ɟa4 ku1=tɨ31ma2=wa̱1e2=e3 na4 tɨ31=ʔĩ3
who?(I) 3(I).FOC DET(II) 2SGSBJ.SC=3(I)=want=NMLZ(I) COMP 3(I)=ACC
na1=dau2=ʔĩ4
3.SBJ.SC=see=SUB
'Who do you want him/her to see?' [LWG 2025.1.113]

(45) *te1ʔe5 ti41ʔĩ4 ɟa4 ku1tɨ31ma2wa̱1e5e3 na4 tɨ31ma2ma4ã2 na1ʔã3te5ʔĩ4?*
te1ʔe5 ti41ʔĩ4 ɟa4 ku1=tɨ31ma2=wa̱1e2=e3 na4
who?(I) 3(I).FOC DET(II) 2SGSBJ.SC=3(I)=want=NMLZ(I) COMP
tɨ31ma2=ma4ã2 na1=ã3=te4=ʔĩ4
3(I)=COM 3.SBJ.SC=have=NI:husband=SUB
'Who do you want her to marry?' [LWG 2025.1.113]

(46) *te1ʔe5 ti41ʔĩ4 i4 na31ʔwa̱1e2ʔĩ4 na4 ta1ku1gɨ2ta2e2ʔĩ4?*
te1ʔe5 ti41ʔĩ4 i4 na31ʔwa̱1e2=ʔĩ4 na4
who?(I) 3(I).FOC DET(IV) deontic.must=SUB COMP
ta1=ku1gɨ2ta2e3=ʔĩ4
3(I).SBJ.SC=play.soccer=SUB
'Who is required to play soccer?' [LWG 2025.1.113]

(47) *te1ʔe5 ti41ʔĩ4 na4me43 ni41ʔĩ4 na4 nu5a2 ta1ʔĩ31ʔ?*

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te1ʔe5 ti41ʔĩ4 na4me43 ni41ʔĩ4 na4 nu5a2
who?(I) 3(I).FOC deontic.should FOC COMP here.ALL
ta1=ĩ43=ʔ
3(I).SBJ.SC=go.PLS=SUB
'Who (pl) is allowed to come?' [KSC 2018.1.68]

However, not all complement-taking predicates allow extraction from the complement clause. Complement-taking predicates that ban extraction include emotive verbs, such as *ʎe4tʃa1ɨ̃1* 'be sad' in (48); manner of speaking verbs such as *do3ra3* 'lie/be a lie that' in (49); and the impersonal predicate *ai2ʔkɨ4ma4 ni41ʔĩ4* 'be true' in (50).

(48) **te1ʔe5 ti41ʔĩ4 ɟa4 ku1ʎe4tʃa1ɨ̃3e3 na4 ta4ma3 ga3na1ʔɨ̃4?*
*te1ʔe5 ti41ʔĩ4 ɟa4 ku1=ʎe4tʃa1ɨ̃1=e3 na4 ta4ma3
*who?(I) 3(I).FOC DET(IV) 2SGSBJ.SC=sad=NMLZ(I) COMP NEG
ga3na1=ʔĩ4
win=SUB
(Intended reading: 'Who are you sad that they didn't win?') [LWG 2025.1.113]

(49) **te1ʔe5 ti41ʔĩ4 i4 do3ra3ma3re2ʔĩ4 na4 ta1ga3na1ʔɨ̃4?*
*te1ʔe5 ti41ʔĩ4 i4 do3ra3=ma3re3=ʔĩ4 na4 ta1=ga3na1=ʔĩ4
*who?(I) 3(I).FOC DET(IV) lie=just=SUB COMP 3(I).SBJ.SC=win=SUB
(Intended reading: 'Who is it a lie that they won?') [LWG 2025.1.113]

(50) **te1ʔe5 ti41ʔĩ4 ai2ʔkɨ3ma3 ɟi1ʔĩ1ʔɨ̃4 na4 ga3na1e3?*
te1ʔe5 ti41ʔĩ4 ai2ʔkɨ3ma3 ɟi1ʔĩ1ʔĩ4 na4 ga3na1=e3
who?(I) 3(I).FOC true SC.FOC COMP win=NMLZ(I)
(Intended reading: 'Who is it true that they won?') [LWG 2018.1.66]

At least some of the verbs which prohibit *extraction* from complements do allow *questioning* of arguments in the complement, as long as the content question word remains inside the complement. This is shown for 'be true that' in (51).

(51) *ai2ʔkɨ3ma3 ɟi1ʔĩ1ʔɨ̃4 na4 te1ʔe5 ga3na1ʔɨ̃4?*
ai2ʔkɨ3ma3 ɟi1ʔĩ1ʔĩ4 na4 te1ʔe5 ga3na1=ʔĩ4
true SC.FOC COMP who? win=SUB
'It's true that who won?' [LWG 2018.1.66]

People found it extremely difficult to extract from the complement of attitude/speech verbs other than 'want,' which is why so many of the above examples use that verb. They preferred to paraphrase using the quotative, as shown

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for the complement of 'say' in (52). Some elicited examples suggest that it is *possible* to extract from the complement of 'say' and other attitudes (53), but the evidence is limited. That is, attitude reports with verbs other than 'want' may be syntactic islands.

(52) Q: How old did s/he$_i$ say s/he$_j$ was? A:
*"diez años ni41ʔĩ4 i4 niɨ31ʔĩ5 ŋẽ2ʔma5ʔĩ4" ɲa4a2ʔĩ4 tʃo31ma4ã2*
diez años ni41ʔĩ4 i4 niɨ31=ʔĩ5 ŋẽ2ʔma4=ʔĩ4 ɲa4a2=ʔĩ4
SP:ten SP:years FOC DET(IV) 3=BEN have=SUB 3.SBJ.SC.QUOT=SUB
tʃo31=ma4ã2
1SG=COM
"'S/he$_i$ is *ten years* old," s/he$_j$ said to me.'
(Not: 'S/he$_i$ said that s/he$_j$ is *ten years* old.') [LWG 2018.1.57]

(53) a. *ta4gu2kɨ1ą̃1 ni41ʔĩ4 i4 niɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃi1ʔu2ʔĩ4 na4 na1ga3na1e2ʔĩ4*
ta4gu2=kɨ1ą̃1 ni41ʔĩ4 i4 niɨ31=ʔĩ3
downriver=originating.from FOC DET(IV) 3=ACC
tʃi1=u3=ʔĩ4 na4 na1=ga3na1-e3=ʔĩ4
1SGSBJ.SC=say=SUB COMP 3.SBJ.SC=win-PL=SUB
'I said that *the Brazilians* won.' [SSG 2018.2.37]

b. *te1ʔe5 ti41ʔĩ4 ɟa4 tiɨ31ʔĩ3 ki1ʔu2ʔe3 rɨ1 i1pa4e2ta2ʔe3?*
te1ʔe5 ti41ʔĩ4 ɟa4 tiɨ31=ʔĩ3 ki1=u3=e3 rɨ1
who?(I) 3(I).SBJ.FOC DET(I) 3(I)=ACC 2SGSBJ.SC=say=NMLZ(I) TOP
i1=pa4e2ta3=e3
3(I).SBJ.SC=play.music=NMLZ(I)
'Who did you say played music?' [LWG 2018.1.160]

#### 25.2.1.6 Person/number/noun class concord between main clause object and complement clause arguments

When a complement clause has arguments that are not 3(IV), you can change the object of the main clause from its regular form – which is 3(IV) – to agree with one of the complement clause arguments for person, number and noun class. We have already seen this above with 'want' in (43–45), which took a 3(I) object because 'who,' an argument of the complement clause, was 3(I).

Additional examples of concord with the main clause object appear in (54–57). It is possible for both local persons (54–55) and 3(I)/3(V) persons (56–57).[2]

[2]It is impossible to tell whether concord applies to 3(II), 3(III), and 3(IV) arguments. This is because the default object of embedding verbs is already 3(IV), and is the same as the 3(II) and 3(III) pronoun.

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(54) *ɱa3ɨ̃1 rɨ1 (tʃo31ʔɨ̃3/nɨ31ʔɨ̃3) na4ɱą1 na4ʔ tʃi1dą2we3ʔɨ̃4.*
ɱa3ɨ̃1 rɨ1 (tʃo31=ʔɨ̃3 / nɨ31=ʔɨ̃3) na4=ɱą1 na4ʔ tʃi1=dą2we1=ʔɨ̃4
Juan TOP (1SG=ACC / 3=ACC) 3.SBJ=know COMP 1SGSBJ.SC=sick=SUB
'Juan knows of me that I am sick.' [LWG 2018.1.78; YCG 2018.1.180]

(55) *ɱa3ɨ̃1 rɨ1 pe31ʔɨ̃3 ni4ʔu3 na4ʔ pe1ɟa3ma5ʔɨ̃4.*
ɱa3ɨ̃1 rɨ1 pe31=ʔɨ̃3 ni4=u3 na4ʔ pe1=ɟa3=mą1=ʔɨ̃4
Juan TOP 2PL=ACC 3.SBJ=say COMP 2PLSBJ.SC=3.OBJ=hit.SGO=SUB
'Juan$_i$ said of you-pl that you-pl hit him$_i$.' [LWG 2018.1.177]

(56) *ɛ̃1ʔna5 ta4ma3 tɨ31ʔɨ̃3 na4ɱą1 na4 ʎe1ʔta5 ta1ʔũ31ʔ*
ɛ̃1ʔna5 ta4ma3 tɨ31=ʔɨ̃3 na4=ɱą1 na4 ʎe1ʔta5
ALT NEG 3(I)=ACC 3.SBJ=know COMP where?.ALL
ta1=ũ43=ʔ
3(I).SBJ.SC=go.SGS=SUB
'He didn't know of her (Class I) where she had gone.' [C31-C32 Free Play, CG]

(57) *ɱa3ɨ̃1 rɨ1 ŋi1ʔɨ̃3 ni4ʔu3 na4ʔ ɲa43a2 ɟa4ma5ʔɨ̃4.*
ɱa3ɨ̃1 rɨ1 ŋi1=ʔɨ̃3 ni4=u3 na4ʔ ɲa43a2
Juan TOP 3(V)=ACC 3.SBJ=say COMP DEM.PROX(V)
ɟa4=mą1=ʔɨ̃4
3(V).SBJ.SC=hit.SGO=SUB
'Juan$_i$ said of her (Class V) that this (person, Class V) hit him$_i$.' [LWG 2018.1.78]

If the main clause subject and a complement clause argument are coreferential, you can use a reflexive pronoun as the main clause object (58–59).

(58) *ɱa3ɨ̃1 rɨ1 nɨ31gɨ1 ni4ʔu3 na4 na1ʎe4tʃa1ɨ̃1wą1e2ʔɨ̃4.*
ɱa3ɨ̃1 rɨ1 nɨ31=gɨ1 ni4=u3 na4 na1=ʎe4tʃa1ɨ̃1=wą1e3=ʔɨ̃4
Juan TOP 3=REFL 3.SBJ=say COMP 3.SBJ.SC=love=HABIT=SUB
'Juan said of himself that he is friendly.' [LWG 2018.1.177]

(59) *ku31rɨ5ɨ̃1 ta4 nɨ31gɨ1 ni4ʔu3gɨ1 a4 to1gɨ4 e3ga4 na1tɨ̨1ʔkɨ3e3gu2ʔ*
ku31=rɨ5ɨ̃1 ta4 nɨ31=gɨ1 ni4=u3gɨ1 a4 to1=gɨ4 e3ga4
2SG=like FUT 3=REFL 3.SBJ=narrate DET(IV) other(IV)=PL if/when
na1=tɨ̨1ʔkɨ3-e3=gu2
3.SBJ.SC=be.the.matter-PL=COND/SUB
'Unlike you, other people don't talk about what diseases they have (lit., don't narrate of themselves what is wrong with them).' [LFG-MFG-LVI]

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Main clause object concord can be triggered by any argument or adjunct of the complement clause. The above examples have already shown it's possible for both intransitive and transitive complement clause subjects. It can also be triggered by transitive objects – regardless of whether they are objects of a psych verb or causative verb (60) – and even by adjuncts (61–62) of the complement clause.

(60) *ɱa3ĩ1 rɨ1 tʃo31ʔĩ3 ni4ʔu3 na4 tʃo31ʔĩ3 [ɟa1ma5ʔĩ4 / na1dau2ʔĩ4].*
ɱa3ĩ1 rɨ1 tʃo31=ʔĩ3 ni4=u3 na4 tʃo31=ʔĩ3 [ɟa1=mą̱1=ʔĩ4 /
Juan TOP 1SG=ACC 3.SBJ=say COMP 1SG=ACC [3.SBJ.SC=hit.SGO=SUB /
na1=dau2=ʔĩ4]
3.SBJ.SC=see=SUB]
'Juan said of me that he (hit/saw) me.' [YCG 2018.1.181]

(61) *ɱa3ĩ1 rɨ1 tʃo31ʔĩ3 ni4ʔu3 na4 tʃo31ma4ã2 ɟa1de43ʔa2ʔĩ4.*
ɱa3ĩ1 rɨ1 tʃo31=ʔĩ3 ni4=u3 na4 tʃo31=ma4ã2 ɟa1=de43ʔa2=ʔĩ4
Juan TOP 1SG=ACC 3.SBJ=say COMP 1SG=COM 3.SBJ.SC=talk=SUB
'Juan said of me that he talked to me.' [YCG 2018.1.181, SSG 2018.2.37]

(62) *ɱa3ĩ1 rɨ1 tʃo31ʔĩ3 ni4ʔu3 na4 tʃo31wa5 ɟa1pa5ʔĩ4*
ɱa3ĩ1 rɨ1 tʃo31=ʔĩ3 ni4=u3 na4 tʃo31=wa5 ɟa1=pą̱1=ʔĩ4
Juan TOP 1SG=ACC 3.SBJ=say COMP 1SG=ALL 3.SBJ.SC=hug=SUB
'Juan said of me that he hugged me.' [LWG 2025.1.113]

The above examples all involve transitive psych verbs embedding the complement. However, the process isn't specific to this syntactic category of embedding verb. You can apply it with other types of attitude verbs with multiple arguments. These include causative transitives, such as *u3na2gɨ4tʃi3ga1* 'post on social media' (lit. 'say the story upward'; 63), and oblique object verbs, such as *ɱą̱1ã4tʃi4* + Dat 'realize/remember' in (64) or *ĩ3nɨ3* + LOC 'think' in (65).

(63) *ku31ʔĩ3 tʃa3ʔu3na2gɨ4tʃi3ga1 na4 ku1ʔi51ra1a3kɨ3ʔĩ4.*
ku31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=u3na2gɨ4tʃi3ga1 na4 ku1=i51ra1a3kɨ1=ʔĩ4
2SG=ACC 1SGSBJ=post COMP 2SGSBJ.SC=give.birth=SUB
'I posted of you that you were giving birth.' [LWG 2025.1.115]

(64) *Bi3tu5 rɨ1 tʃo31ʔna1 na4ɱą̱1ʔã4tʃi4 na4 tʃi1dą̱2we3ʔĩ4.*
Bi3tu5 rɨ1 tʃo31=na1 na4=ɱą̱1ʔã4tʃi4 na4 tʃi1=dą̱2we1=ʔĩ4
Victoria TOP 1SG=RCP 3.SBJ=remember COMP 1SGSBJ.SC=sick=SUB
'Victoria remembered of me that I was sick.' [SSG 2018.2.37]

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(65) *Bi3tu5 rɨ1 tʃau1gu2 na4rɨ3ʔɨ̃3nɨ3 na4 tʃi1dą̱2we3ʔɨ̃4.*
Bi3tu5 rɨ1 tʃau1=gu2 na4rɨ3=ɨ̃3nɨ3 na4 tʃi1=dą̱2we1=ʔɨ̃4
Victoria TOP 1SG=LOC 3.SBJ=think COMP 1SGSBJ.SC=sick=SUB
'Victoria thought of me that I was sick.' [SSG 2018.2.37]

Concord on the main clause object is not possible with all complement-taking verbs. For example, *le3e1* 'read,' which is a borrowing, and *ɨ2ma3tɨ4* 'write,' which is native vocabulary, can both introduce complement clauses. However, they do not allow concord, even with the subject of the complement clause (66–67).

(66) *[tʃa3na3ʔɨ2ma3tɨ4 / *tɨ31ʔɨ̃3 tʃa3ʔɨ2ma3tɨ4] na4 te1ʔe5 i2dą̱we3ʔɨ̃4.*
[tʃa3=na3=ɨ2ma3tɨ4 / *tɨ31=ʔɨ̃3 tʃa3=ɨ2ma3tɨ4] na4 te1ʔe5
[1SGSBJ=3.OBJ=write / *3(I)=ACC 1SGSBJ=write] COMP who?(I)
i2=dą̱we1=ʔɨ̃4
3.SBJ.SC=sick=SUB
'I wrote that someone was sick.' [LWG 2025.1.114]

(67) *[tʃa3na3le3e1 / *ku31ʔɨ̃3 tʃa3le3e1] na4 ʎe1ʔta5 ku1ʎu2ʔɨ̃4.*
[tʃa3=na3=le3e1 / *ku31=ʔɨ̃3 tʃa3=le3e1] na4 ʎe1ʔta5
[1SGSBJ=3.OBJ=read / *2SG=ACC 1SGSBJ=read] COMP where?.ALL
ku1=ʎu3=ʔɨ̃4
2SGSBJ.SC=arrive=SUB
'I read about where you had arrived.' [LWG 2025.1.114]

The concord process can also apply in attitude reports where the attitude verb appears in a *=(ʔ)gu2* subordinate clause, as shown in (68).

(68) *ku31ʔɨ̃3 tʃa1ɯ̱a1gu2 rɨ1 ku3ʔau3ʔtʃa1ɨ̃1.*
ku31=ʔɨ̃3 tʃa1=ɯ̱a1=gu2 rɨ1 ku3=au3ʔ=tʃa1ɨ̃1
2SG=ACC 1SGSBJ.SC=know=COND/SUB TOP 2SGSBJ=cry=PROSP
'I know of you that you're going to cry.' [SSG 2018.2.37]

Concord can't apply if the main clause verb is intransitive, like with *do3ra3* 'lie' in (69), because there is no object to undergo the concord. It also doesn't apply to the causative verb *õ2* 'believe' (70) because 'believe' has an invariant 3(IV) object (the proposition/person believed is expressed as a beneficiary, not an object).

(69) *Bi3tu5 rɨ1 (*tʃo31ʔɨ̃3) ni4do3ra3tą̱1a1 na4 tʃi1dą̱2we3ʔɨ̃4.*
Bi3tu5 rɨ1 (*tʃo31=ʔɨ̃3) ni4=do3ra3=tą̱1a1 na4 tʃi1=dą̱2we1=ʔɨ̃4
Victoria TOP (*1SG=ACC) 3.SBJ=lie=HABIT COMP 1SGSBJ.SC=sick=SUB
'Victoria is always saying falsely that I'm sick.' [SSG 2018.2.37]

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(70) *ʍa3ĩ1 rɨ1 [na4ɟa3ʔõ2 / *tʃo31ʔĩ3 ni4ʔõ2] na4 tʃi1dạ2we3ʔĩ4.*
ʍa3ĩ1 rɨ1 [na4=ɟa3=õ2 / *tʃo31=ʔĩ3 ni4=õ2] na4
Juan TOP [3.SBJ=3.OBJ=believe / *1SG=ACC 3.SBJ=believe] COMP
tʃi1=dạ2we1=ʔĩ4
1SGSBJ.SC=sick=SUB
'Juan believes that I'm sick.' [YCG 2018.1.180]

Concord is not completely exclusive to attitude reports. It can also apply with the phasal verb *o2* 'quit habit, give up habit,' as shown in (71). Note that this verb also has an attitude sense ('dislike, not want to').

(71) *[tɨ31ʔĩ3 / nɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa3rɨ3ʔo2] na4 tɨ31ma2ma4ã2 tʃa1ʔã3mɨ1kɨ2ʔ*
[tɨ31=ʔĩ3 / nɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3rɨ3=o2] na4 tɨ31ma2=ma4ã2
[3(I)=ACC / 3(IV)=ACC 1SGSBJ=quit] COMP 3(I)=COM
tʃa1=ã3=mɨ1kɨ3=ʔ
1SGSBJ.SC=have=NI:friend=SUB
'I gave up spending time with him/her (Class I).' [LWG 2025.1.115]

The concord process discussed in this section is very common in the speech reports in the Ticuna Bible, but it's almost totally absent in my own corpus. (56) and (59) were the only clear examples I could find with *u3* 'say,' *ʍạ1* 'know,' *ʍạ1ʔã4tʃi4* 'realize/remember,' or *ĩ3nɨ3* 'think.'

Last, it should be noted that – while all attested examples of 'concord' involve pronouns – it can also occur with noun phrases. If the complement clause argument is a noun phrase, it can remain inside the complement clause and still trigger concord (72). Or, alternatively, the NP can appear in the object position – rather than inside the complement – and take the accusative (73). Once the NP becomes an object, as in (73), this phenomenon is probably better analyzed as movement than as concord.

(72) *tɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃi3ʔu3 na4 ta1ʔi51ra1a3kɨ3ʔĩ4 ga4 Bi3tu5*
tɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃi3=u3 na4 ta1=i51ra1a3kɨ1=ʔĩ4 ga4
3(I)=ACC 1SGSBJ=say COMP 3(I).SBJ.SC=give.birth=SUB DET.REM.PST
Bi3tu5
Victoria
'I said of her$_i$ that Victoria$_i$ gave birth.' [LWG 2025.1.115]

(73) *Bi3tu5ʔĩ3 tʃi3ʔu3 na4 ta1ʔi51ra1a3kɨ3ʔĩ4.*
Bi3tu5=ʔĩ3 tʃi3=u3 na4 ta1=i51ra1a3kɨ1=ʔĩ4
Victoria=ACC 1SGSBJ=say COMP 3(I).SBJ.SC=give.birth=SUB
'I said of Victoria$_i$ that she$_i$ gave birth.' [LWG 2025.1.115]

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### 25.2.2 Purpose clauses

Purpose clauses are subordinate clauses which express the goal or reason for the main clause. Unlike complement clauses, they can occur with any verb.

Purpose clauses always have two subordinators on the verb: first *=ʔ(ĩ4)* SUB, then *=kɑ̨1* PURP. They always occur in the same order, and the token of *=ʔ(ĩ4)* always has a vowel (because it is not word-final). As in complement clauses, the verb always has subordinate-clause inflection.

Purpose clauses are typically introduced by a complementizer. For example, in (74), the complementizer is *ga4 na4* 'COMP.REM.PST.'

(74) *rɨ1 gu31ʔe2ma4 ti41ʔĩ4 ga4 tʃo31ʔĩ3 rɨ3ŋɨ2ʔẽ4ẽ2ʔe3* ***ga4 na4 tʃa1ʌu̯5ʔĩ4kɑ̨1.***
rɨ1 gu31ʔe2ma4 ti41ʔĩ4 ga4 tʃo31=ʔĩ3
and DEM.ANA.REM.PST(I) 3(I).FOC DET.REM.PST 1SG=ACC
rɨ3=ŋɨ2ʔẽ4ẽ3=ʔe3 **ga4 na4 tʃa1=ʌu̯1=ʔĩ4=kɑ̨1**
3.SBJ.SC=help=NMLZ(I) **COMP.REM.PST 1SGSBJ.SC=learn=SUB=PURP**
'They (my grandparents) helped me **so that I could go to school**.' [SSG HALDI]

Purpose clauses always come after the main clause, if there is one. However, if there's a relevant event being discussed previously in the discourse, it's also grammatical to use a purpose clause as the sole clause in an utterance, as shown in (75).

(75) Context: 'They asked to talk to us.' Next clause:
***ŋe5ma2 na4ʔ ta3ʔĩ31ʔĩ4kɑ̨1,*** *kɨ2a4na4.*
**ŋe5ma2 na4ʔ ta3=ĩ43=ʔĩ4=kɑ̨1** kɨ2a4na4
**there.ANA.ALL COMP 1EXCL.SBJ.SC=go.PLS=SUB=PURP** INTJ:tag
'(They asked) for us to go there, right.' [NWG, ABS-NWG Visit]

The complementizer is not obligatory in a purpose clause, as shown by the attested example in (76). However, in the corpus almost all purpose clauses are introduced by either *na4ʔ* (75) or *ga4 na4ʔ* (74).

(76) *na43wa5 tʃo31ʔna1 na1ɯ̨1ʔã4tʃi4e3ʔɨ1ra3ʔĩ4kɑ̨1*
na43=wa5 tʃo31=na1 na1=ɯ̨1ʔã4tʃi4-e3ʔ=ɨ1ra1=ʔĩ4=kɑ̨1
3=ALL 1SG=RCP 3.SBJ.SC=remember-PL=sort.of=SUB=PURP
'So that by it, they remember me a little bit.' [YCG, YCG-SCG-DGC]

There are a few examples of purpose clauses which occur as the complement of verbs of speaking – as if they were embedded imperatives – and yet are not

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interpreted as embedded imperatives. These purpose clause speech reports, such as (77), are all introduced by *ni41ʔĩ4* rather than another complementizer.

(77) *ĩ1ʔne1ta2ã4 ni4 wo5e1ma3 tʃo31ma4ã2i5ra1 nɨ3a1ʔu2ʔĩ4 a4 Ko3ri5* ***ni4*** *ta2ʔu2wa5ma3 wo5e1ma3* ***tʃo3pi1ʔu3ne3ta2ʔĩ4kɑ̨1.***
ĩ1ʔne1=ta2ã4 ni4 wo5e1=ma3 tʃo31=ma4ã2=i5ra1
yesterday=only FOC simply=INFO 1SG=COM=first
nɨ3=a1=u3=ʔĩ4 a4 Ko3ri5 **ni4** tau2ʔ=wa5=ma3
3.ACC=3.SBJ.SC=say=SUB DET(IV) Lord(IV) **FOC** nothing=ALL=INFO
wo5e1=ma3 **tʃo3=pi1=u3ne3ta3=ʔĩ4=kɑ̨1**
simply=INFO **1SG.ACC=2PLSBJ.SC=appoint=SUB=PURP**
'Only yesterday, the Lord simply told me, first, that **you-pl would not choose (PURP) me** for anything at all.' [YCG-SCG-DGC]

All of these examples have expressed purpose, so (78) is an example of the same structure expressing a reason.

(78) Context: Discussing why someone acts much younger than her age.
*be1ʔã2na4* ***ti1ʌ̨i2ʔĩ4kɑ̨1ʔma3re3*** *tʃau1ʔkɑ̨1ʔ*
be1ʔã2na4 **ti1=ʌ̨i1=ʔĩ4=kɑ̨1ʔ=ma3re3** tʃau1=kɑ̨1
EPIST **3(I).SBJ.SC=fat=SUB=PURP=just** 1SG=REP
'It could just be because she's fat, I guess.' [AFG, AFG-LVI]

## 25.3 Subordinated clauses with *e3rɨ4* and *ɟe4rɨ4* 'because'

Clauses introduced with *e3rɨ4* (temporally neutral) ~ *ɟe4rɨ4* (remote past) 'because' are typically introduced by another clause, and express the reason for the other clause. However, unlike all other clause types discussed in this chapter, the verbs of these clauses have main-clause inflection. (79) and (80) are textual examples of *e3rɨ4* and *ɟe4rɨ4* clauses respectively.

(79) *ŋẽ2ʔma4 na43ma4ã2 tʃa3ta4e3* ***e3rɨ4*** *nɨ31ʔĩ5 na4ŋẽ2ʔma4 i4 mercado.*
ŋẽ2ʔma4 na43=ma4ã2 tʃa3=ta4e3 **e3rɨ4** nɨ31=ʔĩ5 na4=ŋẽ2ʔma4
there.ANA.LOC 3=COM 1SGSBJ=sell **because** 3=BEN 3.SBJ=have
i4 mercado
DET(IV) SP:market(IV)
'I used to sell it there in Leticia **because** it had a market.' [ABS HALDI]

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(80) *ɟe5ma2ma3 i4ɲa43, **ɟe4ri4** na4tu1ra1ʔĩ5tʃi2.*
ɟe5ma2=ma3 i4=ɲa43 **ɟe4ri4**
there.ANA.REM.PST.ALL=INFO 3(V).SBJ=run **because.REM.PST**
na4=tu1ra1=ʔĩ5tʃi2
3.SBJ=weak=really
'She ran there (to get a doctor) **because** he was very weak.' [DGG HALDI]

It is ungrammatical to use subordinate clause inflection in an *e3ri4*/*ɟe4ri4* clause (81–82). Only main clause inflection is acceptable, unless there's something else (e.g., focus) licensing the subordinate clause inflection. This is one of the only contexts, if not the only one, where subordinate clause inflection is ungrammatical.

(81) *du3tu3ru1wa5 na4ɲa43 e3ri4 no51ri3 pa3pa5 [na4tu1ra1ʔi5tʃi2 / *na1tu1ra1ʔi5tʃi2ʔĩ4]*
du3tu3ru1=wa5 na4=ɲa43 e3ri4 no51ri3 pa3pa5 [na4=tu1ra1=ʔi5tʃi2 /
doctor=ALL 3.SBJ=run because 3POSS father [3.SBJ=weak=really /
*na1=tu1ra1=ʔi5tʃi2=ʔĩ4]
*3.SBJ.SC=weak=really=SUB]
'She went to get a doctor because her father was very weak.' [LWG 2025.1.115]

(82) *Leticiagu2 u3i1ma4ã2 tʃa3ta4e3 ɟe4ri4 [na4mercadoą̃1 / *na1mercadoã5ʔĩ4]*
Leticia=gu2 u3i1=ma4ã2 tʃa3=ta4e3 ɟe4ri4
Leticia=LOC farinha=COM 1SGSBJ=sell because.REM.PST
[na4=mercado=ą̃1 / *na1=mercado=ą̃1=ʔĩ4]
[3.SBJ=market=have / *3.SBJ.SC=market=have=SUB]
'I used to sell farinha in Leticia because it had a market.' [LWG 2025.1.115]

Even though *e3ri4* and *ɟe4ri4* clauses have main clause inflection, they still behave syntactically like subordinate clauses in that you cannot extract from them (83a). Instead, any question words have to remain in situ (83b).

(83) a. **te1ʔe5 ti41ʔĩ4 du3tu3ru1wa5 ɲa31e3 e3ri4 tu1ra1ʔi5tʃi5e3?*
te1ʔe5 ti41ʔĩ4 du3tu3ru1=wa5 ɲa43=e3 e3ri4
who?(I) 3(I).FOC doctor=ALL run.SGS=NMLZ(I) because
tu1ra1=ʔi5tʃi2=e3
weak=really=NMLZ(I)
(Intended reading: 'Who did she go to get a doctor because they were very weak?')

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b. *du3tu3ru1wa5 na4ɲa43 e3ɾi4 te1ʔe5e3kạ1 ta4tu1ra1ʔɨtʃi2?*
du3tu3ru1=wa5 na4=ɲa43 e3ɾi4 te1ʔe5=e3kạ1
doctor=ALL 3.SBJ=run.SGS because who?(I)=INFO:that's.why
ta4=tu1ra1=ʔɨtʃi2
3(I).SBJ=weak=really
'She went to get a doctor because someone was very weak.' (preferred reading)
'She went to get a doctor because who was very weak?' (acceptable reading).
[LWG 2025.1.115]

As far as I know, no other Ticuna connective introduces a clause that has main clause inflection, but still does not allow extraction. This behavior seems to be specific to *e3ɾi4*/*ɟe4ɾi4*. I conclude that *e3ɾi4*/*ɟe4ɾi4* clauses are not matrix clauses, because they do not allow extraction, but also are not regular subordinate clauses, due to the inflection. They could reasonably be described as coordinated, rather than subordinated.

## 25.4 Less common types of subordination

This section describes the following four less common types of subordinate clause. They all take subordinate clause inflection on the verb:

- Subordinate clauses of manner with *=ã1kɨ2* ADVBZ (§25.4.1)
- Subordinate clauses expressing temporal meanings like 'after' and 'before' (§25.4.2)
- Temporal overlap subordinate clauses with *=ɟa1ne3* 'during' (§25.4.3)
- Subordinate clauses with the nominalizer tone circle, but no segmental enclitic on the verb (§25.4.4)

I discuss these subordinate clause types separately because they are much more difficult to find in texts than relative clauses or the three subordinate clause types discussed in the previous chapter.

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### 25.4.1 Subordinate clauses of manner with *=ã1kɨ2*

The adverbializer *=ã1kɨ2* attaches to verbal, nominal, and pronominal roots to derive adverbs. Two common adverbs formed with this enclitic are *po2ra4=ã1kɨ2* (strong/fast=ADVBZ) 'quickly' and *ŋe3ma2=ã1kɨ2* (DEM.ANA=ADVBZ) 'like that, anaphoric.' It is productive, as shown by examples like (84), where it attaches to a pronoun, and (85), where it attaches to a nominal.

(84) *tʃo1ma1ã1kɨ2 i5na4ʎu3*
tʃo1ma1=ã1kɨ2 i5=na4=ʎu3
1SG.TOP=ADVBZ VCL=3.SBJ=arrive
'He arrived as I did.'
Comment: For example, I was wet with the rain when I arrived, and so was he. [SSG 2016.1.96]

(85) *ɟe5e1ra3ã1kɨ2 ɟi1gɨ1 na43wa5 ta4tʃi31e2tʃa3me3tɨ1ẽ4ẽ3*
ɟe5e1ra3=ã1kɨ2 ɟi1=gɨ1 na43=wa5
superior/inferior=ADVBZ IMPERS=REFL 3=ALL
ta4=tʃi31e2=tʃa3me3tɨ1-ẽ4ẽ3
IMPERS.SBJ=bad=NI:face-CAUS
'You (generic) can damage your face even worse with that.' [2019 C27 CCI]

Besides attaching to stems, *=ã1kɨ2* can also attach to the verb of an entire *clause* to derive an adverbial clause of manner. The adverbialized clause can contain an intransitive (86) or transitive (87–88) verb. Some subordinate clauses of manner, such as (86), could also be described as depictive secondary predicates.

(86) *tą2a4kɨ4ru5ĩ1 a3rɨ1ã3 ni4 **mu43ĩ2ã1kɨ2** a3de43ʔa2ʔĩ4?*
tą2a4kɨ4=ru5ĩ1 a3rɨ1=ã3 ni4 **mu43ĩ2=ã1kɨ2** a3=de43ʔa2=ʔĩ4
what?=NMLZ:Agent INFO=REP FOC **be.afraid=ADVBZ** 3.SBJ.SC=talk=SUB
'Why is she talking (as though she is) **afraid**?' [LSC-VSC]

(87) *ɨ2ɨ3 tʃi3nai4ʔẽ4ẽ3 pa3ri4tu1 **tʃi1nai4ẽ4ẽ3ã1kɨ2ma3***
ɨ2ɨ3 tʃi3=nai4-ʔẽ4ẽ3 pa3ri4tu1 **tʃi1=nai4-ẽ4ẽ3=ã1kɨ2=ma3**
firewood 1SGSBJ=hot-CAUS match **1SGSBJ.SC=hot-CAUS=ADVBZ=INFO**
'I lit the firewood **by lighting a match**.' [SSG 2016.1.96]

(88) *tʃau1ta4a2 rɨ1 tʃo31rɨ3 tʃo43ku2e4tɨ3ʔĩ4 na4tʃi31e2ẽ4ẽ3*
***na3ne4e1gu1pa4we2ru3ã1kɨ2***

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tʃau1=ta4a2 ri1 tʃo31ri3 tʃo43ku2e4ti3ʔĩ4 na4=tʃi31e2-ẽ4ẽ3
1SG=grandchild TOP 1SG.POSS glasses 3.SBJ=bad-CAUS
**na3=ne4-e1gu1=pa4we2ru3=ã1ki2**
**3.OBJ=twist-DIR:in.circle=NI:support=ADVBZ**
'My grandson messed up my glasses **by bending the earpiece**.' [LWG 2025.1.118]

The arguments of the adverbialized subordinate clause need to have some relationship with the arguments of the main clause. Examples with **no** co-reference between the main clause and adverbialized subordinate clause don't occur and were judged ungrammatical (89). However, the main clause and subordinate clause do not need to share any specific argument. They can have different subjects, as shown by (90), or objects (91).

(89) **tʃa3wi3ɟa3e3 ta4 Bi3tu5 **na1pa4e2ta3ã1ki2***
*tʃa3=wi3ɟa3e3 ta4 Bi3tu5 **na1=pa4e2ta3=ã1ki2**
*1SGSBJ=sing FUT Victoria **3.SBJ.SC=play.music=ADVBZ**
(Intended reading: 'I will sing **as Victoria plays**, e.g. I will sing the song she plays.') [LWG 2025.1.118]

(90) *na43ma4ã2 tʃi3de43ʔa2tʃi1gɨ1 i4 ŋe3ma2 ɲa43ẽ4ẽ3ru5ĩ1 ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3 **ɟa1ɲa43ẽ4ẽ3ą̃1ã1kɨ2***
na43=ma4ã2 tʃi3=de43ʔa2=tʃi1gɨ1 i4 ŋe3ma2
3=COM 1SGSBJ=talk=DISTRIB DET(IV) DEM.ANA(IV)
ɲa43ẽ4ẽ3=ru5ĩ1 ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3 **ɟa1=ɲa43ẽ4ẽ3=ą̃1=ã1kɨ2**
drive=NMLZ:Agent(IV) CONN **3.SBJ.SC=drive=3>3.SC=ADVBZ**
'I talked to that driver **as he was driving it (the taxi)**.' [LWG 2018.1.185]

(91) *ventana **tʃi1pu31ẽ4ẽ3ã1kɨ2** bu3e3 tɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa3mu43ĩ2ẽ4ẽ3*
ventana **tʃi1=pu31-ẽ4ẽ3=ã1kɨ2** bu3e3 tɨ31=ʔĩ3
SP:window **1SGSBJ.SC=shatter-CAUS=ADVBZ** baby(I) 3(I)=ACC
tʃa3=mu43ĩ2-ẽ4ẽ3
1SGSBJ=afraid-CAUS
'I scared the baby **by breaking** the window.' [LWG 2025.1.118]

If the subject of the adverbialized subordinate clause and the subject of the main clause are the same, it's possible to omit the subject inflection on the verb of the subordinate clause, as shown by (92) and (93).

(92) *õ2tʃa4na4 tɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa3ga4na2gɨ4 **au3ʔã1kɨ2***

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õ2tʃa4na4 tɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=ga4-na2gɨ4 **au3ʔ=ã1kɨ2**
baby(I) 3(I)=ACC 1SGSBJ=transport:ANIMO-DIR:upward **cry=ADVBZ**
'I picked up the baby **as I was crying**.'
Does *not* mean: 'I picked up the baby **as it was crying**.' [LWG 2018.1.184]

(93) *dɨ1ʔ, na4 ŋɨ2ku2tʃi4a1kɨ2 ta1pe31ʔ*
dɨ1ʔ na4 ŋɨ2ku2tʃi4=a1kɨ2 ta1=pe43=ʔ
INTJ:look COMP be.upside.down=ADVBZ 3(I).SBJ.SC=sleep=SUB
'Look, he sleeps lying upside-down.' [20180628]

As far as I know, the verbs of *=ã1kɨ2* clauses are the only verbs in Ticuna which allow deletion of subject inflection for 1SG, 2SG, 1EXCL, or 2PL subjects (other verbs can delete it for 1Incl and third-person subjects). Also, deletion of subject inflection in *=ã1kɨ2* clauses is the only subordinate-clause phenomenon which is sensitive to co-reference between the subordinate clause and main clause arguments - there is no switch-reference in Ticuna.

### 25.4.2 A note on 'after' and 'before'

#### 25.4.2.1 'After'

The element *we5na2* occurs as a prosodically independent word meaning 'again' (94). But it is also an enclitic meaning 'after.'

(94) *we5na1 a3rɨ1 ku3tʃi3nąi̯1ɟa5e3*
we5na1 a3rɨ1 ku3=tʃi3=nąi̯1=ɟa5e3
again INFO 2SG.ACC=1SGSBJ=tie=NI:hair
'I'm going to put up your hair again.' [LFG, LFG-MFG-LVI]

In the 'after' use, *=we5na2* attaches to nominal (95) or pronominal stems (96). If the host of *=we5na2* denotes a human, it's usually interpreted 'after NP departed', as shown by (96–97).

(95) Context: 'I finished high school.'
*ma3rɨ3 **ɟe4ma4we5na1** rɨ1 tʃu3ra3ra1wa5 tʃa3ʔũ43.*
ma3rɨ3 **ɟe4ma4=we5na1** rɨ1 tʃu3ra3ra1=wa5
PRF **DEM.ANA.REM.PST(IV)=after** TOP soldier/army=ALL
tʃa3=ũ43
1SGSBJ=go.SGS
'And **after that**, I joined the army.' [SSG HALDI]

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(96) ***tʃo1we5na2*** *ta4 pe3ɟa3ʔa3ʔi3.*
**tʃo1=we5na2** ta4 pe3=ɟa3=a3ʔ
**1SG=after** FUT 2PLSBJ=3.OBJ=drink
'**After me (i.e., after I leave)**, you-pl can drink it.' [LWG tau]

(97) ***ɟu3te1we5na1*** *a3ri1 ɟi1ʔĩ4 na31ʔkạ1 na1ta4e2ʔĩ4*
**ɟu3te1=we5na1** a3ri1 ɟi1ʔĩ4 na43=kạ1 na1=ta4e3=ʔĩ4
**Ju3te1=after** INFO SC.FOC 3=PURP 3.SBJ.SC=buy=SUB
'**After Ju3te1 (went home)**, they bought it.' [C3-C7 CCI, CG7]

ALL of the examples of *=we5na2* 'after' in the corpus attach to nominal or pronominal stems, but in elicitation Lilia also used it attaching to subordinate clauses, such as the *=(ʔ)gu2* clause in (98).

(98) *ma3ri3* ***i5tʃa1ʔũ43ã2tʃi4gu2we5na2*** *pe1ɟa3ʔa3ʔi2ʔ*
ma3ri3 **i5=tʃa1=ũ43ã2tʃi4=gu2=we5na2**
PRF **VCL=1SGSBJ.SC=depart.SG=COND/SUB=after**
pe1=ɟa3=a3ʔ=ʔ
2PLSBJ.SC=3.OBJ=drink=SUB
'**After I leave**, you-pl drink it!' [LWG 2025.1.119]

#### 25.4.2.2 'Before'

The lexical item *ĩ3pa3* occurs as a prosodically independent adverb meaning 'long ago' or 'long before (a contextually relevant time),' as shown in (99). In addition, *ĩ3pa3* is also a relational noun meaning 'before NP'.

(99) ***ĩ3pa3e3ri4*** *ni41ʔĩ4 ni31gi1na1 tạ2a4ki4 na4ʔã3gi4.*
**ĩ3pa3=e3ri4** ni41ʔĩ4 ni31=gi1=na1 tạ2a4ki4
**long.ago=INFO:cng** FOC 3=REFL=RCP what?
na4=ã3=gi4
3.SBJ=give.INANSGO=PL
'**Long ago, as I was saying,** people gave one another things (rather than selling them).' [YCG HALDI 28:42]

Like all relational nouns, *ĩ3pa3* 'before NP' is prosodically a clitic, and like *we5na2* 'after,' it attaches to a noun phrase. This leads to the reading 'before NP (did contextually salient action)' for NPs that denote individuals (100), or 'before Event' for noun phrases that denote events (101).

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(100) *campowa5 ta4ʔĩ43 rɨ3ã3* ***na4ĩ3pa3*** *ta4ʔĩ43ã4ma4*
campo=wa5 ta4=ĩ43 rɨ3ã3 **na4=ĩ3pa3**
SP:field=ALL 1EXCL.SBJ=go.PLS and **3=before**
ta4=ĩ43=ã4ma4
1EXCL.SBJ=go.PLS=nevertheless
'We went to the soccer field, and **before he (arrived)**, we left.' [20180707]

(101) *ʎu3ta4ke1ʔe3a1rɨ3* ***pe4ta3pa4ta3ĩ1ĩ3pa3*** *ni4*
ʎu3ta4ke1ʔe3=a1rɨ3 **pe4ta3=pa4ta3ĩ1=ĩ3pa3** ni4
congregate=POSS **party=building=before** 3.SBJ.COP
'It's before the party (that celebrates) the construction of the church.' [LFG-MFG-LVI]

To express ordering of subordinate clause after main clause in a temporal overlap construction, people do not use *ĩ3pa3* 'before.' Instead, this is conveyed by using *tau4ta2* 'not yet' in the subordinate clause, as shown in (102) (cf. Bohnemeyer 2002).

(102) Context: Beauty practice involving throwing away clean toilet paper
***tau4ta2 na1ʔi2ą1gu2****, ke4 ɟi1gɨ1 i5ta4ʔãũ1ʔã4tʃi4, nu5a2ma4 ta4na3ɲa4pe4tɨ1ã3*
**tau4ta2 na1=ɨ2ą1=gu2** ke4 ɟi1=gɨ1
**not.yet 3.SBJ.SC=dirty=COND/SUB** ?? IMPERS=REFL
i5=ta4=ãũ1ʔã4tʃi4 nu5a2=ma4
VCL=IMPERS.SBJ=dirty here.ALL=toward
ta4=na3=ɲa4-pe4tɨ1=ã3
IMPERS.SBJ=3.OBJ=throw-DIR:past=REP
'When it isn't dirty yet / Before it's dirty, (before) you get dirty (i.e. defecate), you throw it past you in this direction, she says.' [C27 Free Play, child's FM]

### 25.4.3 Temporal overlap subordinate clauses with *=ɟa1ne3*

The subordinator *=ɟa1ne3* 'while' attaches to the verb of a clause and derives a temporal overlap subordinate clause. If the verb of the *=ɟa1ne3* subordinate clause is stative, the construction receives the interpretation that the main clause event occurred while the state held (103).

(103) ***ta1ɟe2ʔma4ɟa1ne3*** *ga4 tʃo1ma1 rɨ1, ma3rɨ3 tʃo31rɨ3 pa3pa5 rɨ1 tʃo31ʔĩ3 na4ʎu1ʔẽ4ẽ3 ga4 Puerto Alegriawa5.*

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**ta1=ɟe2ʔma4=ɟa1ne3** ga4 tʃo1ma1 rɨ1
**3(I).SBJ.SC=be.in.place.REM.PST=during** DET.REM.PST 1SG.TOP TOP
ma3rɨ3 tʃo31rɨ3 pa3pa5 rɨ1 tʃo31=ʔĩ3 na4=ʎu̯1-ʔẽ4ẽ3 ga4
PRF 1SG.POSS father TOP 1SG=ACC 3.SBJ=learn-CAUS DET.REM.PST
Puerto Alegria=wa5
place.name=ALL
'**While she (my mother) was there**, as for me, my father had me go to school in Puerto Alegria.' [SSG HALDI]

If the verb of the *=ɟa1ne3* clause is an accomplishment or activity, the reading is that the main clause occurred while the event was in progress (104).

(104) *tʃo31rɨ3 mo3to1 tʃa1me43ẽ4ẽ3ɟa1ne3 nu5ma2 na4ʎu3*
tʃo31rɨ3 mo3to1 tʃa1=me43ẽ4ẽ3=ɟa1ne3 nu5ma2
1SG.POSS motorcycle 1SGSBJ=fix=during here.regional.ALL
na4=ʎu3
3.SBJ=arrive
'S/he got here while I was fixing my motorcycle.'
Comment: 'It wasn't ready yet.' [DGG 2017.3.117]

If the verb of a *=ɟa1ne3* subordinate clause is an achievement, the construction means that the main clause occurred while the **post-state** of the subordinate clause verb held (105).

(105) *ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3 **tʃi1bi3ɟe1pa3ra1ɟa1ne3** nu5a2 na4ʎu3*
ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3 **tʃi1=bi3ɟe1=pa3ra1=ɟa1ne3** nu5a2 na4=ʎu3
CONN **1SGSBJ.SC=snap=NI:leg=during** here.ALL 3.SBJ=arrive
'S/he got here while I had a broken leg.'
Acceptable if: My leg was broken before the main clause subject arrived.
Unacceptable if: My leg was broken, but I recovered and wasn't injured any more when the main clause subject arrived. [DGG 2017.3.117]

As the above examples show, temporal overlap subordinate clauses with *=ɟa1ne3* can have transitive (104) or intransitive (103) verbs and do not need to share arguments with the main clause. For instance, there are no shared arguments in the attested example (103).

It is not acceptable to delete the subject inflection in a *=ɟa1ne3* clause, even if the main clause and subordinate clause subjects are coreferential (106).

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(106) *i5*(tʃa1)ɯai1ʔtɨ3ɟa1ne3 tʃi3bɨ3ɟe1pa3ra1*
i5=*(tʃa1)=ɯai1ʔ=tɨ3=ɟa1ne3 tʃi3=bɨ3ɟe1=pa3ra1
IPFV=*(1SGSBJ.SC)=swing.at=NI:weeds=during 1SGSBJ=snap=NI:leg
'I broke my leg while I was clearing weeds.' [LWG 2025.1.120]

### 25.4.4 Subordinate clauses with the nominalizer tone circle, but no segmental subordinator

#### 25.4.4.1 Subordinate clauses with *ɲu̱1ʔma5ta4(ta1)* 'until'

The clause-linking element *ɲu̱1ʔma5ta4(ta1)* 'until' introduces a temporal subordinate clause. The clause with *ɲu̱1ʔma5ta4(ta1)* does not take any segmental subordinating morphology or complementizers. However, the subordinate clause verb **does** have subordinate-clause inflection, and the final syllable of the verb stem undergoes the nominalizer tone circle, which marks subordination in many other constructions (e.g., relative clauses and complement clauses). For example, in (107) the final syllable of the verb in the fragment changes from tone 1̱ to tone 5, and in (108) the final syllable of the verb in the subordinate clause changes from tone 1 to tone 2̱, both of which represent the regular changes of the circle.

(107) *ɲu̱1ʔma5ta4ta1 i5tʃa1na3ta5*
ɲu̱1ʔma5ta4ta1 i5=tʃa1=na3=ta̱1=∅
until VCL=1SGSBJ.SC=3.OBJ=discard=NTC
'until I left him/her' [xxref see PD&A clips]

(108) *ɟe4ʔgu4ma4 rɨ1 na43we5 na43ʎe43gɨ4 ga4 bu3ʔɨ4gɨ4 rɨ1 u3! ɲu̱1ʔma5ta2 ɟa1pa̱2ʔ ga4 ɟe4ma4 o̱1ʔi5 rɨ1.*
ɟe4ʔgu4ma4 rɨ1 na43=we5 na4=ʎe43=gɨ4 ga4
then.REM.PST and 3=RN:behind 3.SBJ=follow=PL DET.REM.PST
bu3ʔɨ4=gɨ4 rɨ1 u3 ɲu̱1ʔma5ta2 ɟa1=pa1=ʔ ga4
child(IV)=PL TOP INTJ:ooh! until 3.SBJ.SC=tired=SUB DET.REM.PST
ɟe4ma4 o̱1ʔi5 rɨ1
DEM.ANA.REM.PST(IV) old.man(IV) and
'Then the children followed him, ooh, until the old man got tired.' [LWG t+e 1:56]

#### 25.4.4.2 Embedded polar questions

When you embed a polar question under a verb of speaking, you have several choices for the embedding complementizer: the polar question complementizer

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*rɨ1*, the general complementizer *na4(ʔ)*, or the focus marker *ni4ʔĩ4*. Embedded questions with the general and focus complementizers were discussed in §25.2.1.2, since they take complement clauses with *=ʔ(ĩ4)*.

If you use *rɨ1* to introduce a polar question, then the subordinate clause takes subordinate-clause inflection, and the final syllable of the verb undergoes the nominalizer tone circle. However, the verb does *not* take any segmental subordinating morphology at the right. For example, in (109) the verb *ʎu̯1* 'learn' changes from tone 1̨ to tone 5 under the circle, and in (110) the verb *u3* 'say' changes from tone 3 to tone 2, but neither verb has any enclitic.

(109) *tʃo31ʔna1 ku3ka1 rɨ1 Ochentawa5* ***na1ʎu̯5***
tʃo31=na1 ku3=ka1 rɨ1 Ochenta=wa5 **na1=ʎu̯1=∅**
1SG=RCP 2SGSBJ=ask COMP school.name=ALL **3.SBJ.SC=learn=NTC**
'You asked me if he goes to school at the Ochenta.' [LWG 2018.1.160; YCG 2018.1.167]

(110) *ku31ʔna1 tʃa3ka1gɨ4 rɨ1 ku31ma4ã2 nɨ31ʔĩ3* ***ɟa1ʔu2***
ku31=na1 tʃa3=ka1gɨ4 rɨ1 ku31=ma4ã2 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 **ɟa1= u3=∅**
2SG=RCP 1SGSBJ=ask COMP 2SG=COM 3=ACC **3.SBJ.SC=say=NTC**
'I asked you if s/he had told you.' [LWG 2018.1.160]

While it clearly isn't *necessary* to use a subordinating enclitic on the embedded verb in this construction, it might be *possible* to use *=ʔ(ĩ4)*. Judgments vary: Lilia twice rejected the above examples with *=ʔ(ĩ4)* on the verb (in 2018 and 2025), but Yaneth accepted them.

## 25.5 Coordination

Ticuna allows coordination of clauses and noun phrases. The language has both conjunctive and disjunctive coordination.

#### 25.5.0.1 Conjunction

The marker *rɨ1* 'and' expresses conjunction. This same item is also the topic marker and the first element in many clauses in narratives. It appears between the conjoined constituents. (111) provides an example of coordination of two clauses with *rɨ1*. While each clause in (111) consists of only a verb, they are full clauses because they have different subjects. (112) is an example of coordination of adverbs.

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(111) *na4na3ŋǫ1* ***rɨ1*** *na4tʃi̯1e5ga1.*
na4=na3=ŋǫ1 **rɨ1** na4=tʃi̯1e5ga1
3.SBJ=3.OBJ=eat **and** 3.SBJ=delicious
'He ate it **and** it was delicious.' [LWG t+e]

(112) *E3mi5 rɨ1 Puerto Incawa5 na4ʔũ43 ĩ1ʔne1* ***rɨ1*** *ɲu̯1ʔma5*
E3mi5 rɨ1 Puerto Inca=wa5 na4=ũ43 ĩ1ʔne1 **rɨ1** ɲu̯1ʔma5
E3mi5 TOP Puerto Inca=ALL 3.SBJ=go.SG yesterday **and** now
'E3mi5 went to Puerto Inca yesterday **and** today.' [LWG 2017.3.140]

It is also possible to conjoin two verbs with the same subject (113). This example probably involves conjunction of verb phrases, not of entire clauses, because the adverb *ɟo43ʔni5* 'in the meantime' scopes over both verbs – Laura will both get the building supplies and start the building project while she waits for her husband to return.

(113) ɟo43ʔni5 tą2ʔkɨ4 tʃa1nu4ta1ke1ʔe2ʔĩ4 **rɨ1** ĩ43 i5tʃa1ʔi2ʔĩ4kɨ4
ɟo43ʔni5 tą2ʔkɨ4 tʃa1=nu4=ta1ke1ʔe3=ʔĩ4 **rɨ1** ĩ43
in.the.meantime what? 1SG.SBJ=put.INAN.PL=NI:pile=SUB **and**
i5=tʃa1=i2=ʔĩ4=kɨ4
house VCL=1SG.SBJ.SC=make=SUB=INFO
'In the meantime (while my husband is working in Lima), I'm going to get together whatever (is necessary) **and** start building a house.' [Laura, LSC-VSC]

Noun phrases and constituents within the noun phrase can be conjoined with *rɨ1* as well. Most examples of this involve conjunction of subjects (114).

(114) *de4ʔne1 e3ką1ʔã3 na1tu51ĩ3ʔĩ4 a4 Q̣1ʔi5 He3u5gɨ4* ***rɨ1*** *Q̣1ʔi5 Gi3ma4tʃu1gɨ4* ***rɨ1*** *Kẽ3de5gɨ4ʔã3*
de4ʔne1 e3ką1=ʔã3 na1=tu51-ĩ1=ʔĩ4 a4
sugarcane INFO=REP 3.SBJ=pull-DIR:outward.PL=SUB DET(IV)
Q̣1ʔi5 He3u5=gɨ4 **rɨ1** Q̣1ʔi5 Gi3ma4tʃu1=gɨ4 **rɨ1**
grandfather He3u5=PL **and** grandfather Gi3ma4chu1=PL **and**
Kẽ3de5=gɨ4=ʔã3
Kender=PL=REP
'The family of Old Man He3u5 **and** the family of Old Man Gi3ma4chu1 **and** the family of Kender reportedly pulled up the cane.' [Victoria, AFG-LVI]

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It is also possible to coordinate non-subjects. In some examples of coordination of non-subjects, all of the conjuncts appear in a continuous phrase and there is case marking on each conjunct (115). However, it is easier to find examples where conjunction of non-subjects is expressed by a *discontinuous* structure where one conjunct appears before the verb and others after. For example, in (116), there are three separate objects: one set of pots, another pot placed underneath them, and the plantains. The first conjunct, *pa3ne4ra1* 'metal pot,' appears in the preverbal object position. The other two conjuncts come after the verb and are not joined by a conjunction, although the final conjunct is introduced by a determiner.

(115) *ɲu̱1ʔma5tʃi4re̱1* ***ka3ɟi1wa5 ri1 plazawa5*** *ni31ʔĩ3 na4 na1ʔu2ʔĩ4*
ɲu̱1ʔma5=tʃi4re̱1 **ka3ɟi1=wa5 ri1 plaza=wa5** ni31=ʔĩ3 na4
now=actually **street=ALL and SP:plaza=ALL** 3=ACC COMP
na1=u3=ʔĩ4
3.SBJ.SC=say=SUB
'Now they announce it **in the street and in the plaza**.' [KGW, 20170527-004]

(116) ka4 [pa3ne4ra1]$_{\text{Conjunct 1}}$ wa31ʔi5 i5na1nu4ũ1, [ŋe2ʔa4ma4 ɲa2ti4gu2 i31ma3re2ʔĩ4]$_{\text{Conjunct 2}}$, [a4 po3ʔi5gi4]$_{\text{Conjunct 3}}$, ɲa5tʃa3ʔ
ka4 pa3ne4ra1 wa31ʔi5 i5=na1=nu4-ĩ1
INTJ:look! metal.pot CONT.FOC VCL=IMP=put.INAN.PL-DIR:outward.PL
ŋe2ʔa4=ã4ma4 ɲa2ti4=gu2 i43=ma3re3=ʔĩ4
there.MED.LOC=toward underneath=LOC put.INAN.SG=just=NMLZ(IV)
a4 po3ʔi5=gi4 ɲa5tʃa3=ʔ
DET(IV) plantain(IV)=PL 1SG.SBJ.SC.QUOT=SUB
'Hey, get out **the pots** (Conjunct 1), **the one that got put underneath them** (Conjunct 2), and **the plantains** (Conjunct 3).' [Caregiver, C31-C32 CCI]

A similar structure with discontinuous conjunction appears with the oblique-object verb *ta4e3* + PURP 'buy' in (117). Here, the first conjunct appears before the verb and takes case. The second is after the verb and is caseless, but is introduced by *ri1*.

(117) *ɟe4ma4we5na1 ga4 to31ri3 i51ra3ʔĩ4ka̱1 ta4ta4e3* ***ri1*** *to31we3mi1.*
ɟe4ma4=we5na1 ga4 to31ri3 i51ra1=ʔĩ4=ka̱1
DEM.REM.PST(IV)=after DET.REM.PST 1EXL.POSS small=NMLZ(IV)=PURP

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ta4=ta4e3 **ri1** to31=we3mi1
1EXCL.SBJ=buy **and** 1EXCL=cooked.food
'After that, we bought some small things **and** food for ourselves.' [LCS, ldt]

Coordinating constituents smaller than the noun phrase is also possible. For example, in (118), the speaker conjoins a first-person singular possessor and the noun-phrase possessor *ʧau1e3ne2ẽ3* 'my brother' using *ri1*, while gapping the possessum.

(118) *ri1 to31ri3 ʧa3pa3tu1ta2 ta4ta4e3, ʧo31ri3* ***ri1*** *ʧau1e3ne2ẽ3a1ri3.*
ri1 to31ri3 ʧa3pa3tu1=ta2 ta4=ta4e3 ʧo31ri3 **ri1**
and 1EXCL.POSS shoe(IV)=some(IV) 1EXCL.SBJ=buy 1SG.POSS **and**
ʧau1=e3ne2ẽ3=a1ri3
1SG=brother=POSS
'We bought shoes for ourselves, for me **and** my brother (lit. 'we bought our shoes, mine and my brother's).' [LCS, ldt]

#### 25.5.0.2 Disjunction

The conjunction *ri3ɰ̃1ʔna5* is composed of the topic marker/conjunction *ri1* (which has a 3 tone in some forms; Chapter 28.1) and the discourse marker *ɰ̃1ʔna5*, which otherwise occurs mainly in polar questions (Chapter 31).

Disjunction with *ri3ɰ̃1ʔna5* can join either phrases or clauses. For example, in (119), disjunction joins two adverbial phrases which are part of the same clause; in (120), it joins two noun phrases; and in (121), it joins two complete clauses. As shown in (121), *ri3ɰ̃1ʔna5* 'or' can occur after the last disjunct, as well as between disjuncts.

(119) *ta4 mo4ĩ2* ***ri3ɰ̃1ʔna5*** *mo4ĩ2ã1ki2 ta4 ni4 i5na1ʎu2ʔĩ4 a4 ni31ma2*
ta4 mo4ĩ2 **ri3ɰ̃1ʔna5** mo4ĩ2ã1ki2 ta4 ni4 i5=na1=ʎu3=ʔĩ4
FUT tomorrow **or** 2.days.later FUT FOC VCL=3.SBJ.SC=arrive=SUB
a4 ni31ma2
DET(IV) 3.TOP
'S/he is going to arrive **tomorrow or the day after**.' [off-camera female speaker, LFG-MFG-LVI]

(120) *bo3te1* ***ri3ɰ̃1ʔna5*** *to1ʔõ4ma4 i4 ŋẽ2ʔma5ʔĩ4 ta2ʔu2ma3*
bo3te1 **ri3ɰ̃1ʔna5** to1ʔõ4ma4 i4 ŋẽ2ʔma4=ʔĩ4 ta2ʔu2ma3
boat **or** etcetera(IV) DET(IV) be.in.place=NMLZ(IV) NEG.EXIST
'There are no boats **or** other such things (vehicles).' [SSG HALDI]

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(121) *to51ri3 me31ʔã3 ni4* ***ri3ɛ̃1ʔna5*** *Ko3ri4na1ma4ã2 i1de43ʔa2ʔĩ4* ***ri3ɛ̃1ʔna5*** *ɲa4a2ʔĩ4 ni4 no31ʔri5ʔ*
to51ri3 me43=ʔã3 ni4 **ri3ɛ̃1ʔna5** Ko3ri4na1=ma4ã2
1INCL like=REP 3.SBJ.COP **or** Corina=COM
i1=de43ʔa2=ʔĩ4 **ri3ɛ̃1ʔna5** ɲa4a2=ʔĩ4 ni4 no31ʔri5
1INCL.SBJ.SC=talk=SUB **or** 3.SBJ.SC.QUOT=SUB FOC earlier.today
'(We can do) whatever we want (lit. it can be what we like), **or** we can talk to Corina, as she said a while ago.' [Lizeth, LFG-MFG-LVI]

Like conjunctive coordination, disjunctive coordination can be discontinuous. For example, in (122), the disjuncts are *nu5a2ta2ã4ma3re3* 'just right here,' which occurs before the verb, and *ɟe5a2ma4* 'there,' which occurs after it. Like the postverbal conjunct in (117), the postverbal disjunct *ɟe5a2ma4* is introduced by the conjunction.

(122) Context: Adriana felt (at the time of this recording) that she wanted people to watch her videos in my country, but not in Cushillococha.
*ʎi2ri4ã2tʃi4 nu5a2ta2ã4ma3re3 ni4 re3kɑ1 ni4, tʃa1ʔo2ʔĩ4,* ***ri3ɛ̃1ʔna5*** *ɟe5a2ma4*
ʎi2ri4ã2tʃi4 nu5a2=ta2ã4=ma3re3 ni4 re3kɑ1 ni4 tʃa1=o2=ʔĩ4
EPIST here.ALL=only=just FOC INFO **or**
**ri3ɛ̃1ʔna5** ɟe5a2=ã4ma4
there.ALL=toward
'It could be (i.e., the video could be shared) just right here, which I don't want, **or** over there.' [Adriana, AFG-LVI]

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# 26 Class-changing morphology

In Chapter 23, I described how nominalizers form relative clauses in Ticuna, and in Chapter 25, I discussed how various nominalizing and adverbializing morphemes can be used to form subordinate clauses of other types. The nominalizers and adverbializers discussed in these earlier chapters have scope over an entire clause. However, the language also has class-changing derivational morphology which scopes over smaller constituents, such as a noun phrase or a word.

Therefore, this chapter describes suffixes and enclitics which change the syntactic category of their host without scoping over an entire clause. I first discuss suffixes and enclitics that attach to nouns to derive verbs, such as *=ra3ɨ̃1* 'look/be like NP' (§26.1). Then I discuss the agent/instrument nominalizer *=ru5ɨ̃1*, which attaches to verbs to derive nouns (§26.2). Last, I cover the process of zero nominalization, defined as constructions where verb roots appear in nominal functions without overt nominalizing morphology (§§26.3, 26.4).

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## 26.1 Morphemes that derive verbs from nouns

There are three enclitics and one suffix which attach to noun phrases to derive verbs. The suffix is the activity verbalizer *-e3*, and the enclitics are *=ra3ɨ̃1* 'look/be like NP,' *=rɨ5ɨ1* 'be of same kind as NP,' and *=ɨ̃1* 'be from NP' (where the NP denotes a time period). There are also some low-frequency NP enclitics that derive adverbial meanings from nouns, but these are discussed in Chapter 32.2.

### 26.1.1 Activity verbalizer *-e3*

This morpheme attaches to a noun stem and derives an intransitive a-class verb meaning 'make Noun' or 'do activity associated with Noun.'

(1) and (2) are examples of the 'make Noun' use of the activity verbalizer. In (1), the verbalizer attaches to the noun *u3i1* 'farinha' and in (2), it attaches to the Spanish noun *chicha* 'corn drink' (not a conventional borrowing).

(1) ɟe4ʔgu4ma4 rɨ1 tʃa3ʔu3i1e3e1tʃa1
then.REM.PST TOP 1SGSBJ=farinha-Vblz=CONT

'At that time I was constantly making farinha.' [HCG HALDI]

(2) *na43ma4ã2 ta4 tʃa3tʃi3tʃa1e3gɨ4 a4 ma3ma5gɨ4 a4 ɟe5*
na43=ma4ã2 ta4 tʃa3=tʃi3tʃa1-e3=gɨ4 a4 ma3ma5=gɨ4
3=COM FUT 1SGSBJ=SP:corn.drink-VBLZ=PL DET(IV) mother(IV)=PL
a4 ɟe5a2
DET(IV) there.DIST.ALL
'I'm going to make chicha with the moms there.' [YCG, SC-YCG-DGC]

(3) and (4) are examples of the 'do activity associated with Noun' use of the activity verbalizer. In (3), the verbalizer attaches to the noun *tʃo43ʔni5* 'fish' to derive the verb 'go fishing' and in (4), it attaches to the noun *po43wa5* 'fishhook' to derive a verb more specifically meaning 'to fish with a hook and line.' These examples show that the noun to which *-e3* attaches can be either an object (3) or an instrument (4) of the activity denoted by the verb.

(3) *ŋe5ma2 ni4ʔĩ4 ta1tʃo43ʔni5e2ʔ*
ŋe5ma2 ni4ʔĩ4 ta1=tʃo43ʔni5-e3=ʔ
there.ANA.ALL FOC 3(I).SBJ.SC=fish-VBLZ=SUB
'He would go fishing *there*.' [YCG HALDI]

(4) *na4po43wa5e3*
na4=po43wa5-e3
3.SBJ=fishhook-VBLZ
'He went fishing with a hook and line.' [SSG HALDI]

In all of (1–4), the noun root of the activity verb denotes a concrete object involved in the activity. However, *-e3* Vblz can also attach to abstract nouns and to some adverbs. (5) shows the suffix attaching to an abstract noun, *ɟi51ʔi3* 'girls' puberty ritual'. This noun refers to the ritual as a whole (not any object involved in it) and the verbalizer derives a verb 'celebrate the girls' puberty ritual.' In (5), the suffix attaches to the adverb *ɟo43ʔni5* 'in the meantime' to derive a verb meaning 'do one activity while awaiting another; take advantage of a situation.'

(5) *ta4ma3 e3rɨ4 ma3rɨ3 tʃo31ma4ã2* ***na1ɟi51ʔi3e3gi5ʔ*** *ga4 tʃo1ma1*
ta4ma3 e3rɨ4 ma3rɨ3 tʃo31=ma4ã2
NEG INFO:CNG PRF 1SG=COM
**na1=ɟi51ʔi3-e3=gi4=ʔ** ga4 tʃo1ma1
**3.SBJ.SC=girls'.puberty.ritual-VBLZ=PL=SUB** DET.REM.PST 1SG.TOP
'They didn't **celebrate *ɟi51ʔi3*** (the girls' puberty ritual) for me.' [LGC HALDI]

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(6) *ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 to31ma2 i5ta3ɟo43ʔni5e3gɨ5ʔĩ4 na4 ta3ʔi2a1ne3ʔĩ4 e3rɨ4*
ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 to31ma2
then FOC DET(IV) 1EXCL.TOP
i5=ta3=ɟo43ʔni5-e3=gɨ4=ʔĩ4 na4
VCL=1EXCL.SBJ.SC=in.the.meantime-VBLZ=PL=SUB COMP
ta3=i2=a1ne1=ʔĩ4 e3rɨ4
1EXCL.SBJ.SC=make=NI:garden=SUB INFO:CNG
'At that time (when it's sunny), we-excl **take advantage of the situation** to clear gardens.' [LGC HALDI]

Some functional adverbs, such as *ta4gu2ma3* 'never' in (7), can't host *-e3* Vblz, but others, such as *i51ra1rɨ3wa5* 'slightly,' can (8).

(7) **tʃa3ta4gu2ma3e3*
*tʃa3=ta4gu2ma3-e3
*1SGSBJ=never-VBLZ
(Intended reading: ''I never do it.'') [LWG 2025.1.85]

(8) *tʃa3ʔi51ra1rɨ3wa5e3*
tʃa3=i51ra1rɨ3wa5-e3
1SGSBJ=slightly-VBLZ
'I will do it very little.' [LWG 2025.1.86]

Although *-e3* Vblz does attach to Spanish nouns in the 'make Noun' sense, in the corpus there are no clear examples where it attaches to Spanish nouns in the 'do activity associated with Noun' sense. To convey this meaning with Spanish nouns, people instead use the antipassive *-ta2e3* (Chapter 19.2.3). (9) provides an example of the contrast in a single utterance between a Spanish noun verbalized with *-ta2e3* Antipas and a native-vocabulary noun verbalized with *-e3* Vblz.

(9) *ta4mallata2e3, ta4tʃo43ʔni5e3*
ta4=malla-ta2e3 ta4=tʃo43ʔni5-e3
3(I).SBJ=SP:net-ANTIP 3(I).SBJ=fish-VBLZ
'He set his net, he went fishing.' [Laura, LSC-VSC]

The verbalizer *-e3* is a suffix, rather than an enclitic, because it can attach only to a noun, not an entire NP. For example, there are several expressions which mean 'popcorn.' One, *wai5pɨ1ta1* 'exploding grains,' is a noun and can take *-e3* (10a) to derive a verb 'make popcorn.' Another, *tʃa2wɨ4a1rɨ3 pu5pɨ1ta5ne1* 'expanded corn,' is a NP and therefore doesn't allow the suffix (10b).

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(10) a. *tʃa3wai5pɨ1ta1e3*
tʃa3=wa̱i̱1=pɨ1ta1-e3
1SGSBJ=explode=CLF:tooth-VBLZ
b. **tʃa3tʃa2wɨ4a1rɨ3 pu5pɨ1ta5ne1e3*
*tʃa3=tʃa2wɨ4=a1rɨ3 pu̱1=pɨ1ta1=ne1-e3
*1SGSBJ=corn=POSS expand.vi=CLF:tooth=NMLZ(III)-VBLZ
'I made popcorn.' [LWG 2025.1.86]

In contrast, the other morphemes described in this section scope over an entire noun phrase.

### 26.1.2 'Look like/be like' *=ra3ĩ1*

The enclitic *=ra3ĩ1* 'look like an NP' attaches to a noun or an entire noun phrase and derives a verb meaning 'look like,' 'be like,' or 'be the same as' the noun phrase referent. The verb derived is a-class.

#### 26.1.2.1 Basic use and morphology of *=ra3ĩ1*

(11) provides a number of morphologically and semantically simple examples of *=ra3ĩ1*. In this conversation excerpt, the discourse participants are discussing a new plant. Describing the shape of a plant part, they use *=ra3ĩ1* on several different nouns in succession: *tʃo43ʔni5* 'fish' in line (a), *na31e3ĩ1gɨ4* 'wild animals' in lines (b) and (c), and *du1ĩ3ʔɨ4gɨ4* 'people' in line (d). Each token derives a predicate 'look like an N.'

(11) a. *a31, na4tʃo43ʔni5ra3ĩ1 a31*
a31 na4=tʃo43ʔni5=ra3ĩ1 a31
INTJ:oh! 3.SBJ=fish=look.like INTJ:oh!
'Oh, it looks like a fish.'
b. *ngĩ3, rɨ1 na1ʔã4kɨ5ʔĩ4, na31e3ĩ1gɨ4ra3ĩ1*
ngĩ3 rɨ1 na1=ã4kɨ4=ʔĩ4 na43=e3ĩ1=gɨ4=ra3ĩ1
yes and 3.SBJ.SC=HESIT=SUB DFLT.POSS=wild.animal=look.like
'Yes and um they look like (wild) animals.'
c. *na31e3ĩ1gɨ4ra3ĩ1*
na43=e3ĩ1=gɨ4=ra3ĩ1
DFLT.POSS=wild.animal=look.like
'They look like animals.'

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d. *((ingressive)) na4du1ĩ3ʔĩ4gɨ4ra3ĩ1*
((ingressive)) na4=du1ĩ3ʔĩ4=gɨ4=ra3ĩ1
yes 3.SBJ=person=PL=look.like
'Yes, they look like people.'
[20170630]
need attributions

The transitivity of verbs derived with *=ra3ĩ1* 'look like' is a point of sociolinguistic variation. While all of the examples with this enclitic in (11) are intransitive, some speakers instead use *=ra3ĩ1* to derive a verb that is morphologically a causative transitive. The 'object' slot of the causative transitive is filled by an object proclitic, as shown in (12). However, the object in this construction is a dummy or expletive proclitic only; it does not alternate with third person objects external to the NP.

(12) Context: Discussing the state of the Caballococha-Cushillococha road before it was paved.
*ta4ma3 na4na3ɲu̯1ʔma5ra3ĩ1*
ta4ma3 na4=na3=ɲu̯1ʔma5=ra3ĩ1
NEG 1SGSBJ=3.OBJ=now=look.like
'It was not like (it is) now.' [HCG HALDI]

In (11b,c) above, *=ra3ĩ1* attaches to a complex noun phrase consisting of a possessor and possessum: *na31=e3ĩ1=gɨ4* (Dposs=wild.animal=PL) 'wild animals.' Because the possessum in this example is inalienable, the NP happens to be a single prosodic word. However, *=ra3ĩ1* can also scope over a noun phrase that includes multiple PrWds. For example, in (13) it scopes over the entire NP 'unripe green plantains.'

(13) *tʃau1ʔtʃi5ru2 rɨ1 na4na3po3ʔi5 i4 do4ʔɨ3ʔĩ4 i4 ɟau5ʔĩ4ra3ĩ1*
tʃau1=ʔtʃi5ru2 rɨ1 na4=na3=po3ʔi5 i4 do4ʔɨ1=ʔĩ4
1SG=clothing TOP 3.SBJ=3.OBJ=plantain(IV) DET(IV) unripe=NMLZ(IV)
i4 ɟa̯u̯1=ʔĩ4=ra3ĩ1
DET(IV) blue/green=NMLZ(IV)=look.like
'My shirt is the same kind of green as unripe plantains.' [LWG 2025.1.86]

When *=ra3ĩ1* scopes over a NP, not all of the PrWds in the scope of *=ra3ĩ1* need to appear within the verb complex (that is, between the subject proclitic and *=ra3ĩ1*, as in 13). For example, take the noun phrase *ɟe3a2 tʃau1ne3ã1gɨ4* 'those

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my daughter-in-laws' in (14). In the original production of this example, (14a), the demonstrative appears outside the verb complex, but is clearly within the scope of *=ra3ĩ1* based on the reading. (It can't be analyzed as the object of the verb because the verb already has an object proclitic, and object proclitics can only be doubled for noun phrases of Class II.) In (14b), which was approved by the transcriber as an alternative phrasing of (a), the demonstrative *ɟe3a2* appears inside the *=ra3ĩ1* constituent with no change to the reading.

(14) a. *ɟe3a2 wa31ʔi5 tʃa1na3tʃau1ne3ã1gɨ4ra3ĩ1gu2*
ɟe3a2 wa31ʔi5
DEM.DIST(IV) CONT.FOC
tʃa1=na3=tʃau1=ne3ã1=gɨ4=ra3ĩ1=gu2
1SGSBJ=3.OBJ=1SG=son's.wife=PL=look.like=SUB
'When I was the same age as those [distal] daughter-in-laws of mine' [HCG HALDI]

b. *tʃa1na3ɟe3a2 tʃau1ne3ã1gɨ4ra3ĩ1gu2*
tʃa1=na3=ɟe3a2 tʃau1=ne3ã1=gɨ4=ra3ĩ1=gu2
1SGSBJ.SC=3.OBJ=DEM.DIST(IV) 1SG=son's.wife=PL=look.like=SUB
'When I was the same age as those [distal] daughter-in-laws of mine' [LWG approved as alternative to a]

#### 26.1.2.2 Semantics of *=ra3ĩ1*

In the context of (11–13), the constituents with *=ra3ĩ1* can be taken as describing either the overall appearance or the shape of the referent. However, constituents with *=ra3ĩ1* also often describe more specific physical attributes of a referent, such as its age ( 14) or color. For example, (15) is a response to an interview question about the size of the town of Bellavista (the question does not include *=ra3ĩ1*). The speaker explains that it was the same size as Cushillococha, attaching *=ra3ĩ1* to the place name *Kɨ3ʔtʃi3tu1* 'Cushillococha'.

(15) Context: 'When you were a young man, was Bellavista [another Ticuna town] kind of large, or was it still really small?'
*ɟa1 Bellavista rɨ1 ɟe4ʔgu4ma4 rɨ1, na4Kɨ3tʃi3tu1ra3ĩ1 ta1*
ɟa1 Bellavista rɨ1 ɟe4ʔgu4ma4 rɨ1
DET(III) Bellavista(III) TOP then.REM.PST TOP
na4=Kɨ3tʃi3tu1=ra3ĩ1 ta1
3.SBJ=Cushillococha=look.like also
'At that time Bellavista was also the same size as Cushillococha.' [ABS HALDI]

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Similarly, leading up to (16) the participants in the conversation are discussing a container of lip gloss. The lip gloss is transparent, rather than colored. In (16) Liceth expresses that instead, she would like lip gloss that is colored in a way matching her lips. She attaches *=ra3ĩ1* to the constituent *tʃo1=be3ra3* 'my lips,' then derives a subject relative clause using the nominalizer *=ĩ4*. This results in a nominal constituent 'one that is the same color as my lips.'

(16) *tʃo31ʔna1 tʃi4 e3ri1 na4 ta1na3ʔã3gu2ʔã3 tʃo31ri3 ã4ki4, tʃo1be3ra3ra3ĩ3ʔĩ4 tʃi4a3ri1*
tʃo31=na1 tʃi4 e3ri1 na4 ta1=na3=ã3=gu2=ʔã3
1SG=RCP CNTF INFO:CNG COMP 3(I).SBJ.SC=3.OBJ=give.INANO=COND=REP
tʃo31ri3 ã4ki4 tʃo1=be3ra3=ra3ĩ1=ʔĩ4 tʃi4=a3ri1
1SG.POSS HESIT 1SG=lip=look.like=NMLZ(IV) CNTF=INFO
'I wish that she would give me one that's the same color as my um-, my lips.' [LFG, LFG-MFG-LVI]

It's also possible for *=ra3ĩ1* to describe similarities which are not physical. For example, in (17) the speaker is discussing how one of her sons often comes into the room when I'm recording her (because he wants to be recorded too). She then adds that her other son, Nayser, behaves the same way. To express that he has the same desires or ideas as the first child, she attaches *=ra3ĩ1* to the constituent *na4=ã5ẽ2* 'his soul, desires, ideas,' then forms a subject relative clause using *=ʔĩ4*. This clause modifies the personal name *Nayser*.

(17) *na4ã5ẽ2ra3ĩ3ʔĩ4 i4 Nay3ser1 tʃi4ʔã3 na4ĩ1ta1 na4ʔi43ku2*
na4=ã5ẽ2=ra3ĩ1=ʔĩ4 i4 Nay3ser1 tʃi4=ʔã3 na4=ĩ1ta1
3=soul=look.like=SUB DET(IV) Nayser CNTF=REP 3=RN:at
na4=i43ku2
3.SBJ=enter.SGS
'Nayser has the same idea as him, he wishes he could come in wherever she (Amalia) is.' [AFG, AFG-LVI]

Last, you can express the meaning 'be as if Subject had Verbed' using *=ra3ĩ1*. This construction involves nominalizing a clause with *=ʔ(ĩ4)* SUB, then attaching *=ra3ĩ1* to the subordinator. (18) illustrates this construction.

(18) *ŋe5ma2 ɲɯ1ʔma5 ma3ri3 pe43ʔe5tʃi2, ai4ɟa2ʔĩ4ra3ĩ1gu2*
ŋe5ma2 ɲɯ1ʔma5 ma3ri3 pe43=ʔi5tʃi2 ai4ɟa2=ʔĩ4=ra3ĩ1=gu2
there.ANA.ALL now PRF sleep=really bathe=SUB=look.like=SUB
'So now he's fast asleep, as if he had bathed.' [LVI, LFG-MFG-LVI]

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#### 26.1.2.3 Use of *=ra3ĩ1* in demonstrative expressions of size/resemblance

There are two ways to form a demonstrative expression of resemblance 'be this size/shape/color' using *=ra3ĩ1*. First, you can simply use a demonstrative as the host of the enclitic. For example, in (19) and (20) the speakers use nominal (19) and locative (20) speaker-proximal demonstratives as the hosts of *=ra3ĩ1*. In (19), the demonstrative referent is the entire town where the speaker is located, and in (20), it's a height indicated by the speaker's gesture.

(19) *u3, Bellavista na4ta43, ɲu̱1ʔma5 i4 da31a1ra3ʔĩ5ne1ta2ã4, ta2ʔa2 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 wɨ43ʔi4gu2*
u3 Bellavista na4=ta43 ɲu̱1ʔma5 i4
INTJ:oh Bellavista 3.SBJ=big now DET(IV)
da31a1=ra3ĩ1=ne1=ta2ã4 ta2ʔa2 ni4ʔĩ4 i4
DEM.PROX(III)=look.like=NMLZ(III)=only almost 3.SBJ.COP DET(IV)
wɨ43ʔi4=gu2
one=LOC
'Oh, Bellavista is big, it's the same size as this (town, i.e. Cushillococha) now, it's almost equal.' [HCG HALDI]

(20) *na1nu5a2gɨ4ra3ĩ1gu2*
na1=nu5a2=gɨ4=ra3ĩ1=gu2
3.SBJ.SC=here=PL=look.like=SUB
'When they were this height, i.e. age' [SSG HALDI]

An alternative way to form a demonstrative expression of resemblance is with the manner demonstrative root *dɨ1ʔ* 'be this size/be like this' (also the interjection 'look!') plus *=ra3ĩ1*. The stem *dɨ1ʔra3ĩ1* 'be this size/shape' then behaves as a verb root. In most cases, it undergoes noun incorporation. The incorporated noun can be either a classifier or a part term. If it's a classifier, it classifies the shape of the subject (21). If it's a part term, it denotes the part of the subject that bears the resemblance, as in (22).

(21) *na4na3dɨ1ʔpɨ1ʔi3ra3ĩ1*
na4=na3=dɨ1ʔ=pɨ1ʔi3=ra3ĩ1
3.SBJ=3.OBJ=be.this.size=CLF:round=look.like
'They're this size (speaking of something round: baby chicks).' [AFG, AFG-LVI]

(22) *ŋe3ma2 na1dɨ1ʔa5tɨ1ra3ĩ3ʔ, to31wa5re5ĩ4 kɨ2a4na4?*

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ŋe3ma2 na1=dɨ1ʔ=a5tɨ1=ra3ɨ̃1=ʔ to31wa5re5ɨ̃4
DEM.ANA(IV) 3.SBJ.SC=be.this.size=NI:leaf=look.like=SUB plant.sp.name
kɨ2a4na4
INTJ:right?
'The one that has leaves this size is called *to31wa5re5ɨ̃4*, right?' [C27 CCI]

Incorporation is not obligatory in *dɨ1ʔra3ɨ̃1* 'be this size' predicates. For instance, in (23), the speaker uses a relative clause with the verb *dɨ1ʔra3ɨ̃1* to describe a bag. She does not incorporate the inalienable noun *pɨ1ʔɨ̃3* 'bag' into the verb, or even use it.

(23) *dɨ1ra3ɨ̃3ʔɨ̃4 ga4 tʃo3ka1 ga4 na1ʎe31e1tʃa3ʔɨ̃4*
dɨ1=ra3ɨ̃1=ʔɨ̃4 ga4 tʃo3ka1 ga4
be.this.size=look.like=SUB DET.REM.PST bag DET.REM.PST
na1=ʎe43=e1tʃa1=ʔɨ̃4
3.SBJ.SC=transport.INANSGO=CONT=SUB
'The bag that he always carried was of this size.' [LWG t+e]

In elicitation people dislike tokens of *dɨ1ʔ* being used as a verb root 'be like this' without *=ra3ɨ̃1*, as shown by the negative judgment in (24). However, *dɨ1ʔ* does appear twice in the corpus as a predicate without *=ra3ɨ̃1*, both times describing a nonphysical resemblance. One of these tokens is shown in (25).

(24) **na4(na3)dɨ1ʔã5ẽ2*
*na4=(na3=)dɨ1ʔ=ã5ẽ2
*3.SBJ=(3.OBJ=be.this.size=NI:soul
(Intended reading: ''She has that kind of judgment.'')
(Unacceptable with or without the object proclitic.) [LWG 2025.1.87]

(25) *bu31ã5ẽ2ma3re3tʃi4re5ʔe3 ti4, **dɨ1ã5ẽ2kɨ5ra1ɨ̃1ma3re3** ti4*
bu31=ã5ẽ2=ma3re3=tʃi4rẹ1=e3 ti4
young=NI:soul=just=actually=NMLZ(I) 3(I).SBJ.COP
**dɨ1=ã5ẽ2=kɨ5ra1ɨ̃1=ma3re3** ti4
**be.this.size=NI:soul=INFER=just** 3(I).SBJ.COP
'In fact, she has the ideas/judgment of a child, she just has that kind of judgment.' [AFG, AFG-LVI]

#### 26.1.2.4 Use of *=ra3ɨ̃1* with quantifiers

When *=ra3ɨ̃1* attaches to a quantifier, it does not mean 'resemble' but instead derives a predicate meaning 'belong to Quantity of kinds.' (26) and (27) provide corpus and elicited examples of the predicate use of *=ra3ɨ̃1* with quantifiers.

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(26) *na4gu5ʔĩ4ra3ĩ1*
na4=gu5ʔĩ4=ra3ĩ1
3.SBJ=all(IV)=look.like
'There are all kinds (of plants).' [20170630
need attribution

(27) *na4na3ta2ʔre4ra3ĩ1 ɟa4 tʃe3ra1, ta31kɨ3 rɨ1 i51ra3kɨ3*
na4=na3=ta2ʔre4=ra3ĩ1 ɟa4 tʃe3ra1 ta43=kɨ3 rɨ1
3.SBJ=3.OBJ=two=look.like DET(II) handsaw big=NMLZ(II) and
i51ra1=kɨ3
small=NMLZ(II)
'There are two kinds of saws, large and small.' [LWG 2025.1.86]

Although quantifier*=ra3ĩ1* constituents can be predicates, much more commonly they are nominalized and act as quantifiers. In this function they quantify over kinds, as shown by (28) with the universal quantifier, (29) with 'many' and (30) with a numeral.

(28) Context: 'She owns two stores. One only has clothing...'
***gu5ʔĩ4ra3ĩ3ʔĩ4*** *i4 na43ʔtʃi5ru2gɨ4, kɨ2a4na4*
**gu5ʔĩ4=ra3ĩ1=ʔĩ4** i4 na43=ʔtʃi5ru2=gɨ4 kɨ2a4na4
**all(IV)=look.like=NMLZ(IV)** DET(IV) Dposs=clothes=PL INTJ:right?
'(It sells) **all kinds** of clothing, right.' [NWG, NWG-ABS Visit]

(29) ***mu1ʔĩ4ra3ĩ3ʔĩ4*** *ta4 pi3ʔu3gɨ1ma3re3*
**mu1ʔĩ4=ra3ĩ1=ʔĩ4** ta4 pi3=u3gɨ1=ma3re3
**many(IV)=look.like=NMLZ(IV)** FUT 2PLSBJ=narrate=just
'You guys should just talk about **many kinds** of things.' [Laura, LSC-VSC]

(30) *ta2ʔre4ra3ĩ3ʔĩ4 a4 de43ʔa2 a4 nge5ma2ʔ*
**ta2ʔre4=ra3ĩ1=ʔĩ4** a4 de43ʔa2 a4 nge5ma2
**two=look.like=NMLZ(IV)** DET(IV) word(IV) DET(IV) there.ANA.ALL
'There are **two kinds** of words there, i.e. those two words are a minimal tone pair.' [LVI, AFG-LVI]

### 26.1.3 'Be the same kind' *=rɨ4ɨ2*

The enclitic *=rɨ4ɨ2* 'be the same kind' (also pronounced *=rɨ4*) attaches to pronouns, demonstratives, and subordinate clauses. It is infrequent compared to *=ra3ĩ1*, with 149 corpus tokens of *=ra3ĩ1* and only 19 of *=rɨ4ɨ2*. It derives a verb

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meaning 'belong to the same kind, species, style, etc. as NP', as shown in (31) for a demonstrative and (32a) for a pronoun. This is different from *=ra3ĩ1* – for instance, in (31), *ŋe3ma2=ra3ĩ1* would mean 'it looks like that one' or 'it looks the same as that one', not 'it belongs to the same species.'

(31) *na4ŋe3ma2rɨ4i2*
na4=ŋe3ma2=rɨ4i2
3.SBJ=DEM.ANA(IV)=be.same.kind
'It's the same kind (species) as that one (a plant).' [20170630
need attribution

(32) Context: AFG says, 'She has one child now.' LVI asks:

a. *LVI: tą̲2ʔkɨ4rɨ4i2??*
tą̲2ʔkɨ4=rɨ4i2=ʔ
what?=be.same.kind=SUB
'What kind?'

b. *AFG: ɟa31tɨ3ʔĩ4ʔ*
ɟa31tɨ1=ʔĩ4
male=NMLZ(IV)
'It's a boy.'

[AFG-LVI]

All corpus examples of *=rɨ4i2* except for (31–32) are nominalized or subordinated. They mostly act as modifiers, as in (33).

(33) *ʌe1ʔta5 ę̲̃1ʔna5 **ɟi31ʔe2ma4rɨ5ʔe3** tɨ31ʔne1 ku1ta4e2??*
ʌe1ʔta5 ę̲̃1ʔna5 **ɟi31ʔe2ma4=rɨ4=e3** tɨ31=ne1
where?.ALL ALT **DEM.ANA(I)=be.same.kind=NMLZ(I)** 3(I)=some(I)
ku1=ta4e3=ʔ
2SGSBJ.SC=buy=SUB
'Where did you buy **that style** (of clothes)?' [Shavelli, SCG-YCG-DGC]

Besides these uses, *=rɨ4i2* 'be the same kind' can attach to a subordinate clause to convey the reading 'be as if Subordinate Clause'. Exactly as in the 'be as if' reading of *=ra3ĩ1*, this construction involves forming a complement-type subordinate clause, then attaching *=rɨ4i2* to the nominalization (34).

(34) *ɲų̲1ʔma5 ta2ʔu2ma3 a3rɨ1 **ʧa1ŋõ5ʔĩ4rɨ4gu2** ʧa1ʍą̲1ʔma3re2ʔĩ4*

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ɲu̱1ʔma5 ta2ʔu2ma3 a3ri1 **tʃa1=ŋɰ̃1=ʔĩ4=ri5=gu2**
now nothing INFO **1SGSBJ.SC=eat=SUB=be.same.kind=SUB**
tʃa1=ʁa̱1=ma3re3=ʔĩ4
1SGSBJ.SC=know/feel=just=SUB
'Now I feel as if I hadn't eaten anything.' [LVI, LFG-MFG-LVI]

In addition to the productive uses, *=ri4i2* is a lexicalized part of the pronoun *ʌe1ʔĩ4ri4i2ʔĩ4* 'which one, any', which is discussed in Chapter 8.3.

### 26.1.4 'Be from time period' *=ĩ1*

The enclitic *=ĩ1* attaches to nouns and adverbs that denote times and derives a verb meaning 'come from Time.' It is an infrequent morpheme with only 10 corpus tokens.

(35) shows an example of *=ĩ1* attaching to a noun, *pu2ki3* 'rain', and (36) shows the enclitic attaching to an adverb, *ʌe3ʔwa5ka2* 'recently.'

(35) *de43ʔa5 na4pu2ki3ĩ1tʃi4i3e3ri4*
de43ʔa5 na4=pu2ki3=ĩ1=tʃi4i3=e3ri4
water 3.SBJ=rain=be.from.time=CLF:liquid=INFO:CNG
'The (drinking) water comes from when it rains.' [YCG HALDI]

(36) Context: 'I only got running water a short time ago.'
*ʌe3ʔwa5ka2ĩ1gi5ʔĩ4ta2ã4e3ri4 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 agua potable*
ʌe3ʔwa5ka2=ĩ1=gi4=ʔĩ4=ta2ã4=e3ri4 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 agua
recently=be.from.time=PL=SUB=only=INFO:CNG FOC DET(IV) SP:water
potable
SP:potable
'The running water structures are really just *new* (lit. from recently).'
[YCG HALDI]

Like *=ra3ĩ1* 'look like,' *=ĩ1* 'be from time' can attach to and scope over an entire multi-word noun phrase, as shown by its scope over the Spanish noun phrase in (37).

(37) Context: 'When did you get that motorcycle?'
*mes de juniogu2ĩ5ne1ta2ã4 ni4ʔĩ4*
mes de junio=gu2=ĩ1=ne1=ta2ã4 ni4ʔĩ4
SP:month SP:of SP:June=LOC=be.from.time=NMLZ(III)=only 3.SBJ.COP
'It's just from (bought in) the month of June.' [YCG HALDI]

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Since the time lexicon is mostly borrowed from Spanish, most hosts of *=ɨ̃1* are borrowings or code-switched phrases.

## 26.2 The agent/instrument nominalizer *=ru5ɨ̃1*

### 26.2.1 Distinguishing nominalized relative clauses from deverbal nouns

While nominalizations are extremely common in Ticuna, at the token level the great majority of nominalizations are formed using the clausal nominalizers *=e3* (Class I),*=kɨ3* (Class II/V), *=(ʔɨ̃5)ne1* (Class III) and *=ʔɨ̃4* (Class IV). As described in detail in Chapter 23, these nominalizers attach to a verb and nominalize the entire clause headed by the verb, without any change to the clause's internal syntax (e.g., how the arguments of the verb are marked).

The clausal nominalizers **do** derive nouns, since the clause which they form has the external syntax of a noun (e.g. can possess nouns, can act as an argument of the verb of another clause). However, clausal nominalizers are overall more similar to the language's other subordinating or complementizing morphology than to the class-changing morphology discussed in this section.

The only overt morpheme that derives nouns from **verb stems**, rather than from **clauses**, is the agent/instrument nominalizer *=ru5ɨ̃1*. This marker attaches to verb stems and derives nouns which denote agents or instruments of the verb. It can also attach to both nominal and verbal stems to express purpose.

### 26.2.2 Agent use

In its use as an agent nominalizer, *-ru5ɨ̃1* attaches to a verb stem and derives a noun referring to an animate being which performs the action of the verb. The verb stem can be intransitive or transitive (i.e., the 'agent' meaning is not restricted to subjects of transitives). (38) and (39) include examples of intransitive stems bearing *-ru5ɨ̃1*. (38) is a root intransitive; (39) is intransitive because it is derived with the antipassive.

(38) *pa4e2ta3ru5ɨ̃1*
pa4e2ta3=ru5ɨ̃1
play.music=AG/INST
'musician' [LWG 2025.1.88]

(39) *rɨ1 ɟe4ma4ã1kɨ2 na4ɟu2 ga4* ***ʌu5e3ẽ4ẽ3ta2e3ru5ɨ̃1*** *ga4 Pastor Valencia Peña*

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rɨ1 ɟe4ma4ã1kɨ2 na4=ɟu2 ga4 **ʎu5e3ẽ4ẽ3-ta2e3=ru5ĩ1**
and thus.REM.PST 3.SBJ=die DET.REM.PST **teach-ANTIP=AG/INST**
ga4 Pastor Valencia Peña
DET.REM.PST Pastor Valencia Peña
'And thus died the **teacher** Pastor Valencia Peña.' [SSG HALDI]

(40) and (41) provide examples of *=ru5ĩ1* with transitive stems. When a transitive verb bears *=ru5ĩ1*, it is still possible (but not obligatory, see e.g 43b) to express the object of the transitive event. The object appears as the (alienable) possessor of the nominalization and has no case marking. For example, (40) expresses the first-person object as a possessive pronoun, and (41) expresses the object *o43na4* 'food' as a noun with the possessive enclitic.

(40) *tʃo31rɨ3 Tu3pa3na1, **tʃo31rɨ3 ma4ʔẽ4ẽ3ru5ĩ1***
tʃo31rɨ3 Tu3pa3na1 **tʃo31rɨ3 ma4ʔ-ẽ4ẽ3=ru5ĩ1**
1SG.POSS Christian.God **1SG.POSS be.alive-CAUS=AG/INST**
'My God, **my Savior (lit. the one who causes me to live)**' [hymn sung by 2019 CG35]

(41) *rɨ1 ɟe5ma2 na4na3ʎe43ta4ĩ1 ga4 ɟe4ma4 **o43na4a1rɨ3 wɛ̨1ta4ĩ2ru5ĩ1***
rɨ1 ɟe5ma2 na4=na3=ʎe43=ta4ĩ1
and there.ANA.REM.PST.ALL 3.SBJ=3.OBJ=transport.INANSGO=NI:dish
ga4 ɟe4ma4 **o43na4=a1rɨ3**
DET.REM.PST DEM.ANA.REM.PST(IV) **food=POSS**
**wɛ̨1=ta4ĩ2=ru5ĩ1**
**place:1D=NI:dish=AG/INST**
'The **server of food** brought the dish there.' [LWG air]

Case-marked adjuncts (42, 43a), are degraded inside *=ru5ĩ1* nominalizations. Instead, if information about location or manner of the verb appears, it's realized as a possessor of the nominalized phrase (43b).

(42) **na31ʔmɛ̨1wa5 ʎa̱j̱1ʔtʃi5ru2ru5ĩ1*
*na43=mɛ̨1=wa5 ʎa̱j̱1=ʔtʃi5ru2=ru5ĩ1
*DFLT.POSS=hand=ALL sew=NI:clothes=AG/INST
(Intended reading: ''hand-sewer, person who sews clothes by hand'')
[LWG 2025.1.88]

(43) a. **ɟa5wa1ne1kɨ3gu2 ʎu5e3ẽ4ẽ3ru5ĩ1*

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*ɟa5wa1ne1kɨ3=gu2 ʎu5e3ẽ4ẽ3=ru5ĩ1
*afternoon=LOC teach=AG/INST
(Intended reading: 'afternoon teacher' [in a school with separate morning and afternoon staff])

b. *ɟa5wa1ne1gɨ4a1rɨ3 ʎu5e3ẽ4ẽ3ru5ĩ1*
ɟa5wa1ne1=gɨ4=a1rɨ3 ʎu5e3ẽ4ẽ3=ru5ĩ1
afternoon=PL=POSS teach=AG/INST
'teacher of afternoons''

[LWG 2025.1.88]

Agent/instrument nominalizations and agent relative clauses are different, and the possessive morphology on the objects in (44) and (45) illustrates how. The key difference is the case marking of the object. In an agent relative clause, the object takes the accusative (or whatever its usual case marker is), as shown in (44). By contrast, in an agent nominalization, an expressed object can only take possessive morphology, not case marking (45).

(44) *[*tʃo31rɨ3 / ✓tʃo31ʔĩ3]rɨ3ʎi2ẽ4ẽ2ʔĩ4 rɨ1 tau4ta2 i5na4ʎu3*
[*tʃo31rɨ3 / ✓tʃo31=ʔĩ3] rɨ3=ʎɨ2ẽ4ẽ3=ʔĩ4 rɨ1 tau4ta2
[*1SG.POSS / ✓1SG=ACC] 3.SBJ.SC=help=NMLZ(IV) TOP not.yet
i5=na4=ʎu3
VCL=3.SBJ=arrive
'The one who helps me has not arrived yet.' [LWG 2025.1.88]

(45) *[✓tʃo31rɨ3 / *tʃo31ʔĩ3] ʎɨ2ẽ4ẽ3ru5ĩ1 rɨ1 tau4ta2 i5na4ʎu3*
[✓tʃo31rɨ3 / *tʃo31=ʔĩ3] ʎɨ2ẽ4ẽ3=ru5ĩ1 rɨ1 tau4ta2 i5=na4=ʎu3
[✓1SG.POSS / *1SG=ACC] help=AG/INST TOP not.yet VCL=3.SBJ=arrive
'My helper has not arrived yet.' [LWG 2025.1.88]

### 26.2.3 Instrument use

The enclitic *=ru5ĩ1* can also attach to intransitive and transitive verb stems to denote instruments used to perform the action of the verb. For example, in (46) the enclitic attaches to the intransitive verb stem *ĩ3nɨ3ka1ʔwe1* 'play' to derive the noun 'toy' (i.e., 'instrument for playing') and in (47) it attaches to the intransitive stem *ĩ2na2gɨ4* 'ascend' to derive the noun 'climbing harness.' Both of these examples include possessors, but the possessors do not have the same semantic role in the event: in (46) the possessor is the agent of 'play' while in (47) the possessor is the ground of 'climb'.

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(46) *ku31rɨ3 ĩ3nɨ3ka1ʔwe1ru5ĩ1 ti4ʔĩ4 dɨ1ʔ*
ku31rɨ3 ĩ3nɨ3ka1ʔwe1=ru5ĩ1 ti4ʔĩ4 dɨ1ʔ
2SG.POSS play=Aginst 3(I).SBJ.COP look!
'Look, it's your toy.' [2019 CCI CG20]

(47) *wai3ra1a1rɨ3 ĩ2na2gɨ4ru5ĩ1*
wai3ra1=a1rɨ3 ĩ2na2gɨ4=ru5ĩ1
açaí=POSS climb=AG/INST
'device for climbing açaí trees' [20170527_002]

The instrument use of *=ru5ĩ1* also occurs with transitive verb stems, such as the verb *pai1* 'vaccinate; insert at right angles' in (48).

(48) *ɟe3a2 ni4ʔĩ4 no51rɨ3 pai1ru5ĩ1*
ɟe3a2 ni4ʔĩ4 no51rɨ3 pai1=ru5ĩ1
DEM.DIST(IV) 3.SBJ.COP 3.POSS inject=AG/INST
'There's her device for giving vaccines.' [C37-C38 CCI]

Some uses of *=ru5ĩ1* are ambiguous between agent and instrument interpretations. For example, in (49) the speaker attaches this nominalizer to the verb stem *wɛ̨1-te2e3* (straighten-ANTIP) 'straighten (intransitive)' to refer to a device that straightens hair. Since grammatical agents can be inanimate in Ticuna (Chapter 10), the role of this device in the straightening event could be seen as either instrument (used by an animate agent) or agent.

(49) *ɲu̯1ʔma5ã1kɨ2 wɛ̨1te2e3ru5ĩ1 tɨ31ʔĩ3 i5ɟa3dau2ʔi5ra1*
ɲu̯1ʔma5=ã1kɨ2 wɛ̨1-te2e3=ru5ĩ1 tɨ31=ʔĩ3
NOW=ADVBZ straight/flat-ANTIP=AG/INST 3(I)=ACC
i5=ɟa3=dau2=ʔi5ra1
VCL=IMP+AM=look.for=first
'Now go look for the (hair) straightener first.' [CG7, 2019 C3-C7]

### 26.2.4 Purpose use: not restricted to verb stems

As well as forming agent/instrument nominalizations of verb stems, *=ru5ĩ1* can also express purpose. In this use it attaches to noun stems, noun phrases, and entire inflected verbs as well as verb stems. Because the purpose use of the marker is compatible with multiple word classes and can scope over multiple words, I represent *=ru5ĩ1* as an enclitic rather than a suffix.

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When this enclitic attaches to nominals, it typically derives a noun which refers to an instrument or material used to make the object denoted by the nominal. For example, in (50) *=ru5ĩ1* attaches to the noun 'image, picture' to derive a noun meaning 'device for taking pictures' and in (51) it attaches to the Spanish noun *cerco* 'fence' (which is part of a complex NP) to derive a noun meaning 'raw material for fence.'

(50) *ŋe3ma2 ta31ʔtʃi4kɨ3na3a1ru5ĩ1*
ŋe3ma2 ta31=ʔtʃi4kɨ3na3a1=ru5ĩ1
DEM.ADDPROX(IV) 1INCL=image=AG/INST
'That's for taking our-incl picture.' [Child's MF, CG5]

(51) ku31rɨ3 cercoru5ĩ1
ku31rɨ3 cerco=ru5ĩ1
2SG.POSS SP:fence=AG/INST
'It's (the material) for your fence.' [20170630]

Besides common nouns, *=ru5ĩ1* can also attach to pronouns (52) and demonstratives (53) to express purpose. For example, in (52) the constituent *tą2ʔkɨ4-ru5ĩ1* (what-AG/INST) is a conventional question word meaning 'why?' or 'to what purpose?'.

(52) *tą2ʔkɨ4ru5ĩ1 ta4ma3 nɨ31ʔna1 ku3ka1?*
tą2ʔkɨ4=ru5ĩ1 ta4ma3 nɨ31=na1 ku3=ka1
what?=AG/INST NEG 3=RCP 2SGSBJ=ask.question
'Why aren't you asking him?' [20180707]

(53) Context: Indicating stains on the other wall of the room.
*ɟe3a2gɨ4ru5ĩ1 ni4ʔĩ4*
ɟe3a2=gɨ4=ru5ĩ1 ni4ʔĩ4
DEM.DIST(IV)=PL=AG/INST 3.SBJ.COP
'It's for (cleaning) those.' [LWG 2025.1.89]

The purpose use of *=ru5ĩ1* also occurs with verb stems and with fully inflected verbs, although purpose readings are much harder to find than agent or instrument uses. (54) is a corpus example of the purpose use with a verb stem. Here, *=ru5ĩ1* attaches to the verb stem *ŋõ1* 'eat' and, as in the agent/instrument uses, derives a constituent that is syntactically a noun (because it can be possessed and participate in a copular construction). The noun is interpreted as describing the purpose of the referent, which contrasts with other possible purposes. However, the referent is semantically the patient of the event, rather than an agent or instrument.

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(54) Context: Q: 'Are you growing this to eat or to sell?' A:
*tʃo31rɨ3 ŋɰ̃1ru5ɨ̃1ma3re3 ni4ʔɨ̃4*
tʃo31rɨ3 ŋɰ̃1=ru5ɨ̃1=ma3re3 ni4ʔɨ̃4
1SG.POSS eat=AG/INST=just 3.SBJ.COP
'It's just for me to eat.' [HCG HALDI]

The purpose use is not always clearly different from the agent/instrument use of *=ru5ɨ̃1* with verb stems. For instance, in (55) the speaker is describing how people in her neighborhood will use a new running water system. She states, with a *=ru5ɨ̃1* nominalization of the stem *ɟau1ʔ=ʔtʃi5ru2* (wash=NI:clothes) 'wash clothes,' that they will use it for laundry. This could reasonably be analyzed as either an instrument nominalization or an expression of purpose.

(55) Context: 'In the water project, the town will get water from Mai3ɟu5 Creek…'
*ŋe3ma2 ni4ʔɨ̃4 i4 to51rɨ3 ɟau1ʔpa4ɨ̃2, i4 ɟau1ʔtʃi5ru2ru5ɨ̃1gɨ4*
ŋe3ma2 ni4ʔɨ̃4 i4 to51rɨ3 ɟau1ʔ=ʔpa4ɨ̃2 i4
DEM.ANA(IV) 3.SBJ.COP DET(IV) 1INCL.POSS wash=NI:dish DET(IV)
ɟau1ʔ=ʔtʃi5ru2=ru5ɨ̃1=gɨ4
wash=NI:clothes=AG/INST=PL
'That will be for us to wash our dishes, for us to wash our clothes.'
[Grandma, C27 CCI]

The corpus also includes two instances where *=ru5ɨ̃1* attaches to a fully inflected verb and forms a subordinate clause of purpose. The clearer example is (56), where the enclitic attaches to a verb root that has a subject proclitic, object proclitic, bears subordinate clause inflection, and even has an adjunct. In a full clause like this, purpose is normally expressed by forming a subordinate clause of purpose with the subordinator *=ʔɨ̃4* plus the purposive case marker *=kɰ̨1*, as described in Chapter 25.2.2. However, in (Ex) the speaker uses *=ru5ɨ̃1* instead in exactly the same position where *=ʔɨ̃4=kɰ̨1* would typically appear.

(56) Context: AYM: 'I didn't put a long-sleeved shirt on my daughter because I wanted to put sunscreen on her instead.' RGW replies:
*a3, na43ma4ã2 ku1na3tʃa2ʔɨ̃4ru5ɨ̃1*
a3 na43=ma4ã2 ku1=na3=tʃa2=ʔɨ̃4=ru5ɨ̃1
INTJ:oh 3=COM 2SGSBJ.SC=3.OBJ=paint=SUB=AG/INST
'Oh, (you did that) so that you could rub her with it (the sunscreen).'
[20170527_002]

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### 26.2.5 Noun incorporation in *=ru5ĩ1* nominalizations

Several of the above examples, such as (55), have shown that *=ru5ĩ1* can attach to transitive verb stems that include incorporated nouns. This is surprising because in general, transitive verbs can only incorporate arguments assigned the accusative (Chapter 12.1.2.2), and verb stems with *=ru5ĩ1* no longer assign the accusative (see 45 above). Despite this, it is very common to incorporate an object when a transitive stem bears *=ru5ĩ1*. For example, the verb *ɟau2ʔ* 'grab' incorporates the inalienable noun *ta1* 'bunch of fruit' in (57), and the verb *tʃau1ʔ* 'paint' incorporates the inalienable noun *a̱1* 'mouth' in (58).

(57) *wai3ra1a1rɨ3 ɟau2ʔta1ru5ĩ1*
wai3ra1=a1rɨ3 ɟau2ʔ=ta1=ru5ĩ1
açaí1=POSS get=NI:fruit.bunch=AG/INST
'person responsible for harvesting berries of açaí' [20170527_002]

(58) *Paolaa1rɨ3 tʃau1ʔa̱1ru5ĩ1*
Paola=a1rɨ3 tʃau1ʔ=a̱1=ru5ĩ1
Paola=POSS paint/smear=NI:mouth=AG/INST
'Paola's lip gloss, lit. Paola's instrument for painting the mouth' [LFG, LFG-MFG-LVI]

Intransitive stems with *=ru5ĩ1* can incorporate their subjects, as shown by the examples with *dau4* 'be red' below. In (59) the inalienable noun *a̱1* 'mouth' incorporates, and in (60) it's the alienable noun *ko4nɨ3* 'tongue' (with regular alienable-incorporation morphology).

(59) *Amalia tʃo31ʔna1 ã2ʔĩ4 dau4a̱1ru5ĩ1ʔã3*
Amalia tʃo31=na1 ã3=ʔĩ4 dau4=a̱1=ru5ĩ1=ʔã3
Amalia 1SG=RCP give.INANSGO=SUB red=NI:mouth=AG/INST=REP
'Amalia, they say, gave me a red lip gloss, lit. an instrument for having a red mouth.' [Nina2, LFG-MFG-LVI, approved LWG 2025.1.88]

(60) *tʃo31rɨ3 dau4a1rɨ3 ko4nɨ3ã̱1ru5ĩ1*
tʃo31rɨ3 dau4=a1rɨ3 ko4nɨ3=ã̱1=ru5ĩ1
1SG.POSS red=AL.INCORP tongue=AL.INCORP=AG/INST
'my instrument for having a red tongue' [LWG 2025.1.88]

Incorporation into the stems of *=ru5ĩ1* nominalizations still follows the general restrictions on noun incorporation in the language, since in all cases the incorporated noun is a part or possessum of the internal argument.

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## 26.3 Zero nominalization

As a general rule of Ticuna morphosyntax, roots tend to behave as members of a single syntactic category, require class-changing or subordinating morphology in order to function as members of any other category. The evidence for this lies in the large number of class-changing and subordinating constructions described in this chapter and Chapter 25.

Despite the mostly category-bound nature of roots, it is sometimes possible to use a verb stem as a noun without any licensing morphology. I call this process zero nominalization. It mostly derives abstract nouns referring to the event or property denoted by the verb.

Besides zero nominalization, there are also several subordinating constructions, occurring with specific matrix-clause verbs such as *ũ43* 'go,' where the subordinate verb displays nominal characteristics – such as taking a case enclitic – without any licensing morphology. These constructions resemble zero nominalization syntactically, since the verb takes the external syntax of a noun without taking an overt nominalizer. However, they don't have the abstract semantics of zero nominalization.

In this section I will describe zero nominalization proper, and in the following sections I will consider the subordinating constructions that resemble it.

### 26.3.1 Basic internal syntax of zero nominalizations

Zero nominalization occurs with intransitive and transitive verbs of all argument structure classes. For example, in (61) the intransitive stative verb *dɻ2we1* 'sick' is used with the nominal meaning 'disease'; in (62) the unergative intransitive *ĩ3nɨ3ka1ʔwe1* 'play' is used with the nominal meaning 'game'; and in (63) the psych transitive *ʌɨ2ẽ4ẽ3* 'help' is used with the nominal meaning 'help, assistance.'

In each of these examples, the verb occurs in a position that is normally only possible for nominal roots: being possessed (61), being the predicate in a copular construction (62), or being quantified by a numeral (63). Despite this position, the verbs have no nominalizing or subordinating morphology.

(61) *dɨ1 tai4 tɨ5na1ŋe2ʔma5ʔĩ4 ma2na4 a4 tɨ31ma2a1rɨ3* ***dɻ2ʔwe1*** *re3kɻ1ʔ ni4*
dɨ1 tai4 tɨ5=na1=ŋe2ʔma4=ʔĩ4 ma2na4 a4
look! INFO 3(I)BEN=3.SBJ.SC=be.in.place=SUB EPIST DET(IV)
tɨ31ma2a1rɨ3 **dɻ2ʔwe1**=∅ re3kɻ1ʔ ni4
3(I).POSS **sick=ZERO.NMLZ** INFO:that's.why
'Look, she must have a **disease**, that's why.' [LVI, LFG-MFG-LVI]

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(62) *ta4ma3 ni4ʔĩ4 ĩ3nɨ3ka1ʔwe1e3*
ta4ma3 ni4ʔĩ4 **ĩ3ni3ka1ʔwe1e3**=∅
NEG 3.SBJ.COP **play=ZERO.NMLZ**
'(As for living in the city,) it's not a **game**.' [Veronica, LSC-VSC]

(63) *wɨ43ʔi4 i4 ʎɨ2ẽ4ẽ3 i4 ta31ʔĩ4ma3 tʃo31ʔna1 na4ʔã3gɨ4*
wɨ43ʔi4 i4 **ʎɨ2ẽ4ẽ3**=∅ i4 ta43=ʔĩ4=ma3 tʃo31=na1
one DET(IV) **help=ZERO.NMLZ** DET(IV) big=NMLZ(IV)=INFO 1SG=RCP
na4=ã3=gɨ4
3.SBJ=give.INANO=PL
'(My father's brothers) gave me a lot of help (lit. one large help).' [SSG HALDI]

Exactly as we saw in the previous section for agent/instrument nominalizations with *=ru5ĩ1*, all arguments of zero nominalizations are expressed as possessors. For example, in (61) the person experiencing the illness – who would be the subject of the finite verb *dg̱2we1* 'sick' – is expressed as the possessor. Similarly, (64) contains a zero event nominalization of the verb stem *nu4ku4* 'put PLO inside.' The zero nominalization has an expressed object, which is a demonstrative. It is expressed a possessor. Expressing the object with zero marking or with the accusative instead is ungrammatical (65).

(64) *da31ʔe2a1rɨ3 **nu4ku4wa5** ta4 tʃo1ma1 tʃa3ʔĩ3nɨ3ka1ʔwe1*
da31ʔe2=a1rɨ3 **nu4-ku4=∅=wa5** ta4 tʃo1ma1
DEM.PROX(I)=POSS **put.INAN.PL-DIR:inward.PL=∅=ALL** FUT 1SG.TOP
tʃa3=ĩ3nɨ3ka1ʔwe1
1SGSBJ=play
'I'm going to play at putting these things inside.' [CG12 2019 CCI]

(65) *[*da31ʔe2 / *da31ʔe2 tɨ31ʔĩ3 / ✓da31ʔe2a1rɨ3] nu4ku4wa5 ta4 tʃa3pu3ra3kɨ4*
[*da31ʔe2 / *da31ʔe2 tɨ31=ʔĩ3 / ✓da31ʔe2=a1rɨ3]
[*DEM.PROX(I) / *DEM.PROX(I) 3(I)=ACC / ✓DEM.PROX(I)=POSS]
nu4-ku4=wa5 ta4 tʃa3=pu3ra3kɨ4
put.INAN.PL-DIR:inward.PL=ALL FUT 1SGSBJ=work
'I'm going to work on putting these things inside.' [LWG 2025.1.90]

Oblique objects are an exception to this rule about realization as a possessor. If a verb takes an oblique object, then when it undergoes zero nominalization, that object is not possessive – instead, it remains oblique with the same case. For example, the verb *ʍg̱1* 'know' has an oblique-object sense meaning 'manage, be

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in control of' in which it marks the entity managed with *=ma4ã2* COM. When *ʍa̱1* + COM 'manage' undergoes zero nominalization in (66a), it still assigns the comitative to the internal argument *municipio*. The same occurs with *ta4e3* + COM 'sell' in (67). However, it is difficult to find examples with zero nominalization of oblique-object verbs, and Lilia preferred to use an overt nominalizer instead when asked metalinguistically about them, such with *dau2* + PURP 'look for' (68).

(66) *ni̱31ma2 i4* ***municipiogi̱4ma4ã2 ʍa5****a1ri̱3 to1gi̱5ʔĩ4 i4 a3ẽ̱1ga3ki̱3*
ni̱31ma2 i4 **municipio=gi̱4=ma4ã2**
3.TOP DET(IV) **SP:local.government=PL=COM**
**ʍa̱1**=∅=a1ri̱3 to1=gi̱4=ʔĩ4 i4 a3ẽ̱1ga3ki̱3
**know=ZERO.NMLZ**=POSS sit=PL=NMLZ(IV) DET(IV) political.leader(IV)
'those political authorities who sit **in control of the *municipio***' [DGG HALDI]

(67) *ku3ri4tʃi1ma4ã2 ta4e3gu2 ku3ri̱3ʔĩ3ni̱3*
ku3ri4tʃi1=ma4ã2 ta4e3=∅=gu2 ku3ri̱3=ĩ3ni̱3
SP:popsicle=COM buy/sell=ZERO.NMLZ=LOC 2SGSBJ=think
'You thought about selling popsicles.' [LWG 2025.1.91]

(68) a. *ku31ʔka̱1 dau2gu2 tʃa3ri̱3ʔĩ3ni̱3*
ku31=ka̱1 dau2=∅=gu2 tʃa3ri̱3=ĩ3ni̱3
2SG=PURP look.for=ZERO.NMLZ=LOC 1SGSBJ=think
b. *ku31ʔka̱1 tʃa1dau2ʔĩ4gu2 tʃa3ri̱3ʔĩ3ni̱3*
ku31=ka̱1 tʃa1=dau2=ʔĩ4=gu2 tʃa3ri̱3=ĩ3ni̱3
2SG=PURP 1SGSBJ.SC=look.for=SUB=LOC 1SGSBJ=think
'I thought about looking for you.'
(consultant accepted (a), but suggested (b) as better) [LWG 2025.1.91]

### 26.3.2 Semantics of zero nominalizations

In (61–68), the zero nominalizations all function as abstract nouns referring to the state or event denoted by the verb root. Many tokens of zero nominalization in the corpus share this same state/event reading. However, the construction also has several other readings.

One non-eventive reading of zero nominalization involves verbs of cognition, communication, or perception. When one of these verbs undergoes zero nominalization, then the zero nominalization can denote the propositional content of the event as well as the event proper. For example, just before (69), the speaker states that her husband might buy a vehicle with his earnings from work in Lima.

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In (69), she then describes this proposition (the content, not the thinking event) as *no51rɨ3 ĩ3nɨ3* 'his idea', using a zero nominalization of *ĩ3nɨ3* 'think' to form the abstract noun 'thought, plan, idea.'

(69) Context: 'When he comes back, he might buy a mototaxi.'
*ɲa4a2ʔĩ4 ni4ʔĩ4 a4 no51rɨ3 ĩ3nɨ3*
ɲa4a2=ʔĩ4 ni4ʔĩ4 a4 no51rɨ3 ĩ3nɨ3=∅
3.SBJ.QUOT.SC=SUB FOC DET(IV) 3.POSS think=ZERO.NMLZ
'*That* is his idea (lit. his idea is thus).' [Laura, LSC-VSC]

Similar zero nominalizations occur with *ɟu3mɨ3e3* 'pray → prayer' and *de43ʔa5* 'talk → message, word,' among others.

Zero nominalization also has some readings where it derives concrete nouns. For example, when transitive verbs undergo zero nominalization, they can denote the object of the transitive event. For example, the zero nominalization of *ã3=ma3re3* (give:InamsgO=just) 'give as a gift' means 'gift, present' in (70), and the zero nominalization of *nu5ke3* 'wrap' in (71) refers to a food which is wrapped in leaves.

(70) *A3ma3ri3a1 ɲa5tʃa3ʔ* ***ã3ma3re3*** *ku31ʔna1 na4ʔã3*
A3ma3ri3a1 ɲa5tʃa3=ʔ **ã3=ma3re3=∅**
Amalia 1SGSBJ.SC.QUOT=SUB **give.INANSGO=just=ZERO.NMLZ**
ku31=na1 na4=ã3
2SG=RCP 3.SBJ=give.INANSGO
'Amalia, as I was saying, is going to give you a **present**.' [AFG, AFG-LVI]

(71) *ta4ã3, ŋe3ma2 ta4ã3* ***nu5ke3*** *ɟi1ʔĩ4 a4 ŋe3ma2*
ta4ã3 ŋe3ma2 ta4ã3 **nu5ke3=∅** ɟi1ʔĩ4 a4
NEG DEM.ADDRPROX(IV) NEG **wrap=ZERO.NMLZ** 3.SBJ.SC.COP DET(IV)
ŋe3ma2
DEM.ADDRPROX(IV)
'No, that isn't a *nu5ke3* (dish consisting of a fish wrapped in leaves).' [20180628]

Nearly all tokens in the corpus where zero nominalizations are interpreted as denoting the object of the event involve *ã3ma3re3* 'give/gift' or its suppletive number allomorphs. Object readings **are** possible with other verbs (72), but barely attested.

(72) a. *ku31rɨ3 mu2* (2SG.POSS send) 'what you sent'

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b. t*ʃo31rɨ3 ɨ2=ma3tɨ4* (1SG.POSS make=letter) 'my writing'
c. *tʃo31rɨ3 tʃa1* (1SG.POSS paint) 'my painting'
d. *tʃo31rɨ3 wa31ʔi5* (1SG.POSS grind) 'my grinding, i.e. the matter that I ground'

[LWG 2025.1.90]

Zero nominalizations can also denote the **part** of a concrete object of which the predicate holds. For example, in (73) the speaker uses a zero nominalization of *ɨ2gɨ4* 'begin' to refer to the source of a creek, and in (74) the zero nominalization of *wɛ̨1* 'be straight, be flat' refers to the part of a river which is straight rather than curved. In contrast to the low productivity of the object use of zero nominalization, the part use seems to be productive with a variety of verbs.

(73) *ɟe5a2ʔɨ5tʃi2ma3 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 to1, no51rɨ3* ***ɨ2gɨ4***
ɟe5a2=ʔɨ5tʃi2=ma3 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 to1 no51rɨ3
there.DIST.ALL=very=INFO 3.SBJ.COP DET(IV) other(IV) 3.POSS
**ɨ2gɨ4**=∅
**begin=ZERO.NMLZ**
'Over there, there's another (creek), the **beginning** of it.' [YCG HALDI]

(74) *nu5a2,* ***wɛ̨1wa5*** *i2go4pe4tɨ1ta4ĩ2ʔ*
nu5a2 **wɛ̨1**=∅**=wa5**
here.ALL **straight=ZERO.NMLZ=ALL**
i2=go4-pe4tɨ1-ta4ĩ2=ʔ
DIR=travel.quickly-DIR:passing-in.vehicle=SUB
'We came here by passing through the (part that is) straight.' [LGC HALDI]

Finally, zero nominalizations of the verbs *ɟa31tɨ1* 'be male' and *ʎe31* 'be female' are routinely used to mean 'man' and 'woman', as shown for 'man' in (75). Both of these verbs also occur with nominalizers in identical meanings.

(75) *ɟe4rɨ4 na4ta43ʔi5tʃi2 ga4 ɟe4ma4* ***ɟa31tɨ1***
ɟe4rɨ4 na4=ta43=ʔi5tʃi2 ga4 ɟe4ma4
because.REM.PST 3.SBJ=big=really DET.REM.PST DEM.ANA(IV)
**ɟa31tɨ1**
**male=ZERO.NMLZ**
'Because that **man** was gigantic.' [LWG tak]

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The only other zero nominalizations with human reference are *ɟa2* 'be mature (v.); oldest child of family (n.)' and *gu̱1* 'end, run out (v.i.); youngest child of family (n.)' (which not all speakers use).

### 26.3.3 External syntax of zero nominalizations

We've already seen in the above examples that zero nominalizations share several of the defining characteristics of nouns. They can have case, such as the allative case in (64) and the locative case in (67); they can participate in copular constructions (62); and they can function as the arguments of non-copula verbs (61, 63, 70).

Like other nouns, zero nominalizations can also be quantified. When quantified, they can behave either as count nouns or as mass nouns. For example, in (63) (repeated from above), the zero nominalization *ŋi2ẽ4ẽ3* 'help' is quantified by the numeral *wɨ43ʔi4* 'one.' Since numerals are compatible only with count nouns in Ticuna (Chapter 7.3.2), this means that the nominalization is behaving as a count noun.

(63) ***wɨ43ʔi4 i4 ʎi2ẽ4ẽ3*** *i4 ta31ʔĩ4ma3 tʃo31ʔna1 na4ʔã3gɨ4*
**wi43ʔi4 i4** **ʎi2ẽ4ẽ3=∅** i4 ta43=ʔĩ4=ma3
**one** **DET(IV) help=ZERO.NMLZ** DET(IV) big=NMLZ(IV)=INFO
tʃo31=na1 na4=ã3=gɨ4
1SG=RCP 3.SBJ=give.INANO=PL
'(My father's brothers) gave me **a lot of help** (lit. one large help).' [SSG HALDI]

In contrast, in (76) the speaker uses the zero nominalization of *ma5e1ta2* 'kill' as the subject of the verb *ta43* 'big.' Rather than a property concept 'big,' the main verb is interpreted as a quantificational predicate 'be abundant.' This reading of *ta43* is only possible with mass nouns, indicating that the zero nominalization is mass.

(76) ***ma5e1ta2*** *ta43gu2 ga4 mą̱1pɨ5ne1a1rɨ3 na31a1ne1wa5*
**ma5e1ta2=∅** ta43=gu2 ga4 mą̱1pɨ5ne1=a1rɨ3
kill=ZERO.NMLZ big=COND DET.REM.PST mountain=POSS
na43=a1ne1=wa5
Dposs=land=ALL
'When there was a great deal of killing/violence in the sierra region...' [SSG HALDI]

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One of the most striking noun-like properties of zero nominalizations is that they can undergo noun incorporation. For example, in (77) the zero nominalization of *ĩ3nɨ3* 'think' is used as a noun 'intentions, mindset' and incorporated into the verb *tʃi31e2* 'bad', with the resulting reading 'have ill intentions, have a bad attitude.' Similarly, in (78), the zero nominalization of *ʎu̯1* 'learn (in school)' is used to mean 'education.' It then undergoes possessor-raising subject incorporation into the verb *ta43* 'be big, be abundant (mass noun),' creating a stem meaning 'be highly educated.'

(77) *tɨ̯1ʔkɨ3a3rɨ1 ma3rɨ3* ***na4tʃi31e2a1rɨ3 ĩ3nɨ3ɰ̃1?***
tɨ̯1ʔkɨ3=a3rɨ1 ma3rɨ3 **na4=tʃi31e2=a1rɨ3**
what's.the.matter=INFO PRF **3.SBJ=bad=AL.INCORP**
**ĩ3nɨ3=∅=ɰ̃1?**
**think=ZERO.NMLZ=AL.INCORP**
'What's going on that s/he **has ill intentions**?' [2019 CCI C20-C23]

(78) *na4ta31a1rɨ3 ʎu5ɰ̃1*
na4=ta43=a1rɨ3 ʎu̯1=∅=ɰ̃1
3.SBJ=big=AL.INCORP learn=ZERO.NMLZ=AL.INCORP
'She is highly educated.' [ABS based on C27 CCI]

While the verbs in (77) and (5) contain two verb roots, they should not be analyzed as verb-verb compounding, since there is no other evidence for that process. Instead, they are verb-noun compounding where the noun happens to be a zero nominalization.

## 26.4 Subordinating constructions with zero nominalization

There are several subordinating constructions where the subordinate clause is headed by a zero-nominalized verb. These constructions all require specific main-clause verbs. Some mark the zero-nominalized verb with the allative case, while others use the accusative case.

### 26.4.1 With the allative on the zero nominalization

One very common construction with a zero nominalization is the 'go in order to Subordinate Clause' construction. In this construction (79–80), the main clause contains the verb *ũ43* 'go' or its plural counterpart *ĩ43* 'go.PLS.' The main clause

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can also optionally contain a motion goal of this verb, such as *nu5a2* 'here' in (79). The subordinate clause is headed by a zero nominalization with the allative case. The zero-nominalized verb always has the same subject as the main clause. If it also has an expressed object, the object appears as a possessor of the zero nominalization (79).

(79) *ku31rɨ3 ga4wa5 ni4ʔĩ4 nu5a2 na1ʔũ31ʔĩ4*
ku31rɨ3 ga4=∅=wa5 ni4ʔĩ4 nu5a2
2SG.POSS transport:ANIMO=ZERO.NMLZ=ALL FOC here.ALL
na1=ũ43=ʔĩ4
3.SBJ.SC=go.SGS=SUB
'He came here *to pick you up*.' [20180707]

(80) *ai4ɟa2wa5 e3ra1ã3 na4 na4ʔũ43*
ai4ɟa2=∅=wa5 e3ra1=ã3 na4 na4=ũ43
bathe=ZERO.NMLZ=ALL INFO:CNG=REP COMP 3.SBJ=go.SGS
'He reportedly went to bathe.' [SCG-YCG-DGC]

Using an oblique-object verb, with an expressed object, in the 'go in order to SC' construction does not seem to be allowed. You must form a subordinate clause with a non-zero nominalization instead, as shown with the oblique-object verb *dau2* + RCP 'take care of' in (81).

(81) a. **ku31ʔna1 dau2wa5 nu5a2 tʃa3ʔũ43*
*ku31=na1 dau2=∅=wa5 nu5a2 tʃa3=ũ43
*2SG=RCP take.care.of=ZERO.NMLZ=ALL here.ALL 1SGSBJ=go.SG

b. *ku31ʔna1 tʃa1ɟa3dau2ʔĩ4wa5 nu5a2 tʃa3ʔũ43*
ku31=na1 tʃa1=ɟa3=dau2=ʔĩ4=wa5 nu5a2 tʃa3=ũ43
2SG=RCP 1SGSBJ.SC=AM=take.care.of=SUB=ALL here.ALL 1SGSBJ.go.SG
'I came here to take care of you.' [LWG 2025.1.90]

As mentioned just above, in the 'go in order to SC' construction, the main clause subject and the (implied) subject of the subordinate clause must be coreferential (82). Since the zero nominalization has a subject, it must be a subordinate clause – not an event nominalization – despite the lack of an overt subordinator.

(82) *mo3to1a1rɨ3 me43ẽ4ẽ3wa5 tʃa3ʔũ43*
mo3to1=a1rɨ3 me43ẽ4ẽ3=∅=wa5 tʃa3=ũ43
motorcycle=POSS fix=ZERO.NMLZ=ALL 1SGSBJ=go.SG
'I am going to fix the motorcycle.'

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Acceptable if I, myself, will fix the motorcycle.
Unacceptable if I am going to a place where someone else will fix the motorcycle. [LWG 2025.1.90]

Another subordinating construction involving a zero nominalization with the allative is the 'be good for Subordinate Clause' construction (Ex, Ex). Here, the main clause contains a stative verb with an affectivelypositive meaning, such as *tʃi̱1* 'delicious' in (83), *me43* 'good' in (84), or *tau3ʔtʃa1* 'easy.' The subordinate clause contains a zero nominalization with the allative case. The subordinate clause is always interpreted as having an impersonal subject. It can contain adjuncts (e.g., the other foods in 83), with their usual case markers. However, if the subordinate clause has an expressed object, the object is realized as a possessor (84).

(83) *po3ʔi5 rɨ1, na4tʃi̱1ʔi5tʃi2* ***gu3wa5*** *o3wa4ru1ma4ã2, me4ʔe1ma4ã2*
po3ʔi5 rɨ1 na4=tʃi̱1=ʔɨ5tʃi2 **gu3**=∅=**wa5**
plantain TOP 3.SBJ=delicious=really **roast=ZERO.NMLZ=ALL**
o3wa4ru1=ma4ã2 me4ʔe1=ma4ã2
fish.sp=COM chile.pepper=COM
'Plantains are very delicious to roast with *o3wa4ru1* fish, with chile.' [C21, CG]

(84) *ɲa4a2 ʌa51ʔwe3, tʃa1ĩ1a1rɨ3* ***a3ʔi3wa5*** *na4me43*
ɲa4a2 ʌa51ʔwe3 tʃa1ĩ1=a1rɨ3 **a3ʔi3**=∅=**wa5**
DEM.PROX(IV) gourd.dish(IV) manioc.beer=POSS **drink=ZERO.NMLZ=ALL**
na4=me43
3.SBJ=good
'This dish is good for drinking manioc beer.' [C24-C29, CG29]

### 26.4.2 With the accusative on the zero nominalization

I'll now discuss constructions which assign the **accusative** case to zero nominalizations. The first of these is the 'know how to Subordinate Clause' construction. In this construction, the main clause contains a verb of cognition, such as *ʍa1* 'learn, know' (the only attested main verb), *ʌɨ2ma3* 'forget' or *o2* 'quit habit.' The subordinate clause contains a zero nominalization with the accusative case, as shown in (85–86).

(85) *de43ʔa2ĩ3 ĩ2kɨ4 na1ʍa5ʔĩ4 a4 Evelyn*

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de43ʔa2=∅=ĩ3 ĩ2kɨ4 na1=ʍa̰1=ʔĩ4 a4 Evelyn
talk=ZERO.NMLZ=ACC INFO 3.SBJ.SC=know=SUB DET(IV) Evelyn(IV)
'Evelyn does know how to talk.' [2019 C22, CG]

(86) *ku1gɨ2ta2e3ʔĩ3 na4ʍa̰1ʔɨ5tʃi2 a4 nge3ã2 bu3ʔĩ4*
ku1gɨ2ta2e3=∅=ʔĩ3 na4=ʍa̰1=ʔɨ5tʃi2 a4 nge3ma2
play.soccer=ZERO.NMLZ=ACC 3.SBJ=know=really DET(IV) DEM.ANA(IV)
bu3ʔĩ4
child(IV)
'That kid really knows how to play soccer.' [AFG, AFG-LVI]

This construction allows only 'know **how** to Verb' readings (where the main and subordinate clause subjects are necessarily coreferential). It is not acceptable with 'know that Proposition' readings, even if the main and subordinate clause subjects happen to be coreferential (87). When *ʍa̰1* 'know' expresses knowledge of a proposition, it takes a complement clause instead (Chapter 25).

(87) **nu2ʔa2 bu31ʔĩ3 na4ʍa̰1 i4 Evelyn*
*nu2ʔa2 bu31=∅=ʔĩ3 na4=ʍa̰1 i4 Evelyn
*here.LOC be.born=ZERO.NMLZ=ACC 3.SBJ=know DET(IV) Evelyn(IV)
(Intended reading: 'Evelyn knows that she was born here.') [LWG 2025.1.91]

Another construction involving zero nominalizations can be glossed approximately as 'spend all one's time Subordinate Clause-ing.' In this construction, the main clause contains the verb *ɑ̃ʉ̃1* or its plural allomorph *tʃo43*. This verb typically means 'stay in a place' and is intransitive, but can also be used with a nominal object to mean 'be obsessed with Noun, spend all one's time on Noun' (88). The nominal object can take a variety of case markers, or can be zero-marked, as in (88).

(88) *ŋe3ma2ã1kɨ2ta2ã4 chicle ku3rɨ3ʔãũ5ʔ*
ŋe3ma2ã1kɨ2=ta2ã4 chicle ku3rɨ3=ɑ̃ʉ̃1=ʔ
thus=only SP:gum 2SGSBJ=stay.SG=SUB
'Like that you're absolutely obsessed with bubblegum.' [C5 CCI]

In the 'spend all one's time SC-ing' construction, the subordinate clause which acts as the object of *ɑ̃ʉ̃1 ~ tʃo43* 'stay, be obsessed' is headed by a zero nominalization. The zero nominalization can have zero case marking (89), the accusative case (90), or the locative case (91). As shown by the gloss on (89), the 'spend all

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one's time' construction can also be interpreted as 'spend all of a contextually relevant time period' (that is, it does not need to be habitual).

(89) Context: Why are these people asleep so late in the morning?
*ɟe5ma2 ɟu3mɨ3e3 na4rɨ3tʃo43*
ɟe5ma2 ɟu3mɨ3e3=∅ na4rɨ3=tʃo43
there.ANA.REM.PST.ALL pray=ZERO.NMLZ 3.SBJ=stay.PL
'They spent the whole night praying there.' [NWG, NWG-ABS Visit]

(90) ***ku31ʔgɨ1ta2e3ʔĩ3*** *ku3rɨ3ʔą̃ų̃1, ku3ʔĩ3nɨ3ka1ʔwe1e1tʃa1*
**ku31ʔgɨ1ta2e3=∅=ʔĩ3** ku3rɨ3=ą̃ų̃1 ku3=ĩ3nɨ3ka1ʔwe1=e1tʃa1
**play.soccer=ZERO.NMLZ=ACC** 2SGSBJ=stay.SG 2SGSBJ=play=CONT
'You are obsessed with playing soccer, you are constantly playing (it).'
[Anonymous Transcriber, volunteered as comment on 2022 C18 CCI]

(91) ***ku31ʔgɨ1ta2e3gu2*** *ku3rɨ3ʔą̃ų̃1*
**ku31ʔgɨ1ta2e3=∅=gu2** ku3rɨ3=ą̃ų̃1
**play.soccer=ZERO.NMLZ=ACC** 2SGSBJ=stay.SG
'You are obsessed with playing soccer.' [Anonymous Transcriber, accepted while discussing 90]

If the subordinate clause in the 'spend all one's time' construction includes an overt object, it's treated as possessor, as we see with the object of the zero nominalization of 'eat' in (92). This is the same as the treatment of objects with all other zero nominalizations.

(92) *e3ʔne1gɨ4 rɨ1 wai3ra1a1rɨ3 ŋ̃o1 na4rɨ3tʃo43gɨ4ma3re3*
e3ʔne1=gɨ4 rɨ1 wai3ra1=a1rɨ3 ŋ̃o1=∅ na4rɨ3=tʃo43=gɨ4=ma3re3
bird.sp=PL TOP açaí=POSS eat=ZERO.NMLZ 3.SBJ=stay.PL=PL=just
'The parakeets are just spending all their time eating the açaí.'
[C24-29 CCI, CG24]

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# 27 Questions

This chapter describes content questions ('wh-questions') in §27.1, then polar questions in §27.2, and finally less common question types, such as alternative questions, in §27.3. I define questions as turns that make an answer relevant in the following turn. This pragmatic definition is necessary because, as the following section will show, Ticuna does not have any morphology, syntax, or lexicon that is dedicated exclusively (or even primarily) to forming questions.

## 27.1 Content questions

Content questions are formed using indefinite/interrogative pronouns and indefinite/interrogative adverbs (§27.1.1). There are also some interrogative verbs, which have extremely restricted semantics and syntax (§27.1.2).

### 27.1.1 Content questions with interrogative pronouns and adverbs

Content questions with interrogative pronouns and adverbs are structurally identical to declarative sentences. They simply replace the questioned constituent with an interrogative pronoun/adverb.

The interrogative item is usually focused, but focus is not obligatory for interpretation as a content question. For example, in (1), the interrogative pronoun *te1ʔe5* 'who?' is focused in a subject focus construction. By contrast, in (2a), the interrogative pronoun is left in situ rather than focused. However, the sentence is still interpreted in context as a question – that is, when the addressee does not answer, the speaker pursues an answer in (2b) until it is actually answered in (2c).

(1) *te1ʔe5 ti4 a4 ŋe2ʔã4 tʃi1ʔe3?*
te1ʔe5 ti4 a4 ŋe2ʔma4 tʃi4=e3
who?(I) 3(I).SBJ.COP DET(I) there.ANA.LOC stand=NMLZ(I)
'Who is standing there?' [Shavelli, SCG-YCG-DGC]

(2) a. Lizeth: *te1ʔe5 na43gu2 ti4ʔũ43 a4 bo3te1?*

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te1ʔe5 na43=gu2 ti4=ũ43 a4 bo3te1
who?(I) 3(IV)=LOC 3(I).SBJ=go.SG DET(IV) boat(IV)
'Who went off in that boat?'

b. Lizeth: *kɨ1i3i5ɨ5?*
kɨ1i3
INTJ:pursuit
'Well????'

c. Bexcuru: *a31*
a31
INTJ:I.don't.know
'Dunno.'

[20180707]

There is no morphological material besides the indefinite pronoun, in either (1) or (2a), which marks the sentences as questions. For example, (1) contains no morphology or syntax which is different from a declarative sentence with subject focus. The only marker is lexical – the interrogative pronoun *te1ʔe5* 'who?'. Therefore, the rest of this section focuses on the lexicon of interrogative/indefinite pronouns.

#### 27.1.1.1 Monomorphemic indefinite pronouns

The language has three total monomorphemic interrogative/indefinite pronouns: *tą2ʔkɨ4* 'what/who,' which can have human or non-human reference; *te1ʔe5* 'who,' which only has human reference; and *ʎe1ʔta5* 'where.'[1] (1) and (2a) are examples of 'who?'; (3) and (4) are textual examples of 'what?' and 'where?' questions.

(3) ***tą2ʔkɨ4gu2*** *mę1ʔe3 tʃa3ʔã3ne1gɨ1tʃi4rę1?*
**tą2ʔkɨ4=gu2** mę1ʔe3 tʃa3=ã3=ne1gɨ1=tʃi4rę1?
**what?=LOC** EPIST 1SG.SBJ=have=dream=actually
'**What** could I have dreamed about?' [CG, C27 CCI]

(4) ***ʎe1ʔta5****ʔã3 ni4 nɨ31ma2ʔã3 na1ʔũ31ʔ?*
**ʎe1ʔta5**=ʔã3 ni4 nɨ31ma2=ʔã3 na1=ũ43=ʔ
**where?.ALL**=REP FOC 3.TOP=REP 3.SBJ.SC=go.SG=SUB
'Where did she supposedly go?' [Victoria, AFG-LVI]

[1]All of these forms have at least somewhat irregular morphology; for example, *te1ʔe5* 'who' requires class I agreement and *ʎe1ʔta5* 'where' displays tonal case marking. See Chapters 8.3 and Chapter 11.3.1 for further details.

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#### 27.1.1.2 Indefinite pronouns and adverbs derived from the root *ɲu1ʔ*

Besides 'who,' 'what,' and 'where,' most other indefinite/interrogative forms are derived from the interrogative root *ɲu1ʔ*. These include *ɲu1ʔre5* 'how many', *ɲu1ʔgu2* 'when,' *ɲu1ʔã1kɨ2* 'how,' *ɲu1ʔra3ɨ3ʔĩ4* 'how much (mass noun),' and *ɲu1ʔũ4* '(say) what,' which is part of the interrogative quotative construction described in §27.1.2.

(5–7) provide examples of the most common interrogative forms derived from *ɲu1ʔ*. Note that none of these examples include focus. (5) and (7) have main-clause inflection, while (6) has subordinate-clause inflection, but no segmental subordinator.

(5) *ŋe3ma2 rɨ1* ***ɲu1ʔre5*** *i4 metro ni4?*
ŋe3ma2 rɨ1 **ɲu1ʔre5** i4 metro ni4
DEM.ANA(IV) TOP **how.many** DET(IV) SP:meter(IV) 3(IV).SBJ.COP
'That (boat), **how many** meters (long) is it?' [Victoria, AFG-LVI]

(6) ***ɲu1ʔgu2*** *ta4 tʃa1ũ1ta1 rɨ3ʔą̃ų̃1?*
**ɲu1ʔgu2** ta4 tʃau1=ĩ1ta1 rɨ3=ą̃ų̃1
**when?** FUT 1SG=RN:at 3SBJ.SC=stay.SG
'**When** will s/he stay with me?' [Mother, C31-C32 CCI]

(7) ***ɲu1ʔã1kɨ2*** *nɨ3na4ʍą1 na4 nu5a2ma4 na1ʔũ31ʔĩ4 kɨ3 ma3?*
**ɲu1ʔã1kɨ2** nɨ31=ʔĩ3 na4=ʍą1 na4 nu5a2=ma4 na1=ũ43=ʔĩ4
**how?** 3=ACC 3.SBJ=know COMP here=toward 3SBJ.SC=go.SG=SUB
kɨ3 ma3
INTJ:pursuit mother.VOC
'**How** did she know to come here, mom?' [Lizeth, LFG-MFG-LVI]

Out of the forms in (5–7), *ɲu1ʔgu2* 'when' is formed using the regular locative enclitic *=gu2* and *ɲu1ʔã1kɨ2* 'how' is formed with the regular adverbializer *=ã1kɨ2* (§25.4.1). However, the other main forms derived from *ɲu1ʔ* –*ɲu1ʔre5* 'how many' and *ɲu1ʔũ4* 'say what' – do not have obvious etymologies.

The root *ɲu1ʔ* occurs once in the corpus alone. It is interpreted as 'when' (8), i.e. as a form of *ɲu1ʔgu2* with *=gu2* deletion (Chapter 11.2.2). In all other tokens where *ɲu1ʔ* occurs as a main predicate, it takes the verbalizer *=ra3ĩ1* 'look like,' as in (9), and often also an incorporated noun. The stem formed by *ɲu1ʔ=ra3ĩ1* then behaves as a regular *=ra3ĩ1* predicate, meaning that it is a causative transitive verb with an expletive third-person object proclitic. It is read as asking 'what does s/he/it look like?' or 'what color/size/shape is it?'.

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(8) *ti3ti1, na4ɲu1ʔ, pa31ʔa2!*
ti3ti1 na4=ɲu1ʔ pa31ʔa2
Titi 3.SBJ=when/how? INTJ:c'mon
'Titi, when will be it be? Hurry up!' (CG20, C20-C23 CCI)

(9) *na3ɲu1ʔra3ɨ̃3ʔ?*
na3=ɲu1ʔ=ra3ɨ̃1=ʔ
3.OBJ=when/how?=look.like=SUB
'What does he look like?' [Victoria, LFG-MFG-LVI]

There is an additional interrogative derived from the predicate *ɲu1ʔra3ɨ̃1* 'look how?'. This is *ɲu1ʔra3ɨ̃3ʔɨ̃4* 'how much (mass noun),' which is formed by nominalizing the predicate 'look how?, be what size?'. While this is a morphologically analyzable form, the meaning 'how much' is not completely predictable, since the base predicate is not quantificational (and is not always size-related either). *ɲu1ʔra3ɨ̃3ʔɨ̃4* 'how much?' and other quantifiers of mass nouns are discussed further in §7.3.3.

Since *ɲu1ʔ* combines with the locative case, and only acts as a predicate when it combines with a denominal verbalizer, it is a noun.

#### 27.1.1.2.1 Indefinite pronouns and adverbs derived from the verb *ʎe1*

There are also interrogative pronouns derived from the interrogative verb *ʎe1* 'be where.' These are *ʎe1ʔɨ̃4* and *ʎe1ʔɨ̃4ri4i2ʔɨ̃4* 'which one?, whichever, any' (Chapter 8.3.2. (10) and (11) provide examples of the interrogative uses of each form.

(10) *ʎe1ʔɨ̃4ri4i2ʔɨ̃4 ni4 a4 ku3ra5?*
ʎe1ʔɨ̃4ri4i2ʔɨ̃4 ni4 a4 ku3ra5
which.one(IV) 3SBJ.COP DET(IV) Cura
'Which one is Cu3ra5?' [Victoria, LFG-MFG-LVI]

(11) *ʎe1ʔɨ̃4kɑ1 pe1ta4e2ʔɨ̃4?*
ʎe1ʔɨ̃4=kɑ1 pe1=ta4e3=ʔɨ̃4
which.one(IV)=PURP 2PL.SBJ.SC=buy=SUB
'Which one did you guys buy?' [C3-C7, CG7]

In the 'which one?' use, *ʎe1ʔɨ̃4* and *ʎe1ʔɨ̃4ri4i2ʔɨ̃4* appear to be synonyms. However, only the form *ʎe1ʔɨ̃4* is also used to ask 'Where is NP?' questions (§27.1.2). In the 'which one?' use, however, *ʎe1ʔɨ̃4* functions as an argument of a verb; as a 'where is NP?' predictae, on the other hand, it is a main verb.

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#### 27.1.1.3 Morphologically compositional interrogative pronouns

Other meanings that are expressed by monomorphemic interrogative pronouns and adverbs in other languages, such as 'why' or 'how far,' are expressed in Ticuna using compositional forms of the interrogative pronouns discussed in this section. For example, to ask for a reason (like 'why'), speakers use the pronoun *tą2ʔkɨ4* 'what?' plus a marker of purpose or reason, such as the agent/instrument nominalizer *=ru5ĩ1* or the purposive case in (12).

(12) na4 **tą2ʔkɨ4ką1** nu5 ku3na3ga4?
na4 **tą2ʔkɨ4=ką1** nu5a2 ku3=na3=ga4
COMP **what?=PURP** here.ALL 2SG.SBJ=3.OBJ=transport.ANIM
'**Why** are you bringing him/her here?' [Yaneth, YCG-SCG-DGC]

When interrogative pronouns are focused, any clitics which they host are generally fronted with them (undergoing pied-piping), as seen in (3) and (12). The exception is the possessive enclitic and inalienable nouns (which behave as enclitics). As discussed in §24.3.4, it is generally not possible to focus possessors except in copular constructions. When questioning a possessor outside of a copular construction, either the the entire possessed noun phrase is focused (13) or the interrogative is left in situ (14). Inalienable nouns (13) attach directly to *te1ʔe5* to form interrogative possessive phrases. For alienable nouns (14), the regular possessive clitic *=a1rɨ3* attaches to *te1ʔe5*.

(13) ***te1ʔe5a3kɨ1gɨ4*** *i4 nɨ31ʔĩ3 ku1dau2ʔĩ4?*
**te1ʔe5=a3kɨ1=gɨ4** i4 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 ku1=dau2=ʔĩ4
**who?=child(IV)=PL** DET(IV) 3(IV)=ACC 2SG.SBJ=see=NMLZ(IV)
'**Whose children** did you see?' [LWG 2025.1.117]

(14) ku1ma1 rɨ1 **teʔe5a1rɨ3 ma3ma5ʔĩ3** ku3dau2?
ku1ma1 rɨ1 **teʔe5=a1rɨ3 ma3ma5=ʔĩ3** ku3=dau2
2SG.TOP TOP **who?=POSS mother=ACC** 2SG.SBJ=see
'**Whose mother** did you see?' [DGG 2017.2.85]

#### 27.1.1.4 Questioning multiple constituents

It is possible to question multiple constituents in the same clause, i.e. to form a multiple wh-question. For example, in (15), both the subject and a time adjunct are questioned. For information on embedded content questions, see Chapter 25.2.1.2.

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(15) *tą2ʔkɨ4 ʎe1ʔta2 i1ka1ʔi2tʃi5??*
tą2ʔkɨ4 ʎe1ʔta2 i1=kai1ʔ-ʔi2tʃi4=ʔ
what? where?.LOC 3SBJ.SC=scoop-DIR:inward=SUB
'What flipped over where?' [Child's MM, C16 CCI]

### 27.1.2 Content questions with interrogative verbs

There are three intrinsically interrogative/indefinite predicates: *ʎe1=ʔɨ̃4* 'where is NP?', *ɲu1ʔũ4 ɲa4-* 'what did NP say?', and *tɨ̨2ʔkɨ3* 'what's the matter with NP?'.

#### 27.1.2.1 The interrogative verb *ʎe1ʔɨ̃4* 'where is NP?'

The interrogative verb root *ʎe1* is monomorphemic and has only interrogative readings. This root, which is also the root of *ʎe1ʔta5* 'where?,' is used to ask about the location of an object or person (not the location of places).

When the verb *ʎe1* acts as the main predicate, it is always nominalized. This is evidence that the morpheme is a verb root, but it also means that citing the predicate only as *ʎe1* is misleading. I cite the predicate use as *ʎe1=ʔɨ̃4* instead.

The nominalizer which appears on *ʎe1ʔɨ̃4* agrees with the subject in noun class, as shown in (16–17). This is characteristic of subject relative clauses (although, unlike /a/-class subject relative clauses, tokens of *ʎe1ʔɨ̃4* sometimes take subject proclitics). Typically, the token of *ʎe1ʔɨ̃4* appears at the left of the clause, followed by the subject. The copula/focus marker can optionally appear between *ʎe1ʔɨ̃4* and the subject (16), but it can also be omitted (17). The subject can be pro-dropped (18).

(16) *ʎe1kɨ3 ni4ʔĩ4 ɟa4 ɟi2ma4 ɟa31kɨ3?*
ʎe1=kɨ3 ni4ʔĩ4 ɟa4 ɟi2ma4 ɟa43=kɨ3
where?=NMLZ(II) 3(II).SBJ.COP DET(II) DEM.ANA(II) heavy=NMLZ(II)
'Where is that heavy (plate)?' [20180628-003]
needs attribution

(17) *ʎe1ʔɨ̃4 a4 Ga3bi5?*
ʎe1=ʔɨ̃4 a4 Ga3bi5
where?=NMLZ(IV) DET(IV) Gabi(IV)
'Where is Gabi?' [C26-C25 CG]

(18) *ʎe1ʔe3?*
ʎe1=e3
where?=NMLZ(I)
'Where is she/he/it?' [CG38, C37-C38 CCI]

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A question asked with *ʎe1ʔĩ4* is almost always answered with a verb, which is usually also nominalized or subordinated with *=ʔĩ4* (19b). However, the answer to a *ʎe1ʔĩ4*-question can also be a presentative construction (20b). If the answer to a *ʎe1ʔĩ4*-question is a noun phrase (and not a presentative one), it is always marked with the locative, as in (21c).

(19) a. Nayser: *ʎe1ʔĩ4 i4 A3ma3ri3a1?*
ʎe1=ʔĩ4 i4 A3ma3ri3a1
where.is=NMLZ(IV) DET(IV) Amalia
'Where is Amalia?'

b. Adriana: *nu5a2ma4 ũũũ31ʔ*
nu5a2=ma4 ũ43=ʔĩ4
here.ALL=toward go.SG=SUB
'She went thiiiiiis way.'
[AFG-LVI]

(20) a. Child 37: *ʎe1ʔĩ4 Ti3ku3na1a1rɨ3 na31pa1?*
ʎe1=ʔĩ4 Ti3ku3na1=a1rɨ3 na43=pa1
where.is=NMLZ(IV) Ticuna=POSS DFLT.POSS=hammock
'Where is the Ticunas' hammock?'

b. Child 38 Caregiver: *da31ʔe2 dɨ1ʔ, da31ʔe2*
da31ʔe2 dɨ1ʔ da31ʔe2
DEM.PROX(I) INTJ:look DEM.PROX(I)
'Here it is, look, here it is!'
[C37-C38 CCI]

(21) a. Victoria: ***ʎe1ʔne1*** *ɟa1 Ni3ʔma5a1rɨ3, pa2 o1ʔ?*
**ʎe1=ne1** ɟa1 Ni3ʔma5=a1rɨ3 pa2 o1ʔ
**where.is=NMLZ(III)** DET(III) Nixma=POSS VOC grandfather.VOC
'**Where is** Nixma's (arrow cane), grandpa?'

b. Teodor Sr.: *ɛ̃1ʔna5 ŋe3ma2kɑ1 ni4ʔĩ4, "**ʎe1ʔĩ4, ʎe1ʔĩ4** a4 Ni3ʔma5?"*
ɛ̃1ʔna5 ŋe3ma2kɑ1 ni4ʔĩ4 **ʎe1=ʔĩ4** **ʎe1ʔĩ4**
ALT that's.why 3SBJ.COP **where=NMLZ(IV)** **where=NMLZ(IV)**
a4 Ni3ʔma5
DET(IV) Nixma(IV)
'Isn't that why, (isn't that why I keep asking), '**Where is he, where is** Nixma?'

c. Teodor Jr.: *Galileagu2*

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Galilea=gu2
Galilea=LOC
'He's in Galilea.'
[20180622]

#### 27.1.2.2 The interrogative predicate *tɨ̨2kɨ3* 'what's the matter with NP?'

The predicate *tɨ̨2kɨ3* can be glossed as 'what's the matter with NP?' or 'what's wrong with NP?'. It takes the NP as its subject and normally appears in a main-clause form, or as the verb of a *=ʔĩ4* subordinate clause (rather than taking a nominalizer with noun class agreement, like *ʎeʔĩ4*). Often the predicate is the only item in the clause, as in (22).

(22) *ku3tɨ̨2kɨ3?*
ku3=tɨ̨2kɨ3
2SG.SBJ=be.the.matter
'What's the matter with you?' [Shavelli, YCG-SCG-DGC]

(23) *ɟe3a2 ra3ã3 **na4tɨ̨2kɨ3**?*
ɟe3a2 ra3ã3 **na4=tɨ̨2kɨ3**
DEM.DIST(IV) TOP **3.SBJ=be.the.matter**
'As for that one, what's the matter with it?' [Lizeth, LFG-MFG-LVI]

This interrogative predicate can also combine with another clause, which expresses something which is happening as a result of the problem. The interrogative predicate does not need to have inflection in this use (24). If it does, it can share a subject with the clause expressing the result (25) or have a different subject (26). The result may be syntactically a main clause (24, 25) or syntactically a complement clause (26).

(24) ***tɨ̨2kɨ3a3rɨ1** tʃo31ʔĩ3 ku3da2we3nɨ3?*
**tɨ̨2kɨ3=a3rɨ1** tʃo31=ʔĩ3 ku3=da2we3nɨ3
**be.the.matter**=INFO 1SG=ACC 2SG.SBJ=watch
'**What's the matter** that you're watching me?' [CG37, C37-C38 CCI]

(25) ***ku3tɨ̨2kɨ3ma3** a3rɨ1 ku3du31pɨ1ɨ3mɛ̨1ʔe3 a4 ku1ma1?*
**ku3=tɨ̨2kɨ3=ma3** a3rɨ1 ku3=du31=pɨ1ɨ3mɛ̨1ʔe3 a4 ku1ma1
**2SG.SBJ=be.the.matter=INFO** INFO 2SG.SBJ=bleed=NI:wrist DET 2SG.TOP
'**What's the matter** that you're bleeding on the wrist?' [Caregiver, C40-C41 CCI]

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(26) **na4tɨ̨2kɨ3** ɛ̨̃1ʔna5 i5ku1a3to4na1ʔã3ẽ4ẽ2ʔĩ4?
**na4=tɨ̨2kɨ3** ɛ̨̃1ʔna5
**3.SBJ=be.the.matter** ALT
i5=ku1=a3=to4=na1ʔã3-ẽ4ẽ3=ʔĩ4
IMPF=2SG.SBJ.SC=3.OBJ=twist=NI:neck-CAUS=SUB
'**What's the matter** that you're making him bend his neck?' [Teodor Jr., 20180628-002]

Unlike *ʌe1=ʔĩ4* and like all other interrogative markers in Ticuna, *tɨ̨2kɨ3* allows declarative indefinite readings. In this use, it is interpreted as 'have something the matter, have a problem,' as shown in (27). Note that the indefinite declarative use, just like the interrogative use of the predicate, does not include any other interrogative marking.

(27) Context: 'At night s/he took his/her daughter to the healer.'
*ma2ne4ka2ʔã3* ***ta1tɨ̨2kɨ2ʔĩ4*** *ma2na4ʔã3*
ma2ne4ka2=ʔã3 **ta1=tɨ̨2kɨ3=ʔĩ4** ma2na4=ʔã3
EPIST=REP **3(I).SBJ.SC=be.the.matter=SUB** EPIST=REP
'She must have **had something the matter** with her.' [Yaneth, SCG-YCG-DGC]

### 27.1.2.3 The interrogative quotative predicate *ɲu1ʔũ4 ɲa4-* 'what did NP say/do?'

To ask a question that expects a quotative construction (Chapter 22) as the response, people use the interrogative form *ɲu1ʔũ4* plus a form of the quotative verb *ɲa4-*, as shown in (28) and (29).

(28) a. Yaneth: ***ɲu1ʔũ4 ɲa4a2ʔĩ4*** *pa2 tʃa3?*
**ɲu1ʔũ4 ɲa4a2ʔĩ4** pa2 tʃa3
**say.what 3SBJ.QUOT.SC=SUB** VOC Shavelli.VOC
'What did she say, Shavelli?'

b. Shavelli: ((laughs)) *"ĩ1ne1ã4ma4 rɨ1 Ko3ri5 tʃo5na1we5ʔĩ4"*
ĩ1ne1ã4ma4 rɨ1 Ko3ri5 tʃo5 na1=we5=ʔĩ4
2.days.ago TOP Lord 1SG.BEN 3SBJ.SC=show=SUB
'(She said,) "The day before yesterday, the Lord showed me..."'
(continues quoting the subject of the speech report)
[YCG-SCG-DGC]

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(29) *ɲu1ʔũ4 ɲa5ku3ʔ?*
ɲu1ʔũ4 ɲa5ku3=ʔ
say.what 2SG.SBJ.QUOT.SC=SUB
'What did you say?' [off-camera speaker, 20180628-003]

In the interrogative quotative construction, the quotative verb always takes a subordinate-clause form and is almost always subordinated with *=ʔ(ĩ4)*. The interrogative form *ɲu1ʔũ4* never occurs without the quotative verb. It can also be pronounced *ɲu1ʔã4* or occasionally *ɲu1ʔ* (the interrogative root).

The declarative quotative has a wide extension that is not limited to introducing direct speech reports. For example, it can be used to describe how a person or object habitually behaves ('be/act like that', rather than 'say that'). The interrogative quotative shares this extension, and can also be used for a question that expects a demonstration or description as a response. For example, in (30a), the expression is best glossed in the context of the answer as 'what is (her disease) like,' rather than 'what does it say.'

(30) Context: 'She seems to have some kind of disease.'
a. Lizeth: ***ɲu1ʔũ4 ɲa4a2ʔĩ4****e3kạ1, wẽ2ʔ ta4ʔã3 ã4kɨ4-*
**ɲu1ʔũ4 ɲa4a2=ʔĩ4**=e3kạ1 wẽ2ʔ ta4=ʔã3 ã4kɨ4
**say.what 3SBJ.QUOT.SC=SUB**=INFO black FUT=REP HESIT
'So what is (her disease) like? Black, is it supposed to um-'
b. Menrys: *ɨ4ĩ2ĩ2*
ɨ4ĩ2
yes
'Uh-huhhhh'
c. Victoria: *ta1ʔwẽ2ʔã4tʃi5ʔ*
ta1=wẽ2=ʔã4tʃi4=ʔ
3(I).SBJ.SC=black=ACHV=SUB
'She/it (a part of her body) is turning black.'
[LFG-MFG-LVI]

The indefinite reading of *ɲu1ʔũ4 ɲa4-* is 'say something/anything.' This often has the interpretation 'say just anything, say something thoughtless or inappropriate to the situation' (31).

(31) Context: Reporting a lengthy, nonsensical, and morally questionable speech given in church, where someone claimed that God heard only her own prayers

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*dɨ1ʔwa5ɨ1ʔkɨ2* ***ɲu1ʔ ɲa4a2ʔ*** *ŋe3ã2 o3ra1 rɨ1ɨ1ʔkɨ2 ni4de43ʔa2ã4ma4*
dɨ1ʔwa5=ɨ1ʔkɨ2 **ɲu1ʔ** **ɲa4a2=ʔ** ŋe3ma2 o3ra1
at.last=INFO **say.what 3.SBJ.SC.QUOT=SUB** DEM.ANA(IV) time(IV)
rɨ1=ɨ1ʔkɨ2 ni4=de43ʔa2=ã4ma4
TOP=INFO 3.SBJ=talk=despite
'In the end **she just said whatever**, in spite of the time she continued talking (saying things that didn't make sense).' [Shavelli, SCG-DGC-YCG]

### 27.1.3 Interim summary

Now that all interrogative lexical items have been introduced, Table 27.1 provides a table of them. The morphologically compositional forms *tą2ʔkɨ4ką1* 'why' and *te1ʔe5a1rɨ3* 'whose' are included to stand in for the large number of question words formed from the interrogative stems using regular morphology.

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Table 27.1: Interrogative/indefinite lexical items

| Stem | Form | Category | Interrogative Gloss | Indefinite Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ʎe1ʔ | ʎe1ʔta5 | spatial noun | ‘where?’ | ‘somewhere’ |
| | ʎe1=ʔĭ4 | predicate | ‘where is NP?’ | –, always interrogative |
| | ʎe1=ʔĭ4 | pronoun/modifier | ‘which one?’ | ‘any one’ |
| | ʎe1=ʔĭ4=rɨ4ɨ2=ʔĭ4 | pronoun/modifier | ‘which one?’ | ‘any one’ |
| ɲu1ʔ | ɲu1ʔ=gu2 | adjunct | ‘when?’ | ‘sometime’ |
| | ɲu1ʔ=ã1kɨ2 | adverb | ‘how?’ | ‘somehow, in some way’ |
| | ɲu1ʔre5 | quantifier | ‘how many (count noun)?’ | ‘some number, a few (count noun)’ |
| | ɲu1ʔ=ra3ĭ1 (how=look.like) | denominal predicate | ‘how does it look?’ | ‘look just any way’ |
| | ɲu1ʔ=ra3ĭ3=ʔĭ4 (how=look.like=NMLZ(IV)) | quantifier | ‘how much (mass noun)?’ | ‘some amount (mass noun)’ |
| | ɲu1ʔũ4 ɲa4- (say.what QUOT) | predicate | ‘say what?’ | ‘say just anything’ |
| tą̱2ʔkɨ4 | tą̱2ʔkɨ4 | noun | ‘what?, who?’ | ‘something, someone’ |
| | tą̱2ʔkɨ4=ką̱1 | ‘why?’ | ‘for some reason’ | |
| te1ʔe5 | te1ʔe5 | noun | ‘who?’ | ‘someone’ |
| | te1ʔe5=a1rɨ3 | ‘whose?’ | ‘someone’s’ | |
| tɨ̱2kɨ3 | tɨ̱2kɨ3 | predicate | ‘what’s wrong with NP?, what’s wrong that Comp?’ | ‘something’s wrong with NP’ |

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## 27.2 Polar questions

There is no single grammatical or lexical structure which is dedicated to asking polar questions. Most polar questions are formally identical to declaratives. Additionally, when listening to audio, consultants sometimes vary between interpreting the same turn as a polar question vs. a declarative. This suggests that there is also no categorical intonational difference between polar questions and declaratives.

While polar questions do not have a *dedicated* structure, it is still possible to make some generalizations about them. In this section, I first describe polar questions that do not have any marking distinct from declaratives (§27.2.1). Then I discuss polar questions that are marked with discourse particles (§27.2.2). Finally, I describe how people answer polar questions (§27.2.3).

### 27.2.1 Polar questions do not require any marking

Roughly 90% of polar questions in the corpus are formed using main-clause verbs. For example, (32a) has a main-clause verb. Nothing about the morphology, syntax, or lexicon in this example distinguishes it from a declarative sentence. But it is still interpreted as a polar question, since the addressee answers it in (32b).

While verb-initial constituent order is possible for declaratives (Chapter 6.3) as well as interrogatives, my impression is that verb-initial order is more common in polar questions. For example, (32a) is verb-initial. It also seems more common for polar questions to include a non-underlying glottal stop on the final word, although this too is possible in declaratives.

(32) a. Adriana: *ma3 ta4gu̱1 a4 tʃo43ʔni5?*
ma3ri3 ta4=gu̱1 a4 tʃo43ʔni5
PFV 3(I).SBJ=run.out DET(I) fish(I)
'Did the fish run out?'

b. Child: *ta4ma3*
ta4ma3
NEG
'No.'

[AFG-LVI]

Anderson (1962) states that subordinate-clause verbs are always used when asking questions. However, this is not true in my conversational corpus. Speakers *can* use subordinate-clause verbs to ask polar questions, as in (33a), but this

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occurs in only about 10% of monoclausal polar questions. Subordinate polar questions also do not need to contain any overt marking of polar question status. For example, (33a) is syntactically and lexically identical to a (verb-initial) declarative with a subordinate verb.

(33) a. Yaneth: *nu5a2 na1ʔũ31ʔĩ4 ga4 Ni3ka3ra5?*
nu5a2 na1=ũ43=ʔĩ4 ga4 Ni3ka3ra5
here.ALL 3.SBJ.SC=go.SG=NMLZ DET.REM.PST Nicolasa
'Did Nicolasa come here?'

b. Yaneth: *ɟe5a2tʃi4rẹ1 na4ʔũ43 [na4te4ĩ1ta1wa5*
ɟe5a2=tʃi4rẹ1 na4=ũ43 na4=te4=ĩ1ta1=wa5
there.DIST.ALL=actually 3.SBJ=go.SG 3=husband=RN:at=ALL
'She went there to her husband's place (i.e., earlier).'

c. Shavelli: *[a2ã4a4]*
a2ã4
INTJ:yes
'Yeah.'

[YCG-SCG-DGC]

Polar questions do not need to contain a verb. You can also ask an elliptical polar question consisting of only a noun, as in (34a), or other nonverbal constituent.

(34) Context: Lizeth: 'I put it on that thing (a shelf).'

a. Victoria: *mɨ3ra3pe3wa1gu2ʔ?*
mɨ3ra3pe3wa1=gu2
plank=LOC
'On the board?'

b. Lizeth: *mm31* ((ingressive))
mm31 ((ingressive))
INTJ:mm INTJ:yes
'Mm-hm, yeah.'

[LFG-MFG-LVI]

Polar questions can contain topic and/or focus constructions. For example, (35) focuses the adjunct *octubre=gu2* 'in October' in a simple adjunct focus construction. (36) is slightly more complex: it has a topicalized subject, then a verb focus construction, meaning that nothing is left inside the focus remnant. In both examples, the focus marker has the main clause form.

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(35) Context: Confirming the birthday of the speaker's nephew with his mother.
*octubregu2 ka2na4ʔĩ1kɨ2* ***ni4*** *na1ʔi51ra3ʔ?*
octubre=gu2 ka2na4=ʔĩ1kɨ2 **ni4** na1=i51ra1=ʔ
SP:october=LOC INTJ:tag=INFO **FOC** 3SBJ.SC=be.born=SUB
'He was born *in October*, right?' [Victoria, AFG-LVI]

(36) Context: Discussing various drinks which the participants could ask for. Some of them are sour and others are sweet.
*ŋe3a2* ***ra3ã3*** *ʌu5tʃi1ʔa5ʔĩ4* ***ni4****?*
ŋe3a2 **ra3ã3** ʌu5tʃi1ʔa1=ʔĩ4 **ni4**
DEM.MED(IV) **TOP** sour=SUB **FOC**
'As for that one, is it *sour*?' [Menrys, LFG-MFG-LVI]

### 27.2.2 Polar questions can be formed with discourse markers

Some polar questions include discourse markers which contribute to their interpretation as questions.

First, speakers can form polar questions using the alternative marker *ɛ̃1ʔna5*. Besides in polar questions, *ɛ̃1ʔna5* ALT can be used in content questions and declaratives (Chapter 31.1); additionally, it is part of the disjunction marker *rɨ3ɛ̃1ʔna5* 'or.' *Ɛ̃1ʔna5*generally appears following the verb of the polar question. It is compatible with both positive (37a) and negative (38a) polar questions, and does not appear to be biased toward a positive or negative answer. Polar questions with this marker, like other polar questions, are usually verb-initial.

(37) a. Shavelli: *i5na4a3ga4* ***ɛ̃1ʔna5*** *a4 na4ʔa3kɨ1 e3ka1ʔ?*
i5=na4=a3=ga4 **ɛ̃1ʔna5** a4 na4=ʔa3kɨ1 e3ka1ʔ?
DIR=3.SBJ=3.OBJ=transport.ANIM **ALT** DET(IV) 3=child(IV) INFO
'Did she take her child home?'

b. Shavelli: *no51rɨ3 [name]*
no51rɨ3 [name.redacted]
3.POSS [name.redacted]
'Her (child) [name redacted].'

c. Yaneth: *ŋɨ31, ma3 na4ĩ1ʔkɨ2 na1ɟa3ʌu3ʔĩ4*
ŋɨ31 ma3rɨ3 na4=ĩ1ʔkɨ2 na1=ɟa3=ʌu31=ʔĩ4
INTJ:yes PFV 3=INFO 3.SBJ.SC=AM=be.complete=SUB
'Yeah, (because) it was finished.'
[SCG-YCG-DGC]

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(38) Context: Reproving a child who, despite being sick, is still running around
*ta4ã3 nɨ31ʔĩ3 ku3ʍą1 **ɛ̃1ʔna5** na4 ki1ʔa31ʔɨ4ne3ʔ?*
ta4ma3 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 ku3=ʍą1 **ɛ̃1ʔna5** na4
NEG 3=ACC 2SG.SBJ=know **ALT** COMP
ki1=a31=ʔɨ4ne1=ʔ
2SG.SBJ.SC=burn=NI:body=SUB
'Don't you know that you have a fever?' [Menrys, MFG-LFG-LVI]

Second, polar questions can also be formed using discourse markers that bias the question. The most common biased question marker, and the one which people most frequently cite when asked about polar question words, is *kɨ2a4na4*. This word has many reduced forms, including *kɨ2*, *kɨ2ã4*/*ka2ã4*, *ka2ʔna4*, and *kɨ4*. However, there are also other clause-final discourse markers that have similar interpretations, such as *ka1ʔni4* (derived from the copula).

Questions with *kɨ2a4na4* and similar discourse markers are 'biased' because they occur in contexts where the speaker expects an answer that has the same polarity as the question. For example, before (39), the speakers have been discussing (with each other) how many people I know in Cushillococha. One participant observes that I have been traveling to the town for several years. Menrys therefore infers that I probably know a lot of people. To confirm this, she asks a positive polar question with final *ka2ʔna4*, expecting a positive response (although she does not get a clear yes or no in the actual discourse).

(39) *ma3rɨ3 e3ka1ʔ tɨ3a1ʍa5a1gɨ2e2ʔĩ4 ɟa4 du1ĩ3ʔe3gɨ4 **ka2ʔna4**?*
ma3rɨ3 e3ka1ʔ tɨ31=ʔĩ3 a1=ʍa5a1gɨ2-e3=ʔĩ4 ɟa4
PFV INFO 3(I)=ACC 3.SBJ.SC=know.everyone-PL=SUB DET(I)
du1ĩ3ʔe3=gɨ4 **ka2ʔna4**
person(I)=PL **INTJ:tag**
'By now she's met all of the people, **right**?' [Menrys, LFG-MFG-LVI]

Similarly, in (40), the participants have been looking at and discussing something which is clearly ugly. Victoria confirms this by asking a negative polar question with *kɨ2a4na4*, expecting a negative answer ('it doesn't look good'). Her addressee, Menrys, responds with a sequence of several turns (not shown) which conclude with the statement 'it is ugly.'

(40) *rɨ1 ta4ma3 na1me43kɨ5ra1ĩ3ʔĩ4 e3kąʔ1 **kɨ2a4na4**?*
rɨ1 ta4ma3 na1=me43kɨ5ra1ĩ1=ʔĩ4 e3kąʔ1 **kɨ2a4na4**
and NEG 3.SBJ.SC=pretty=SUB INFO **INTJ:tag**
'It really doesn't look good, **does it**?' [Victoria, LFG-MFG-LVI]

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Biased-question markers usually occur utterance-finally. However, they can also occur earlier in the clause. For example, (35) (repeated from above) is a biased question where *ka2ʔna4* occurs in second position.

(35) Context: Confirming the birthday of the speaker's husband's sister's son, who lives with the speaker.
*octubregu2 ka2na4ʔĩ1kɨ2* ***ni4*** *na1ʔi51ra3ʔ?*
octubre=gu2 ka2na4=ʔĩ1kɨ2 **ni4** na1=i51ra1=ʔ
SP:october=LOC INTJ:tag=INFO **FOC** 3SBJ.SC=be.born=SUB
'He was born *in October*, right?' [Victoria, AFG-LVI]

### 27.2.3 Answering polar questions

Ticuna speakers answer polar questions with interjections, rather than by repeating part of the question.

The most conventional interjections used to give a positive answer are *ŋɨ31* 'yes' (37c) and forms derived from the anaphoric demonstrative *ŋe3ma2*, such especially *ŋe3ma2ã1kɨ2* 'thus' (also a manner adverb). However, people also use many interjections that have less conventional, more variable phonological forms. These include *mm31* (in 34b) and various forms consisting only of central vowels, such as *ɨ2ʔĩ4* and *a2ã4ã4* in (33c).

It is also extremely common to give positive answers to polar questions by producing a pulmonic ingressive sound, either with another interjection or alone. (34b) is an example of a positive answer that combines the pulmonic ingressive and another interjection, while the answer in (41b) consists *only* of the pulmonic ingressive.

(41) Contex: Magdalena: 'He's going to install a pipe that leads in from the bathroom.'

a. Ángel: *ai31ʔe5pe1wa5?*
ai31ʔe5pe1=wa5
inside=ALL
'(You mean) from inside?'

b. Magdalena: ((ingressive))
'Yes.'

[MAG Built Space Description]

To give a negative answer to a polar question, people use the standard negation marker *ta4ma3*, as discussed in §20.1. You can also answer a polar question negatively by shaking your head, as shown in (42).

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(42) a. Chili: *ta4ã3 ni4 ku1tai31ɟa2ʔ?*
ta4ma3 ni4 ku1=tai31ɟa2=ʔ
NEG FOC 2SG.SBJ=hungry=SUB
'You aren't hungry?'

b. Teenage Boy: ((headshake))
'No.'

c. Chili: *a4ã2*
a4ã2
INTJ:news.receipt
'Oh, okay.'

[CFL-MFL]

## 27.3 Other question types

To ask alternative questions, speakers use the disjunction marker *rɨ3ɐ̨1ʔna5* 'or.' The alternatives can be entire clauses, as in (43), or they can be smaller constituents, such as the alienable possessors in (44). The alternatives can also be positive and negative forms of the same proposition (45). Overt question marking is not required and is absent in both (43) and (44).

(43) Context: Asking another participant how the video camera works
*ɲa4a2gɨ4wa5ɨ1ʔkɨ2 ne4 da3ʔĩ4, **rɨ3ɐ̨̃1ʔna5** wo5e3ta2ã4 ni4 nu̱1ma3re3gu2 e3rɨ4 tɨ3na4gra3ba1 a4 ɲa4a2?*
ɲa4a2=gɨ4=wa5=ɨ1ʔkɨ2 ne4 da31=ʔĩ4 **rɨ3ɐ̨̃1ʔna5** wo5e3=ta2ã4
DEM.PROX(IV)=PL=ALL=INFO SOURCE lie.1D=SUB **OR** simply=only
ni4 nu̱1=ma3re3=gu2 e3rɨ4 tɨ31=ʔĩ3 na4=gra3ba1 a4
FOC squash=just=COND INFO IMPERS=ACC 3.SBJ=record DET
ɲa4a2
DEM.PROX(IV)
'Is it connected to these, **or** does this one only record you when you push the button?' [Adriana, AFG-LVI]

(44) Context: Hearing the neighbors' music
*Tu3pa4na1a1rɨ3 **rɨ3ɐ̨̃1ʔna5** ã4kɨ4a1rɨ3ʔ*?
Tu3pa4na1=a1rɨ3 **rɨ3ɐ̨̃1ʔna5** ã4kɨ4=a1rɨ3
Christian.God=POSS **OR** HESIT=POSS
'(Is this song) about God, **or** (about) the thing?' [Victoria, AFG-LVI]

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(45) *ku3na4ã5ɛ̃2gu2* ***rɨ3ẽ̯1ʔna5*** *ta4ma3?*
ku3=na4ã5ɛ̃2gu2 **rɨ3ẽ̯1ʔna5** ta4ma3
2SG.SBJ=be.in.agreement **or** NEG
'Do you like it **or not**?' [Victoria, AFG-LVI]

Fragment questions, like English *What about Victoria?*, do exist. However, as with other question types, there is no single grammaticalized way to ask them. A noun phrase with the discourse marker *a3rɨ1*, the alternative marker *ẽ̯1ʔna5*, or the discourse-structural enclitic *=i4?* can be interpreted as a fragment question – for instance, (46c) is an example of a fragment question with *a3rɨ1*. All three of these discourse markers also have other uses, including on noun phrases.

(46) a. Unknown Speaker: *ku43tɨ4kɨ3, ŋɨ31, ku43tɨ4kɨ3, rɨ3ã3 ɲu1ʔre5ɨ1ʔkɨ2 ku31ʔĩ5 me31ʔĩ4, pa2 ku3, i4 ku1ma1?*
ku43tɨ4kɨ3 ŋɨ31 ku43tɨ4kɨ3 rɨ3ã3 ɲu1ʔre5=ɨ1ʔkɨ2 ku31=ʔĩ5
FZ INTJ FZ TOP how.many?=INFO 2SG=BEN
me43=ʔĩ4 pa2 ku43 i4 ku1ma1
good=SUB VOC FZ.VOC DET 2SG.TOP
'Aunty, yes, aunty, how many months pregnant are you (lit.: how many are ready for you)?'

b. Menrys: *cinco*
'Five.'

c. Unknown Speaker: *a31* ***Li3tʃe1a3rɨ1****?*
a31 **Li3tʃe1=a3rɨ1**
INTJ:news.receipt **Lizeth=INFO**
'Oh, and **how about Lizeth** (i.e., how many months pregnant is Lizeth)?'
[20170718]

The fragment question equivalent to *What about you.SG?* always has the form *ku1ma1i1ʔ*, as shown in (47b). This form is irregular because *=i1?* does not otherwise appear as a discourse marker (although *=i4?*, with tone 4, does).

(47) a. Victoria: *ŋɛ̃4ʔgu2ã3 mo4ĩ2 ta4 tɨ31ma2we5 ku3rɨ3ʔũ43 a4 ku31rɨ3 ku3ma5.*
ŋɛ̃4ʔgu2ã3 mo4ĩ2 ta4 tɨ31ma2=we5 ku3rɨ3=ũ43 a4
then tomorrow FUT 3(I)=RN:behind 2SG.SBJ=go.SG DET(I)
ku31rɨ3 ku3ma5
2SG.POSS comadre(I)
'So then tomorrow you're going to go with your comadre.'

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b. Menrys: *ku1ma1i1ʔ?*
ku1ma1i1ʔ
what.about.you?
'And what about you (i.e., what will you do)?'
[MFG-LFG-LVI]

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# 28 Information structure

This chapter covers the form, semantics, and pragmatics of topic constructions (§28.1) and contrastive focus constructions (§28.3). I also discuss the semantics and pragmatics of the syntactic focus construction (§28.2) and the contrastive focus construction, which uses the discourse marker *wa31ʔi5* (§28.3). I do not discuss the form of the syntactic focus construction, because it is covered in Chapter 24.) Last, I describe various bound morphemes that have meanings cross-linguistically associated with focus, such as the equivalents of 'only' (§28.4).

## 28.1 Topic construction with *rɨ1*

The marker *rɨ1* has two main functions: coordination, which is covered in Chapter 25.5, and topicalization.

The topic construction has the form Topic *rɨ1* Comment. For example, in (1), the topic NP, which consists of the personal name *Paola*, appears first. After the name, we find *rɨ1* TOP, followed by the comment (which includes a complement-taking verb and complement clause).

(1) *[Paola rɨ1]$_{Topic}$ [ta4ma3 ma3rɨ3 tʃa1na3=permite=kɨ5ra1ĩ3ʔĩ4 na4 ai2ʔkɨ4ma4 ŋe5ma2 na1ʔũ31ʔ]$_{Comment}$*
Paola rɨ1 ta4ma3 ma3rɨ3 tʃa1=na3=permite=kɨ5ra1ĩ1=ʔĩ4 na4
Paola TOP NEG PRF 1SGSBJ.SC=3.OBJ=SP:allow=INFER=SUB COMP
ai2ʔkɨ4ma4 ŋe5ma2 na1ʔ=ũ43=ʔ
truly there.ANA.ALL 3.SBJ.SC=go.SG=SUB
'[As for Paola]$_{Topic}$, [I don't really allow her to go there anymore]$_{Comment}$.' [MFG, LFG-MFG-LVI]

In the topic construction, *rɨ1* TOP varies with the forms *rɨ3ã3* and *ra3ã3/rã3*, which are shown in (2) and (3) respectively.

(2) *dɨ1ʔã4 ɲa4a2 **rɨ3ã3** na4nu4e1gu1pa3ra1*
dɨ1ʔã4 ɲa4a2 **rɨ3ã3** na4=nu4-e1gu1=pa3ra1
INTJ:look! DEM.PROX(IV) **TOP** 3(IV).SBJ=put.INAN.PL-DIR:in.circle=NI:leg
'Look, **this one**, it can move its legs.' [CG, 2019 C43 CCI]

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(3) *ŋe5ma2* ***ra3ã3*** *i5ta4ʎǫ1?*
ŋe5ma2 **ra3ã3** i5=ta4=ʎǫ1
there.ADDR.PROX.ALL **TOP** IPFV=1EXCL.SBJ=appear
'**Over there** (near you), are we on camera?' [Victoria, AFG-LVI]

The forms *rɨ3ã3* and *ra3ã3* are presumably derived from *rɨ1* plus the reportative evidential marker *=ã*[3], since *=ã3* can attach to almost anything (Chapter 30). However, people use these markers in utterances which clearly are directly witnessed, such as (2) above; this indicates that *rɨ3ã3* and *ra3ã3* do not (any longer) have a reportative meaning. Like the reportative itself (Chapter 30), *rɨ3ã3*/*ra3ã3* are very common in conversation and very uncommon in narratives.

Within the topic construction, I will first discuss the internal properties of the topicalized constituent, then the external relationship between the topicalized constituent and the comment.

### 28.1.1 Syntax and semantics of the topicalized constituent

In the topic construction with *rɨ1*, the topic/topicalized constituent can be a noun phrase, adverb, or subordinate clause.

Topicalized noun phrases can have many internal structures. They can consist of a noun only (4), a demonstrative only (5), or a pronoun only (6). More complex topicalized noun phrases are also possible. For example, in (7) the topic contains a demonstrative and the modifier *to1gɨ5e3* 'other' as well as the head noun.

(4) ***ku3ru3ru5*** *rɨ1 ɲa4a2 avion=gu2 ta4 ni4ʔi31e3 a4 ɲu̱1ʔma5*
**ku3ru3ru5** rɨ1 ɲa4a2 avion=gu2 ta4
**frog** TOP DEM.PROX(IV) SP:airplane(IV)=LOC FUT
ni4=ɨ31e3 a4 ɲu̱1ʔma5
3.SBJ=enter.vehicle.SG DET(IV) now
'**As for the frog**, it's going to get into this airplane now.' [2019_C10-C13, CG]

(5) ***ŋe3ma2*** *rɨ1 ta4ã3 no51rɨ3 me43*
**ŋe3ma2** rɨ1 ta4ã3 no51rɨ3 me43-∅
**DEM.ANA(IV)** TOP NEG 3.SBJ.POSS good-NMLZ.ZERO
'**As for that**, she doesn't like it.' [MFG, LFG-MFG-LVI]

(6) ***to31ma2*** *rɨ1 na4 to31gɨ1ma4ʔã2 i5ti4de43ʔa2gɨ4ma3re3*

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**to31ma2** ri1 na4 to31=gi1=ma4ʔã2 i5=ti4=de43ʔa2=gi4=ma3re3
**1EXCL.TOP** TOP COMP 1EXCL=REFL=COM/Inst IPFV=1EXCL.SBJ=talk=PL=just

'**As for us**, we're just talking to each other.' [Yaneth, SCG-YCG-DGC]

(7) ***da31ʔe2 to1gi5e3a3ri1 tʃi3ũ3ra1ma4ã2*** *ri1 na1ʔã3mą1ne3ta2ʔĩ4*
**da31ʔe2 to1gi5e3=a3ri1 tʃi3ũ3ra1=ma4ã2** ri1
**DEM.PROX(I) other(I)=INFO lady=COM/Inst** TOP
na1ʔ=ã3=mą̃1=ne3ta2=ʔĩ4
3.SBJ.SC=have=NI:wife=pretend=SUB
'**As for this other lady**, he's marrying her, let's pretend.' [C10-C13, CG]

From a semantic point of view, all of these examples involve definite, familiar noun phrases referring to objects in the surroundings of the discourse (4, 7); discourse participants (6); or propositions introduced previously in the discourse (5). However, it is also possible to use topicalization with indefinite noun phrases that are being newly introduced to the discourse, as shown by the elicited example in (8).

(8) Context: I am visiting you at your house; no one else is there. I tell you about something which happened to me earlier today.
*ta2ʔre4 ɟa4 ʎe3ʔtį̨2ki3* ***ri1*** *tʃau1ĩ1ta1wa5 na4ʎu3gi4.*
ta2ʔre4 ɟa4 ʎe3ʔtį̨2ki3 **ri1** tʃau1=ĩ1ta1=wa5 na4=ʎu3=gi4
two DET(II) young.man(II) **TOP** 1SG=RN:at=ALL 3(II).SBJ=arrive=PL
'**Two young men**, they came to my place.' [LWG: 2017.4.28, SSG: 2018.4.32]

Topicalization of indefinites also occurs with indefinite descriptions headed by *wi43ʔi4* 'a/one', as shown by the corpus examples in (9–10).

(9) Context: Describing how in the old days, houses in Cushillococha were much farther apart.
***wi43ʔi4 ga4 du1ʔĩ3ʔĩ4*** *ri1 nu2ʔma4a1ki2 na4ʔã3tʃi4ĩ3 ri1 to1 ga1 ɟeeee5a2a1ki2ma3*
**wi43ʔi4** ga4 du1ʔĩ3ʔĩ4 ri1 nu2ʔma4=a1ki2
**one** DET.REM.PST person(IV) TOP here(region)=distance
na4=ã3=tʃi4ĩ3 ri1 to1 ga1
3.SBJ=have=NI:house and other(IV) DET.REM.PST

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ɟe5a2=a1kɨ2=ma3
there.DIST.ALL=this.distance=INFO
'**One person**, they would live at this distance (from here), and another (would live) waaaaaaay over there.' [DGG HALDI]

(10) Context: Talking about someone who travels a great deal
***wɨ43ʔi4 i4 du1ĩ3ʔĩ4ʔã3 ŋe3ma2ã1kɨ2 ĩ1ʔĩ4*** *ri1 ta4gu2ta4ta2ã4 ɲu̱1ʔ me31ã2 i5na4ʔã3tʃi5ĩ1 e3rɨ4*
**wɨ43ʔi4 i4 du1ĩ3ʔĩ4=ʔã3 ŋe3ma2ã1kɨ2 ĩ4=ʔĩ4** ri1
**one** **DET(IV) person(IV)=REP thus** **COP=NMLZ(IV)** TOP
ta4gu2ta4=ta2ã4 ɲu̱1ʔ me31ã2 i5=na4=ã3=tʃi5ĩ1 e3rɨ4
never.FUT=just when? properly VCL=3.SBJ=have=NI:house INFO:CNG
'**As for a person who is like that**, they will never really have (their own) house/home.' [Victoria, LVI-AFG]

Besides noun phrases, adverbs and subordinate clauses can also be topicalized. Most examples of topicalization of adverbs involve temporal adverbs, as in (11–12). There are no attested examples of manner adverbs or functional adverbs (e.g., negation) being topicalized, and people reject topicalization of negation and manner adverbs in elicitation (13–14).

(11) ***ɲu̱1ʔma5*** *ri1 ta4ã3 ai2ʔkɨ4ã3 na4ʎu̱1ʔe4tɨ1ʔi5tʃi2, kɨ3?*
**ɲu̱1ʔma5** ri1 ta4ã3 ai2ʔkɨ4ã3 na4=ʎu̱1ʔe4tɨ1=ʔi5tʃi2 kɨ3
**now** TOP NEG truly 3.SBJ=sunny=really INTJ:tag
'**As for right now**, it's not super sunny, right?' [Laura, LSC-VSC]

(12) ***no31ʔri5*** *ri1 na4ʎe4a̱1, kɨ3?*
**no31ʔri5** ri1 na4=ʎe4=a̱1 kɨ3
**earlier.today** TOP 3.SBJ=lack=NI:mouth INTJ:tag
'**Earlier**, she wouldn't talk, right?' [Lizeth, LFG-MFG-LVI]

(13) **po2ra4ã1kɨ2 ri1 ta4ã3 na4ʎu̱1ʔe4tɨ1ʔi5tʃi2*
*po2ra4ã1kɨ2 ri1 ta4ã3 na4=ʎu̱1ʔe4tɨ1=ʔi5tʃi2
*very TOP NEG 3.SBJ=sunny=really
(Intended reading: 'Very, it's not super sunny') [LWG 2025.1.110]

(14) **ta4ma3 ri1 na4ʎu̱1ʔe4tɨ1ʔi5tʃi2*
*ta4ma3 ri1 na4=ʎu̱1ʔe4tɨ1=ʔi5tʃi2
*NEG TOP 3.SBJ=sunny=really
(Intended reading: 'It's not super sunny') [LWG 2025.1.110]

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As I discuss in Chapter 25.1, topicalization of subordinate clauses is extremely common when the clause is subordinated by *=gu2* COND/SUB. (15) an example of a topicalized *=gu2* clause. Relative clauses can be topicalized as well (16).

(15) *na4 ai2ʔkɨ4ã4 u4ʔu3 ĩ4ʔgu2* ***rɨ1*** *a3rɨ1 na4 i51ra3ʔĩ4 i5ta4ɟa1ʔũ1*
na4 ai2ʔkɨ4ã4 u4ʔu3 ĩ4=ʔgu2 **rɨ1** a3rɨ1 na4
COMP truly fish.spawn COP=COND/SUB **TOP** INFO COMP
i51ra1=ʔĩ4 i5=ta4=ɟau1ʔ=ĩ1
small=NMLZ(IV) DIR=IMPERS.SBJ=grab=DIR:outward.PLO
'**As for when there's really fish spawning**, you (generic) shouldn't take (harvest) the little ones.' [AFG, AFG-LVI]

(16) na4-, na4ĩ1kɨ2 ɟi2ma2 ɟa1 Isaias na43wa5 pastor i1ʔĩ1ʔĩ5ne1 **rɨ1**,
ŋe5ma2ma3 na4ʔĩ43ʔĩ2tʃi4ɨ1kɨ2 i4 mu4u1ra3ʔĩ4ma3 i4 du1ĩ3ʔĩ4
na4=ĩ1kɨ2 ɟi2ma2 ɟa1 Isaias na43=wa5 pastor
COMP=INFO DEM.ANA(III) DET(III) Isaias 3=ALL SP:pastor
i1=ĩ4=ʔĩ5ne1 **rɨ1** ŋe5ma2=ma3
3SBJ.SC=Cop=NMLZ(III) **TOP** there.ANA.ALL=INFO
na4=ĩ43=ʔi2tʃi4=ɨ1kɨ2 i4 mu4=ɨ1ra1=ʔĩ4=ma3
3SBj=go.PL=DIR:inward=INFO DET(IV) many=sorta=NMLZ(IV)=INFO
i4 du1ĩ3ʔĩ4
DET(IV) person(IV)
'**As for the (town, Class III) where Isaias is pastor**, kind of a lot of people moved there.' [NWG, ABS-NWG Visit]

While *=gu2* clauses and relative clauses can be topicalized, it is not possible to topicalize other types of subordinate clause, such as complement clauses. For example, the modal verb *na31ʔwą1e3* obligatorily takes a complement clause. This clause cannot be topicalized (17).

(17) **na4ʔ ŋe5ma2 ku1ʔũ31ʔĩ4 rɨ1 na31ʔwą1e3*
*na4ʔ ŋe5ma2 ku1=ũ43=ʔĩ4 rɨ1 na31ʔwą1e3
*COMP there.ANA.ALL 2SGSBJ=go.SG TOP deontic.must
(Intended reading: 'You must go there.') [LWG 2025.1.110]

### 28.1.2 Combining a topic and focus, or multiple topics

A single utterance can include both a topic construction and a focus construction. In this case, the topic and *rɨ1* TOP appear first. They're followed by the focused constituent, the focus marker, and the focus remnant, in that order. For example,

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in (18), the adverb *ɲo4ʔkɨ4* 'now/soon' is topicalized, then immediately followed by a negation focus construction with *ta4ã3* 'not' as the focused constituent. In other words, the focus construction simply takes the place of the comment in a typical topic-comment structure.

(18) Context: Leticia used to be boring.
*ɨ31, ɲo4ʔkɨ4* ***rɨ1*** *ta4ã3 ni4 i5na1tʃi31e2tʃi1ga2ʔɨ̃4 i4 ɲu̱1ʔma5*
ɨ31 ɲo4ʔkɨ4 **rɨ1** ta4ã3 ni4 i5=na1=tʃi31e2tʃi1ga3=ʔɨ̃4 i4
INTJ:uh-huh now **TOP** NEG FOC IPFV=3.SBJ.SC=boring=SUB DET(IV)
ɲu̱1ʔma5
now
'Uh-huh, **these days**, it's NOT boring now.' [Veronica, LSC-VSC]

It's also possible for a single utterance to contain two topic constructions. For instance, in (19) the first topic is the demonstrative *ɲa4a2* 'this one (speaker-proximal)'. It's followed by one token of the topic marker, then by a second topic, *na4e5ga1* 'its name', and another topic marker; the comment comes last.

(19) *[ɲa4a2* ***rɨ1****]$_{Topic\ 1}$ na4e5ga1* ***rɨ1***$_{Topic\ 2}$ *te5ma4 ni4*$_{Comment}$
ɲa4a2 **rɨ1** na4=e5ga1 **rɨ1** te5ma4 ni4
DEM.PROX(IV) **TOP** 3=name **TOP** Mauritia.flexuosa 3.SBJ.COP
'**As for this one**$_{Topic\ 1}$, **as for its name**$_{Topic\ 2}$, it's *te5ma4* (a palm species)$_{Comment}$.' [Laura, LSC-VSC]

When there are two topics, they often have a possessor-possessum syntactic relationship, as in (19). However, this relationship isn't obligatory. You can also, for example, simultaneously topicalize a subject and an object (20).

(20) *ɟe4ʔgu4ma4 ga4 ɟe4ma4 bu3ʔɨ̃4 rɨ1, gu2ma2 to1ʔõ3a4ne4 ga4 na43wa5 ĩ2na2gɨ5ne1 rɨ1 na4ʔi3ɰ̃1kɨ3ɛ̃4ɛ̃3.*
ɟe4ʔgu4ma4 ga4 ɟe4ma4 bu3ʔɨ̃4 rɨ1
CONN.REM.PST DET.REM.PST DEM.ANA.REM.PST(IV) child(IV) TOP
gu2ma2 to1ʔõ3a4ne4 ga4 na43=wa5
DET.ANA.REM.PST(II) ladder(II) DET.REM.PST 3=ALL
ĩ2na2gɨ4=ne1 rɨ1 na4=i3ɰ̃1kɨ3-ɛ̃4ɛ̃3
climb=NMLZ(III) TOP 3.SBJ=wobble-CAUS
'Then as for that child$_i$, as for the ladder that she$_j$ had climbed, he$_i$ made it wobble.' [LWG tak]

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### 28.1.3 Realization of the topic in the comment

The topic can have any syntactic role, or none, in the comment. However, the syntactic role of the comment within the topic determines whether the topic is case-marked, and whether it is resumed by another pronoun or proclitic inside the comment.

#### 28.1.3.1 Topic is Subject

If the topic is the subject of the comment, then it occurs only in topic position (21). Resuming the topic inside the comment is ungrammatical (22). Topicalized subjects trigger person, number, and noun class agreement on the verb of the comment, as shown by the 3(IV) subject agreement on the verb in (22). This contrasts with subject focus, where – due to anti-agreement – the subject marker on the verb does not agree for noun class (Chapter 23.1.1).

(21) *ku3ru3ru5 rɨ1 ɲa4a2 avion=gu2 ta4 ni4ʔɨ31e3 a4 ɲɥ1ʔma5*
ku3ru3ru5 rɨ1 ɲa4a2 avion=gu2 ta4 ni4=ɨ31e3
frog TOP DEM.PROX(IV) SP:airplane=LOC FUT 3.SBJ=enter.vehicle.SG
a4 ɲɥ1ʔma5
DET(IV) now
'The frog, it (zero) is going to get into this airplane now.' [C10-C13, CG]

(22) **ku3ru3ru5 rɨ1 ɲa4a2 avion=gu2 ta4 ni4ʔɨ31e3 a4 nɨ31ma2*
*ku3ru3ru5 rɨ1 ɲa4a2 avion=gu2 ta4 ni4=ɨ31e3
*frog TOP DEM.PROX(IV) SP:airplane=LOC FUT 3.SBJ=enter.vehicle.SG
a4 nɨ31ma2
DET(IV) 3.TOP
(Intended reading: 'The frog, it (pronoun) is going to get into this airplane.') [LWG 2025.1.110]

#### 28.1.3.2 Topic is Object

If the topic is the object of the comment, it must be resumed inside the comment by a pronoun or object proclitic which agrees in person, number, and noun class. The realization of the resumptive object (as a pronoun vs. proclitic, and with vs. without case) is governed by the general differential object marking rules described in Chapter 10. The topicalized copy of the object never has case.

For example, in (23) the topic is the demonstrative *da31ʔe2* 'this (Class I)'. It's the object of the verb *ã3* 'give' in the comment, and therefore it is resumed by a third person class I pronoun with the accusative case.

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(23) *kɨ3 ma3mi5, ɟi51ʔkɨ3ã4ma4 da31ʔe2 rɨ1 tʃo31ʔna1 tɨ31ʔĩ3 na4ʔã3?*
kɨ3 ma3mi5 ɟi51ʔkɨ3ã4ma4 da31ʔe2 rɨ1 tʃo31=na1 tɨ31=ʔĩ3
INTJ:tag mommy later DEM.PROX(I) TOP 1SG=RCP 3(I)=ACC
na4=ã3
3.SBJ=give.INANSGO
'Look mom, as for this, is she going to give it to me later?' [C11, C11-C14 CCI, target]

Looking to another noun class, in (24) the topic is an elliptical NP consisting only of the possessive phrase *da31a1=a1rɨ3* (DEM.SPKR.PROX(III)=Alposs) 'the one that belongs to this one (Class III).' It refers to a microphone (also Class III or IV) and is the object of the verb *ã3* 'give.' Because Class III/IV objects of 'give' are realized as proclitics under the general DOM system, the topic is resumed by an object proclitic on the verb.

(24) *na4 da31a1a1rɨ3 rɨ1 ma3 ta4ã3 nɨ31ʔna1 na4na3ʔã3gɨ4?*
na4 da31a1=a1rɨ3 rɨ1 ma3 ta4ã3 nɨ31=na1
COMP DEM.PROX(III)=POSS TOP PRF NEG 3=RCP
na4=na3=ã3=gɨ4?
3.SBJ=3.OBJ=give.INAN=PL
'As for the (microphone)$_i$ that belongs to this (church), they're$_j$ not giving it$_i$ to them$_k$ anymore?' [Menris, LFG-MFG-LVI]

Both of (23–24) have the verb *ã3* 'give' in the comment. This is a causative verb. Despite the other DOM differences between causative and psych verbs, the topic = object structure is the same for topicalized objects of psych verbs. That is, the topic does not have case, and it is resumed by an accusative pronoun in the comment, as shown in (25).

(25) *gu2ma4 rɨ1 ma3rɨ3 ta4ma3 nɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa3dau2*
gu2ma4 rɨ1 ma3rɨ3 ta4ma3 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃa3=dau2
DEM.ANA(II) TOP PRF NEG 3=ACC 1SGSBJ=see
'That guy, I no longer met (lit. saw) him.' [SSG HALDI]

#### 28.1.3.3 Topic = Adjunct/Oblique Object

If the topic has any other role in the comment besides subject and object, then in general, it is case-marked in the topic position and is not resumed. However, it is also acceptable to leave the topic without case-marking, then resume it with a case-marked pronoun inside the topic.

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**28.1.3.3.1 Cased topic** We've already seen an example of an adjunct/oblique object topic in (7) above, which is repeated below. In (7), the noun phrase *da31ʔe2 to1gɨ5e3a3rɨ1 tʃi3ũ3ra1* 'this other lady' is a topic and bears the comitative case *=ma4ã2*, because it's the object of the oblique object verb *ã3mą1* 'marry wife.' The oblique object is not resumed in the comment, which consists only of the verb.

(7) *da31ʔe2 to1gɨ5e3a3rɨ1 tʃi3ũ3ra1ma4ã2 rɨ1 na1ʔã3mą1ne3ta2ʔĩ4*
da31ʔe2 to1gɨ5e3=a3rɨ1 tʃi3ũ3ra1=ma4ã2 rɨ1
DEM.PROX(I) other(I)=INFO lady(I)=COM TOP
na1=ã3=mą1=ne3ta2=ʔĩ4
3.SBJ.SC=have=NI:wife=pretend=SUB
'This other lady, he's marrying her, let's pretend.' [C10-C13, CG]

(7) involves an oblique object, but the same pattern holds with true adjuncts (i.e. adjuncts where the case isn't determined by some lexical property of the verb) – they take case in the topic position, and are not resumed in the comment. For example, in (26) the 1SG pronoun is topicalized and is an adjunct referring to the holder of an attitude. It takes the purposive case in the topic position and is not resumed. The same structure appears in (27), where a reduced relative clause acts as a location adjunct. The relative is topicalized, and takes the allative case in topic position, but is not resumed in the comment.

(26) *tʃau1ʔką1 rɨ1 na1nu2ʔũ4*
tʃau1=ką1 rɨ1 na1=nu3=ʔ=ĩ4
1SG=PURP TOP 3.SBJ.SC=short=SUB
'In my opinion, it's (too) short.' [C37-C38, CG37]

(27) *ɲų1ʔma5 na4e5 tʃa1pe31ʔĩ4wa5 rɨ1, nai31ne3kɨ3ma3re3 ni41ʔĩ4.*
ɲų1ʔma5 na4=i5 tʃa1=pe43=ʔĩ4=wa5 rɨ1
now COMP=IPFV 1SGSBJ.SC=live.in.place=NMLZ(IV)=ALL TOP
nai31ne3kɨ3=ma3re3 ni41ʔĩ4
forest=just 3(IV).SBJ.COP
'In the (place) where I live now, it was just forest (back then).' [SSG HALDI]

**28.1.3.3.2 Uncased, resumed topic** In these examples, the adjunct/oblique object is behaving more like a subject than an object, since it is not resumed. However, the corpus also contains, and people also accept, examples where an adjunct/oblique object topic instead behaves like an object – i.e., is caseless in the

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topic position, and is resumed with a cased pronoun in the comment. (28) is a corpus example of this, where the caseless topic *E3re3ne5* 'place name' – acting as an adjunct – is resumed by the purposive case pronoun *na31=kạ1* (3=PURP) 'to it' in the comment.

(28) *e3re3ne5 rɨ1, ŋe5a2ã4ma4 dau2ʔtʃi4ta2wa5ã4ma4 e3rɨ4 na31ʔkạ1 i5ta3ʔɨ43ã4tʃi4.*
E3re3ne5 rɨ1 ŋe5a2=ã4ma4 dau2ʔtʃi4ta2=wa5=ã4ma4 e3rɨ4
Erene TOP there.DIST.ALL=toward high.forest=ALL=toward INFO:CNG
na43=kạ1 i5=ta3=ɨ43ã4tʃi4
3=PURP DIR=IMPERS.SBJ=go.away.from.water.SG
'As for Erené (another town), you can get **to it** by walking in that direction through the high forest.' [LGC HALDI]

The resumptive structure in (28) is very difficult to find in the corpus – for instance, (28) is the only clear example of resumption of an adjunct with the purposive case. Additionally, the resumptive structure does not seem to be equally good for all types of adjunct/oblique object. For example, Lilia found both (29a) with a cased topic and (29b) with a caseless topic acceptable, but rejected a version of (27) with a caseless topic (30).

(29) a. *da31ʔe2 tʃi3ũ3ra1 rɨ1, tɨ31ma2ma4ã2 na4ʔã3mạ1*
da31ʔe2 tʃi3ũ3ra1 rɨ1 tɨ31ma2=ma4ã2 na4=ã3=mạ1
DEM.PROX(I) lady(I) TOP 3(I)=COM 3.SBJ=have=NI:wife

b. *da31ʔe2 tʃi3ũ3ra1ma4a2 rɨ1 na4ã3mạ1*
da31ʔe2 tʃi3ũ3ra1=ma4a2 rɨ1 na4=ã3=mạ1
DEM.PROX(I) lady(I)=COM TOP 3.SBJ=have=NI:wife
'This other lady, he's marrying her.' (Based on 7) [LWG 2025.1.110]

(30) **ɲụ1ʔma5 i5tʃa1pe31ʔĩ4 rɨ1, nai31ne3kɨ3 ni41ʔĩ4 i4 na43wa5*
*ɲụ1ʔma5 i5=tʃa1=pe43=ʔĩ4 rɨ1 nai31ne3kɨ3
*now IPFV=1SGSBJ.SC=live.in.place=NMLZ(IV) TOP forest
ni41ʔĩ4 i4 na43=wa5
3(IV).SBJ.COP DET(IV) 3(IV)=ALL
(Intended reading: 'The place where I live now, it was just forest in it.')
[LWG 2025.1.110]

To sum up, topicalized subjects cannot be resumed in the comment, but topicalized objects must be. If a topicalized NP has any other syntactic role besides subject or object – including if it an oblique object – then resumption is variable

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(and the factors conditioning it are not yet clear). An NP that is resumed must have case on the resumed copy; it cannot have case on the topicalized copy.

### 28.1.4 Highly reduced comments

In a topic-comment construction, the comment does not need to have an overt verb. It can be – and often is – a copula construction with zero copula, consisting of only the nonverbal predicate. We have already seen an example of this in (5) above.

(31) is another example of a comment with zero copula. Here, the speaker's child has just used the Spanish word *camera.* The speaker then corrects his choice of language by saying (31), where the topic is the adjunct *ta31ga1wa5* 'in our language' and the comment consists only of a Ticuna deverbal nominalization meaning 'camera.'

(31) *ta31ga1wa5 rɨ1 ɟau1ʔtʃi4kɨ3nạ1te2e3ru5ĩ1*
ta31=ga1=wa5 rɨ1 ɟau1ʔ=tʃi4kɨ3nạ1-te2e3=ru5ĩ1
1INCL=language=ALL TOP grab=NI:image-ANTIP=NMLZ:AG/INST
'In our language, (it's a) "picture-taker" (camera).' [C40-C41, CG]

Even though the comment is very highly reduced in (31) – for instance, it has no overt subject or verb – it can still combine with a topic.

### 28.1.5 Obligatoriness of topicalization for preverbal subjects

It is acceptable to express the subject preverbally without topicalizing or focusing it. This is shown for a pronominal subject in (32).

(32) *nɨ31ma2 no51rɨ3 ni41ʔĩ4 ka1ʔni4*
nɨ31ma2 no51rɨ3 ni41ʔĩ4 ka1ʔni4
3(IV).TOP 3(IV).POSS 3(IV).SBJ.COP INTJ:tag
'It is hers, right?' [Victoria, LFG-MFG-LVI]

But while this structure does exist, it is very difficult to find corpus examples with preverbal subjects that are not topicalized, focused, or morphosyntactically required for purposes of hosting a clitic. Expression of a non-topicalized preverbal subject is especially unusual if the subject is pronominal. For example, the corpus includes 64 utterances where the 3(II/III/IV) pronoun *nɨ31ma2* is the first word of the utterance, but only five, including (32), that do not involve topicalization, focus or clitic hosting by the token of *nɨ31ma2*.

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When people translate into Ticuna from a language that has more preverbal expression of subjects, such as Spanish, they almost always translate preverbal subjects as topics, as in (33), and find deleting the topic marker degraded or ungrammatical.

(33) Context: What is the best way to translate *Victoria cantó* 'Victoria sang'?
*Bi3tu5 ??(rɨ1) na4wi3ɟa3e3*
Bi3tu5 ??(rɨ1) na4=wi3ɟa3e3
Victoria ??(TOP) 3.SBJ=sing
'Victoria, she sang.' [LWG 2025.1.110]

Translating preverbal subjects as topics isn't simply a matter of calquing the word order. It would also be possible to maintain SV word order by using a non-topicalized preverbal subject (like in 32) or by forming a subject focus construction. However, people virtually never use these strategies when translating Spanish preverbal subjects, either in my fieldnotes on elicitation, or in officially translated documents such as school textbooks. Therefore, the subject → topic strategy seems reflect either a convention of translation, or a language-internal association between the subject role and the topic position.

## 28.2 Syntactic focus construction

As described in Chapter 24, the syntactic focus construction has the form in (34). Any kind of constituent – noun phrase, predicate, negation, manner adverb, and so on – can be focused. In this section, as in Chapter 24, I gloss all focused constituents using italics in the translation line.

(34) [Focused Constituent] [Focus Marker] [Focus Remnant]

The syntactic focus construction in Ticuna primarily conveys selective focus. It is used for content questions, in answers to content questions, and in declarative contexts that involve implicit or explicit sets of alternatives. It's also possible to use the syntactic focus constructions in contexts that support contrastive focus interpretations. However, in these contexts, people more often use the dedicated contrastive focus marker *wa31ʔi5* (§28.3).

Syntactic focus constructions do not mark corrective focus and do not convey exhaustive meanings like English 'only'. Corrective focus is expressed only with *wa31ʔi5*; 'only' is expressed using bound morphology (§28.4). Both *wa31ʔi5* and 'only' are, however, compatible with the focus construction.

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### 28.2.1 Focus in questions

In terms of semantics and pragmatics, syntactic focus constructions are often used to ask content questions, as shown in (35), and answer them (36). It is not obligatory to use focus when forming or answering a content question (cf. Chapter 27).

(35) *ŋe1ʔta5ʔã3 ni4 nɨ31ma2ʔã3 na1ʔũ31ʔ?*
ŋe1ʔta5=ʔã3 ni4 nɨ31ma2=ʔã3 na1=ũ43=ʔ
where?.ALL=REP FOC 3.TOP=REP 3.SBJ.SC=go.SG=SUB
'*Where* did she supposedly go?' [Victoria, AFG-LVI]

(36) Q: Where is Maturá (a place in the Brazilian Ticuna region)? A:
*Mo3tu4ra1, ŋe5ma2 rɨ1, San Pablo de õlivençaa1rɨ3 ɟe5ʔe1ra3wa5ã4ma4 ni41ʔĩ4 i4 na1ŋẽ2ʔma5ʔ.*
Mo3tu4ra1 ŋe5ma2 rɨ1 San Pablo de Olivença=a1rɨ3
Maturá there.ANA.ALL TOP Saõ Paulo de Olivença=POSS
ɟe5ʔe1ra3=wa5=ã4ma4 ni41ʔĩ4 i4 na1=ŋẽ2ʔma4=ʔ
more=ALL=toward 3.SBJ.COP DET(IV) 3.SBJ.SC=be.in.place=SUB
'Maturá, that place, it's *on the other side of São Paulo de Olivença.*' [HCG HALDI]

Besides content questions, polar questions can also be asked (37) or answered (38b) with focus constructions. Many polar questions in Ticuna contain polar question tags (Chapter 27), but interpreting a focus construction as a polar question does not **require** a tag. For example, there is no tag in (37).

(37) *na4ta2ʔu2ma3* ***ni4*** *a4 Be3ʔku1ru1 a4 ɟe5a2 tɨ3re1wa5?*
na4=ta2ʔu2=ma3 **ni4** a4 Be3ʔku1ru1 a4
3.SBJ=NEG.EXIST=INFO **FOC** DET(IV) personal.name DET(IV)
ɟe5a2 tɨ3re1=wa5
there.DIST.ALL port=ALL
'*Isn't Be3ʔku1ru1 there* in the port?' [Victoria, AFG-LVI]

(38) a. Menris [Q]: *ŋɨ3ɨ1, ɲu1ʔũ4tʃi4 ta4tʃo̰1ʔã4tʃi4kɨ5ra1ĩ1 ka2a4na4?*
ŋɨ3ɨ1 ɲu1ʔũ4tʃi4 ta4=tʃo̰1=ʔã4tʃi4=kɨ5ra1ĩ1 ka2a4na4
INTJ:yes also 3(I).SBJ=white=ACHV=INFER INTJ:tag
'Yes, and she's gotten really pale too, hasn't she?'
b. Lizeth [A]: *mmm31, ŋe3ma2 ɲa5ta3gɨ5ʔĩ4* ***ni4***

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mm31 ŋe3ma2 ɲa5ta3gɨ5ʔĩ4 **ni4**
INTJ:mm DEM.ANA(IV) 3(I).SBJ.SC.QUOT **FOC**
'Mm-hm, she *has done that* (gotten pale).'
[MFG-LFG-LVI]

### 28.2.2 Focus in declaratives

Focus constructions can also express contrast between alternatives. The set of alternatives may consist of multiple possible referents (39), propositions (40), or truth values of the same proposition (41).

(39) Context: Discussing multiple soccer balls. One has been extensively patched, another has not.
*ɟi31ʔe2ma4 **ti4ʔĩ4** a4 originalgɨ4ʔi1ra1 i1ʔĩ1ʔe3*
ɟi31ʔe2ma4 **ti4ʔĩ4** a4 original=gɨ4=ʔi1ra1
DEM.ADDR.PROX(I) **3(I).SBJ.FOC** DET(I) original=PL=sorta
i1=ĩ4=ʔe3
3.SBJ.SC=COP=NMLZ(I)
'*That one* (near you) is sort of original.' [Veronica, LSC-VSC]

(40) Context: Discussing what the participants would be doing if they weren't recording.
*ɟau1ʔpa4ĩ2tʃa1ĩ1tʃi4re5ʔĩ4 **ni4***
ɟau1ʔ=pa4ĩ2=tʃa1ĩ1=tʃi4re1=ʔĩ4 **ni4**
wash=NI:pot=PROSP=ANTIPRF=SUB **FOC**
'I was planning to *wash the dishes* (instead of this).' [Adriana, AFG-LVI]

(41) Context: Someone has recently decided against joining the army.
*ta4ã3 a3rɨ1ʔã3 a4 **ni4** ma3 ŋe5a2 na1ʔũ31tʃa1ĩ3ʔĩ4*
ta4ã3 a3rɨ1=ʔã3 a4 **ni4** ma3 ŋe5a2
NEG INFO=REP DET(IV) **FOC** PRF there.DIST.ALL
na1=ũ43=tʃa1ĩ1=ʔĩ4
3.SBJ.SC=go.SG=PROSP=SUB
'S/he's *not* going to go there any more.' [Laura, LSC-VSC]

In (39–41), the speakers express contrast using just the syntactic focus construction; there are no other focus-related markers in any of them. More often, though, people express contrast using the contrastive focus marker *wa31ʔi5*, either alone or with a focus construction. This also applies to corrections. All corrective focus examples in the corpus use *wa31ʔi5* or epistemic stance markers, rather than the focus construction. See §28.3 for these examples.

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Last, people also use focus constructions in contexts that don't clearly involve content questions, polar questions, or contrast between previously introduced alternatives. For instance, (42) is the conclusion of a story about how a group of children killed a wicked giant (who had attempted to kill them). Line (b) of this example focuses the word *ɟe4ma4ã1kɨ2* 'thus (remote past)' in the statement 'thus they continued living.' The story does not introduce any alternative ways, besides what they actually did to the giant, that the children could have survived.

(42) a. *rɨ1 ɟe4ma4a1kɨ2 ga4 ɟe4ma4 bu3ʔĩ4gɨ4 rɨ1 na4salvae3rɨ4*
rɨ1 ɟe4ma4a1kɨ2 ga4 ɟe4ma4 bu3ʔĩ4=gɨ4 rɨ1
and thus.REM.PST DET.REM.PST DEM.REM.PST(IV) child(IV)=PL TOP
na4=salva=e3rɨ4
3.SBJ=SP:save=INFO:CNG
'And thus, those children were saved.'

b. *ɟe4ma4ã1kɨ2* ***ni41ʔĩ4*** *ga4 na1ma4ʔe2ʔĩ4*
ɟe4ma4ã1kɨ2 **ni41ʔĩ4** ga4 na1=ma4ʔ-e3=ʔĩ4
thus.REM.PST **FOC** DET.REM.PST 3.SBJ.SC=be.alive-PL=SUB
'*Thus* they continued living.'

[LVI tak]

Another example of focus in the absence of previously introduced alternatives is (43). This example comes from quoted speech within a narrative. Line (b) of (43) focuses the constituent *ku31ga1gu2* 'through your fault,' but neither the narrative nor the quoted speech includes any previous claims about whose fault it is that the money was mishandled.

(43) a. *"tʃo31ʔna1 tɨ31ʔĩ3 na1ʔã3 a4 di3ɛ̃3ru1."*
tʃo31=na1 tɨ31=ʔĩ3 na1=ã3 a4 di3ɛ̃3ru1
1SG=RCP 3(I)=ACC IMP=give.INANSGO DET(I) money(I)
'(She said,) "Give me the money."'

b. *"ku31ga1gu2* ***ni41ʔĩ4*** *i4 tɨ31ʔĩ3 tʃa1to3ka1ʔĩ4," ɲa5ta4gɨ3ʔĩ4.*
ku31=ga1=gu2 **ni41ʔĩ4** i4 tɨ31=ʔĩ3 tʃa1=to3ka=ʔĩ4
2SG=fault=LOC **FOC** DET(IV) 3(I)=ACC 1SGSBJ.SC=SP:touch=SUB
ɲa5ta4gɨ3ʔĩ4
3(I).SBJ.SC.QUOT
'She said, "*It's your fault* that I mishandled (lit. touched) it."'

[20170527_004]

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While there aren't explicitly introduced alternatives in the context of (42) and (43), arguably there are implicit, contextually relevant alternatives in both examples. These might include other ways the children could have survived in (42), or other people who could have caused the mishandling of the money in (43).

## 28.3 Contrastive focus construction with *wa31ʔi5*

The free word *wa31ʔi5* marks contrastive focus. It immediately follows the contrastively focused constituent. It is also pronounced as *wi31ʔi5* or *wi31ʔ*, but I will use *wa31ʔi5* as the citation form.

### 28.3.1 Basic syntax and semantics of *wa31ʔi5*

(44) illustrates the contrastive focus use of *wa31ʔi5*. This is an excerpt from a narrative where DGG is discussing his education in the 1950s. Prior to the excerpt, it's already been established in the discourse that he attended school in both Cushillococha and Caballococha. In line (a), he states that he attended school in Cushillococha for only one year, and in line (b), he adds that he studied in Caballococha for the rest of his primary school education. Since this context contrasts Caballococha with Cushillococha, he marks the location in line (b) with *wa31ʔi5*.

(44) a. *rɨ1 ɟe4ma4we5na1 ga4 primer año-, primer añota2ã4 ga4 nu5a2 tʃa1ʎu5ʔɨ̃4, pa31ʔã4tʃi4.*
rɨ1 ɟe4ma4=we5na1 ga4 primer año=ta2ã4
and DEM.ANA(IV)=after DET.REM.PST SP:first SP:year=only
ga4 nu5a2 tʃa1=ʎu̯1=ʔɨ̃4 pa31ʔã4tʃi4
DET.REM.PST here.ALL 1SGSBJ.SC=learn=SUB briefly
'And after that, I studied here for just the first year, for a short time.'

b. *rɨ1 ɟe4ma4we5na1 ga4 Ko3we4na2wa5 wa31ʔi5 me31ã2 tʃa1ʎu5ʔɨ̃4.*
rɨ1 ɟe4ma4=we5na1 ga4 Ko3we4na2=wa5 wa31ʔi5
and DEM.REM.PST=after DET.REM.PST Caballococha=ALL CONT.FOC
me31ã2 tʃa1=ʎu̯1=ʔɨ̃4
well 1SGSBJ.SC=learn=SUB
'And after that, I studied permanently (lit. well) in *Caballococha*.'
[DGG HALDI]

Correcting a previous utterance or speaker intrinsically involves contrast, and *wa31ʔi5* is also used to mark corrective focus. (45) is an example of the corrective

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focus use of the marker. In line (a), Speaker A states that a weed is growing in a specific household's garden. This household hasn't been discussed so far, and the statement isn't true; the garden belongs to someone else. In line (b), Speaker B initiates repair by repeating the possessed phrase verbatim. In line (c), Speaker A corrects herself using a different possessed phrase of identical structure plus *wa31ʔi5*.

(45) a. A: *Yanethgɨ4a1ne1wa5 ka1ʔni4 na43ma4ã2 na1ʔã3tɨ1a1ne3ʔĩ4*
Yaneth=gɨ4=a1ne1=wa5 ka1ʔni4 na43=ma4ã2
Yaneth=PL=garden=ALL INTJ:tag 3=COM
na1=ã3=tɨ1=a1ne1=ʔĩ4
3.SBJ.SC=have=NI:weed=Areal.SBJ=SUB
'That stuff is growing everywhere, as a weed, in Yaneth's family's garden.' [unrelated turn omitted]

b. B: *Yanethgɨ4a1ne1wa5?*
Yaneth=gɨ4=a1ne1wa5
Yaneth=PL=garden=ALL
'In Yaneth's family's garden?'

c. A: *mm31, Yanina=gɨ4a1ne1wa5 wa31ʔi5*
mm31 Yanina1=gɨ4=a1ne1=wa5 wa31ʔi5
INTJ:mm Yanina=PL=garden=ALL CONT.FOC
'Mm, in *Yanina's* family's garden.'

[C27 CCI]

Besides demonstrating the use of *wa31ʔi5* in corrections, (45c) also shows that *wa31ʔi5* is not a contrastive topic marker, since there is no comment following it.

### 28.3.2 Using *wa31ʔi5* for verum and predicate focus

The examples so far have involved contrastive/corrective focus of a noun phrase. However, *wa31ʔi5* can also mark contrastive/corrective focus on a predicate. For instance, caregivers often use imperatives with *wa31ʔi5* to tell children to change their activity/course of action, as in (46).

(46) Context: Child is manipulating the recording device. Caregiver says:
*i3ʄɨ51ʔi3 wa31ʔi5 pa31ʔa2*
i3=ʄɨ51ʔi3 wa31ʔi5 pa31ʔa2
IMP=dance CONT.FOC INTJ:c'mon
'C'mon, *dance* instead!' [C22 CCI]

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To convey verum focus – that is, emphasize the truth or falsity of a predicate, for example when answering a polar question – people usually use epistemic markers. These include *=e3ɾi1* 'congruent stance' and *=tSi4ɾẹ1* 'incongruent stance,' both discussed in Chapter 31. However, it's also possible to convey verum focus using *wa31ʔi5*.

(47) demonstrates the use of *wa31ʔi5* for verum focus on a positive proposition. The speaker here is at a party, jokingly quoting an earlier dialogue between himself and me (I'm not present) to the other guests. In line (a), he quotes me asking a polar question; in line (b), he quotes his own response. As a joke, he answered my question falsely at first. In line (c), he quotes how he corrected himself to a true answer. The correction to a true predicate is marked with *wa31ʔi5* following the verb.

(47) a. *"ku31ʔĩ3 ta4ɾi3ɟa2ma2e3?" ɲa4a2ʔĩ4ã3*
ku31=ʔĩ3 ta4ɾi3=ɟa2=ma2e3 ɲa4a2ʔĩ4=ã3
2SG=ACC 3(I).SBJ=older-COMPAR 3.SBJ.SC.QUOT=REP
'"Is she (your sister) older than you?" she (Amalia) asked.'

b. *"ta4ma3," ɲa5tʃa3ʔ*
ta4ma3 ɲa5tʃa3ʔ
NEG 1SGSBJ.SC.QUOT
'"No," I said.'

c. *"tʃo31ʔĩ3 ta4ɾi3ɟa2ma2e3 wa31ʔi5," ɲa5tʃa3ʔ*
tʃo31=ʔĩ3 ta4ɾi3=ɟa2-ma2e3 wa31ʔi5 ɲa5tʃa3ʔ
1SG=ACC 3(I).SBJ=old-COMPAR CONT.FOC 1SGSBJ.SC.QUOT
'"(Just kidding!) She *is* older than me," I said.'

[20180628]

Contrastive negation focus – that is, focus on the falsity of a proposition – can also be expressed with *wa31ʔi5*. We see this in (48c). In line (a) of this excerpt, the first speaker, Lizeth, states that someone brought a child into the house where the speakers are. In four omitted lines, the speakers discuss the identity of the child. Then, in line (c), Victoria contradicts the truth of Lizeth's initial statement in line (a). Her correction uses *wa31ʔi5* (and no focus construction) to focus the negation marker.

(48) a. Lizeth: *ma3ɾi3, na43wa5 a3ɾi1 nu5a2 ti31ʔĩ3 na4ga4*
ma3ɾi3 na43=wa5 a3ɾi1 nu5a2 ti31=ʔĩ3 na4=ga4
PRF 3=ALL INFO here.ALL 3(I)=ACC 3.SBJ=transport.ANIM
'Okay, s/he brought him/her here, from it.'

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b. (side sequence omitted)

c. Victoria: *ta4ma3 wa31ʔi5 me31ã2 nu5a2 tɨ31ʔĩ3 na4mu2na4gɨ4*
ta4ma3 wa31ʔi5 me31ã2 nu5a2 tɨ31=ʔĩ3
NEG CONT.FOC properly here.ALL 3(I)=ACC
na4=mu2-na4gɨ4
3.SBJ=put.ANIM-DIR:upward
'(No,) s/he did *not* really drop him/her off here.'

[LFG-MFG-LVI]

### 28.3.3 Combining *wa31ʔi5* with a topic or focus construction

It's possible to use *wa31ʔi5* together with a syntactic focus construction. When *wa31ʔi5* co-occurs with a focus construction, it appears after the last item of the focused constituent and before the focus marker. For example, in (49) the speaker has been discussing the best way to raise chickens. She states that rice (prior to the excerpt) and raw food (line a) make chickens sick. She then contrasts this with cooked food, which doesn't (line b). The nominalization *ŋe31ʔe5ne1* 'cooked food' in line (b) is marked simultaneously with *wa31ʔi5* for contrastive focus, due to the contrast with raw food, and a syntactic focus construction with the focus marker/copula *ni41ʔĩ4*.

(49) Context: 'Feeding chickens rice makes them sick.'

a. *ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3rɨ5ĩ1 ni41ʔĩ4 a1 ɟi2ma2 ʎa5ĩ5ne1*
ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3=rɨ5ĩ1 ni41ʔĩ4 a1 ɟi2ma2 ʎą1=ĩ5ne1
then=like FOC DET(III) DEM.ANA(III) raw=NMLZ(III)
'It's *the same* for raw food (i.e. raw food also makes chickens sick).'

b. *ŋe31ʔe5ne1 wa31ʔi5 ni41ʔĩ4 a4 na43wa5 a1tʃi5ĩ4tʃa3ra3ĩ1ʔĩ5tʃi2ʔ*
ŋe31ʔ=ĩ5ne1 wa31ʔi5 ni41ʔĩ4 a4 na43=wa5
cooked=NMLZ(III) CONT.FOC FOC DET(IV) 3(III)=ALL
a1=tʃi5ĩ4=tʃa3ra3ĩ1=ʔĩ5tʃi2=ʔ
3.SBJ.SC=greasy/yolky=NI:egg=really=SUB
'*Cooked food*, on the other hand – on that, the eggs have a lot of yolk.'

[C27 CCI]

It's also possible to use *wa31ʔi5* together with the topic construction with *rɨ1*. Co-occurrence of *wa31ʔi5* and topicalization is much less frequent than co-occurrence of *wa31ʔi5* and focus – for example, the corpus contains 91 examples

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of syntactic focus constructions with *wa31ʔi5*, but only nine examples of topics with *wa31ʔi5*. The topic marker always occurs after *wa31ʔi5*.[1]

(50) provides an example of *wa31ʔi5* with topicalization. In this example, the speakers have been discussing whether they have various drinks, including manioc beer, on hand. In line (a), the speaker notes that guarapo de cacao, a different fermented drink, might also be available. In line (b), she simultaneously contrasts guarapo with the other drinks using *wa31ʔi5*, and topicalizes it with *rɨ1*. Following the topic, she adds the (contrastive) comment that the guarapo is chilled, while the other drinks are not.

(50) a. *ka3kau5a1rɨ3 wa3ra4pu1 re3ka1ʔni4, nu5a2 ta1tą1 i5ta3ką2ʔ*
ka3kau5=a1rɨ3 wa3ra4pu1 re3ka1ʔni4 nu5a2 ta1=tą1
SP:cacao=POSS SP:guarapo(IV) that's.why here.ALL also=some(IV)
i5=ta3=ka1=ʔ
VCL=1EXCL.SBJ.SC=ask.for=SUB
'That's why we also asked for some guarapo de cacao here.'

b. *ŋe3ma2 we31ʔi5 rɨ1 gą1ʔu5tʃi2ʔĩ4 ni4*
ŋe3ma2 we31ʔi5 rɨ1 gą1=ʔɨ5tʃi2=ʔĩ4 ni4
DEM.ANA(IV) CONT.FOC TOP cold=really=NMLZ(IV) FOC
'*That*, on the other hand, it's really cold.'

[Mujer1, LFG-MFG-LVI]

## 28.4 'Only' and 'just'

There are three enclitics which convey the same kind of focus-associated exclusive meanings as English 'only' and 'just'. These are *=ĩ1ka5/=ri1ka5* 'only,' which attaches exclusively to noun phrases and conditional antecedents; *=ta2ã4* 'only,' which can attach to any constituent type; and *=ma3re3* 'just'.

### 28.4.1 The enclitics *=ĩ1ka5/=ri1ka5* 'only'

These two enclitics attach to noun phrases, including pronouns and relative clauses. They also occasionally appear on conditional antecedents bearing *=gu2*.

Both enclitics, *=ĩ1ka5* and *=ri1ka5*, have an extremely similar meaning and distribution. The only clear syntactic difference is in their distribution with pronouns and demonstratives. However, *=ĩ1ka5* is more frequent in the corpus (154 tokens) than *=ri1ka5* (99 tokens). They never occur together.

[1]Except in the fixed expression *ai2ʔkɨ4ma4 rɨ1 wa31ʔi5* (truly TOP CONT.FOC) 'really.'

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#### 28.4.1.1 Use on noun phrases

**28.4.1.1.1 Syntax and semantics** On noun phrases, *=ĩ1ka5/=ri1ka5* 'only' both mean that the predicate holds of the referent, and does not hold of some contextually relevant set of other referents. For example, in (51) I have just asked the speaker how many children she has. She answers 'five,' but then adds that only two of them live with her. Pointing to these two in her yard, she uses the demonstrative *gu31ʔe2* with *=ri1ka5* to refer to them.

(51) Q: 'How many children do you have?'. A: 'Five...'
*gu31ʔe2ri1ka2ta2ã4 ti41ʔĩ4 ɟa4 nu5a2 tʃau1ĩ1ta1wa5 ŋẽ2ʔma5e3.*
gu31ʔe2=ri1ka2=ta2ã4 ti41ʔĩ4 ɟa4 nu5a2 tʃau1=ĩ1ta1=wa5
DEM.DIST(I)=only=only 3(I).SBJ.FOC DET(I) here.ALL 1SG=RN:at=ALL
ŋẽ2ʔma4=e3
be.in.place=NMLZ(I)
'But *only those ones (visible)* live here at my place.' [LGC HALDI]

Later in the same discourse, I ask the speaker which parts of Cushillococha flood during heavy rainy seasons. She explains that while many neighborhoods near her flood, her neighborhood does not. She refers to the neighborhood using a demonstrative, but this time conveys exclusive focus using *=ĩ1ka5* rather than *=ri1ka5*.

(52) Context: 'There, everywhere else, people just have to live with the water when there's a big flood.'
*ɲa4a2ĩ1ka5ta2ã4 ta1a3rɨ1 ni41ʔĩ4 a1pa31ʔĩ4, dɨ1ʔ.*
ɲa4a2=ĩ1ka5=ta2ã4 ta1=a3rɨ1 ni41ʔĩ4 a1=pa43=ʔĩ4
DEM.PROX(IV)=only=only also=INFO FOC 3.SBJ.SC=dry=NMLZ(IV)
dɨ1ʔ
INTJ:look!
'*Only this (area)* also stays dry, look.' [LGC HALDI]

In both of the above examples, the *=ĩ1ka5/=ri1ka5* 'only' constituent also has the enclitic *=ta2ã4* 'only' (discussed below) and is syntactically focused. However, neither syntactic focus nor *=ta2ã4* is obligatory with *=ĩ1ka5/=ri1ka5* 'only.' You can also use either enclitic on its own with no syntactic focus construction and still obtain the reading 'only,' as shown for *=i1ka5* in (53).

(53) *to1 hermana=gɨ4kạ1, nɨ31wa5 ta4ã3 tʃo31ʔi1ka5 tʃa3wi3ɟa3e3*

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to1 hermana=gɨ4=kᵱ1 nɨ31wa5 ta4ã3 tʃo31=i1ka5 tʃa3=wi3ɟa3e3
other(IV) SP:sister=PL=PURP INFO NEG 1SG=only 1SGSBJ=sing
'(The songs) should be for the other sisters, I'm not the only one that sings (lit. not only I sing).' [SCG, YCG-SCG-DGC]

On pronouns and noun phrases, *=ĩ1ka5/=ri1ka5* 'only' can also be interpreted as 'alone, by oneself.' For example, in (54) the child addressee and her older sister are both trying to string beads. The caregiver encourages the child to do this independently using the pronoun *ku31=ʔĩ1ka5* (2SG=only) 'by yourself'. The other participants don't interpret this as meaning that the other sister should stop beading – that is, it's not an exclusive 'only.'

(54) *e3ʔĩ1ka3ʔ, ku31ʔĩ1ka5 tɨ31ʔĩ3 na1pai1gɨ1*
e3ʔĩ1ka3 ku31=ĩ1ka5 tɨ31=ʔĩ3 na1=pai1-gɨ1
INTJ:let's.see 2SGSBJ=only 3(I)=ACC IMP=inject-DIR
'Let's see, put the needle in it **by yourself**.' [CG, C44 CCI]

*=ĩ1ka5/=ri1ka5* 'only' can also appear on the temporal adverbs *ɲᵱ1ʔma5* 'now' and *mo4ɨ2* 'tomorrow,' but on these adverbs they seem to be frozen and are not interpreted as exclusives.

**28.4.1.1.2 Morphology** On pronouns and demonstratives, *=ĩ1ka5/=ri1ka5* 'only' have different distributions. Looking first to pronouns, *=ĩ1ka5* 'only'can occur on both caseless (i.e. subject) pronouns, as shown by (54) above, and pronouns with case, such as (55).

(55) *tʃo31ma4ã2ĩ1ka5 i5na1dau2ne3ta2ʔĩ4wa5*
tʃo31=ma4ã2=ĩ1ka5 i5=na1=dau2=ne3ta2=ʔĩ4=wa5
1SG=COM=only IPFV=3.SBJ.SC=look.for=pretend=NMLZ(IV)=ALL
'where they were pretending to look for it with only me' [C27 CCI]

The distribution of *=ri1ka5* on pronouns is restricted by person/number features and morphology. If the pronoun's person is 1SG, 2SG, or 3 (3 is number-neutral), then it can take *=ri1ka5* only if it has a case marker (56) or another enclitic, such as the topic marker *=ma* (57a). Attaching *=ri1ka5* directly to the pronoun root is judged ungrammatical (57b) and unattested in the corpus.

(56) *tʃo31ʔĩ3ri1ka5ta2ã4 nu5a2 na4mu2 a4 pa3pa5*
tʃo31=ʔĩ3=ri1ka5=ta2ã4 nu5a2 na4=mu2 a4 pa3pa5
1SG=ACC=only=only here.ALL 3(IV).SBJ=send DET(IV) father
'Dad sent only me here.' [Victoria, LFG-MFG-LVI]

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(57) a. *tʃo1ma1ri1ka5*
tʃo1ma1=ri1ka5
1SG.TOP=only
b. **tʃo31ri1ka5*
*tʃo31=ri1ka5
1SG=only
'only me' [LWG 2025.1.110]

With 1PL and 2PL pronouns, Lilia judged that *=ri1ka5* **can** attach directly to the root (58). It can also attach to these pronouns after case enclitics (59) or topic enclitics (60). Note that (59) is the only example of a plural pronoun with *=ri1ka5* in the corpus, meaning that evidence for the singular/plural contrast with *=ri1ka5* is limited.

(58) a. *ɟi31ri1ka5ta2ã4*
ɟi31=ri1ka5=ta2ã4
1INCL=only=only
'just only us (inclusive)'
b. *to31ri1ka5ta2ã4*
to31=ri1ka5=ta2ã4
1EXCL=only=only
'just only us (exclusive)'
c. *pe31ri1ka5*
pe31=ri1ka5
2PL=only
'only you guys'
[LWG 2025.1.110]

(59) *pe31kạ1ri3ka5 ni41ʔĩ4*
pe31=kạ1=ri3ka5 ni41ʔĩ4
2PL=PURP=only 3.SBJ.COP
'It's only for you guys.' [DGG, 20170527_002]

(60) *pe1ma1ri1ka5*
pe1ma1=ri1ka5
2PL.TOP=only
'only you guys' [LWG 2025.1.110]

Turning to demonstratives, when *=ĩ1ka5* attaches to a demonstrative, it triggers a unique morphological process in which the final syllable of the demonstrative deletes. In the corpus, this process occurs with all six demonstratives,

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but is most consistent with *ŋe3ma2* 'DEM.MULTI' (61). It is not obligatory, even with *ŋe3ma2* (62). Elicited data is not helpful, as people do not have very stable judgments on final syllable deletion.

(61) ***ŋe3ĩ1ka5*** *ga4 excelente i5ʎu3ʔu2tʃi5ʔĩ4*
**ŋe3=ĩ1ka5** ga4 excelente i5=ʎu3-ʔi2tʃi5=ʔĩ4
**DEM.ANA(IV)=only** DET.REM.PST SP:excellent VCL=arrive-DIR:out.SG=SUB
'**Only that** (child) scored (lit. came out) 'Excellent' (on an exam).' [RGW, 20170527_002]

(62) ***ŋe3ma2ĩ1ka5ta2ã4*** *ni41ʔĩ4 wo5e3*
**ŋe3ma2=ĩ1ka5=ta2ã4** ni41ʔĩ4 wo5e3
**DEM.ANA(IV)=only=only** 3.SBJ.COP simply
'That is all (lit. it is only that).' [YCG HALDI]

Final syllable deletion never occurs with *=ri1ka5* in the corpus, but this comes with the proviso there are few tokens of *=ri1ka5* with demonstratives overall.

#### 28.4.1.2 Use on subordinate clauses

Subordinate clauses can bear either *=ĩ1ka5* (63) or *=ri1ka5* (64). All examples of subordinate clauses with exclusives in the corpus are *=gu2* clauses that are interpreted as conditional antecedents (rather than temporal overlap clauses; see Chapter 25.1 on these two uses of *=gu2*).

The reading of *=ĩ1ka5/=ri1ka5* in conditional antecedents is essentially 'if and only if.' It conveys that the consequent will become true if the antecedent is true, but not otherwise. For example, in (63), the speaker is asserting contextually that there are no other well-paying jobs in Lima besides in the civil service. In (64), Victoria makes a request to Adriana (line a) and Adriana accepts it using an interjection (line b). Adriana then conditions her acceptance on the availability of the boat (line c), effectively re-framing the interjection acceptance in (b) as a conditional consequent.

(63) Context: People from Cushillococha have trouble finding good jobs in Lima.
*ŋe3ma2ã1kɨ2ʔi2kɨ4 e3ga4 wi43ʔi4 i4 empleado=wa5 ku1ŋẽ2ʔma4gu2ʔĩ1ka5 ta4ta2ã4 ni41ʔĩ4 ku1=ga3na1=ʔĩ4*

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ŋe3ma2ã1kɨ2=ʔɨ2kɨ4 e3ga4 wi43ʔi4 i4 empleado=wa5
thus=INFO if one DET(IV) SP:job(IV)=ALL
ku1=ŋẽ2ʔma4=gu2=ʔĩ1ka5 ta4ta2ã4 ni41ʔi4 ku1=ga3na1=ʔɨ4
2SGSBJ.SC=be.in.place=COND=only FUT=only FOC 2SGSBJ=SP:earn=SUB
'Yes, you can only make money *if you're in a (civil service) job*.' [LSC-VSC, Veronica]

(64) a. Victoria: *pe31we5 tʃi4 tʃa3rɨ3ʔũ43 na3ra4ɲa1kạ1ʔ*
pe31=we5 tʃi4 tʃa3rɨ3=ũ43 na3ra4ɲa1=kạ1
2PL=RN:behind CNTF 1SGSBJ=go.SG orange=PURP
'I want to go with you guys to get oranges.'

b. Adriana: *ŋɨ31 o3ẽ̱1ʔna5ʔ*
ŋɨ31 o3ẽ̱1ʔna5
INTJ:yes INTJ:news
'Oh, okay.'

c. Adriana: *ã3we3ɨ̃1gu2ã4ma4ri1ka5*
∅=ã3=we3ɨ̃1=gu2=ã4ma4=ri1ka5
1INCL.SBJ.SC=have=NI:vehicle=COND=anyway=only
'But only if we have the boat.'
[AFG-LVI]

Lilia found it acceptable to use *=ĩ1ka5/=ri1ka5* on other subordinate clause types besides conditional antecedents, such as the purpose clause in (65); however, this is unattested in the corpus.

(65) *nu5a2 tʃa3ʔũ43 na4ʔ tʃa1tʃi31bɨ2ʔɨ̃4kạ1ri1ka5(ta2ã4)*
nu5a2 tʃa3=ũ43 na4ʔ tʃa1=tʃi31bɨ2=ʔɨ̃4=kạ1=ri1ka5(=ta2ã4)
here.ALL 1SGSBJ=go.SG COMP 1SGSBJ.SC=eat=SUB=PURP=only(=only)
'I only came here to eat.'
Volunteered with *=ri1ka5=ta2ã4*; accepted with *=ri1ka5* alone. [LWG 2025.1.111]

### 28.4.2 The enclitic *=ta2ã4* 'only, same, still'

The enclitic *=ta2ã4* 'only, same, still' can occur with *=ĩ1ka5/=ri1ka5* 'only,' or on its own. Alone, it attaches to noun phrases; various noun phrase constituents, such as quantifiers and demonstratives; adverbs; and predicates. It has different readings on each of these constituent types, and the semantic relationship between these readings is fairly subtle. Below, I discuss use of *=ta2ã4* with each

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constituent type, in the order just given above. In terms of position, *=ta2ã4* always occurs after all other affixes and clitics on its host. There is an exception to this rule if the host is immediately followed by a second-position clitic (§28.4.2.6).

#### 28.4.2.1 Stacked with *=ĩ1ka5/=ri1ka5* 'only'

In the section on *=ĩ1ka5/=ri1ka5* 'only' above, we saw many examples where *=ĩ1ka5/=ri1ka5* co-occurred with *=ta2ã4*. An example is (52) above, where *=ĩ1ka5* occurs first and *=ta2ã4* second on the focused constituent, which is a demonstrative.

(52) Context: 'There, everywhere else, people just have to live with the water when there's a big flood.'
***ɲa4a2ĩ1ka5ta2ã4*** *ta1a3ɾi1 ni41ʔĩ4 a1pa31ʔĩ4, di1ʔ.*
**ɲa4a2=ĩ1ka5=ta2ã4** ta1=a3ɾi1 ni41ʔĩ4 a1=pa43=ʔĩ4
**DEM.PROX(IV)=only=only** also=INFO FOC 3.SBJ.SC=dry=NMLZ(IV)
di1ʔ
INTJ:look!
'*Only this (area)* also stays dry, look.' [LGC HALDI]

The collocation of *=ĩ1ka5/=ri1ka5* and *=ta2ã4* seems to have the same distribution as *=ĩ1ka5/=ri1ka5* alone. For example, the collocation can appear on pronouns (58) and subordinate clauses (63), as well as demonstratives. I have not been able to identify a meaning difference between the collocation and *=ĩ1ka5/=ri1ka5* used alone.

#### 28.4.2.2 Alone, on noun phrases

On its own, and when it occurs with clitics **other** than *=ĩ1ka5/=ri1ka5* 'only,' *=ta2ã4* does *not* express an exclusive meaning like 'only.' Instead, it has a range of readings which express continuity and can be glossed as 'same' or 'still.' I will describe these readings by the type of the host, beginning with noun phrase hosts.

Within the noun phrase, *=ta2ã4* can attach to pronouns, demonstratives, and proper and common nouns. It occurs in contexts where there is an explicit or implicit set of alternative nominal referents, and has two main readings: an emphatic reflexive reading, and an attributive reading similar to English *same*.

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**28.4.2.2.1 Emphatic reflexive** The most common reading of *=ta2ã4* on noun phrases similar to English emphatic reflexives. This reading occurs primarily with pronouns, exophoric demonstratives, and proper nouns. It emphasizes that the predicate holds of the nominal referent and not of some contextually relevant alternative.

For example, in (66), the speaker is describing the procedure that the addressee needs to use in order to cut off a cell phone number. She explains that he will not be allowed to send someone else to the phone store, introducing one possible referent (the person the addressee could send). Then she further explains that he must visit the store himself. She emphasizes the contrast between the 2SG subject and the alternative third-person argument by using the subject pronoun *ku1ma1=ta2ã4* (2SG.TOP=same) 'you yourself.'

(66) Context: 'You can't send someone else to the phone store to block your old phone.'
*na31ʔwɻ1e3 na4ʔ **ku1ma1ta2ã4** na4ĩ1ta1wa5 ku1na3ʎe31ʔ, ɲa5ta3gɨ5ʔ a4 ti3a1.*
na31ʔwɻ1e3 na4ʔ **ku1ma1=ta2ã4** na4=ĩ1ta1=wa5
deontic.must COMP **2SG.TOP=only** 3=RN:at=ALL
ku1=na3=ʎe43=ʔ ɲa5ta3gɨ5ʔ a4 ti3a1
2SGSBJ.SC=3.OBJ=transport.INAN=SUB 3(I).SBJ.SC.QUOT DET(I) MZ
"'You have to take it to his place (i.e., the store) **yourself**," aunty said.' [20170527_002]

The emphatic reflexive-like reading of *=ta2ã4* also occurs with possessors, as shown in (67). Here, the speaker has been discussing things that Ticuna women (and rural Peruvian women in general) sometimes buy from catalogs, such as commercial makeup and skincare products. These products make up an explicit set of alternatives. She then states that she and her addressees should use traditional remedies instead of these products, using the possessive pronoun *to51rɨ3* '1Incl.POSS' plus *=ta2ã4* to express the meaning 'our *own* (medicines).'

(67) Context: You shouldn't treat your skin with things you buy from catalogs.
*to51rɨ3gɨ4ma4ã2ta2ã4 ni41ʔĩ4 ɟi1gɨ1na1 i1dau2tʃi4re5ʔĩ4*
to51rɨ3=gɨ4=ma4ã2=ta2ã4 ni41ʔĩ4 ɟi1=gɨ1=na1
1INCL.POSS=PL=COM=only FOC 1INCL=REFL=RCP
i1=dau2=tʃi4rɐ1=ʔĩ4
1INCL.SBJ.SC=take.care=actually=SUB
'We should actually take care of ourselves *with our own (medicines).*' [C27 CCI]

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These examples involve pronouns, but the emphatic-reflexive reading of *=ta2ã4* also occurs with proper nouns and demonstratives. For example, in (68), the speaker is quoting a conversation with me. Line (a) introduces one possible location where I could have bought the clothes, my country. Line (b) asserts that I actually bought them in an alternative location, the Peruvian city of Iquitos, using the proper noun *I3tʃi4tu1* 'Iquitos' plus *=ta2ã4*.

(68) a. *i4 ɲa4a2 rɨ1 ku31tʃi5ɨ̃1a1ne1wa5ne4 ku1na1ʔɨ̃4 ni41ʔi4?*
i4 ɲa4a2 rɨ1 ku31=tʃi5ɨ̃1a1ne1=wa5=ne4
DET(IV) DEM.PROX(IV) TOP 2SG=nation=ALL=SOURCE
ku1=na4=ʔɨ̃4 ni41ʔi4
2SBJ.SC=transport.INAN.PL=NMLZ(IV) FOC
'(I asked her,) "And these (baby clothes), *did you bring them from your country*?"'

b. "na4 I3tʃi5tu1wa5ta2ã4 na31ʔkɻ1 tʃa1ta4e2ʔɨ̃4 ni41ʔi4" ɲa5na4rɨ3gɨ1ã3
na4 I3tʃi5tu1=wa5=ta2ã4 na43=kɻ1 tʃa1=ta4e3=ʔɨ̃4 ni41ʔi4
COMP Iquitos=ALL=only 3=PURP 1SGSBJ.SC=buy=SUB FOC
ɲa5na4rɨ3gɨ1=ã3
3SBJ.QUOT=Rep
'She said, "*I bought them in Iquitos itself.*"'
[C27 CCI]

In (69) the speaker uses *=ta2ã4* on an anaphoric/addressee-proximal demonstrative to encourage the addressee, a one-year-old, to continue pushing the ball the same way they are now, rather than in other (unsuccessful) ways they have tried. This is another emphatic use.

(69) ***ŋe3ma2ta2ã4**, tɨ31ʔɨ̃3 i5na1kʊ1ʔu2tʃi4pɨ1ʔɨ3ma3re3*
**ŋe3ma2=ta2ã4** tɨ31=ʔɨ̃3
**DEM.ANA(IV)=only** 3(I)=ACC
i5=na1=kʊ1-ʔɨ2tʃi4=pɨ1ʔɨ3=ma3re3
DIR=IMP=push-DIR:outward.SG=CLF:sphere=just
'(Keep going) **just like that**, just push it (a ball) outside.' [C20-C23 CCI]

It is difficult to find examples in the corpus where *=ta2ã4* attaches to common nouns. Out of 685 tokens of *=ta2ã4* on a noun phrase constituent, there are only eight clear cases where it attaches to a native-vocabulary noun. However, this structure does occur, and seems to have the same emphatic-reflexive reading as *=ta2ã4* with a proper noun. For example, in (70), the speaker is discussing

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how to protect one's skin from the sun. She describes the subject as walking *i̱2ą1ki̱3=wa5=ta2ã4* (sun=ALL=same) 'directly in the sun,' which contrasts with alternatives such as walking in the shade or waiting for a less sunny time of day.[2]

(70) *ɟi31ʔe2ma4 ni41ʔĩ4, ɲu1ʔũ4 ɲa4a2ʔĩ̱4wa5 tʃi4ã3, ti̱31ʔĩ̱3-, **i̱2ą1ki̱3wa5ta2ã4** ta4ʔũ43ã4ma4*
ɟi31ʔe2ma4 ni41ʔĩ4 ɲu1ʔũ4 ɲa4a2=ʔĩ̱4=wa5 tʃi4=ã3
DEM.ANA(I) FOC say/do.what? 3.SBJ.SC.QUOT=NMLZ(IV)=ALL CNTF=REP
**i̱2ą1ki̱3=wa5=ta2ã4** ta4=ũ43=ã4ma4
**sun=ALL=only** 3(I).SBJ=walk.SG=anyway
'That one, how is it possible (lit., by doing/saying what) that she just walks around **right in the sun**?' [C27 CCI]

**28.4.2.2.2 Attributive 'same'** Besides the emphatic reading, *=ta2ã4* can also attach to third-person pronouns and demonstratives with an anaphoric reading similar to the attributive use of English 'same.'

For example, in (71) the participants are discussing how many of a set of eggs have hatched. They have seen a cracked eggshell on the floor and are wondering if it was the same egg that hatched earlier in the day, or a new one. They agree that only one egg has hatched, and therefore both A and B refer to it as *ni̱31ma2=ta2ã4* (3=same) 'the same one.'

(71) Context: "When we went to the forest, the eggshell was lying there (on the floor at home)."
a. A: *tau4ʔ **ni̱31ma2ta2ã4** ɟi1ʔĩ4*
tau4ʔ **ni̱31ma2=ta2ã4** ɟi1ʔĩ4
INFO **3.TOP=only** 3.SBJ.SC.COP
'(This eggshell) must be **the same one**.'
b. B: ***ni̱31ma2ta2ã4** a3ri̱1 ɟi1ʔĩ4 ŋẽ2ʔma4 na1ʔi̱31tʃa1mi̱1ʔi̱2ʔ*
**ni̱31ma2=ta2ã4** a3ri̱1 ɟi1ʔĩ4 ŋẽ2ʔma4
**3.TOP=only** INFO FOC.SC there.ANA.LOC
na1=i̱43=tʃa1mi̱1ʔi̱3=ʔ
3.SBJ.SC=be.in.place=NI:shell=SUB
'**The same one** was lying there, the eggshell.'
[C27 CCI]

[2]The accusative pronoun in this example is a hesitation/speech error.

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(72–73) provide examples of the 'same' reading with demonstratives. This reading of *=ta2ã4* is possible either when the demonstrative is used pronominally (72) or when it combines with a noun (73).

(72) Context: The speaker's sister has been telling her about her plans to travel and date casually. The speaker explains that now that she's married, she is not interested in this, but...
ĩ3pa3 tʃa1ʌe4te4gu2, rɨ1 **ɲa4a2ta2ã4** ɟi1ʔĩ1ʔĩ4 i4 tʃau1ã5ẽ2.
ĩ3pa3 tʃa1=ʌe4=te4=gu2 rɨ1 **ɲa4a2=ta2ã4**
long.ago 1SGSBJ=lack=NI:husband=COND/SUB TOP **DEM.PROX(IV)=only**
ɟi1ʔĩ1ʔĩ4 i4 tʃau1=ã5ẽ2
3SBJ.SC.Cop DET(IV) 1SG=heart
'A long time ago when I wasn't married, **this same (idea)** was (in) my mind.' [Veronica, LSC-VSC]

(73) *na4ta4a2 rɨ1 **ɟi2ma2ta2ã4** ĩ43gu2 na4pe43*
na4=ta4a2 rɨ1 **ɟi2ma2=ta2ã4** ĩ43=gu2 na4=pe43
3=grandchild TOP **DEM.ANA(III)=only** house(III)=LOC 3.SBJ=live.in.place
'His/her grandchild lives **in the same house** (as s/he did).' [LWG 2025.1.111]

In the sense of 'same,' *=ta2ã4* never attaches to common nouns. Instead, the enclitic is always hosted by a demonstrative modifying the noun, as in (73).

**28.4.2.2.3 Ambiguous cases** The emphatic reflexive and 'same' uses of *=ta2ã4* are semantically and formally different. The 'same' use is restricted to pronouns and demonstratives, while the emphatic reflexive use occurs with nouns as well; it also has an anaphoric component, while the emphatic reflexive is not obviously anaphoric. However, some tokens of *=ta2ã4* are ambiguous between these uses. For example, in (74), I ask a question which presupposes that the Cushillococha primary school could have moved. The speaker states that it has not. She uses a headless relative clause *ɲu̯1ʔma5 i5na1ʔi43gɨ5ʔĩ4* 'where it is now' as the host of *=ta2ã4*. This example arguably allows either an emphatic reading ('exactly where it is now'), or an anaphoric-same reading ('the same place where it is now').

(74) Q: Where was the primary school when you were little? A:
*ʌu5e3pa4ta3ĩ1, ŋe5ma2ta2ã4 **ɲu̯1ʔma5 i5na1ʔi43gɨ5ʔĩ4wa5ta2ã4** ni41ʔĩ4 na1ŋẽ2ʔma5ʔĩ4.*

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ʎu̯1-e3=pa4ta3ĭ1 ŋe5ma2=ta2ã4 **ɲu̯1ʔma5**
learn-PL=building there.ANA.ALL=only **now**
**i5=na1=i̯43=gi̯4=ʔĭ4=wa5=ta2ã4** ni41ʔĭ4
**IPFV=3.SBJ.SC=be.in.place=PL=NMLZ(IV)=ALL=only** FOC
na1=ŋẽ2ʔma4=ʔĭ4
3.SBJ.SC=be.in.place=SUB
'The school, (it was) right there, it was ***exactly where it is now / the same place that it is now***.' [LGC HALDI]

#### 28.4.2.3 Alone, on quantifiers

On quantifiers, *=ta2ã4* emphasizes that the cardinality of the quantified set is less than would be contextually expected. It is best glossed 'only.' In this use of *=ta2ã4*, there are usually no explicit alternatives, but the higher expected cardinality represents an implicit alternative.

For example, in (75), the speaker is discussing a large flock of chickens that might be expected to include more than one rooster. She therefore marks the numeral *wi̯43ʔi4* 'one' with *=ta2ã4*.

(75) Context: 'Their chickens are nearly all female...'
***wi̯43ʔi4ta2ã4*** *ni41ʔĭ4 i4 ɟa31ti̯3ʔĭ4*
**wi̯43ʔi4=ta2ã4** ni41ʔĭ4 i4 ɟa31ti̯1=ʔĭ4
**one=only** FOC DET(IV) male=SUB
'***Only one*** is male.' [C27 CCI]

In (76), I am the subject, and since I have already been visiting for several years, I might contextually be expected to be more than 27 years old. When the speaker states my (then) age, she therefore marks the predicate expressing it with *=ta2ã4*. The predicate 'be only 27 years old' includes a Spanish quantifier, a Spanish noun, and several other enclitics. As always, *=ta2ã4* appears after all other enclitics.

(76) *no31ʔẽ5 A3ma3li3a1 ʎe1ʔta5ma4ne4 ũ43ũ4ʔĭ4ma3re2ʔĭ4* ***veintisiente años=ą̃1tʃi4re5ʔĭ4ta2ã4*** *ni41ʔĭ4*
no31ʔẽ5 A3ma3li3a1 ʎe1ʔta5=ma4=ne4
HON Amalia where?.ALL=toward=SOURCE
ũ43=i̯4ʔĭ4=ma3re3=ʔĭ4 **veintisiente**
go.SG=DIR:back.and.forth=just=SUB **SP:27**
**años=ą̃1=tʃi4rẹ1=ʔĭ4=ta2ã4** ni41ʔĭ4
**SP:years=have.Al=actually=NMLZ(IV)=only** FOC
'Miss Amalia, who has come (here) from somewhere so many times, ***is***

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***actually only 27 years old***.' [C27 CCI]

Quantifier=*ta2ã4* constructions do not always express low cardinality. They also serve as as the equivalent to non-anaphoric uses of *same* in English, such as *She and I live in the same town.* (77) provides an example of the 'same' use of *=ta2ã4* on a quantifier.

(77) Context: 'You can't leave because...'
*ma3ma5 rɨ1 pa3pa5 ta31ma4ã2 nɨ31ʔĩ3 ti4ʔu3 na4ʔ* ***wɨ43ʔi4wa5ta2ã4*** *ni41ʔĩ4 i5rɨ3to̰2ʔ.*
ma3ma5 rɨ1 pa3pa5 ta31=ma4ã2 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 ti4=u3 na4ʔ
mother(I) and father(I) 1INCL=COM 3=ACC 3(I).SBJ=say COMP
**wɨ43ʔi4=wa5=ta2ã4** ni41ʔĩ4 i5=rɨ3=to1=ʔ
**one=ALL=only** FOC VCL=1INCL.SBJ.SC=sit=SUB
'Mom and Dad told us to stay ***in the same place / in only one place (together)***.' [LFG, 20180707]

#### 28.4.2.4 Alone, on adverbs

On adverbs, *=ta2ã4* has two readings. One is the same as the reading on nouns, emphasizing the contrast between the host constituent and other possible alternatives. For example, in the discourse before (78), Adriana has been saying that she feels sick. Victoria speculates in line (a) that she'll develop a fever later; in line (b), Adriana uses the adverb *ɲṵ1ʔma5=ta2ã4* (now=only) to emphasize the fact that she already feels sick now.

(78) a. Victoria: *o31 ki3ʔa31ʔɨ4ne1tʃa1ĩ1 ma2na4*
o31 ki3=a31ʔɨ4ne1=tʃa1ĩ1 ma2na4
INTJ:oh 2SGSBJ=fever=PROSP maybe
'Oh, maybe you're going to get a fever.'

b. Adriana: *tʃa3ʎṵ1ʔtʃa3me3tɨ1kɨ5ra1ĩ1* ***ɲṵ1ʔma5ta2ã4*** *nu5 tʃa1to1na2gɨ4gu2 ɟi1ʔĩ1ʔ*
tʃa3=ʎṵ1ʔtʃa3me3tɨ1=kɨ5ra1ĩ1 **ɲṵ1ʔma5=ta2ã4** nu5
1SGSBJ=headache=INFER **now=only** here.ALL
tʃa1=to1-na2gɨ4=gu2 ɟi1ʔĩ1ʔ
1SGSBJ.SC=sit-DIR:upward=COND/SUB SC.FOC
'**Right now** I have such a headache, since I came up and sat down here.'

[AFG-LVI]

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The other reading of *=ta2ã4* on adverbs is equivalent to English aspectual 'still'. It conveys that the adverb property holds before the time of the clause and at the time of the clause, but will not (necessarily) hold later. For instance, in (79) the speaker quotes someone telling him to go home before dark. He uses the adverb *ʌ́u1ne1kɨ3* 'in the daytime' with *=ta2ã4* to express 'while it is still light'.

(79) *ta4na31ʔwɋ1e3 i4 **ʌ́u1ne1kɨ3ta2ã4**, a3rɨ1 na4 nu5a2 ku1ʌ́u2ʔĩ4*
ta4=na31=wɋ1e3 i4 **ʌ́u1ne1kɨ3=ta2ã4** a3rɨ1 na4 nu5a2
1EXCL.SBJ=3.OBJ=want DET(IV) **in.the.daytime=only** INFO COMP here.ALL
ku1=ʌ́u3=ʔĩ4
2SGSBJ.SC=arrive=SUB
'We want you to get here **while it is still daytime**.' [NWG Visit]

#### 28.4.2.5 Alone, on predicates

Predicates can also host *=ta2ã4*. On (non-quantificational) predicates, it behaves as a temporal/aspectual marker equivalent to English 'still,' as we saw in the 'still daytime' reading on (79). That is, it conveys that the predicate holds at the time of the clause, but stopped (or is expected to stop) at some later time.

For example, in (80), the speaker is describing a situation where the subjects were asleep previously, were asleep at the time of the clause, but could be expected to wake up just afterward. In (81), the speaker describes the size of Cushillococha when he got married, approximately 50 years before the recording; it was small then, but is not, in his opinion, small now.

(80) Context: 'It was before dawn.'
*ɟe4ma4kɋ1 ni41ʔĩ4 ga4 **i5na1pe31ʔĩ4ta2ã4***
ɟe4ma4kɋ1 ni41ʔĩ4 ga4 **i5=na1=pe43=ʔĩ4=ta2ã4**
that's.why.REM.PST FOC DET.REM.PST **IPFV=3.SBJ.SC=sleep=SUB=only**
'So they were **still sleeping**.' [NWG Brazil Trip]

(81) *ɟe4ʔgu4ma4 Kɨ3ʔtʃi3tu1 rɨ1, **na4ʔi51ra1ʔi1ra1ta2ã4***
ɟe4ʔgu4ma4 Kɨ3ʔtʃi3tu1 rɨ1 **na4=i51ra1=ʔi1ra1=ta2ã4**
then.REM.PST Cushillococha TOP **3.SBJ=small=sort.of=only**
'Back then Cushillococha was **still kind of small**.' [ABS HALDI]

The 'still' reading of *=ta2ã4* is also possible on adjuncts, but it is less common. One example of this reading on an adjunct appears in (82), where the speaker is contrasting the style of houses in Caballococha now vs. when she was a child. While all houses in Caballococha are now made from commercial materials, in

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her childhood they were built from palm wood, which is traditional Amazonian construction.

(82) 'When I was young...'
***ko3tu1ma4ã2ta2ã4*** *ri1* ***ɟu3ra1ma4ã2ta2ã4*** *ni41ʔĩ4 na1po4e1gu1tʃi5ĩ3ʔ.*
**ko3tu1=ma4ã2=ta2ã4** ri1 **ɟu3ra1=ma4ã2=ta2ã4** ni41ʔĩ4
**thatch.palm=COM=only** and **Iriartea.deltoidea=COM=only** FOC
na1=po4e1gu1=tʃi5ĩ1=ʔ
3.SBJ.SC=build.enclosure=NI:house=SUB
'(People in Caballococha) were constructing their houses ***still from thatch palm and still from ɟu3ra1*** (forest materials).' [LGC HALDI]

The temporal meaning of 'still' in (82) scopes over the adjunct 'from thatch palm and *ɟu3ra1* (another palm species),' not over the verb stem *po4e1gu1=tʃi5ĩ1* (build=NI:house) 'build houses'. Therefore, the palm species names are focused and bear *=ta2ã4*, while the verb does not.

#### 28.4.2.6 Placement with respect to second-position clitics

Across all constituent types that it attaches to, *=ta2ã4* displays unique placement with respect to second-position clitics. Specifically, if the first constituent in the clause is the host of *=ta2ã4*, and the second is a second-position clitic, then *=ta2ã4* must appear on the second-position clitic, *rather than* on its host.

For example, in (83), the first constituent is *ŋe3a2 na31ʔtɑ1pɨ1gu2* 'along that wall,' which is focused using a syntactic focus construction. The focused constituent is the host of *=ta2ã4*, giving the reading 'along that same wall'. Normally, *=ta2ã4* would appear directly on its host, as in the numerous examples in this section. However, there is also a second-position clitic *ta4* 'FUT' in this clause. The second-position clitic forces *=ta2ã4* to appear on it, rather than on the actual host.

(83) *ŋe3a2 na31ʔtɑ1pɨ1gu2* ***ta4ta2ʔã4*** *ni4ʔĩ4 a1ʔũ31ʔĩ4 ŋe3a2, ã4kɨ5ʔ, ladrillogɨ4.*
ŋe3a2 na43=ʔtɑ1pɨ1=gu2 **ta4=ta2ʔã4** ni4ʔĩ4 a1=ũ43=ʔĩ4
DEM.MED(IV) DFLT.POSS=wall=LOC **FUT=ONLY** FOC 3SBJ.SC=GO.SG=SUB
ŋe3a2 ã4kɨ4=ʔ ladrillo=gɨ4
DEM.MED(IV) HESIT=SUB SP:brick=PL
'Those um bricks will go *along that same wall.*' [Magdalena, MAG Built Space]

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Both *ta4* FUT and *tʃi4* CNTF invariably displace *=ta2ã4* from its host. However, *ta1* 'also' does not do this, and neither do other morphemes that optionally appear in second position, such as discourse markers.

### 28.4.3 The enclitic *=ma3re3* 'just'

This marker attaches to all constituent types, but primarily to verbs and nonverbal predicates. It conveys that the predicate is less desirable/affectively good than some relevant alternative, or ranks below it on another kind of scale.

For example, in (84) the speaker has been discussing my promise to give her child a present. She wanted a valuable one, such as shoes, but instead I gave the child a less valuable toy. Because this was below her expectations, she describes the present as *tʃau3ri3o1=tʃi3kɨ4na3ʔa1-a3kɨ1=ma3re3* (dinosaur=image-Dim=just) 'just a little figurine of a dinosaur,' with *=ma3re3* attaching to a noun phrase.

(84) *tʃa3pa4tu1 rɨ3ɛ̰1ʔna5 tạ2ʔkɨ4 ɲa4a2e5ga3ʔ, tạ2ʔkɨ4 a4 ŋe2ʔã4*
***tʃau3ri3o1tʃi3kɨ4na3ʔa1a3kɨ1ma3re3***
tʃa3pa4tu1 rɨ3ɛ̰1ʔna5 tạ2ʔkɨ4 ɲa4a2=e5ga1=ʔ tạ2ʔkɨ4
shoe or what? 3.SBJ.SC.QUOT=WEAK.PROSP=SUB what?
a4 ŋe2ʔã4 **tʃau3ri3o1=tʃi3kɨ4na3ʔa1-a3kɨ1=ma3re3**
DET(IV) there.ANA.LOC **dinosaur=image-Dim=just**
'(I thought) it would be shoes or something like that, but in the end it was **just a little figurine of a dinosaur.**' [AFG, AFG-LVI]

(85) has a similar reading to (84), but with *=ma3re3* attaching to a verb. Here the speaker is explaining that when she was young, it was not possible to drive from Cushillococha to Caballococha. As a result, the journey, which today is about 15 minutes by motorcycle, took two hours. She uses the verb *ũ31=ma3re3* 'just walk' to contrast with the more desirable option of traveling by motorcycle.

(85) ***ti4ʔũ31ma3re3**, na4ta2ʔu2ma3 i4 mo3to1gɨ4 rɨ1, na4ta2ʔu2ta2ã4 wo5e3.*
**ti4=ũ43=ma3re3** na4=tau2ʔ=ma3 i4
**IMPERS.SBJ=walk.SG=just** 3.SBJ=NEG.EXIST=INFO DET(IV)
mo3to1=gɨ4 rɨ1 na4=tau2ʔ=ta2ã4 wo5e3
SP:motorcycle(IV)=PL and 3.SBJ=NEG.EXIST=only simply
'**You (generic) just walked**, there were no motorcycles, there was still absolutely nothing.' [YCG HALDI]

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While *=ma3re3* most often conveys that the predicate/property is less desirable than some alternative, it can also convey that it ranks low on some other kind of scale. For instance, in (86), the speaker is describing how two very young children act when they play soccer. She uses the verb stem *tʃo31=ma3re3* (stay.PL=just) to explain that they stay at the goal, rather than being field players. This suggests a scale of complexity (not necessarily desirability) where staying at the goal is less complex than playing the field.

(86) *a4 Meuryma4ʔã2 ŋe2ʔa4 tʃi4i4ʔĩ5ʔĩ4 rɨ1 tʃo31ʔ-, **tʃo31ma3re2ʔĩ4** arquerane3ta2tʃi4rẹ1 a4 Meury*
a4 Meury=ma4ʔã2 ŋe2ʔa4 tʃi4-ɨ4ʔĩ4=ʔĩ4
DET(IV) Meury(IV)=COM there.DIST.LOC stand-DIR:back.and.forth=SUB
rɨ1 **tʃo43=ma3re3=ʔĩ4** arquera=ne3ta2=tʃi4rẹ1 a4 Meury
and **stay.PL=just=SUB** SP:goalie=pretend=actually DET(IV) Meury(IV)
'She always goes and stands there with Meury, and **they just stay there** (by the goal), (because) Meury actually plays goalie.' [MFG, LFG-MFG-LVI]

(87) provides another example where *=ma3re3* conveys rank on a fairly context-specific scale. Here the speaker is admonishing her child for being afraid of me. She describes me as *tʃi3ũ3ra1=ma3re3* (lady=just) 'just a lady' and then explicitly states that the child should not 'be afraid of everything'. This suggests that the speaker is implying a scale of things one should be afraid of; *=ma3re3* conveys that I rank low on the scale.

(87) a. *nu5a2 na1ʔũ43, tạ2kɨ4kạ1 tɨ3ku3mu43ĩ2?*
nu5a2 na1=ũ43 tạ2kɨ4=kạ1 tɨ3=ku3=mu43ĩ2
here.ALL IMP=go.SG what?=PURP 3(I)OBJ=2SGSBJ=afraid
'Come here, why are you afraid of her?'

b. ***tʃi3ũ3ra1=ma3re3***
**tʃi3ũ3ra1=ma3re3**
**lady=just**
'**She's just a lady**.'

c. *ta4ã3 na4me43 ni4 tạ2kɨ4ʔĩ3 i1mu43ĩ2ʔĩ4*
ta4ã3 na4me43 ni4 tạ2kɨ4=ʔĩ3 i1=mu43ĩ2=ʔĩ4
NEG deontic.should COMP what?=ACC IMPERS.SBJ.SC=afraid=SUB
'You (generic) shouldn't be afraid of everything.'
[SCG-YCG-DGC]

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While the above examples have *=ma3re3* attaching to the main verbal or non-verbal predicate, the marker can also appear on adverbs and adjuncts. (88) is an example of *=ma3re3* attaching to an adverb, in this case *tʃi31ʔri5* 'badly.'

(88) Context: Speaker is trying to thread beads on a string and can't.
*e3ĩ1ka5* ***tʃi31ʔri5ma3re3*** *tɨ31ʔĩ3 na4we1ma3re3*
e3ĩ1ka5 **tʃi31ʔri5=ma3re3** tɨ31=ʔĩ3 na4=we1=ma3re3
INTJ:let's.see **badly=just** 3(I)=ACC 3.SBJ=tie=just
'Let's see, s/he **just** tied it **badly**.' [C44 CCI]

Looking to nouns, in most cases where *=ma3re3* appears on a noun, it is a predicate nominal. However, it **is** possible for *=ma3re3* to appear on arguments and adjuncts as well, such as the comitative adjunct in (89).

(89) Context: In about 1952, SIL missionary Lambert Anderson built a home in Cushillococha using forest materials. This is generally considered less desirable than using commercial materials such as sawn planks.
***ɟu3ra1ma4ã2ma3re3*** *na4ʔi2tʃi5ĩ1, ta4ma3 ã4kɨ4, mɨ3ra3pe3wa1ma4ã2 ni41ʔĩ4*
**ɟu3ra1=ma4ã2=ma3re3** na4=i2=tʃi5ĩ1 ta4ma3 ã4kɨ4
**Iriartea.deltoidea=COM=just** 3.SBJ=do=NI:house NEG HESIT
mɨ3ra3pe3wa1=ma4ã2 ni41ʔĩ4
plank=COM FOC
'He built the house **from just *ɟu3ra1*** (and nothing better), he did not um do it with planks.' [HCG HALDI]

Comparing (89) to (82) above also illustrates the difference between *=ta2ã4* 'same/still' and *=ma3re3* 'just.' In (82), the constituent *ɟu3ra1=ma4ã2=ta2ã4* '(they) still (built) with *ɟu3ra1*' conveys a contrast between two times – one when *ɟu3ra1* was used as a building material (the clause time) and a later one when it was not (the present). On the other hand, in (89) *ɟu3ra1=ma4ã2=ma3re3* conveys a contrast between two materials which Anderson could have used at the same time: the *ɟu3ra1* and the more desirable alternative of planks.

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# 29 Reference management

This chapter describes the constructions which speakers use to introduce new third-person referents, and refer back to previously mentioned ones, in connected discourses.

The scope of this description does *not* include reference to entities that are present in the physical surroundings of the discourse. Speakers generally use exophoric demonstratives and pronouns (Chapter 13.3; Skilton 2019), not the devices in this chapter, to point out co-present referents. Since a large proportion of references in conversation are to co-present entities, this means that the chapter is primarily about narrative rather than conversation.

In general, Ticuna speakers use the following strategies for nominal reference:

1. Noun phrases introduced by the indefinite article *wɨ432ʔi4* 'one'.
2. Noun phrases introduced by determiners only.
3. Noun phrases introduced by or consisting of the multifunctional demonstratives *ŋe3ma2* and *ɟe4ma4*, in their anaphoric function.
4. Noun phrases consisting of a third-person pronoun, determiner, and coreferential head noun. These "incremented pronoun constructions" also often include an anaphoric demonstrative. The syntax of the incremented pronoun construction is discussed in Chapter 13.5.
5. Pronouns alone.
6. Zero anaphora.

The earlier constructions on this list (e.g., noun phrases with the indefinite article) are associated with the introduction of entirely new referents, and the reintroduction of referents which have appeared previously in the discourse, but not in the previous clause or two. The later constructions on the list (e.g., zero anaphora) are associated with maintenance of referents across successive clauses.

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However, except in the case of noun phrases with the indefinite article, there is no absolute division between constructions that can introduce new referents vs. that can only maintain discourse-old ones. Because of this, the chapter is organized by function (e.g., introduction) rather than construction. I cover introducing discourse-new referents (§29.1), maintaining discourse-old referents (§29.2), and last, reintroducing discourse-old referents (§29.3).

Readers who are interested in semantics may notice that bare nouns do not appear on the list above. This is because all nouns in Ticuna, including pronouns, are introduced by determiners (Chapter 13.2), unless they appear in a position where determiners are disallowed for prosodic/phonological reasons. Therefore, there are no true bare nouns and I do not use that term. I use the term "nouns with determiners only" both for nouns introduced by overt determiners, and surface bare nouns (which occur only if the noun is both preverbal and unquantified).

## 29.1 Introducing new referents

Here, I first describe the devices used to introduce indefinite referents (§29.1.1). Referents are indefinite if they are not previously known to the participants from world knowledge, not present in the physical surroundings of discourse, and not unique. I then discuss the introduction of definite referents (§29.1.2). Referents are definite if they are part of the participants' world knowledge or are unique.

### 29.1.1 Introducing a new indefinite referent

Introduction of new, indefinite referents is different for singulars vs. plurals.

#### 29.1.1.1 Indefinite singulars

In narratives as well as elicited examples, referents which are (a) new, (b) indefinite, and (c) singular are generally introduced using the numeral *wɨ43ʔi4* 'one.' This is one of several pieces of evidence that *wɨ43ʔi4* is an indefinite article as well as a numeral. Like all numerals and quantifiers, *wɨ43ʔi4* always combines with a determiner. (1–2) show *wɨ43ʔi4* introducing new referents.

(1) Context: Long ago, there was no manioc. At that time...
***wɨ43ʔi4 ga4 no31ʔẽ5****, nɨ31ʔĩ1ka5 na4a3kɨ1gɨ4ma4ã2 i1pe31ʔĩ4, ɟe5ma2 na4ʎu3 ga4* ***wɨ43ʔi4 ga4 ɟa31ti3, ga4 wɨ43ʔi4 ga4 o1ʔi5****, na4ĩ1ta1wa5*

**wɨ43ʔi4** ga4 no31ʔẽ5 nɨ31=ĩ1ka5 na4=a3kɨ1=gɨ4=ma4ã2
**one** DET.REM.PST old.woman 3=only 3=child=PL=COM
i1=pe43=ʔĩ4 ɟe5ma2 na4=ʌu3 ga4
3.SBJ.SC=live.in.place=SUB there.ANA.REM.PST 3=arrive DET.REM.PST
**wɨ43ʔi4** ga4 ɟa31tɨ3 ga4 **wɨ43ʔi4** ga4 ǫ1ʔi5
**one** DET.REM.PST man DET.REM.PST **one** DET.REM.PST old.man
na4=ĩ1ta1=wa5
3=RN:at=ALL
'**An old woman** lived alone with her children, and there where they lived, at their place, there arrived **a man**, **an old man**.' [LWG t+e]

(2) Context: 'Last night I stepped out of my house. It was very dark...'
*na2tɨ4rɨ2 ɟi51ʔkɨ3ã4ma4ĩ1ra1 rɨ1 **wɨ43ʔi4** i4 wo3ra3ma3ku3ri1 na4ba31ʔi3*
na2tɨ4rɨ2 ɟi51ʔkɨ3ã4ma4=ĩ1ra1 rɨ1 **wɨ43ʔi4** i4 wo3ra3ma3ku3ri1
but later=sort.of TOP **one** DET(IV) star(IV)
na4=bai31ʔ
3.SBJ=shed.light
'But then **a star** began to shine.' [LWG 2017.2.198]

In elicitation, people also judge it acceptable to introduce singular referents using a determiner only, without the indefinite article (3). However, all corpus examples of the (3)-type strategy involve either headless relative clauses, as in (4), or reference to kinds, as in (5). There are no corpus examples that clearly involve introducing an indefinite, singular, individual-referring, non-relative noun phrase with a determiner only.

(3) Context: 'Late last night, I stepped out of my house, and then...'
***(wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa4)** pa4wɨ4 tʃo31gu2 na4ʌu31*
(**wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa4**) pa4wɨ4 tʃo31=gu2 na4=ʌu31
(**one** **DET(II)**) spider(II) 1SG=LOC 3.SBJ=fall
'**(A) spider** fell on me.' [LWG 2017.2.199]

(4) Q: When you were young, did the town have a plaza? A:
*na4ta2ʔu2ma3, na4ɟe2ʔma4 **ga4 i51ra1tʃi4a3kɨ3ʔ***
na4=tau2ʔ=ma3 na4=ɟe2ʔma4 **ga4** **i51ra1=tʃi4-a3kɨ1=ʔ**
3.SBJ=NEG.EXIST 3.SBJ=be.in.place **DET.REM.PST** **one=NI:point-Dim=SUB**
'There wasn't (a plaza), (but) there was **a little obelisk** (lit. one which had a little point).' [SSG HALDI]

(5) Context: Naming the species of each of a child's toys. The toys include exactly one *o3wa4ru1* fish.

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*ka4ʔa1 wa31ʔi5* ***o3wa4ru1*** *nu5a2 na4ŋe3ma2*
ka4ʔa1 wa31ʔi5 **o3wa4ru1** nu5a2 na4=ŋe3ma2
INTJ:look CONT.FOC **armored.catfish(IV)** here.ALL 3.SBJ=exist(IV)
'Look, there are ***o3wa4ru1*** **fish** here.' [2019 C10-C13]

#### 29.1.1.2 Indefinite plurals

In contrast to indefinite singulars, indefinite plural NPs do not combine with *wɨ43ʔi4* 'one.' In general, they are introduced using only a determiner, as in (6).

(6) Context: Once upon a time long ago...
*na4ɟe2ʔma4* ***ga4*** ***bu3ʔĩ4*** *ga4 tạ1ku5e2ʔĩ4, ʎe4a1rɨ3 ma3ma5ą̃1gɨ5ʔ, rɨ1 ɟu2a1rɨ3 pa3pa5ą̃1gɨ5ʔ.*
na4=ɟe2ʔma4 **ga4** **bu3ʔĩ4** ga4
3.SBJ=be.in.place.REM.PST **DET.REM.PST** **child(IV)** **DET.REM.PST**
tạ1ku5e3=ʔĩ4 ʎe4=a1rɨ3 ma3ma5=ą̃1=gɨ4=ʔ rɨ1
be.orphaned=NMLZ(IV) lack=AL.INCORP mother=AL.INCORP=PL=SUB and
ɟu2=a1rɨ3 pa3pa5=ą̃1=gɨ4=ʔ
die=AL.INCORP father=AL.INCORP=PL=SUB
'There were **some children** who were orphans, who did not have a mother, who had lost their father.' [LWG owa]

You can also introduce new plural referents using other weak quantifiers (see Chapter 13.1 for this term), such as numerals (7) and the equivalent of *many* (8).

(7) Context: It is daytime and there are no stars out right now. I tell you, 'Last night I stepped out of my house. It was very dark, but then...'
*rɨ1 ŋɨ2rɨ4ã4tʃɨ4* ***ta2ʔre4*** *ɟa4 wo3ra3ma3ku3ri1 na4ʎǫ1 i4 dau2ʔĩ4gu2 i4 na31a1ne1wa5*
rɨ1 ŋɨ2rɨ4=ã4tʃɨ4 **ta2ʔre4** ɟa4 wo3ra3ma3ku3ri1 na4=ʎǫ1
and suddenly=ACHV **two** DET(II) star(II) 3.SBJ=appear
i4 dau2ʔĩ4=gu2 i4 na43=a1ne1=wa5
DET(IV) sky=LOC DET(IV) DFLT.POSS=land=ALL
'Suddenly **two stars** appeared in the sky.' [LWG 2025.1.108]

(8) Context: Same as (7)
*rɨ1 ŋɨ2rɨ4ã4tʃɨ4* ***mu1kɨ3ma3*** *ɟa4 ẽ3ta5gɨ4 na4ʎǫ1*
rɨ1 ŋɨ2rɨ4=ã4tʃɨ4 **mu1kɨ3=ma3** ɟa4 ẽ3ta5=gɨ4 na4=ʎǫ1
and suddenly=ACHV **many(II)=INFO** DET(II) star=PL 3.SBJ=appear
'Suddenly **many stars** appeared.' [LWG 2025.1.108]

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If the new referent is known only from the narrative – i.e., is not previously known to the participants or present in the physical surroundings of the discourse – then it cannot be introduced with the proximal, medial, or distal demonstratives; these are exclusively exophoric (9). It is also questionable to use the anaphoric demonstrative in this type of context.

(9) Context: Same as (7)
***(*da2a2 / *ɟi2a4 / *gu2a4 / ?ɟi2ma4)*** *wo3ra3ma3ku3ri1 na4=bai31?*
**(*da2a2 / *ɟi2a4 / *gu2a4 / ?ɟi2ma4)**
**(*DEM.PROX(II) / *DEM.MED(II) / *DEM.DIST(II) / ?DEM.ANA(II))**
wo3ra3ma3ku3ri1 na4=bai31?
star(II) 3.SBJ=shed.light
'**(*This / *That.MED / *That.DIST / ?That.ANA)** star began to shed light.'
[LWG 2017.2.199]

If a referent isn't present but is mutually known to the participants, then it can be introduced using anaphoric demonstratives. This is probably the reason that the anaphoric demonstrative is somewhat acceptable in (9).[1] However, introduction of a mutually known entity is a type of definite reference, the next topic that I'll discuss.

### 29.1.2 Introducing a new definite referent

I consider a discourse-new referent definite if it is (a) known to the discourse participants prior to the discourse, or (b) unique (cf. Dawson & Jenks 2023).

#### 29.1.2.1 Weakly familiar referents

If a referent is weakly familiar in the sense of Schwarz (2009) – i.e., has not been mentioned in the discourse and is not present, but *is* known to the participants from their mutual world knowledge – then it isn't introduced with *wi43?i4* 'one'.

Instead, weakly familiar referents are most often introduced using nouns with determiners only. For example, in (10), the church in the plaza of Cushillococha is a well-known landmark. It hasn't been introduced in the discourse, but as the addressee is familiar with it, the speaker introduces it using a noun only. This strategy occurs with both singulars (10) and plurals (11).

[1] Also note that with the anaphoric demonstrative, the noun *wo3ra3ma3ku3ri1* is most naturally read as referring to the planet Venus, rather than as 'star'; therefore it may also be weakly familiar and/or unique here.

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(10) Q: Where was your house as a child? A:
*Kɨ3ʔtʃi3tu1wa5 ŋẽ5ma2, ɲɥ1ʔma5* ***ʎu3ta4ke1e3pa4ta3ĩ1*** *e1ʔɨ31ʔĩ4wa5.*
Kɨ3ʔtʃi3tu1=wa5 ŋẽ5ma2 ɲɥ1ʔma5 **ʎu3ta4ke1e3=pa4ta3ĩ1**
Cushillococha=ALL there.ANA.ALL now **congregate=building**
e1=ɨ43=ʔĩ4=wa5
3.SBJ.SC=be.in.place=NMLZ(IV)=ALL
'In Cushillococha where **the church** is now.' [SSG HALDI]

(11) Q: Who built these bridges? A:
***a3ɛ̃1ʔga3kɨ3gɨ4*** *ni41ʔĩ4 ga4 na3ʔɨ2gɨ5ʔ.*
**a3ɛ̃1ʔga3kɨ3=gɨ4** ni41ʔĩ4 ga4 na3=ɨ2=gɨ4=ʔ
**political.leader=PL** FOC DET.REM.PST 3.OBJ=make=PL=SUB
'**The civil authorities** built them.' [YCG HALDI]

Weakly familiar referents can also be introduced using anaphoric demonstratives, as shown by (12–13). For example, in (12), the speaker is listing areas of Caballococha that were affected by a flood. These include the town's main Catholic church (not the same church as in 10). As the Catholic church is also a well-known landmark, he introduces it with the remote past anaphoric demonstrative in its recognitional use (Skilton 2019: chapter 7).

(12) Context: 'In the place where you live now, in the place where the nuns live now...'
*rɨ1 na4ʎu31* ***ga4 gu2ma2-, gu2ma2*** *iglesia.*
rɨ1 na4=ʎu31 **ga4** **gu2ma2**
and 3.SBJ=be.submerged.SGS **DET.REM.PST** **DEM.ANA.REM.PST(III)**
iglesia
SP:church(III)
'**That church** also flooded.' [SSG HALDI]

(13) Context: The Israelitas are a local ethnic/religious group who recently migrated to Caballococha. They are familiar to everyone but have not been mentioned in the discourse.
*ĩ31, ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3, nu5a2 na1ʎu3gɨ4gu2* ***i4*** ***ŋe3ma2*** *israelitagɨ4*
ĩ31 ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3 nu5a2 na1=ʎu3=gɨ4=gu2 **i4**
INTJ:yes CONN here.ALL 3.SBJ.SC=arrive=PL=COND **DET(IV)**
**ŋe3ma2** israelita=gɨ4
**DEM.ANA(IV)** SP:Israelita=PL
'Uh-huh, when **those Israelitas** arrived here' [HCG HALDI]

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#### 29.1.2.2 Unique referents

If a referent is unique – either in the world, like the moon in (14), or in some narrower context, like the priest in (15) – then it's also introduced using a determiner only. It isn't acceptable to use *wɨ43ʔi4* 'one' with unique referents. Consultant comments, such as DGG's comments on (14) and (15), suggest that this is because *wɨ43ʔi4* conveys non-uniqueness.

(14) Context: It is daytime and there are no stars out right now. I tell you, 'Last night I stepped out of my house. It was very dark, but then...'
*na2tɨ4rɨ4 ɟi51ʔkɨ3ã4ma4ĩ1ra1 rɨ1 (*wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa4) ta2we3ma3kɨ3 na4ba31ʔi3*
na2tɨ4rɨ4 ɟi51ʔkɨ3ã4ma4=ĩ1ra1 rɨ1 (*wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa4) ta2we3ma3kɨ3
but later=sort.of TOP (*one DET(II)) moon(II)
na4=bai31ʔ
3.SBJ=shed.light
'But then **the (*INDF) moon** began to shed light.' [LWG 2017.2.198; DGG 2017.2.197]
LWG's comment on unacceptable form: 'The moon is only one thing, there aren't several of them.'
DGG's comment: 'There aren't two moons.'

(15) Context: I live near the only Catholic priest in town. Both of us are familiar with him. Last night I stepped out of my house, and it was very dark...
*na2tɨ4rɨ4 i5na4ʌu3 ɟa4 (*wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa4) pai31 rɨ1 tʃo31ʔĩ5 na4ba31ʔi3.*
na2tɨ4rɨ4 i5=na4=ʌu3 ɟa4 (*wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa4) pai31 rɨ1
but VCL=3.SBJ=arrive DET(II) (*one DET(II)) priest(II) and
tʃo31=ʔĩ5 na4=bai31ʔ
1SG=RCP 3.SBJ=shed.light
'But **the (*INDF) priest** arrived and shed light for me (i.e. with a flashlight).' [DGG 2017.2.198; LWG 2017.2.198]
DGG's comment: 'You could only say *wɨ43ʔi4 ɟa4 pai31* if there were several priests.'

It's also acceptable to introduce unique referents using the anaphoric/multifunctional demonstratives. For instance, (16) shows that the multifunctional demonstrative is acceptable in the same context as (15). I consider this to be case of the recognitional use of these demonstratives, since unique referents tend to also be mutually known (due to their uniqueness). Exophoric demonstratives (the proximal, medial, and distal) aren't possible with unique referents unless the referent meets their deictic requirements, as shown by the negative judgments in (16).

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(16) Context: Same as above. The priest is not here with us now.
*na2tɨ4rɨ4 i5na4ʎu3 ɟa4 (ɟi2ma4/*da2a2/*ɟi2a4/*gu2a4) pai31 rɨ1 tʃo31ʔĩ5 na4ba31ʔi3.*
na2tɨ4rɨ4 i5=na4=ʎu3 ɟa4 (ɟi2ma4 / *da2a2 /
but VCL=3.SBJ=arrive DET(II) (DEM.ANA(II) / *DEM.PROX(II) /
*ɟi2a4 / *gu2a4) pai31 rɨ1 tʃo31=ʔĩ5 na4=bai31ʔ
*DEM.MED(II) / *DEM.DIST(II)) priest(II) TOP 1SG=RCP 3.SBJ=shed.light
'But **the (DET) / that (ANA) / *this / *that (MED) / *that (DIST) priest** arrived and shed light for me (i.e. with a flashlight).' [DGG 2017.2.198]

### 29.1.3 Interim summary of introduction strategies

To summarize this section, indefinites with *wɨ43ʔi4* 'one' can only be used if the referent is not plural, not unique, not part of the participants' mutual world knowledge, and not present in the physical surroundings of discourse.

Nouns with only determiners are much less restricted. They can be used to introduce the same classic indefinite singular referents as *wɨ43ʔi4* 'one.' In addition, they can also introduce definite referents, such as unique singulars and weakly familiar singulars and plurals. Anaphoric demonstratives, in their recognitional use, also occasionally introduce weakly familiar referents. However, people do not use exophoric demonstratives; pronouns, including incremented pronoun constructions; or zero anaphora to introduce new referents which are not co-present.

## 29.2 Maintaining a referent

When a referent is maintained, i.e. appears as an argument in multiple successive main clauses, it usually appears in the second and later clauses in a maximally reduced form. Syntactically, Ticuna has pro-drop/zero anaphora for subjects, but not objects (Chapter 6.3). Thus, the most reduced possible form is zero for subjects, and a pronoun for other syntactic roles.

I will begin with maintained subjects. For example, in (17), the old man is introduced in line (a) (which appeared above in 1) and is again the subject of the clause in line (b). When the subject is maintained in (b), it has no overt realization except for the agreement on the verb.

(17) Context: 'Once upon a time, an old woman$_i$ lived alone with her children$_j$.'

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a. *ɟe5ma2 na4ʎu3 ga4* ***wɨ43ʔi4*** *ga4 ɟa31tɨ3, ga4* ***wɨ43ʔi4*** *ga4 o̱1ʔi5, na4ɨ̃1ta1wa5*
ɟe5ma2 na4=ʎu3 ga4 **wɨ43ʔi4** ga4
there.REM.PST.ALL 3.SBJ=arrive DET.REM.PST **one** DET.REM.PST
ɟa31tɨ3 ga4 **wɨ43ʔi4** ga4 o̱1ʔi5 na4=ɨ̃1ta1=wa5
man DET.REM.PST **one** DET.REM.PST old.man 3=RN:at=PL
'There at their place, there arrived a man, an old man$_k$.'

b. *rɨ1 na4ɨ̃1ta1gu2* ***na4pe43*** *rɨ1,*
rɨ1 na4=ɨ̃1ta1=gu2 **na4=pe43** rɨ1
and 3=RN:at=LOC **3.SBJ=sleep** and
'**(He$_k$)** spent the night at their$_{i+j}$ place.'

[LWG t+e]

If the maintained referent is not the subject, the most reduced possible realization is as a pronoun – either an object proclitic, or a phonologically free pronoun. For example, (18) is the sentence immediately after (17b). Here, the old man is the object of the verb *dau2nɨ3* 'watch.PL.' Because 'watch' is a psych verb, it can't take an object proclitic, and the reference uses a free accusative pronoun.

(18) *ɟe4ma4 bu3ʔɨ̃4gɨ4 rɨ1* ***nɨ31ʔɨ̃3*** *na4rɨ3dau2nɨ3 ga4 ɟe4ʔgu4ma4 na1gu3e3gu2*
ɟe4ma4 bu3ʔɨ̃4=gɨ4 rɨ1 **nɨ31=ʔɨ̃3** na4rɨ3=dau2nɨ3
DEM.ANA.REM.PST(IV) child(IV)=PL TOP **3=ACC** 3.SBJ=watch.PLS
ga4 ɟe4ʔgu4ma4 na1=gu3e3=gu2
DET.REM.PST CONN.REM.PST 3.SBJ=roast.VI=COND/SUB
'And the children$_j$, they watched **him**$_k$ when he was roasting food.' [LWG t+e]

Not all maintained references are as reduced as (17–18). It is also acceptable to refer to maintained referents using anaphoric demonstratives, or using nouns with determiners only. (19) shows this for anaphoric demonstratives. The example comes from a traditional narrative about a family of children who are repeatedly abandoned in the forest. The first time this happens, they find their way back by dropping kernels of corn, and the second time, they use crumbs of bread. (19a) is the first mention of the bread, and (19b), the immediately following clause, is the second. Even though the bread is maintained from line (a) to line (b), it's referred to using an anaphoric demonstrative description, not a pronoun, in line (b). The same description is used again in line (c).

(19) a. *ma3 na4ta2ʔu2ma3 ga4 tʃa2wɨ4 rɨ1,* ***pãũ3ma3re3*** *ta2i5ni4ʎe43gɨ4.*

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ma3 na4=tau2ʔ=ma3 ga4 tʃa2wɨ4 rɨ1 **pãũ3=ma3re3**
PRF 3.SBJ=NEG.EXIST=INFO DET.REM.PST corn and **bread(IV)=just**
ta2=i5=ni4=ʎe43=gɨ4
some(IV)=VCL=3.SBJ=transport.INANSGO=PL
'There was no longer any corn, so they took **plain bread**.'

b. ***ɟe4ma4 pãũ3** rɨ1, ɟe4ʔgu4ma4rɨ5ĩ1 ɲa3na4gɨ3rɨ1tʃi1gɨ1.*
**ɟe4ma4 pãũ3** rɨ1 ɟe4ʔgu4ma4=rɨ5ĩ1
**DEM.ANA.REM.PST(IV) bread(IV)** TOP CONN.REM.PST=like
ɲa3na4gɨ3rɨ1=tʃi1gɨ1
3.SBJ.QUOT=DISTRIB
'As for **the (DEM.ANA) bread**, as they walked (into the forest), they did the same thing as before with it.'

c. *na2tɨ4rɨ2 **ɟe4ma4 pãũ3** rɨ1, ta3tʃi4wa1 na4a3ʎe31tʃi1gɨ1, rɨ1 we1ri5 na4na3kạụ1.*
na2tɨ4rɨ2 **ɟe4ma4 pãũ3** rɨ1 ta3tʃi4wa1
but **DEM.ANA.REM.PST(IV) bread(IV)** TOP ant
na4=a3=ʎe43=tʃi1gɨ1 rɨ1 we1ri5
3.SBJ=3.OBJ=transport.INANSGO=DISTRIB and bird
na4=na3=kạụ1
3.SBJ=3.OBJ=peck
'But as for **the (DEM.ANA) bread**, the ants carried it away and the birds pecked it.'

[LWG tak]

## 29.3 Reintroducing a referent

While maintained referents are referred to mostly with reduced forms such as pronouns, reintroduced referents – those that have been mentioned in the discourse, but are not arguments of the preceding main clause – tend to be referred to with slightly more complex forms. These include noun phrases with determiners only; demonstratives; and incremented pronoun constructions. When reintroducing a referent, using zero anaphora or pronouns alone is unusual, but it can happen.

I will begin with the most reduced forms used for reintroduction – zero anaphora and pronouns. The examples here are still from the story of the old man introduced in (1), (17), and (18). Thus, in (20), the old man is a primary narrative protagonist and mentioned in many sentences of the text. Perhaps as a result, references

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to this character use very reduced forms throughout the narrative, whether he is being reintroduced or maintained. For example, the old man is an argument of the direct speech report in line (a) of (20), where he's referenced with a demonstrative noun phrase. When he is maintained in line (b), he is referred to with zero anaphora. In line (c), he is not mentioned, and in line (d), he is reintroduced. Despite the lapse, the reintroduction in (d) – like the maintained reference in (b) – uses a pronoun (the most reduced possible form for this syntactic position), not a noun.

(20) Context: Immediately follows (18) above: 'The children watched the old man as he was roasting food.'

a. *rɨ1 ɲa3na4gɨ3rɨ1gɨ4, "dɨ1ʔka4, kʊ1ʔa5 i4 ɟe3a2 ǫ1ʔi5, tą2a4kɨ4e3ka1 ŋõ5ʔĩ4!'*
rɨ1 ɲa3na4gɨ3rɨ1=gɨ4 dɨ1ʔka4 kʊ1ʔa5 i4 ɟe3a2
and 3.SBJ.QUOT=PL INTJ:look EPIST DET(IV) DEM.DIST(IV)
ǫ1ʔi5 tą2a4kɨ4=e3ka1 ŋõ1=ʔĩ4
old.man what=INFO eat=NMLZ(IV)
'Then they said, "Look, what could that old man be eating?!"'

b. *nɨ31ĩ1ka5* ***na1ŋo5ʔĩ4*** *i4 i1pu2a2ʔĩ4.*
nɨ31=ĩ1ka5 **na1=ŋõ1=ʔĩ4** i4 i1=pu2a3=ʔĩ4
3=only **3.SBJ=eat=SUB** DET(IV) 3.SBJ=soft/overcooked=NMLZ(IV)
'**He** only ate soft things.'

c. *"tʃɨ1e5ga1kɨ5ra1ĩ3ʔĩ4," ɲa3na4gɨ3rɨ1gɨ4.*
tʃɨ1e5ga1=kɨ5ra1ĩ1=ʔĩ4 ɲa3na4gɨ3rɨ1=gɨ4
delicious=INFER=SUB 3.SBJ.QUOT=PL
"'That looks delicious," they (the children) said.'

d. *ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3 rɨ1* ***nɨ31ʔna1*** *na4ka1gɨ4...*
ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3 rɨ1 **nɨ31=na1** na4=ka1gɨ4
CONN TOP **3=RCP** 3.SBJ=ask.question
'So they asked **him**...'

[LWG t+e]

Now we look to reintroductions that use more complex forms. (21) is from the same narrative, about the old man and the children, as the above examples. It includes two reintroduced references to the children: one with a determiner plus noun only and one with an incremented pronoun construction. Specifically, the children first appear in this excerpt with a minimal form in line (a), where they are maintained from the previous main clause. They are not mentioned in

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lines (b) or (c). When the speaker reintroduces the children in line (d), she uses a noun with only a determiner, *ga4 bu3ʔĩgɨ4* 'the children'. The children are not mentioned in line (e), but are reintroduced again in (f). The second reintroduced reference, in line (f), uses an incremented pronoun construction. It consists of a pronoun, anaphoric demonstrative, and noun, all of which are coreferential.

(21) Context: The story in (20) continues, five lines after that example. The omitted lines are reported dialogue between the old man and the children. The narrative resumes with...

a. *ɟe4ʔgu4ma4 na4, nɨ31ʔĩ3 na4dau2gɨ4 rɨ1 we5na1=ma3 na4gu3e3, nɨ31ĩ1ka5ta2ã4.*
ɟe4ʔgu4ma4 na4 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 na4=dau2=gɨ4 rɨ1 we5na1=ma3
CONN.REM.PST COMP 3=ACC 3.SBJ=see=PL TOP again=INFO
na4=gu3e3 nɨ31=ĩ1ka5=ta2ã4
3.SBJ=roast.VI 3=only=only
'Then they (the children) saw him roasting food again, alone.'

b. *rɨ1, na4-, na4na3dɨ4ʔme3na1ã3 ga4 no51rɨ3 tɨ1e1.*
rɨ1 na4=na3=dɨ4ʔ=me3na1ã3 ga4 no51rɨ3 tɨ1e1
and 3.SBJ=3.OBJ=scrape=CLFI:stick DET.REM.PST 3.POSS manioc
'He was grating his manioc.'

c. *rɨ1 na4na3ŋǫ1 rɨ1 na4tʃi̱1e5ga1.*
rɨ1 na4=na3=ŋǫ1 rɨ1 na4=tʃi̱1e5ga1
and 3.SBJ=3.OBJ=eat and 3.SBJ=delicious
'He ate it and it was delicious.'

d. *we5na1ma3* ***ga4 bu3ʔĩ4gɨ4*** *rɨ1 na31ʔka̱1 ni4bu3ʔmɨ1 rɨ1 ɲa3na4gɨ3rɨ1, "pa2 ǫ1ʔi5, ta̱2a4kɨ4 ni41ʔĩ4 ku1ŋõ5ʔĩ4?"*
we5na1=ma3 **ga4** **bu3ʔĩ4=gɨ4** rɨ1 na43=ka̱1 ni4=bu3ʔmɨ1
again=INFO **DET.REM.PST child=PL** and 3=PURP 3.SBJ=run.PLS
rɨ1 ɲa3na4gɨ3rɨ1 pa2 ǫ1ʔi5 ta̱2a4kɨ4 ni41ʔĩ4
and 3.SBJ.QUOT VOC old.man what? FOC
ku1=ŋõ̱1=ʔĩ4
2SBJ.SC=eat=NMLZ(IV)
'Then **the (DET) children** ran up to him and said, "Old man, what are you eating?"'

e. *"ta2ʔu2ma3tʃi4rę̱1," ɲa3na4rɨ3gɨ1, we5na1ma3.*
tau2ʔ=ma3=tʃi4rę̱1 ɲa3na4rɨ3gɨ1 we5na1=ma3
nothing=INFO=actually 3.SBJ.QUOT again=INFO
"'Nothing, actually," he said again.'

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f. *rɨ1 **nɨ31ma2 ga4 ɟe4ma4 bu3ʔĩ4gɨ4** rɨ1 "ŋi51ã3 ta4 ni41ʔĩ4, e3rɨ4 ɲu̱1ʔma5 o̱1ʔi5 rɨ1 na31ʔka̱1 ta4 nɨ31ʔĩ5 ta4ŋ̱i1gɨ4," ɲa3na4gɨ3rɨ1.*
rɨ1 **nɨ31ma2 ga4 ɟe4ma4 bu3ʔĩ4=gɨ4** rɨ1
and **3.TOP DET.REM.PST DEM.ANA.REM.PST(IV) child(IV)=PL** TOP
ŋi51ã3 ta4 ni41ʔĩ4 e3rɨ4 ɲu̱1ʔma5 o̱1ʔi5 rɨ1 na43=ka̱1
INTJ:let's.go FUT FOC because now old.man TOP 3=PURP
ta4 nɨ31=ʔĩ5 ta4=ŋ̱i1=gɨ4 ɲa3na4gɨ3rɨ1
3=Recp 1INCL.SBJ=steal=PL 3.SBJ.QUOT
'Then **they the (Pro + DET + DEM) children** said, "Let's go, let's steal it from the old man now."'

[LWG t+e]

Besides nouns with determiners only and incremented pronoun constructions, the other main strategy for reintroduction is use of anaphoric demonstratives. For example, after the narrative sequence in (21), the children follow the old man until he gets tired and leaves behind his bag. The narrator then describes the bag in (22a-b), with no mention of the children or the man. Finally, the children are reintroduced in (22c). This reintroduction uses a demonstrative description (i.e., an anaphoric demonstrative plus noun), rather than the Pro + DEM + N construction that we saw for the same referent above in (22f).

(22) a. *dɨ1ra3ĩ3ʔĩ4 ga4 tʃo3ka1 ga4 na1ʎe31e1tʃa3ʔĩ4.*
dɨ1=ra3ĩ1=ʔĩ4 ga4 tʃo3ka1 ga4
DEM.Manner=size=NMLZ(IV) DET.REM.PST bag(IV) DET.REM.PST
na1=ʎe43=e1tʃa1=ʔĩ4
3.SBJ.SC=transport.INANSGO=constantly=NMLZ(IV)
'The bag that he always carried was this size.'

b. *ɟe5ma2 na4ɟe2ʔma4 ga4 tɨ1e1 rɨ1 u3i5 rɨ1 to1ã4ma4 ga4-, ga4 na31ne3tɨ3.*
ɟe5ma2 na4=ɟe2ʔma4 ga4
there.ANA.REM.PST.ALL 3.SBJ=be.in.place.REM.PST DET.REM.PST
tɨ1e1 rɨ1 u3i5 rɨ1 to1ã4ma4 ga4 na43=ne3tɨ3
manioc and yam.sp and etcetera(IV) DET.REM.PST DFLT.POSS=crop(IV)

'In it, there was manioc, *u3i5* (another starchy root), and other such crops.'

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c. *ɟe4ʔgu4ma4 ri1 ɲa3na4gi3ri1, ni31ʔna1 na4ɟa3pu2gi4 ga4* ***ɟe4ma4 bu3ʔĩ4gi4.***
ɟe4ʔgu4ma4 ri1 ɲa3na4gi3ri1 ni31=na1 na4=ɟa3=pu2=gi4
CONN.REM.PST and 3.SBJ.QUOT 3=RCP 3.SBJ=3.OBJ=confiscate=PL
ga4 **ɟe4ma4** **bu3ʔĩ4=gi4**
DET.REM.PST **DEM.ANA.REM.PST(IV) child(IV)=PL**
'So then, like this, **the (DEM) children** confiscated his crops.'
[LWG t+e]

**Only** the anaphoric demonstratives *ŋe3ma2* and *ɟe4ma4*, *not* other demonstratives such as the proximal and distal, can be used to maintain or reintroduce referents that are only known from the discourse. For example, the elicited example in (23) introduces two referents in line (a), maintains one of them in line (c), and reintroduces the other in line (e). In both the maintained reference in (c) and the reintroduced one in (e), *ŋe3ma2* and *ɟe4ma4* are the only acceptable demonstratives.

(23) Context: I am visiting you at your house; no one else is there. I tell you about something which happened to me earlier today.

a. *ta2ʔre4 ɟa4 ʎe3ʔtɻ̩2ki3 ri1 tʃau1ĩ1ta1wa5 na4ʎu3gi4*
ta2ʔre4 ɟa4 ʎe3ʔtɻ̩2ki3 ri1 tʃau1=ĩ1ta1=wa5 na4=ʎu3=gi4
two DET(II) young.man(II) TOP 1SG=RN:at=ALL 3.SBJ=arrive=PL
'Two young men came to my place.'

b. *wi43ʔi4 ri1 ni4ʎi1*
wi43ʔi4 ri1 ni4=ʎi1
one TOP 3.SBJ=fat
'One$_i$ was fat.'

c. *[ɟi2ma4 / #da2a2 / #ɟi2a4 / #gu2a4] ʎe3ʔtɻ̩2ki3 tʃo31ʔna1 na4na3ʔã3 i4 wi43ʔi4 i4 po3pe4ra1*
[ɟi2ma4 / #da2a2 / #ɟi2a4 / #gu2a4]
[DEM.ANA(II) / #DEM.PROX(II) / #DEM.MED(II) / #DEM.DIST(II)]
ʎe3ʔtɻ̩̃2ki3 tʃo31=na1 na4=na3=ã3 i4 wi43ʔi4
young.man(II) 1SG=RCP 3.SBJ=3.OBJ=give.INANSGO DET(IV) one
i4 po3pe4ra1
DET(IV) book(IV)
'That (ANA/#PROX/#MED/#DIST) young man$_i$ gave me a book.'

d. *nai1 ɟa4 ʎe3ʔtɻ̩̃2ki3 ri1 ni4ʔa1ʔi5tʃi2*

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nai1 ɟa4 ʎe3ʔtɨ̱2kɨ3 rɨ1 ni4=a1=ʔɨ5tʃi2
other(II) DET(II) young.man(II) TOP 3.SBJ=thin=really
'The other young man$_j$ was really thin.'

e. *[ɟi2ma4 / #da2a2 / #ɟi2a4 / #gu2a4] ʎe3ʔtɨ̱2kɨ3 rɨ1 tʃo31ʔna na31ʔka̱1 na4ka1 i4 po3pe4ra1*
[ɟi2ma4 / #da2a2 / #ɟi2a4 / #gu2a4]
[DEM.ANA(II) / #DEM.PROX(II) / #DEM.MED(II) / #DEM.DIST(II)]
ʎe3ʔtɨ̱2kɨ3 rɨ1 tʃo31=na1 na43=ka̱1 na4=ka1 i4
young.man(II) TOP 1SG=RCP 3=PURP 3.SBJ=ask.for DET(IV)
po3pe4ra1
book(IV)
'That (ANA/#PROX/#MED/#DIST) young man$_j$ asked me for the book.'

[LWG: 2017.4.28, SSG: 2018.4.32]

Incremented pronoun constructions and demonstratives are linked in that incremented pronoun constructions usually contain an anaphoric demonstrative, taking the form Pro + DET + DEM + Noun. However, people do accept and occasionally use incremented pronoun constructions without demonstratives (i.e., Pro + DET + Noun). The noun phrase in line (b) of (24) is an example of an incremented pronoun construction with no demonstrative. It comes from the corpus and has a maintained referent.

(24) a. *To3ri5a1rɨ3 na4ʔta1pɨ1wa5 ni4 na1to1ma3re2ʔɨ̃4ʔã3*
To3ri5=a1rɨ3 na4=ta1pɨ1=wa5 ni4 na1=to1=ma3re3=ʔɨ̃4=ʔã3
personal.name=POSS 3=wall=ALL FOC 3.SBJ.SC=sit=just=SUB=REP
'She's supposed to just be sitting on the wall of the To3ri5s' house.'

b. ***ni31ma2 a4 To3ri5gɨ4** ra3ã1 ma3rɨ3 ni4tʃo31ɨ̃1*
**ni31ma2 a4 To3ri5=gɨ4** ra3ã1 ma3rɨ3
**3.TOP DET(IV) personal.name(IV)=PL** TOP PRF
ni4=tʃo31ɨ̃1
3.SBJ=enter.vehicle.PLS
'The (Pro + DET + N) To3ri5s already left in their car/boat.'

[AFG-LVI, LVI]

## 29.4 Conclusion

Table 29.1 summarizes the discourse functions of each of the six types of noun phrase listed at the beginning of this chapter. Strategies are marked with ✓ if

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they are unattested. However, note that I have not tested the acceptability of all cells.

Table 29.1: Discourse functions of each type of noun phrase

| Form | Introduce | Maintain | Reintroduce | Note |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *wi4372i4* 'one' + NP | ✓ | × | × | Must be singular<br>Anti-uniqueness effect |
| DET + NP | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | Unusual for new, singular referent |
| DEM.ANA + NP | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | New referent only acceptable if weakly familiar |
| Pro + DET + NP | × | ✓ | ✓ | |
| Pronoun only | × | ✓ | ✓ | |
| ZERO | × | ✓ | ✓ | Subjects only |

As the table shows, Ticuna has relatively few noun phrase types which only introduce or only maintain referents. Nouns with only determiners are especially flexible. They can introduce, maintain, or reintroduce the referent, without restrictions on uniqueness or familiarity (although there are restrictions on number). This represents further evidence that determiners are unrelated to definiteness/indefiniteness in the language (cf. Chapter 13.2).

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# 30 Epistemic modals and evidentials

This chapter describes how Ticuna speakers express epistemic modality (§30.1) and evidentiality (§30.2). Following Faller (2002), I define evidentials as expressing (in declaratives) the speaker's source of information for the proposition, while epistemic modals convey their degree of certainty in the propisition. Ticuna has a variety of epistemic modals, but only two evidentials, and they are both basically reportative.

In contrast to epistemic modals and evidentials, epistemic stance markers express the relationship between the speaker's proposition and other propositions that have been expressed or implied in the discourse. These are discussed in Chapter 31, alongside other stance markers, and not discussed here.

## 30.1 Epistemic modality

Ticuna has many different markers of epistemic modality. The most frequent epistemic modals in the corpus are *ma2na4* (123 corpus tokens) and the related item *be1ʔma2na4* (24 tokens); *ʎi2ri4* (83 tokens); *me31ʔ* (?6 tokens); and *ɲu5ki3* (?6 tokens). All of these are syntactically adverbs. *Ma2na4*, *be1ʔma2na4*, and *me31ʔ* are used only as epistemic modals, while *ʎi2ri4* and *ɲu5ki3* function as both manner/temporal adverbs and epistemic modals. There is also a single epistemic modal that occurs exclusively with focus constructions, *kɨ1ʔa5* (41 tokens).

When asked to translate epistemic modal sentences in elicitation or narrate stimulus materials, consultants used primarily *kɨ1ʔa5*, *be1ʔma2na4*, and *ʎi2ri4*. In contrast, in conversations people rely much more on *ma2na4*, *me31ʔ*, and *ɲu5ki3*, which is why these markers are more frequent in the (primarily conversational) corpus.

These register differences, as well as the availability of non-epistemic adverbial readings, appear to be the main differences between the epistemic modals. As I show in the following sections, there are no differences in force or quantificational strength between the epistemic modals – they are all compatible with both weak and strong epistemic modality. The modals also do not appear to have any evidential meaning component (i.e., they express nothing about information source).

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I discuss the modals listed above in descending order of frequency. There are also many less frequent epistemic modals in the corpus, but in the interest of space, I don't attempt to describe modals with less than 20 corpus tokens.

### 30.1.1 *Ma2na4* and *be1ʔma2na4*: epistemic modals with no adverbial functions

These two epistemic modals seem likely to be morphologically related, but have different syntactic properties. They are both used exclusively as modals, with no temporal or manner adverb readings.

The form *be1ʔma2na4*, which can also be pronounced *be1ʔma2*, always appears first in the clause (1). The exception is when there is a topicalized phrase, such as the topicalized relative clause *nɨ3 i1ʔu2ʔ* 'what she says' in (2). In this case, *be1ʔma2na4* appears after the topic. The verb of the clause can have the main-clause form (1) or the subordinate-clause form (2).

(1) Context: 'I invited my daughter to plant a garden here.' ***be1ʔma2na4*** *ta4 nu5a2 na4ʔũ43.*
**be1ʔma2na4** ta4 nu5a2 na4=ũ43
**EPIST** FUT here.ALL 3.SBJ=go.SG
'**I don't know if** she will come. / She **might** come.' [DGG HALDI]

(2) *ma3 na43ma4ã2 na4ta4e3gɨ4 ɲa4ne3ta2ʔĩ4 a4 Rosaria, nɨ3 i1ʔu2ʔ rɨ1* ***be1ʔma2*** *ai2ʔkɨ4ma4 ɟi1ʔĩ1ʔ*
ma3rɨ3 na43=ma4ã2 na4=ta4e3=gɨ4 ɲa4=ne3ta2=ʔĩ4 a4
PRF 3=COM 3.SBJ=sell=PL 3.SBJ.SC.QUOT=pretend=SUB DET(IV)
Rosaria nɨ31=ʔĩ3 i1=u3=ʔ rɨ1 **be1ʔma2** ai2ʔkɨ4ma4
Rosaria(IV) 3=ACC 3.SBJ.SC=say=SUB TOP **EPIST** true
ɟi1ʔĩ1ʔ
3SBJ.COP.SC
'Rosaria says that she already sold them, and as for what she says, **it could be** true.' [AFG, AFG-LVI]

The form *ma2na4* has a more flexible position than *be1ʔma2na4*. It *can* appear first in the clause, as in (3), but it can also appear last (4) or in second position (5). About two-thirds of the corpus tokens of *ma2na4* are in second position.

(3) ***ma2na4****ĩ1ʔkɨ2 na4 to51rɨ3 ni4*
**ma2na4**=ĩ1ʔkɨ2 na4 to51rɨ3 ni4 '**I don't know if** it's for us
**EPIST**=INFO COMP 1.INCL.POSS 3.SBJ.COP
(lit. ours).' [LVI, AFG-LVI]

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(4) Context: Adriana says, 'I have body aches.' Victoria replies, *o31 ki3ʔa31ʔi4ne1tʃa1ĩ1* ***ma2na4***
o31 ki3=a31ʔi4ne1=tʃa1ĩ1 **ma2na4**
INTJ:oh 2SG.SBJ=fever=PROSP **EPIST**
'Oh, **maybe** you're going to get a fever.' [LVI, AFG-LVI]

(5) Context: 'What I left here is missing.'
*t̪a2ki4* ***ma2na4*** *nu5a2 na4a3ŋi̪1*
t̪a2ki4 **ma2na4** nu5a2 na4=a3=ŋi̪1
who/what? **EPIST** here.ALL 3.SBJ=AM=steal
'**Maybe** someone came and stole (it).' [2019 C24-C29 CCI, CG29]

In context, all of the above examples are most naturally read as weak epistemic modals such as English *might* and *maybe*, and people often translate them into Spanish using epistemically weak expressions like *No sé si P* 'I don't know if P.'

However, it's also possible to use *be1ʔma2na4* and *ma2na4* to express *strong* epistemic modality. For example, in (6), the participants have been discussing for ten turns how another woman is too sick to work, has lost weight, and has lost color in her complexion. Then, Victoria summarizes the conversation by asserting that the woman must have a disease. She modifies this statement with *ma2na4*, which in context is best read as a strong epistemic modal (i.e., in all situations compatible with what is known, the woman has a disease). (7) provides an elicited example of *be1ʔma2na4* in a context that, likewise, supports strong epistemic modality.

(6) *di̱1 tai4 ti̱5 na1ŋẽ2ʔma5ʔĩ4* ***ma2na4*** *a4 ti̱31ma2a1ri̱3 d̪a2we1 re3k̪a1 ni4*
di̱1 tai4 ti̱31=ʔĩ5 na1=ŋẽ2ʔma4=ʔĩ4 **ma2na4** a4
INTJ:look INFO 3(I)=BEN 3.SBJ.SC=be.in.place=SUB **EPIST** DET(IV)
ti̱31ma2a1ri̱3 d̪a2we1=∅ re3k̪a1 ni4
3(I).POSS sick=NMLZ.ZERO INFO:that's.why
'Look, she **must** have a disease, that's why.' [LVI, LVI-MFG-LFG]

(7) Context: I have looked in every room of my house for my cat, but I cannot find it anywhere. The only explanation is that it got out.
***be1ʔma2na4*** *ni4ɲa43 ni4 a4 mi3tʃi1*
**be1ʔma2na4** ni4=ɲa43 ni4 a4 mi3tʃi1
**EPIST** 3.SBJ=run.SG FOC DET(IV) cat(IV)
'The cat **must** have escaped.' [LWG 2017.3.104]

These examples also show that *be1ʔma2na4* and *ma2na4* are compatible with either more or less direct evidence sources. For example, (6) is based on direct sen-

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sory evidence (how the woman looks) and (4) is based on another participant's speech, but they both have *ma2na4*.

### 30.1.2 *ʎi2ri4*: epistemic modal and manner adverb

The adverb *ʎi2ri4* occurs initially, finally, and in second position. It has two readings, which it is not always possible to distinguish.

In the first reading, *ʎi2ri4* functions as a manner adverb meaning 'suddenly.' This use appears in (8). It's clear that the use in (8) isn't epistemic modal because the speaker is describing (and gesturing at) the location of a pain in her own body; this would be a strange proposition to express with an epistemic modal.

(8) *ʎu1ʔu4ne1ã5ẽ2ki5ra1ĩ1 nu5a2gi4ma3re3 a3ri1 ɟi1ʔ* ***ʎi2ri4*** *tʃo31ʔĩ5 na1ʎu5e2ʔ*
ʎu1=ʔi4ne1=ã5ẽ2=ki5ra1ĩ1 nu5a2=gi4=ma3re3 a3ri1 ɟi1ʔi1ʔ
hurt=NI:body=NI:soul=NI:infer here.ALL=PL=just INFO FOC.SC
**ʎi2ri4** tʃo31=ʔĩ5 na1=ʎu1-e3=ʔ
**suddenly** 1SG=BEN 3.SBJ.SC=hurt-PL=SUB
'I have body aches, **all of a sudden** these right here just hurt.' [AFG, AFG-LVI]

Second, *ʎi2ri4* also functions as an epistemic modal, as shown in (9). This example comes at the end of a long discourse about Victoria's shopping plans. She describes budgeting to buy large quantities of rice and sugar, as well as a skirt costing 200 Peruvian soles (about US$57; extraordinarily expensive by local standards). Because of these other purchases, she states that she might not pay for new cell phone minutes/data for the children in her household. The modal meaning in (9) can only come from *ʎi2ri4*. This context supports weak epistemic modality. In another sequence within the same conversation, Victoria is looking at a photograph of her family from several years ago. She identifies herself in the picture using *ʎi2ri4*; as the rest of the people in the picture have been identified already, (10) should be interpreted as a strong epistemic modal use of *ʎi2ri4*.

(9) Context: 'I'm on a budget.'
*tau2gu2ta4 wi31ʔi5 na4* ***ʎi2ri4ã4tʃi4*** *ni31ʔĩ5 tʃa1na3ʔi2ã3ku2ʔĩ4 a4 bu3ʔĩ4gi4*
tau2ʔ=gu4=ta4 wi31ʔi5 na4 **ʎi2ri4=ã4tʃi4** ni31=ʔĩ5
nothing=LOC=FUT CONT.FOC COMP **EPIST**=ACHV 3=BEN

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tʃa1=na3=i̱2=ã3ku2=ʔĩ4 a4 bu3ʔĩ4=gi̱4
1SG.SBJ.SC=3.OBJ=do=NI:contents=SUB DET(IV) child(IV)=PL
'That's why I **might** not reload (lit. fill) it for the kids.' [LVI, LFG-MFG-LVI]

(10) *tʃo1ma1 ra3ã3 ʎi̱2ri̱4 panza tʃi3ʔĩ4 ʎi̱2ri̱4 a4 nu5a2 di̱1*
tʃo1ma1 ra3ã3 **ʎi̱2ri̱4** panza tʃi3ʔĩ4 **ʎi̱2ri̱4** a4 nu5a2
1SG.TOP TOP **EPIST** SP:belly 1SG.SBJ.COP **EPIST** DET(IV) here.ALL
di̱1
INTJ:look!
'As for me, I **must be** the one with the big belly here, look!' [LVI, LFG-MFG-LVI]

*ʎi̱2ri̱4* sometimes bears the achievement marker *=ã4tʃi4* (Chapter 14.2.2). Although this marker is similar in semantics to the 'suddenly' reading of the root, it occurs on *both* 'suddenly' uses and epistemic modal uses, for example in (9).

### 30.1.3 *ɲu5ki̱3*: epistemic modal and temporal adverb

The marker *ɲu5ki̱3* (also sometimes pronounced with tone 1 on the first syllable) occurs in various locations in the clause, most often initially or in second position. Like *ʎi̱2ri̱4*, it is both a lexical adverb and an epistemic modal. The adverbial reading of *ɲu5ki̱3* is 'soon,' as shown in (11).

(11) ***ɲu5ki̱3** ta4 ti4ʔĩ4 a4 ma3ma5gi̱4 e3ri̱4 "docegu2 ta4ta2ã4" ɲa5ta4ri̱3gi̱1.*
**ɲu5ki̱3** ta4 ti4ʔĩ4 a4 ma3ma5=gi̱4 e3ri̱4 doce=gu2 ta4=ta2ã4
**soon** FUT 3(I).SBJ.COP DET(I) mom=PL because SP:12=LOC FUT=only
ɲa5ta4ri̱3gi̱1
3(I).SBJ.QUOT
'Mom and her people (will arrive) **soon**, because they said "(We'll be here) right at 12pm."' [LFG, 20180707]

As an epistemic modal, *ɲu5ki̱3* can be either strong or weak (express either epistemic certainty or uncertainty). It is easier to find weak examples. For instance, prior to (12), Adriana and Victoria have been discussing the new phenomenon of online romance scams. In (12), Adriana explains that you should not meet friends or lovers online because, given how little you know about them, they could be human traffickers. Since she also notes that not everyone online is a human trafficker, the modal reading here is epistemic possibility/uncertainty.

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(12) Context: 'If someone sends you pictures online and says 'I love you,' you should not accept them.' *bai51 wi31ʔi5* ***ɲu5ʔkɨ3*** *ta4 dɨ1ʔwa5 ku31ma4ã2 ta4e3*
bai51 wi31ʔi5 **ɲu5ʔkɨ3** ta4 dɨ1ʔwa5 ku31=ma4ã2 ta4e3=∅
not.at.all CONT.FOC EPIST FUT at.last 2SG=COM sell=NMLZ.ZERO
'(You shouldn't do it) at all, because in the end, (their goal) **could be** to sell (i.e., traffic) you.' [AFG, AFG-LVI]

An example of *ɲu5kɨ3* functioning as a strong epistemic modal appears in (13). This example comes from a reported dialogue. After the speaker and addressee attend a three-hour church service, the speaker invites the addressee to eat. He says 'Let's go to my house,' then adds (13), using *ɲu5kɨ3* to modify the predicate 'you must be hungry.' Given the following reason clause, it is epistemically almost certain that the addressee is hungry here.

(13) *e3rɨ4* ***ɲu1kɨ3*** *rɨ1 ku3tai31ɟa2, e3rɨ4 tạ2kɨ4ma3re3ma3 ta4ŋọ̃1 i4 no31ri5*
e3rɨ4 **ɲu1kɨ3** rɨ1 ku3=tai31ɟa2 e3rɨ4 tạ2kɨ4=ma3re3=ma3
because **EPIST** TOP 2SG.SBJ=hungry because what?=just=INFO
ta4=ŋọ̃1 i4 no31ri5
1.INCL.SBJ=eat DET(IV) earlier.today
'You **must** be hungry, because we ate just a bit (lit. just something) earlier today.' [NWG, NWG Brazil Trip]

The corpus also contains bridging contexts where *ɲu5kɨ3* could reasonably be interpreted as either 'soon' or an epistemic modal. For example, in (14), the speaker cautions a child not to play in a dangerous spot. Her token of *ɲu5kɨ3* could be taken as either epistemic modal – 'based on what I know now, it's possible you will fall' – or temporal, 'in the near future you will fall.'

(14) *pa2 La3,* ***ɲu5kɨ3*** *ta4 ŋe5ã2 ku3rɨ3ʎu31*
pa2 La3 **ɲu5kɨ3** ta4 ŋe5ma2 ku3rɨ3=ʎu31
VOC La.VOC **soon/MODAL** FUT there.near.you.ALL 2SG.SBJ=fall
'Hey La3, **you could fall/soon you'll fall** down over there (where you are).' [LVI, LFG-MFG-LVI]

### 30.1.4 *Me31ʔ*: epistemic modal only

The word *me31ʔ* functions exclusively as an epistemic modal. It is more associated with questions than the other epistemic modals: 27 of 76 tokens of *me31ʔ*

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occur in content quesitons, and several more tokens are in polar or fragment questions.

Like the other epistemic modals, *me31ʔ* can occur in contexts of either weak or strong epistemic modality. For example, in (15), Victoria hears me talking to someone outside the house. She observes (line a) that I cannot be talking to Taís, and then she asks (line b) who I could be talking to, using *me31ʔ*. Since the speaker and addressee do not have enough information to be certain who I am talking to, the epistemic modal meaning in (15b) is weak. By contrast, in (16), RGW is speaking about a young child who used to be fair-skinned, but is now deeply tanned. Using *me31ʔ*, RGW comments that the child must spend a lot of time outside. Since there are few other ways to become tanned, this should be interpreted as a strong epistemic modal.

(15) Context: hearing Amalia talking in another part of the extended household during the recording

a. *Tai3tʃa1 rɨ1e3rɨ1 ma3rɨ3 na4ta2ʔu2ma3 re3kɑ1.*
Tai3tʃa1 rɨ1=e3rɨ1 ma3rɨ3 na4=ta2ʔu2ma3 re3kɑ1
Taís TOP=INFO:CNG PRF 3.SBJ=NEG.EXIST INFO:that's.why
'Taís (who she usually talks to) isn't there anymore.'

b. *tɑ2kɨ4* ***me31ʔ*** *ni4ʔĩ4 ŋe5ma2 i1de43ʔa2ʔĩ4, Ne3u1ma4ã2?*
tɑ2kɨ4 **me31ʔ** ni4ʔĩ4 ŋe5ma2 i1=de43ʔa2=ʔĩ4
what?/who? **EPIST** FOC there.ANA.ALL 3.SBJ.SC=talk=SUB
Ne3u1=ma4ã2
Neu=COM
'Who **could be talking** (to her) over there, (could she be talking) to Ne3u1?'
[LVI, LFG-MFG-LVI]

(16) *ĩɑ̃1tɨ3gu2* ***me31ʔ****ĩ1kɨ2 na4rɨ3ʔɑ̃1ʔũ5tʃi2 re3kɑ1, ɨ2a1kɨ3 a1gu3ʔĩ4*
ĩɑ̃1tɨ3=gu2 **me31ʔ**=ĩ1kɨ2 na4rɨ3ʔ=ɑ̃ũ̃1=ʔɨ5tʃi2 re3kɑ1 ɨ2a1kɨ3
yard=LOC **EPIST**=INFO 3.SBJ=stay=really INFO:that's.why sun
a1=gu31=ʔĩ4
3.SBJ.SC=burn=SUB
'She **must** spend all her time in the yard, to get so tanned/burned by the sun.' [20170527-002]

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### 30.1.5 *Kʉ1ʔa5*: epistemic modal associated with focus

*Kʉ1ʔa5* functions only as an epistemic modal and has no adverbial uses.[1] It occurs mainly in second position, but can also occur clause-initially.

*Kʉ1ʔa5* is different from other epistemic modals in that it always occurs with a focus construction. There are two possible ways to combine *kʉ1ʔa5* and focus. First, you can form a regular focus construction with the focused constituent first, then the focus marker/copula, and finally the focus remnant. You then insert *kʉ1ʔa5* in second position between the focused constituent and the focus marker. For example, (17) is a negation focus construction (Chapter 24.2). The focused constituent is *tau4ta2* 'not yet.' It appears first; *kʉ1ʔa5* appears in second position; the focus marker and focus remnant follow *kʉ1ʔa5*.

(17) *tau4ta2ta2ã4* ***kʉ1ʔa5*** *ni4 a4 e2ʔĩ4 a4 Ma1wɨ5tɨ4ĩ1wa5, ka2a4na4?*
tau4ta2=ta2ã4 **kʉ1ʔa5** ni4 a4 e3=ʔĩ4 a4
not.yet=still **EPIST** FOC DET(IV) water.level.fall=SUB DET(IV)
Ma1wɨ5tɨ4ĩ1=wa5 ka2a4na4
Guan.Creek=**all** INTJ:tag
'The water level **must** still not be falling at Guan Creek, right?' [Veronica, LSC-VSC]

Second, you can also form a focus construction where *kʉ1ʔa5* appears in second position, but *no* focus marker follows *kʉ1ʔa5* to introduce the focus remnant. Instead, the focus marker appears at the *end* of the focus remnant. For example, in (18), the focused constituent is first, *kʉ1ʔa5* is in second position, and the focus remnant (consisting of only a verb) directly follows it. The focus marker appears last in the clause.

(18) Context: looking at various toys to see if they contain/do not contain a battery-powered speaker
*ŋe3a2* ***kʉ1ʔa5*** *ã3ga1tʃi4re5ʔĩ4* ***ni4ʔĩ4*** *ka4ʔ?*
ŋe3a2 **kʉ1ʔa5** ã3=ga1=tʃi4rɛ1=ʔĩ4 **ni4ʔĩ4** ka4ʔ
DEM.MED(IV) **EPIST** have=NI:sound=INFO:INCNG=SUB **FOC** INTJ:tag
'That one actually **might** make noise, right?' [CG24, C24-C29 CCI 2019]

Although *kʉ1ʔa5* usually appears in second position, it can also appear clause-initially before the focused constituent, as shown in (19).

[1] It may be related to the verb root *ʍɑ1* 'know,' which is pronounced as [kʷa̱1] (allotone [kʷa5]) by conservative speakers.

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(19) Context: Looking for children who have hidden somewhere in a house; we have already looked in several locations in a bedroom, without finding them
***kʉ¹ʔa⁵*** *[ɟe³a² cortinawe⁵ã4ma4gu²]*$_{Focused\ Constituent}$ *ni⁴ʔĩ⁴ [i2ɟa³kʉ¹gɨ⁵ʔĩ⁴]*$_{Focus\ Remnant}$
**kʉ¹ʔa⁵** ɟe³a² cortina=we⁵=ã4ma4=gu² ni⁴ʔĩ⁴
**kʉ¹ʔa⁵** DEM.DIST(IV) SP:curtain=RN:behind=toward=LOC FOC
i¹=ɟa³=kʉ¹=gɨ⁴=ʔĩ⁴
3..SBJ.SC=AM=hide=PL=SUB
'They **might** have gone and hidden behind the curtain.' [LWG: 2017.3.75]

*Kʉ1ʔa5*, or the collocation *kʉ1ʔa5 ni4*, can also occur without a main predicate, as in (20). This structure seems to involve ellipsis of a predicate that has been previously mentioned or is contextually understood, as in (20).

(20) Context: three sisters trying to extract a root from the ground. They have been discussing plans for growing plants from the root, not discussing how to pull it up.

a. MGW: ((digging in ground, looking into hole))
b. UGW: *ma3rɨ3 kʉ1ʔa5 ni4ʔĩ4*
ma3rɨ3 kʉ1ʔa5 ni4ʔĩ4
PRF **EPIST** FOC
'It could be now (i.e., you could pull the root out now).'

Besides the association with focus, another unique property of *kʉ1ʔa5* is that it can be embedded under negation, as shown in (21a). Per the judgments on (21b), *be1ʔma2na4* cannot scope under negation.[2] I do not have evidence about the scope of other epistemic modals relative to negation.

(21) Context: We are looking for two children who have hidden in your house. You have already looked in the kitchen, so you tell me not to look there.

a. ✓*ta⁴ma³ kʉ¹ʔa⁵ ni⁴ʔĩ⁴ i⁴ ŋe²ʔma⁴ ɟa¹kʉ¹gɨ⁵ʔĩ⁴.*
✓ta⁴ma³ kʉ¹ʔa⁵ ni⁴ʔĩ⁴ i⁴ ŋe²ʔma⁴ ɟa¹=kʉ¹=gɨ⁴=ʔĩ⁴
✓NEG EPIST FOC DET(IV) there.ANA.ALL 3.SBJ.SC=hide=PL=SUB
'It is impossible that they are hiding there.' [DGG: 2017.3.81]

[2]This is probably for syntactic reasons. *Be1ʔma2na4* must be first in the clause, and negation usually scopes over material to its right.

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b. *#be1ʔma2na4 ta4ma3 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 ŋe²ʔma⁴ ɟa¹kɰ̲¹gɨ⁵ʔĩ⁴.*
#be1ʔma2na4 ta4ma3 ni⁴ʔĩ⁴ i⁴ ŋe²ʔma⁴
#EPIST NEG FOC DET(IV) there.ANA.ALL
ɟa¹=kɰ̲¹=gɨ⁴=ʔĩ⁴
3.SBJ.SC=hide=PL=SUB
(Intended reading: 'It is impossible that they are hiding there.') [LWG 2017.3.87]

Like all other epistemic modals in Ticuna, *kɰ̲1ʔa5* appears in contexts of both strong and weak epistemic modality. For example, when Veronica asks in (17) whether the water level in Guan Creek has fallen, Laura responds by saying (22), with *kɰ̲1ʔa5*, then giving a large number of pieces of indirect evidence for the proposition, such as that it is still raining often and that the water level has not fallen in other streams and lakes. Therefore, this is a context of strong epistemic modality (and note that the epistemic modality should probably be read as scoping over the negation, since the negation marker is aspectual).

(22) Context: 'The water level must still not be falling at Guan Creek, right? (17).' Answer:
*tau4ta2ta2ã4 **kɰ̲1ʔa5** ni4 me31ã2 tɨ4rɨ4 na1ʔã3ʔtʃi3pe3nɨ3ʔɨ5tʃi2ʔĩ4*
tau4ta2=ta2ã4 **kɰ̲1ʔa5** ni4 me31ã2 tɨ4rɨ4
not.yet=still **EPIST** FOC well but
na1=ã3=tʃi3pe3nɨ3=ʔɨ5tʃi2=ʔĩ4
3SBJ.SC=have=riverbank=really=SUB
'(Guan Creek) **must** still not have fallen (lit. have a lot of exposed riverbank) yet.' [Laura, LSC-VSC]

By contrast, in (23), the speaker Teodor Jr. and his father Teodor Sr. are straightening wild cane stalks in a fire to make arrow shafts for fishing. Some of the cane stalks have broken in the fire, but only a small number. Therefore, when Teodor Jr. identifies one stalk as breakable in (23) using *kɰ̲1ʔa5*, it is best interpreted as a weak epistemic modal.

(23) *da31a1 kɰ̲1ʔa5 ni4ʔĩ4 ni4wãĩ5wɑ̲1e3*
da31a1 kɰ̲1ʔa5 ni4ʔĩ4 ni4=wɑ̃ɰ̃1=wɑ̲1e3
DEM.PROX(III) EPIST FOC 3.SBJ=explode=HABIT
'This one **might** keep breaking.' [Teodor Jr., 20180622]

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## 30.2 Evidentiality: the reportative =*ã3*

The language has one marker of propositional evidentiality: the clausal enclitic =*ã3*. The reportative enclitic is extremely frequent, occuring 951 times in the corpus (more often than the locative case).

The reportative behaves syntactically like a discourse-marker enclitic (Chapter 31), meaning that it can attach to any type of constituent, including predicates, arguments, adjuncts, adverbs, and even second-position clitics, and can occur in either main clauses or embedded clauses. For example, the reportative in (24) can occur on the subject (a), the second-position clitic marking the future (b), or the connective introducing a conditional antecedent (c). The position of the enclitic does not affect its readings.

(24) a. *na4wi3ɟa3e3 i4 E3mi5**ʔã3***
na4=wi3ɟa3e3 i4 E3mi5=**ʔã3**
3.SBJ=sing DET(IV) E3mi5(IV)=**REP**
'Emi sang, **they say**.'

b. *E3mi5 rɨ1 ta4**ʔã3** na4wi3ɟa3e3*
E3mi5 rɨ1 ta4**ʔã3** na4=wi3ɟa3e3
E3mi5 TOP FUT=**REP** 3.SBJ=sing
'Emi is going to sing, **they say**.'

c. *e3ga4**ʔã3** na1wi3ɟa3e3gu2 a4 E3mi5 rɨ1, na4mu4a1rɨ3 di3ẽ3ru1ą̃1*
e3ga4=**ʔã3** na1=wi3ɟa3e3=gu2 a4 E3mi5 rɨ1
if=**REP** 3.SBJ.SC=sing=COND DET(IV) E3mi5 TOP
na4=mu4=a1rɨ3 di3ẽ3ru1=ą̃1
3.SBJ=many=AL.INCORP money=AL.INCORP
'If Emi sang, **as they say**, she has a lot of money.'
[LWG 2022.1.8]

While I call =*ã3* the reportative, it has both true reportative uses and uses which clearly do not involve a reportative evidence source. In true reportative uses (§30.2.1), the reportative marks that the speaker is saying the turn, or knows the proposition (if the turn makes a truth claim), because someone else said it first. In non-reportative uses (§30.2.2), the reportative marks a playful/child-directed speech register or occurs due to verb of speaking.

### 30.2.1 True reportative uses

Clearly reportative uses of =*ã3* occur in declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives. In declaratives, the marker simply conveys that the speaker knows the

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proposition via hearsay. For example, in (25), Victoria has been saying that she knows that a local man got remarried at an inappropriate time. She gives the information source, which is her addressee's father's sister, in line (a). Adriana intervenes to confirm who she is talking about (line b). Victoria confirms the candidate understanding and then states again that the man got remarried (line c). Because she knows this information via Adriana's aunt's report, she marks the proposition with the reportative, which appears on the verb.

(25) a. Victoria: *no31ʔri5 ku31rɨ3 ku43tɨ4kɨ3wa5 nɨ3tʃa1ʔĩ3nɨ3ma3re2ʔ.*
no31ʔri5 ku31rɨ3 ku43tɨ4kɨ3=wa5 nɨ31=ʔĩ3
earlier.today 2SG.POSS FZ=ALL 3=ACC
tʃa1=ĩ3nɨ3=ma3re3=ʔ
1SG.SBJ.SC=hear=just=SUB
'I happened to hear it from your father's sister earlier today.'

b. Adriana: *nɨ31ma2 wi31ʔi5 a4 [name redacted]*
nɨ31ma2 wi31ʔi5 a4 [name redacted]
3.TOP CONT.FOC DET(IV) [name redacted]
'(You heard this) about *him*, [name redacted]?'

c. Victoria: *ɨ4ĩ3 na4ʔã3mą1**ʔã3** nu5a2 e3kąʲ1.*
ɨ4ĩ3 na4=ã3=mą̃1=**ʔã3** nu5a2 e3kąʲ1
INTJ:yes 3.SBJ=have=wife=**REP** here.ALL INFO
'Yes, he got remarried here, **they say**.'

[AFG-LVI]

The turn where the speaker hears the proposition from another person, and the turn where they repeat it with the reportative, are sometimes very close together in time, even occurring in the same sequence. For example, (26) is a sequence from a social gathering involving Shavelli, her mother's brother Teodor Jr., and several women from out of town. The first speaker, one of the visiting women, asks Shavelli to cut a fish for her. In line (b), Shavelli provides a candidate understanding of what fish she means. In line (c), Teodor Jr. corrects her understanding by indicating the same fish as in line (a). Because Teodor knows which fish is meant only from the speech in line (a), he marks his turn with the reportative.

(26) a. Visitor: *ka4 ɟi31ʔe2ma4 ã4kɨ5e3, ku3ɟu1ku3ɟu1 tʃo31ʔĩ5 tɨ31ʔĩ3 na1wi51*
ka4 ɟi31ʔe2ma4 ã4kɨ5e3 ku3ɟu1ku3ɟu1 tʃo31=ʔĩ5
INTJ:look! DEM.ADDR.PROX(I) HESIT(I) catfish.sp(I) 1SG=BEN

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tɨ31=ʔĩ3 na1=wi51
3(I)=ACC IMP=cut.with.knife
'Cut up that whatsitcalled near you, the um cuiu cuiu fish, for me.'

b. Shavelli: *da31ʔe2?*
da31ʔe2
DEM.ADDR.PROX(I)
'(You mean) this one?'

c. Teodor Jr.: ***da31ʔe2ʔã3***
**da31ʔe2=ʔã3**
**DEM.ADDR.PROX(I)=REP**
'This one, **she said/meant**.'

[20180628-002]

On an interrogative, reportative *=ã3* displays two readings. In one reading, the marker conveys that the speaker expects the addressee to answer based on hearsay (i.e., the participant who heard the previous speech changes from speaker to addressee). For example, five seconds before (27), I tell the participants that they have 39 minutes left in the recording hour, then I leave. In line (a), Veronica asks Laura how many minutes are left, using the reportative to convey that she expects an answer based on my statement. In line (b), Laura responds by directly quoting me.

(27) a. Veronica: *ɲu̯1ʔre5 i4* ***minutoʔã3?***
ɲu̯1ʔre5 i4 **minuto=ʔã3**
how.many DET(IV) **minute(IV)=REP**
'**She said**, how many minutes?'

b. Laura: *dɨ1ʔ, treinta minuto ɲa4a2ʔĩ4* ((laughs))
dɨ1ʔ treinta minuto ɲa4a2ʔĩ4
INTJ:look SP:30 SP:minute 3.SBJ.QUOT.SC
'Look, 30 minutes, **she said**.'

[LSC-VSC]

In the other reading of the reportative on interrogatives, *=ʔã3* conveys that the speaker is repeating a question which another speaker originally produced, as in (28). With this use, it is still the speaker, not the addressee, who has heard the previous speech (as with declaratives). There are no clear examples of the repeated-question use in the corpus, while there are many examples of the use that expects an answer based on hearsay.

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(28) Context: If I asked a child to select among toys, the following dialog would be acceptable.

a. Amalia: *ʎe1ʔe3ri5ʔe3 ɟa4 ku31ri3 me43 ĩ1ʔe3?*
ʎe1ʔe3ri5ʔe3 ɟa4 ku31ri3 me43 ĩ4=e3
which.one(I) DET(IV) 2SG.POSS good COP=NMLZ(I)
'Which one do you like?'

b. Child: ((no answer))

c. Caregiver: ***ʎe1ʔe3ri5ʔe3ʔã3?***
**ʎe1ʔe3ri5ʔe3=ʔã3**
**which.one(I)=REP**
'**She said, which one?**'

[LWG 2022.1.7, based on overheard speech]

On imperatives, *=ʔã3* means that the speaker is repeating a directive on behalf of someone else. (29) is an example of a reportative imperative from the corpus. In line (a), the first speaker, Child 20's caregiver, tells them to keep jumping up and down, using the quotative. In line (b), the second speaker, Child 23's caregiver, encourages Child 23 to join in. In line (c), they direct Child 23 specifically to jump. Because the imperative in line (c) directs the same action as the imperative in line (a), it has the reportative, even though it does not use the same predicate. (30) is an elicited example which, instead, has an exact repetition with the reportative.

(29) Context: Child20 is jumping up and down repeatedly.

a. Child20 Caregiver: *di1ʔ wa31ʔi5, ŋe3ma2 ɲa4a2ʔĩ4ĩ1ki2 ni4ʔĩ4*
di1ʔ wa31ʔi5 ŋe3ma2 ɲa4a2ʔĩ4=ĩ1ki2 ni4ʔĩ4
INTJ:look CONT.FOC DEM.ANA(IV) 3.SBJ.QUOT.SC=INFO FOC
'Right, you should go just like that.'

b. Child23 Caregiver (to Child23): *ku1ma1 ta1 pa2 Ti3ti1*
ku1ma1 ta1 pa2 Ti3ti1
2SG.POSS also VOC Titi
'You too, Titi (child's nickname).'

c. Child23 Caregiver: **i1ɟu2ʔne3ki3ʔã3**
**i1=ɟu2ʔ-ne3ki3=ʔã3**
**IMP=jump-over.and.over=REP**
'Jump up and down, **as she said**.'

[Child20-Child23 CCI]

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(30) Context: If I told a child to put away the marbles from object play, the following dialog would be acceptable

a. Amalia: *tɨ31ʔĩ3 na1nu4ku2*
tɨ31=ʔĩ3 na1=nu4-ku2
3(I)=ACC IMP=put.INAN.PL-DIR:inward.PL
'Put them away (in a bag).'

b. Child: ((does nothing))

c. Caregiver: *tɨ31ʔĩ3* ***na1nu4ku2ʔã3***
tɨ31=ʔĩ3 **na1=nu4-ku2=ʔã3**
3(I)=ACC **IMP=put.INAN.PL-DIR:inward.PL=REP**
'Put them away (in a bag), **as she said**.'

[LWG 2022.1.7 based on object play]

### 30.2.2 Non-reportative uses

People also use the 'reportative' *=ã3* in two contexts that do not involve hearsay: when narrating pretend play or speaking in a playful register, and when using verbs of speaking.

#### 30.2.2.1 Pretend play and playful register

First, when people are narrating children's play, they use the 'reportative' extraordinarily frequently, sometimes on multiple constituents in every clause for multiple successive clauses, as shown in (31). In this use, the 'reportative' can occur alone (31a), but often appears together with the predicate enclitic *=ne3ta2* 'pretend' (Chapter 32.3), as in (31b). The playful 'reportative' can also appear with the future marker *ta4*, as in (32), and frequently cliticizes to the future when present. I gloss the reportative in (31) and (32) as 'let's say that' to emphasize the connection to hearsay, but note that there is no verb of speech in these examples.

(31) Context: Caregiver narrates while playing with toy soldiers with child

a. *ɲa4a2ʔã3 tʃu3ra3ra1ʔã3 dɨ1ʔ*
ɲa4a2=**ʔã3** tʃu3ra3ra1ʔ=**ã3** dɨ1ʔ
DEM.PROX(IV)=**REP** solder(IV)=**REP** INTJ:look!
'**Let's say that** here's the soldier, look!'

b. *nu5a2 na4ɲa43ta4ĩ2ne3ta2ʔã3 dɨ1ʔ*

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nu5a2 na4=ɲa43ta4ĩ2=ne3ta2=**ʔã3** di1ʔ
here.ALL 3.SBJ=travel.in.vehicle=pretend=**REP** INTJ:look!
'**Let's say that** he's driving toward here, look!'

[Child10-Child13 CCI, Caregiver]

(32) ***ta4ʔã3*** *ma3ri3 tʃu3ra3ra1gi4 nu5a2 ma3ri3 ta4 a1ɟau1ʔgi4ɰ̃1ʔĩ4*
**ta4=ʔã3** ma3ri3 tʃu3ra3ra1=gi4 nu5a2 ma3ri3 ta4
**FUT=REP** PRF soldier=PL here.ALL PRF FUT
a1=ɟau1ʔ=gi4=ɰ̃1=ʔĩ4
3.SBJ.SC=grab=PL=3>3.SC=SUB
'**Let's say that** the soldiers are going to grab him.' [Child10-Child13 CCI, Caregiver]

In the pretend-play use of the reportative, the proposition is only true (in the context of the game) because the speaker has said it. However, this is the only connection between the pretend-play use and the concept of hearsay. It should therefore be analyzed as a marker of playful register, like *=ne3ta2* 'pretend,' and not as evidential in this context.

The playful register and its grammatical markers can also occur outside of actual child-directed speech, for example when speaking about small children. For example, in (33), Victoria is describing what her own adult/adolescent children, nieces, and nephews looked like as babies. Although she directly witnessed this, she uses the reportative twice, along with *=ne3ta2*; this represents the playful or affectionate use of these markers as well.

(33) *iii3, i5na1bu31e3ʔi5tʃi2ʔĩ4wa5**ʔã3**, no51ri3 tʃa3pa3tu1 na4-, na4e2ru4ku1ti2 na4ri3go4**ne3ta2ʔã3***
iii3 i5=na1=bu31-e3=ʔi5tʃi2=ʔĩ4=wa5=**ʔã3** no51ri3
INTJ:cute! IMPF=3.SBJ.SC=young-PL=really=SUB=ALL=**REP** 3.POSS
tʃa3pa3tu1 na4=e2ru4=ku1ti2 na4ri3=go4=**ne3ta2=ʔã3**
shoe 3=head=foot 3.SBJ=fly=**pretend=REP**
'Oooooh, when they were little babies, **let's say**, their shoes slid up all the way to their heads, **let's pretend**.' [Victoria, LVI-MFG-LFG]

#### 30.2.2.2 Verbs of speaking

Verbs of communication are allowed to take the reportative even if the speaker directly witnessed the speaking event. This 'reportative concord' AnderBois (2019) occurs most often with the quotative (Chapter 22.2), but is also possible with

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other verbs of speaking, thought, and so on. For example, in (34), the reportative occurs on the verb *ka1* 'ask a question' and its oblique object, as well as on the final quotative.

(34) ***i5na4ka1ʔã3*** *a4* ***tʃo31ʔna1ʔã3,*** *"ku31e3ɟa̱1 e̱1ʔna5 ti4ʔĩ4 a4 Yanetha1rɨ3 ma3ma5?"* ***ɲa3na4rɨ3gɨ1ʔã3.***
**i5=na4=ka1=ʔã3** a4 **tʃo31=na1=ʔã3** ku31=e3ɟa̱1 e̱1ʔna5
**VCL=3.SBJ=ask.question=REP** DET(IV) **1SG=RCP=REP** 2SG=sister ALT
ti4ʔĩ4 a4 Yaneth=a1rɨ3 ma3ma5 **ɲa3na4rɨ3gɨ1=ʔã3**
3(I).SBJ.COP DET(IV) Yaneth=POSS mother **3.SBJ.QUOT=REP**
'She **reportedly** asked me, "Is Yaneth's mom your sister?"; she **reportedly** said that.' [Teodor Jr., 20180628-002]

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# 31 Discourse markers and interjections

Ticuna has a large number of lexical items which mark the information status of the entire turn, or the relationship between the turn and a prior turn in the discourse. Some of these lexical items are always enclitics; some can be pronounced as either enclitics or free words; and some are always free words. I refer to these lexical items collectively as discourse markers and describe them in §31.1.

I then look to interjections. Some of these, such as repair initiators and news receipts, manage the conversational floor or relate primarily to the discourse. Other interjections, on the other hand, give directions or express an affective reaction. I describe the inventory of interjections in §31.2. Last, I discuss the vocative construction in §31.3.

## 31.1 Discourse markers

This section first discusses discourse markers that can be realized as enclitics, then discourse markers which are realized only as free words. Items are discussed in descending order of frequency.

### 31.1.1 The enclitic *=ɨ1ʔkɨ2* 'congruent stance'

The enclitic *=ɨ1ʔkɨ2* is the single most common discourse marker in the language and occurs over 1,200 times in the corpus (a similar token count to the 1SG pronoun).

Phonologically, this item also has the forms *=kɨ2*, *=ɨ1ʔka4*, and *=ɨ2ʔkɨ4*. It behaves exclusively as an enclitic – never as a free word – and its initial vowel assimilates in nasality to the final vowel of the host. It is almost always in second position, appearing only once in the clause.

In terms of meaning, *=ɨ1ʔkɨ2* expresses that the turn is consistent with a stance that has been previously expressed or implied in the discourse. The stance can be epistemic (about whether a proposition is true) or affective (about the participants' evaluation of a proposition).

As an example of *=ɨ1ʔkɨ2* with a previously expressed positive-polarity stance, consider (1). Prior to this example, Menrys has been complaining that her older

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daughter will not do chores unless she is watched, because of the bad influence of her friends. In line (a), Victoria states that this will eventually make Menrys tired. In line (b), Menrys expresses her agreement with this statement using an anaphoric expression plus *=i1ʔkɨ2*.

(1) a. Victoria: *m31, ɟe5ʔ-, ɟe5a2ma4ɨ̃1ra1 na4 ɟe5ʔe1ra3ʔɨ̃3 ta4 ni4, ku31ʔɨ̃3 ni4pa1ʔɛ̃4ɛ̃3ʔɨ̃5tʃi2 ta4*
m31 ɟe5a2=ã4ma4=ɨ̃1ra1 na4 ɟe5ʔe1ra3=ʔɨ̃3 ta4 ni4
INTJ:mm there.DIST.ALL=toward=sort.of COMP more=ACC FUT FOC
ku31=ʔɨ̃3 ni4=pa1-ʔɛ̃4ɛ̃3=ʔɨ̃5tʃi2 ta4
2SG=ACC 3.SBJ=tired-CAUS=really FUT
'Mm, and if she goes beyond that (in misbehaving) she's really going to make you tired.'

b. Menrys: ((ingressive)) *ŋe3ma2 ɲa4a2ʔɨ̃4**ɨ̃2ʔkɨ4***
((ingressive)) ŋe3ma2 ɲa4a2=ʔɨ̃4=**ɨ̃2ʔkɨ4**
INTJ:yes DEM.ANA(IV) 3.SBJ.QUOT.SC=SUB=**INFO:CNG**
'Yeah, **as you're saying**, that's right (lit., it's like that).'
[MFG-LFG-LVI]

If the previous turn has negative polarity, then *=i1ʔkɨ2* expresses that the speaker shares the same negative stance. For example, leading into (2), Lizeth has been fruitlessly trying to convince her brother to get firewood, but instead he walks off to play soccer. She complains that he never helps her with chores. A few minutes after he departs, in line (a), Lizeth's husband Jacner asks whether her brother (in general) listens, using a negative polar question. In line (b), Lizeth agrees with the negative stance by producing the turn *ta4ma3ɨ̃1ʔkɨ2*, consisting only of negation and the discourse marker. This example additionally shows that the previous stance of *=i1ʔkɨ2* does not need to be asserted; it can also be implied by a question.

(2) a. Jacner: *ta4ma3 ku31ga1 na1ʔɨ̃3nɨ2ʔɨ̃4ɨ̃1ʔkɨ2, pa2 Li3?*
ta4ma3 ku31=ga1 na1=ɨ̃3nɨ3=ʔɨ̃4=ɨ̃1ʔkɨ2 pa2 Li3
NEG 2SG=voice 3.SBJ.SC=listen=SUB=INFO:CNG VOC Lizeth.VOC
'Does he not listen to you, Lizeth?'

b. Lizeth: ***ta4ma3ɨ̃1ʔkɨ2***
**ta4ma3=ɨ̃1ʔkɨ2**
**NEG=INFO:CNG**
'**No, as you said**.'
[20180707]

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Typically, the previous stance that *=ɨ1ʔkɨ2* affiliates with has been taken by a different speaker. However, it can also track congruence in stance between subsequent turns by the same speaker. For example, in (3), Laura has been describing at length how her husband is going to wire her money. She explains the plan, then summarizes it using an anaphor in line (a). In line (b), she repeats that this plan is about sending money, marking the congruence between this turn and her previous turns with *=ɨ1ʔkɨ2*.

(3) a. *nɨ31ma2 rɨ3ã3 ŋe3ma2 ɲa4a2ʔĩ4 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 tʃo31ma4ã2 nɨ31ʔĩ3 na1ʍa5ʔĩ4*
nɨ31ma2 rɨ3ã3 ŋe3ma2 ɲa4a2=ʔĩ4 ni4ʔĩ4 i4
3.TOP TOP DEM.ANA(IV) 3.SBJ.SC.QUOT=SUB FOC DET(IV)
tʃo31=ma4ã2 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 na1=ʍą1=ʔĩ4
1SG=COM 3=ACC 3.SBJ.SC=know=SUB
'He planned it like that with me.'

b. *di3ẽ3ru1 ta4**ɨ2ʔkɨ4** nu5a2 tɨ31ʔĩ3 na1mu2ʔĩ4*
di3ẽ3ru1 ta4=**ɨ2ʔkɨ4** nu5a2 tɨ31=ʔĩ3 na1=mu2=ʔĩ4
money(I) FUT=**INFO:CNG** here.ALL 3(I)=ACC 3.SBJ.SC=send=SUB
'He's going to send the money here, **as I was saying**.'

[Laura, LSC-VSC]

### 31.1.2 The enclitic *=a3rɨ1* and free word *a3rɨ1* 'new information'

The item *=a3rɨ1* is the second most frequent discourse marker, occurring 889 times in the corpus (similar in frequency to the locative case). It can be pronounced as either an enclitic or a free word (with its own stress). The free word, in addition to its use as a discourse marker, also means 'again.'

*=a3rɨ1* and *a3rɨ1* most often appear in second position, but can also be first or final in the clause. Unlike *=ɨ1ʔkɨ2*, this item can occur multiple times in a clause. For example, in (4), the speaker is beginning a story about her dream in the middle of a previously unrelated sequence. Both constituents in the clause – the initial noun and the verb – are marked with *=a3rɨ1*.

(4) *Argeliogu2**a3rɨ1** tʃa1ʔã3ne1gɨ3ʔĩ4**a3rɨ1***
Argelio=gu2=**a3rɨ1** tʃa1=ã3=ne1gɨ1=ʔĩ4=**a3rɨ1**
Argelio=LOC=**INFO:NEW** 1SG.SBJ=have=NI:dream=SUB=**INFO:NEW**
'I dreamed about Argelio.' [Child24Caregiver, 2019 Child24-Child29 CCI]

In terms of meaning, *=a3rɨ1* marks turns that introduce new information. For example, it occurs in story beginnings like (4), which opens a longer sequence

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about the speaker's dream. *=a3rɨ1/a3rɨ1* can also occur on turns that provide new information but do *not* lead to a longer sequence of related turns by the same speaker. For example, before (5), the participants have been discussing the people shown in a physical photograph. Then, after a pause, Lizeth introduces a new conversational topic by saying the unrelated turn in (5), which takes *=a3rɨ1* in second position. She does not elaborate on this turn, although other participants do begin discussing the food in their own turns.

(5) *ta4ã3**a3rɨ1** na4 tʃi1ŋa3ʔã4tʃi5ʔĩ4 a4 no31ʔẽ5we3mɨ1*
ta4ã3=**a3rɨ1** na4 tʃi1=ŋa3ʔ=ã4tʃi4=ʔĩ4 a4
NEG=**INFO:NEW** COMP 1SG.SBJ.SC=full.of.food=ACHV=SUB DET(IV)
no31ʔẽ5=we3mɨ1
grandmother=cooked.food(IV)
'I didn't get full on Grandma's food.' [Lizeth, LFG-MFG-LVI]

The information in an *=a3rɨ1* clause can be related to previously expressed information or congruent with a previously expressed stance, as long as some part of the turn is new. For example, in (6), Laura has been discussing the price of various crops. In line (a), she states that coffee is low-priced in Colombia; in line (b), Veronica agrees with a continuer; and in line (c), Laura adds the new information that many Colombians plant coffee. The topics of price (line a) and supply (line c) are related, as shown by the congruent-stance marker on the main verb in (c). However, because the information about planting coffee is new, line (c) still takes *a3rɨ1* following the verb of the relative clause.

(6) a. Laura: *Colombiaa1ne1wa5 wi31ʔi5 ni4ʔĩ4 ma3 na4ʔ i5ta3nɨ3ma3re2ʔĩ4 e3rɨ4ʔ café e3rɨ4 nɨ31wa5*
Colombia=a1ne1=wa5 wi31ʔi5 ni4ʔĩ4 ma3 na4ʔ
Colombia=area=ALL CONT.FOC FOC PERF COMP
i5ta3nɨ3=ma3re3=ʔĩ4 e3rɨ4ʔ café e3rɨ4 nɨ31wa5
cheap=just=SUB INFO:CNG SP:coffee INFO:CNG INFO
'In Colombia, coffee is low-priced, as I was saying.'

b. Veronica: *ŋɨ3ĩ1*
'Uh-huh'

c. Laura: *ɨ3ĩ1ĩ1, na4ʔã4kɨ4ʔi5tʃi2, na4mu4ũ1ʔkɨ2 a4 na3to1gɨ5ʔĩ4 **a3rɨ1***
ɨ3ĩ1 na4=ã4kɨ4=ɨ5tʃi2 na4mu4=ĩ1ʔkɨ2 a4
INTJ:yes 3.SBJ=HESIT=really 3.SBJ=many=INFO:CNG DET(IV)
na3=to1=gɨ4=ʔĩ4 **a3rɨ1**
3.OBJ=plant=PL=NMLZ(IV) **INFO:NEW**
'Uh-huh, they really um-, there's a lot of people who plant it.'

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[LSC-VSC]

### 31.1.3 The enclitic *=e3ɾi1/=e3ɾi4* and free word *e3ɾi1* 'congruent stance'

This item can be pronounced as an enclitic with tone 31 or 34, or as a free word with tone 31. It is related to the free word *e3ɾi4*, with the melody 34, which means 'because' and introduces a coordinated clause (Chapter 25.3). Not including tokens which are tone 34 and mean 'because,' the item occurs 483 times in the corpus. I use *=e3ɾi1* as the item's citation form.

*e3ɾi1* can occur multiple times in the clause, and can appear either on the predicate or in second position. It is semantically similar to *=i1ʔki2*, expressing congruence between the turn and a previous stance or turn expressed in the discourse. However, *=e3ɾi1* tends to occur in a more specific set of contexts than *=i1ʔki2* (as indicated by its frequency) – where the speaker has explicitly stated the same information before, or where the addressee should already know the information for some other reason.

For example, in (7), Laura is talking about her husband working as a migrant farmworker. She has already explained that the farm where he works has only two jobs: his job, and a less desirable job picking grapes. She and Veronica then begin talking about a woman who is working in the same location. Veronica asks if she is a cook (line a). Laura reminds her that this is not a possible job, saying that the only job available is picking grapes (line b). This proposition, which she repeats from earlier in the conversation, is marked twice with *e3ɾi1*.

(7) a. Veronica: *tą2ki4wa5 ŋe5ma2 ta1ʔũ31ʔ, ɾi1 na4ʔ cocineraĩ1?*
tą2ki4=wa5 ŋe5ma2 ta1=ũ43=ʔ ɾi1 na4ʔ
what?=ALL there.ANA.ALL 3(I).SBJ.SC=go.SG=SUB TOP COMP
cocinera=ĩ1
SP:cook(job)=RESULT
'What did she go there to do, was it to become a cook?'

b. Laura: *aaa31, pu3ra3ki4gi4wa5* ***e3ɾi1*** *ʎe3e3 ɾi3ã3 uvaa1ɾi3 ka1ʔũ1ma3re3* ***e3ɾi1****ʔã3 ni4ʔĩ4*
a31 pu3ra3ki4=gi4=wa5 **e3ri1** ʎe31=e3 ɾi3ã3
INTJ:news work=PL=ALL **INFO:CNG** female=NMLZ(I) TOP
uva=a1ɾi3 kau1ʔ-ĩ1=ma3re3 **e3ɾi1**=ʔã3 ni4ʔĩ4
SP:grape=POSS pick.fruit-DIR:outward.PL **INFO:CNG**=REP 3SBJ.COP
'Ahhh, in the jobs (there), for women, it's only picking grapes, **as I said/as you should know**.'

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[LSC-VSC]

As with *=i̱ʔ1ki̱2*, *=e3ri̱1* can express either that the speaker has previously expressed the content themself (as in 7) or that a previous turn expressed it. For example, ahead of (8), the child's caregiver and another woman have been talking about an item of food that is next to the other woman. They both discuss this object, then the caregiver tells the other woman to take it (line a). She does not understand the reference and initiates repair (line b), giving an incorrect candidate understanding. In line (c), the caregiver corrects her, drawing her attention back to the referent which the other woman identified earlier. In a single turn, she marks the other woman's previous knowledge of this referent with *both* the second-person quotative and two tokens of *=e3ri̱1*.

(8) a. Caregiver: *pa31ʔã5ẽ2ta2ã4, ŋe3ma2ã1ki̱2i̱1ʔki̱4 e3ri̱4 ni̱31wa5 ku31ĩ1ta1wa5ta2ã4*
pa31ʔã5ẽ2=ta2ã4 ŋe3ma2ã1ki̱2=i̱1ʔki̱4 e3ri̱4 ni̱31wa5
hurry=just thus=INFO:CNG because INFO
ku31=ĩ1ta1=wa5=ta2ã4
2SG=RN:at=ALL=only
'Just hurry up and do that (take it), because it's right next to you.'

b. Anonymous Woman: *na4 ta4 ɲa4a2ma3re3 ni4ʔĩ4, i4 tʃau1ʔpa3ĩ1?*
na4 ta4 ɲa4a2=ma3re3 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 tʃau1=ʔpa3ĩ1
COMP FUT DEM.PROX(IV)=just FOC DET(IV) 1SG=bucket(IV)
'(Do you mean to take) just this, my bucket?'

c. Caregiver: *ta4ma3**e3ri̱1**, ɟa4 nu5ke2ʔe3 ɲa5ku3**e3ri̱1***
ta4ma3=**e3ri̱1** ɟa4 nu5ke3=e3 ɲa5ku3=**e3ri̱1**
NEG=**INFO:CNG** DET(I) wrap=NMLZ(I) 2SG.SBJ.SC.QUOT=**INFO.CNG**
'No, **as you should know**, it should be the wrapped fish, like you said **and should know**.'

[CCI]

need participant number

It is also possible to use *=e3ri̱1* on a completely new proposition to convey that it is something which the addressee is expected to know, even if it has not previously been mentioned. For instance, ahead of (9), the participants have been discussing how people over 65 now need to use an ATM in Caballococha to collect *Pensión 65* (a monthly social security payment made by the Peruvian state), rather than going to the state bank. Yaneth's mother Edith, who is entitled to other ATM

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payments, states that she does not know her husband's ATM PIN. Yaneth then explains in (9) that she should not know the PIN, marking the proposition twice with *e3rɨ1*. Although the idea that PINs are secret has not been mentioned at all in the discourse, this marking suggests that Edith should already know the proposition because she is a beneficiary.

(9) *ɲu1ã1kɨ2a3rɨ1 nɨ3i1dau2* ***e3rɨ1*** *nɨ31wa5 ta31wa5ta2ã4****e3rɨ1*** *ni4 na1ŋe2ʔma4wɛ̨1e2ʔ*
ɲu1ã1kɨ2=a3rɨ1 nɨ31=ʔĩ3 i1=dau2 **e3rɨ1** nɨ31wa5
how?=INFO:NEW 3=ACC IMPERS.SBJ.SC=see **info:cng** INFO
ta31=wa5=ta2ã4=**e3rɨ1** ni4 na1=ŋe2ʔma4=wɛ̨1e3=ʔ
IMPERS=ALL=only=**INFO:CNG** FOC 3.SBJ.SC=be.in.place=HABIT=SUB
'You (generic) can't look at them (PINs) in any way, **as you should know**, because they are secret (lit. are always only for you), **as you should know**.' [Yaneth, YCG-SCG-DGC]

### 31.1.4 The enclitic *=e3kɑ̨1* and free words *e3kɑ̨1* and *ŋe3ma2kɑ̨1* 'that's why'

The item *e3kɑ̨1* can be pronounced as either an enclitic or a free word, and occurs 373 times in the corpus in these two forms combined. It is transparently derived from the free word *ŋe3ma2=kɑ̨1* (DEM.ANA(IV)=PURP), which has the compositional meaning 'because of that; that's why' and occurs 259 times. There is also an additional free word, *re3kɑ̨1*, which is derived from the concatenation of the topic marker *rɨ1/rɨ3* and *e3kɑ̨1*; it can occur alone or in the collocation *re3kɑ̨1 ni4* 'that's why.'

The phonologically reduced markers derived from *ŋe3ma2kɑ̨1* do not really have different meanings from each other or from *ŋe3ma2kɑ̨1*. However, they do appear in different locations in the clause. The free word *ŋe3ma2kɑ̨1* is always first in its clause, while the forms *e3kɑ̨1* and *=e3kɑ̨1* occur either in second position or following the predicate. *Re3kɑ̨1 (ni4)*, on the other hand, is normally final in the clause.

*ŋe3ma2kɑ̨1* and *e3kɑ̨1* express that a proposition expressed (or implied) earlier in the discourse is the reason for the clause where they appear. This is shown for the full form *ŋe3ma2kɑ̨1* in (10) and for the post-verbal form *e3kɑ̨1* in (11). In both examples, the first proposition mentioned causes the second proposition. The second clause (with the effect) is marked with the derivative of *ŋe3ma2kɑ̨1*.

(10) a. *to1gu5e3a1rɨ3tʃi1gɨ1 ni41ʔĩ4*

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to1gu5e3=a1ri3=tʃi1gɨ1 ni41ʔĩ4
other(I)=POSS=DISTRIB 3.SBJ.COP
'Each (of the parcels of land around here) belongs to someone else.' [cause]

b. ***ŋe3ma2kạ1*** *ɟa5ĩ2gu2ma3 tʃa3ʔã3a1ne1*
**ŋe3ma2kạ1** ɟa5ĩ2=gu2=ma3 tʃa3=ã3=a1ne1
**INFO:THAT'S.WHY** far=LOC=INFO 1SG.SBJ=have=land
'**Because of that** I have my fields far away.' [effect]
[LGC HALDI]

(11) *oo31 ti4dạ2we1 a4 ta4tu1ra1* ***e3kạ1*** *a4 ĩ1ne1*
oo31 ti4=dạ2we1 a4 ta4=tu1ra1 **e3kạ1** a4
INTJ:ooh! 3(I).SBJ=sick DET(I) 3(I).SBJ=weak **INFO:THAT'S.WHY** DET(IV)
ĩ1ne1
yesterday
'Ooh, she's sick [cause], **because of that** she was really weak yesterday [effect].' (Victoria, LVI-MFG-LFG)

Clause-final *re3kạ1 (ni4)*, conversely, expresses that the proposition *with* the marker is the cause of an earlier proposition. For example, (12) is from Adriana's narrative of a conversation which she had with me about why I have short hair. She observes that my hair is short, then she quotes me giving the reason in (12). The reason clause is marked with *re3kạ1 ni4*.

(12) *ta4ma3 tʃo5 na4me43 na4 tʃa1mạ1ɟe5e2ʔĩ4* ***re3kạ1 ni4***
ta4ma3 tʃo31=ʔĩ5 na4=me43 na4 tʃa1=mạ1=ɟe5e3=ʔĩ4
NEG 1SG=BEN 3=good COMP 1SG.SBJ.SC=long=NI:hair=SUB
**re3kạ1** ni4
**INFO:THAT'S.WHY**
'I don't like to have long hair [cause], that is why (I cut it; effect implied).' [Adriana, AFG-LVI]

### 31.1.5 The enclitic *=tʃi4rẹ1* 'incongruent stance'

The marker *=tʃi4rẹ1* is realized exclusively as a second-position enclitic and predicate enclitic. It occurs 188 times in the corpus. In contrast to the other enclitics discussed in this section, which follow nominalizers and subordinators, it usually occurs inside nominalizing and subordinating markers.

*=tʃi4rẹ1* is an incongruent stance marker: it conveys that the proposition is inconsistent with something expressed earlier in the discourse, or contrary to

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something that the speaker or addressee would contextually expect. For example, in (13), Victoria states in line (a) that the woman who the participants are discussing is an adult. Adriana then notes in line (b) that despite her age, this person behaves like a teenage girl. In line (c), she decides that this is not enough and strengthens her claim to say that the woman behaves like a child. Because the proposition 'she behaves like a child' is inconsistent both with expectations and with the previously expressed propositions in lines (a) and (b), she marks it with *=tʃi4rẹ1*.

(13) a. Victoria: *ma3ri3, ma3ri3 ɟa2ma3re2ʔe3 ta1ʔka4*
ma3ri3 ɟa2=ma3re3=e3 ta1=i2ʔka4
PRF mature=just=NMLZ(I) also=INFO:CNG
'She's an adult now too.'

b. Adriana: *pa4tʃi4-, pa4ã5ẽ2ki5ra1ĩ3ʔẽ3ʔki2*
pa4=ã5ẽ2=ki5ra1ĩ1=e3=i1ʔki2
be.young.woman=NI:soul=INFER=NMLZ(I)=INFO:CNG
'As I was saying, she behaves like a teenage girl.'

c. Adriana: *na4 bu31ã5ẽ2ma3re3**tʃi4rẹ1**e3 ti4*
na4 bu31=ã5ẽ2=ma3re3=**tʃi4rẹ1**=e3 ti4
COMP be.child=NI:soul=just=**actually**=NMLZ(I) 3(I).SBJ.COP
'**Actually**, she behaves like a child.'

[AFG-LVI]

Another example of the use of *=tʃi4rẹ1* to express that a proposition is contextually unexpected appears in (14). In the first line of this example, the speaker observes that her house's water tank is empty, which suggests that the running water supply is not turned on. When she says that the water actually is on, she marks this unexpected proposition with *=tʃi4rẹ1*.

(14) a. *ʎe1ʔĩ4ki5ra1ĩ1 i4 de43ʔa5, pa43ʔi2ma4ma3re2ʔ*
ʎe1ʔĩ4=ki5ra1ĩ1 i4 de43ʔa5 pa43=ʔi2ma4=ma3re3=ʔ
where.is(IV)=INFER DET(IV) water(IV) dry=NI:interior=just=SUB
'There's no water (lit. where's the water), it's totally dry inside.'

b. **ma3ri3tʃi4rẹ1** i5na4ʎu3
**ma3ri3=tʃi4rẹ1** i5=na4=ʎu3
**PRF=actually** VCL=3.SBJ=arrive
'It (the water) **actually HAS** turned on (lit. arrived).'

[Caregiver, C31-C32 CCI]

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*=tʃi4rẹ1* can also contrast the turn where it occurs with a previous turn or stance of a different speaker. For example, in (15), Yaneth is scolding a child who has taken some of another child's clothes. In line (a), she asks a non-information-seeking question (where she knows the answer is yes) about whether the child has taken the other's clothing. In line (b), she then asks if the clothes belong to them. Since the child is behaving as if the clothes *were* theirs, by taking and wearing them, Yaneth marks line (b) with *=tʃi4rẹ1*.

(15) a. *na4 no31ʔri5a3ri1 ta2ku3ɟa1ʔu2?*
na4 no31ʔri5=a3ri1 ta2=ku3=ɟau1ʔ
COMP earlier.today=INFO:NEW some(IV)=2SG.SBJ=grab
'Did you take some of them earlier?'

b. *na4* ***ku31ri3tʃi4rẹ1ta2ã4****?*
na4 **ku31ri3=tʃi4rẹ1=ta2ã4**
COMP **2SG.POSS=actually=only**
'Are they your own things, **actually/as you seem to think**?'
[Yaneth, YCG-SCG-DGC]

### 31.1.6 The enclitics *=e3ga1/=e3ga4ʔ* and free word *e3ga1* 'since you/they behave like that'

This discourse marker occurs 224 total times in the corpus. It can be realized as a free word *e3ga1*, an enclitic *=e3ga1*, or an enclitic *=e3ga4(ʔ)*, and can appear in a variety of positions – second position, immediately after the predicate, clause-initially, and clause-finally. In terms of form, it is phonologically similar to the free word *e3ga4* 'if,' which introduces conditional antecedents and some temporal subordinate clauses (Chapter 25.1).

In terms of meaning, *e3ga1* and related enclitics usually convey that the clause holds as a result of something, usually something inappropriate, which the addressee (or another party) is doing or has done. For example, before (16), Child 20 has been hiding and otherwise misbehaving. Their caregiver says that they will not buy them a reward if this continues, marking the consequence of their behavior with *=e3ga4ʔ* (but no conditional antecedent).

(16) *ta2ʔũ4ta4ã2 ɟe5a2 ku3ri4tʃi1kạ1 ku31ʔĩ5 ta2tʃa3ta4e3****e3ga4ʔ***
ta2ʔũ4ta4ã2 ɟe5a2 ku3ri4tʃi1=kạ1 ku31=ʔĩ5
NEG.FUT there.ANA.ALL popsicle=PURP 2SG=BEN
ta2=tʃa3=ta4e3=**e3ga4ʔ**
some(IV)=1SG.SBJ=buy=**INFO:IT'S.ON.YOU**
'I'm not going to buy a popsicle for you over there **if you keep behaving**

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**like that**.' [Child20 Caregiver, C20-C23 CCI 2019]

This example is relatively similar to a conditional, but *e3ga1* and related enclitics can also convey that the clause is happening because of something the addressee has already done. For example, before (17), Lizeth observes that her younger brother and his friends ran off in a family boat earlier and have not returned it. She then tells him that it is his job to look for it, marking with *=e3ga4?* that this is because losing the boat was his fault.

(17) *ku1ma1 ta4ta2ã4 ɟi2ma2 bo3te1 na31ʔkɑ1 ku1a3dau2ʔĩ4 ta4**e3ga4ʔ***
ku1ma1 ta4=ta2ã4 ɟi2ma2 bo3te1 na43=kɑ1
2SG.PRO FUT=only DEM.ANA(III) boat(III) 3=PURP
ku1=a3=dau2=ʔĩ4 ta4=**e3ga4ʔ**
2SG.SBJ.SC=AM=look.for=SUB FUT=**INFO:IT'S.ON.YOU**
'You yourself are going to go and look for that boat now, **because of what you did**.' [Lizeth, 20180707]

The other party whose conduct causes the *e3ga1* clause does not have to be the addressee. It can also be another person mentioned in the discourse. For example, in (18), Menrys has been talking about how some of her relatives never buy their own soap and instead constantly ask to borrow hers. She observes that this makes her own soap run out quickly, marking the causal relationship with *=e3ga4ʔ*.

(18) *pa31ʔã4ma4 tʃo31ʔĩ5 na4gu1**e3ga4ʔ***
pa31ʔã4ma4 tʃo31=ʔĩ5 na4=gu1=**e3ga4ʔ**
for/in.short.time 1SG=BEN 3.SBJ=run.out=**INFO:IT'S.ON.THEM**
'My (soap) runs out really quickly, **because they do that**.' [Menrys, LFG-MFG-LVI]

There are some examples of *e3ga1* and related forms which are not explained by this analysis. For example, ahead of (19), a male speaker is heard to say the negative existential from off-camera. Child 33's caregiver then asks him if there is still no electricity (line a), marking the turn with *=e3ga4* despite the lack of a relevant cause for the power outage in the discourse context. He replies with no discourse marker (line b). I do not have an explanation for the use of *=e3ga4* in this type of context.

(19) a. Child 30 Caregiver: *o1mɨ1 rɨ1 bai51**e3ga4**ta2ã4 pa2 ɟa31?*
o1mɨ1 rɨ1 bai51=**e3ga4**=ta2ã4 pa2 ɟa31
light TOP not.at.all=**INFO:??**=only VOC male.VOC
'There's absolutely zero electricity still, baby boy?'

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b. Male Speaker: *ta2ʔu2*
ta2ʔu2
NEG.EXIST
'No, there's none.'
[C30 CCI]

### 31.1.7 The enclitic *=i4ʔ* 'what about it?'

This enclitic has two somewhat different readings on noun phrases vs. on predicates. It occurs 64 total times on all constituent types combined.

On a noun phrase, *=i4ʔ* asks a fragment question 'what about NP?'. This can either topicalize the noun phrase from an immediately preceding turn, or reintroduce/retopicalize the noun phrase after a lapse. For example, ahead of (20), Yaneth has been describing plans for a Mother's Day event. She mentions that the event will include raffling off a gift basket (line a). Edith then topicalizes and asks about the content of the basket by combining the new-information marker *a3rɨ1* and the 'what about?' marker *=i4ʔ* in line (b).

(20) a. Yaneth: *na4 nu5a2ma4 a3rɨ1 ni4 ŋe3ma2 canasta a4 ma3ma5gɨ4kạ1 na1ʔã2ʔ*
na4 nu5a2=ã4ma4 a3rɨ1 ni4 ŋe3ma2 canasta
COMP here.ALL=toward INFO:NEW FOC DEM.ANA(IV) SP:basket(IV)
a4 ma3ma5=gɨ4=kạ1 na1=ã3=ʔ
DET(IV) mother=PL=PURP 3.SBJ.SC=give.SG=NMLZ(IV)
'Over here is the gift basket that they're going to give out for the moms.'

b. Edith: *canasta **a3rɨ1ʔ**?*
canasta **a3rɨ1=i4ʔ**
SP:basket **INFO:NEW=INFO:WHAT.ABOUT.NP?**
'And **what about the basket** (i.e., what's in it?)'
[SCG-YCG-DGC]

Another example of the fragment-question use of *=i4ʔ* occurs in (21). Before this example, Laura states that a third party, Ma3ri1, is going to stay in Cushillococha for two to three months. Then there is a 12-turn side sequence where the participants deal with me. Following this, Veronica reactivates the topic of Ma3ri1's visit by saying (21).

(21) *no51rɨ3 ʎụ1 ta1a3rɨ1 nɨ31ma2 a4 **Ma3rɨ1i4ʔ**?*

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no51rɨ3 ʎu̯1=∅ ta1=a3rɨ1 nɨ31ma2 a4
3.POSS learn=ZERO.NMLZ also=INFO:NEW 3.TOP DET(IV)
**Ma3ri1=i4ʔ**
**Mari=INFO:WHAT.ABOUT.NP?**
'And also what about her going to school, **what about Mari**?' [Veronica, LSC-VSC]

The constituent *ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3i4ʔ* conventionally means something like 'and then what happened?' or 'and so what?'. For example, people often use this adverb when someone is telling a story over the phone, and the listener would like the teller to get to the point more quickly. (22) is a conversational example of this form. Since all other examples of *=i4ʔ* in this section include *a3rɨ1* as well, (22) also demonstrates that *=i4ʔ* can occur without *a3rɨ1*.

(22) Context: Adriana: 'Mixtuca was standing on the prow of the boat.'
*mmmm31* ***ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3i4ʔ***
mm31 **ŋẽ4ʔgu2ma3=i4ʔ**
INTJ:CONTINUER **then=INFO:WHAT.ABOUT?**
'Mm-hm, **and then what happened**?' [Victoria, AFG-LVI]

When *=i4ʔ* appears on a predicate, it means something different from the 'what about' reading seen above. Specifically, *=i4ʔ* conveys that (a) the predicate is not true and (b) it is ridiculous to think that the predicate would be true. For example, in (23), Victoria denies all knowledge of her husband's whereabouts by using the predicate 'know' plus this marker. Likewise, in (24), Menrys has been saying that her teenage daughter continues spending time with people who are a bad influence, rather than listening to her. Lizeth expresses that the girl cannot be expected to listen by using another verb with *=i4ʔ*.

(23) Context: Adriana: 'Where's your husband now, sister-in-law?'
*a31 wa31ʔi5, na4a3rɨ1 nɨ31ʔĩ3* ***tʃa3ʍa̱1i4ʔ***
a31 wa31ʔi5 na4=a3rɨ1 nɨ31=ʔĩ3
INTJ:I.don't.know COMP=INFO:NEW 3=ACC
**tʃa3=ʍa̱1=i4ʔ**
**1SG.SBJ=know=INFO:NO.WAY**
'I don't know, **no way** would I know that.' [Victoria, AFG-LVI]

(24) Context: Menrys: 'I don't want her$_i$ to be friends with her$_j$, but she still does it in secret, she doesn't listen.'
*nɨ31ma2 rɨ1 a3rɨ1 wo5o1 na4ʔĩ3nɨ3* ***a3rɨ1i4ʔ***

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ni31ma2 ri1 a3ri1 wo5o1 na4=ĩ3ni3 **a3ri1=i4ʔ**
3.TOP TOP INFO:NEW although 3.SBJ=listen **INFO:NEW=INFO:NO.WAY**
'**No way** does she listen, although (you try).'

### 31.1.8 Discourse markers that are always free words

There are several frequent discourse markers which are always pronounced as free words, including the tag and filler *ki2a4na4* 'right?' and its variants; the alternative marker *ɛ̃1ʔna5*; and the word *ni31wa5*. As the function of *ni31wa5* is not clear to me, this section discusses only *ki2a4na4* and *ɛ̃1ʔna5*.

The discourse marker *ki2a4na4* is usually clause-final. It can also be pronounced as *ki2*, *ki4*, *ki2ã4*, *ka2ã4*, or *ka1ʔni4*. This item forms tag questions (as discussed in Chapter 27.2.2) and also acts as a filler or hedge. Some speakers use this item much more frequently than others – for example, Angel Bittancourt Serra uses it in almost every utterance which he produces to Nicasio Witancort Gómez in the staged conversation between them. (25) is an example of Angel's use of *ki2a4na4* as a filler in this text.

(25) *ku31ʔĩ5 na4ŋɛ̃2ʔma4 i4 wi43ʔi4 i4 tarea i4 ta31ʔĩ4ma3,* ***ki2a4na4****?*
ku31=ʔĩ5 na4=ŋɛ̃2ʔma4 i4 wi43ʔi4 i4 tarea i4
2SG=BEN 3.SBJ=be.in.place DET(IV) one DET(IV) SP:task(IV) DET(IV)
ta43=ʔĩ4=ma3 **ki2a4na4**
big=NMLZ(IV)=INFO **right?**
'(I always think about you) because you have a big/important task (as a pastor), **y'know**?' [Angel, NWG Brazil Trip]

The alternative marker *ɛ̃1ʔna5* appears in a variety of positions in the clause. It occurs as a marker of questions – especially polar questions (Chapter 27.2.2) – and in disjunction (Chapter 25.5). However, it can also appear in non-disjunctive declaratives, such as (26). In this context, *ɛ̃1ʔna5* is interpreted as a marker of negation similar to English *hardly*.

(26) *tʃa3ʔã3tʃi4ɛ̃* ***ɛ̃1ʔna5****, ma3ri3 tʃa3tʃi31e2*
tʃa3=ã3=tʃi4ɛ̃ **ɛ̃1ʔna5** ma3ri3 tʃa3=tʃi31e2
1SG.SBJ=have=NI:ear **ALT** PRF 1SG.SBJ=bad
'I **can hardly hear** (lit. I hardly have ears), I'm bad (at hearing) now.'
[Child 3 Caregiver, Child3-Child7 CCI 2019]

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## 31.2 Interjections

### 31.2.1 Discourse-oriented interjections

Discourse-oriented interjections manage the conversational floor or express a reaction to something in the discourse. In Ticuna, this category of interjections includes answers to polar questions; continuers; repair initiators; pursuit markers; news receipts; responses to offers; and comments on one's own previous turn.

The most conventional *yes-answer* to a polar question is the interjection *ŋɨ31* 'yes.' People also sometimes use the anaphoric demonstrative *ŋe3ma2ʔ* as a yes-answer – usually with a final glottal stop that is not present in the demonstrative form. The glottal stop-final form appears, for example, in (27). Forms derived from *ŋe3ma2*, such as the adverb *ŋe3ma2ã1kɨ2* 'thus' or the demonstrative *ŋe3ma2ĩ1kɨ2* 'yes, that' with the congruent-stance enclitic *=ɨ1ʔkɨ2*, also appear.

(27) a. Caregiver: *doscientosʔã3*
doscientos=ʔã3
SP:200=REP
'It reportedly (costs) 200.'

b. Caregiver's Mother: *na4 ta4ma3 na1baseaʔʔ*
na4 ta4ma3 na1=basea=ʔ
COMP NEG 3.SBJ.SC=SP:make.base=SUB
'And that doesn't include the base?'

c. Caregiver's Husband: ***ŋe3ma2ʔ***
**ŋe3ma2=ʔ**
**DEM.ANA(IV)=YES**
'**Yes/Right** (it doesn't include it).'

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It is also extremely conventional to give the answer 'yes' by producing a pulmonic ingressive sound. This sound does not otherwise occur in the language. Other yes-answers with unusual phonology include vowel-only forms – such as *a31*, *a3ĩ1*, or *ɨ3ĩ1* 'uh-huh (yes)' – and forms that have no vowel, such as *m31* 'mm-hm (yes).' Vowel-only yes-answers and *mm* yes-answers are extremely variable in their length and nasality, but they are always produced with a falling tone. The yes-answer in (28b) combines a falling *mm31* answer and a pulmonic ingressive.

(28) Context: Lizeth: 'I put it on that thing (a shelf).'

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a. Victoria: *mɨ3ra3pe3wa1gu2ʔ?*
mɨ3ra3pe3wa1=gu2
plank=LOC
'On the board?'

b. Lizeth: ***mm31*** **((ingressive))**
**mm31 ((ingressive))**
**INTJ:mm INTJ:yes**
'**Mm-hm, yeah.**'

[LFG-MFG-LVI]

*Non-answer* responses to questions have the form *a31* or *a31 wa31ʔi5*, with the contrastive focus marker. These can both be glossed as 'I don't know,' although they do not contain lexical verbs. (32c) below provides an example of a don't-know answer.

*Continuers* have similar forms to yes-answers. The most common continuer is the consonant-only form *mm31*. Less commonly, speakers use *ŋɨ31* 'yes'; a yes-answer-like form with a falling vowel, such as *ɨ3ɨ̃1* or *a3ɨ̃1*; or the yes-answer *ŋe3ma2ʔ*. (29) provides an example of the continuer *mm31*. Here, Laura contributes new information about the parakeets (line a); Veronica produces only a continuer, declining the opportunity to take a longer conversational turn (line b); and Laura then adds further new information (line c).

(29) a. Laura: *tai31ɟa2e3ne3ta2 ma3 ni4*
tai31ɟa2-e3=ne3ta2 ma3 ni4
hungry-PL=pretend PRF FOC
'They (the parakeets) are hungry.'

b. Veronica: ***mm31***
**mm31**
**CONTINUER**
'Mm-hm'

c. Laura: *nɨ31e1tʃa3ma1 na4tʃi31bɨ2e3ma3re3 ta1e3rɨ4ʔ*
nɨ31=e1tʃa3ma1 na4=tʃi31bɨ2-e3=ma3re3 ta1=e3rɨ4ʔ
3=independently 3.SBJ=eat-PL=just also=INFO:CNG
'They can also just eat under their own power (without being fed).'

[LSC-VSC]

*Open repair initiators* are forms which convey that the speaker has trouble in hearing or understanding an entire previous turn. They contrast with closed repair initiators, which indicate trouble with a particular component of a previous

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turn (Drew 1997). Ticuna speakers use question words and candidate understandings as closed repair initiators, as seen in many examples in this book. As open repair initiators, people always use either the interjection *a2ʔã4*, with a rising tone, or the word *tạ2kɨ4* 'what?'. (30) is an example of repair initiation with *tạ2ʔkɨ4*. In line (a), Yaneth contributes new information; in line (b), Edith initiates repair with this item; in line (c), Yaneth responds by repeating most of the content of her initial turn.

(30) a. Yaneth: *pa3pa5ma3re3 ɟe3a2 i5na4ʔi31e3*
pa3pa5=ma3re3 ɟe3a2 i5=na4=i31e3
dad(IV)=just DEM.DIST(IV) **vcl**=3.SBJ=disembark
'It's just dad, there he is, he's getting out (of a motocar).'

b. Edith: ***tạ2kɨ4?***
**tạ2kɨ4**
**what?**
'**What?**'

c. Yaneth: *ɟe3a2 i5na4ʔi31e3*
ɟe3a2 i5=na4=i31e3
DEM.DIST(IV) VCL=3.SBJ=disembark
'There he is, he's getting out (of a motocar).'

[YCG-SCG-DGC]

*Pursuit markers* appear in contexts where the speaker produces a turn, but their addressee does not produce the expected uptake of that turn – for example, does not answer a question. The main pursuit marker in Ticuna is *kɨ1ɨ3*. This form is similar to the news receipt/tag forms *kɨ51* and *kɨ4*. However, when the *kɨ* syllable functions as a pursuit, rather than a news receipt or tag, it always has multiple vowels and displays a rising tone melody (sometimes rising from tone 1 to 3, other times to a higher tone on the final syllable). The pursuit marker also tends to be produced with exaggerated prosody, for example a very high tone at the end or a very long vowel. (31c) is an example of a relatively unmarked token of *kɨ1ɨ3*, while (32b) has a marked prosody on the interjection.

(31) Context: Caregiver is narrating child's game

a. Caregiver: *uuu3, ta2ʔre4kạ1 ta4 ku3ta4e3?*
uuu3 ta2ʔre4=kạ1 ta4 ku3=ta4e3
INTJ:oooh! two=PURP FUT 2SG.SBJ=buy
'Oooh, are you going to buy two of them?'

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b. ((no response from child))

c. Caregiver: ***ki3i5?***
**ki3i5**
**INTJ:pursuit**
'**Well?**'

[Child34 CCI]

(32) a. Lizeth: *te1ʔe5 na43gu2 ti4ʔũ43 a4 bo3te1?*
te1ʔe5 na43=gu2 ti4=ũ43 a4 bo3te1
who?(I) 3(IV)=LOC 3(I).SBJ=go.SG DET(IV) boat(IV)
'Who went off in that boat?'

b. Lizeth: ***ki1i3i5i5?***
**ki1i3**
**INTJ:pursuit**
'**Well????**'

c. Bexcuru: *a31*
a31
INTJ:I.don't.know
'Dunno.'

[20180707]

*News receipts* convey that the speaker has just heard something that is new (in the previous turn). All of them tend to be produced in prosodically marked ways, for example with very lengthened vowels or very high final tones. The most conventional and probably most common news receipt is *o3ɛ̃ʔna5*, which people tend to use in the context of news which is especially surprising or which they previously heard about, but did not understand. (33) is an example of this news receipt, delivered in a prosodically marked form. The form *o3ɛ̃1ʔna5* can also act as to some extent as a continuer, inviting the previous speaker to elaborate on their turn.

(33) a. Victoria: *te1ʔe5 ti4 ɟa3 pe31ʔna1 na3ʔã2ʔ?*
te1ʔe5 ti4 ɟa3 pe31=na1 na3=ã3=ʔ
who?(I) 3(I).SBJ.COP DET(I) 2PL=RCP 3.OBJ=give.SG=SUB
'Who gave it to you guys?'

b. Off-Camera Woman: *Pu3re5*
'Puré (a personal name)'

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c. Victoria: **o3ɛ̰1ʔnaaa5**
**o3ɛ̰1ʔna5**
**INTJ:news**
**'Ohhhh, okay.'**
[LFG-MFG-LVI]

People also sometimes use the alternative marker *ɛ̰1ʔna5* alone as a news receipt. Other news receipts include *kɨ4* and *kɨ51* with high or falling tones; *ka4*; high rising humming sounds; and forms consisting only of vowels. News receipts with only vowels are phonologically different from continuers/yes-answers with only vowels. Continuers/yes-answers always consist of only central vowels – *a31*, *ɨ̃3ɨ̃1*, *a3ʔɨ̃1*, and so on – while news receipts can be either central vowels (*a3*) or peripheral ones (*o3*, *u3*, *i3* all occur). In addition, news receipts usually have level or rising tones, while continuers/yes-answers always have falling tones.

To *agree to an offer* or proposal by a previous speaker, people use the interjections *ŋɨ31* 'yes,' *kɨ3ma3* 'sure,' and *pa31ʔa2* 'go ahead.' This final item, *pa31ʔa2*, is also a directive interjection 'hurry up!' and is related to the verb root *pa31ʔã5ɛ̃2* (< *pa31ʔa2=ã5ɛ̃2* 'fast=soul') 'move quickly.' In contrast, *kɨ3ma3* only accepts proposals; it does not have a directive function. In (34b), Laura accepts my offer using both *ŋɨ31* 'yes' and *pa31ʔa2* 'go ahead' in a single turn.

(34) a. Amalia: *wɨ43i4ta2ã4 i4 momento nɨ31ʔɨ̃3 tʃa3rɨ3ʔɨ̃3nɨ3*
'I'm going to listen to it for just a moment.'
b. Laura: ***ŋɨ31, pa31ʔa2***
**ŋɨ31 pa31ʔa2**
**INTJ:yes INTJ:go.ahead**
**'Sure, go ahead.'**
[LSC-VSC]

The final category of discourse-oriented interjections express that the previous turn was a joke and avoid responsibility for it, like the English expression *just kidding!*. Two interjections have this function: *ko51*, which is also a verb meaning 'tease,' and *wɛ̃51*. For example, before the discourse in (35), the participants have been discussing various drinks they have on hand. Menrys asks an off-camera participant what drink she has (line a). The off-camera woman responds that it is beer (line b), which contextually is fairly shocking, since the women in Menrys and Victoria's household – like many women in Cushillococha – do not drink commercial alcohol. Menrys and Victoria issue news receipts (lines c, d) and laugh nervously (line d). Then the woman reveals, using the interjection *ko51*, that the entire sequence was a joke (line e).

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(35) a. Menrys: *tą2kɨ4?*
tą2kɨ4
what?
'What is it?'

b. Off-Camera Woman: *cere-, cervezatʃi5ɨ1*
cerveza=tʃi5ɨ1
SP:beer=CLF:liquid
'(Western-style) beer'

c. Menrys: *ĩ3*
'Uh-huh'

d. Victoria: *ŋɨ31* ((laughter))
ŋɨ31
INTJ:yes
'Yeah ((laughs))'

e. Off-Camera Woman: *dɨɨɨ1,* ***ko51***
dɨ1 **ko51**
INTJ:look **INTJ:just.kidding**
'Looooooook, **just kidding!!!**'

[LFG-MFG-LVI]

### 31.2.2 Directive interjections

The language has a large number of directive interjections, which make requests to the addressee without using a lexical verb. Some of these also have discourse-oriented functions. Table 31.1 provides a list of these interjections in approximately descending order of frequency.

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Table 31.1: Directive interjections

| Interjection | Gloss | Note |
|---|---|---|
| dɨ1ka4ʔ, dɨ1, ka4ʔ | 'look!' | can also function as tag or to draw attention to discourse ('listen up!') |
| ŋɨ2ʔĩ4 | 'take it!' (giving addressee an object) | can also function as pursuit marker |
| tʃa1ʔi5 | 'give me it!' (asking for an object) | |
| mo1ʔõ3, mo1ʔĩ3 | 'hold up!, wait a second!' | |
| ŋi51ã3 | 'let's go!' | encourages addressee to do something with speaker, usually motion |
| pa31ʔa2 | 'hurry up!, c'mon!' | encourages addressee to do something on their own |
| ma3rɨ3, ma3rɨ5 | 'that's enough!, it's about time!, try it now!' | derived from perfect marker |
| ẽ3ka1, e3ĩka5, e3ka1 | 'let's see!' | |
| be1ʔma2 | 'be quiet!' | |
| nɨ31e3 | 'it doesn't matter; leave it alone!' | |
| ŋe3rɨ5(ma3) | 'stop it!, leave it alone!' (something near addressee) | also functions as prohibitive marker (Chapter 20.7) |
| ((alveolar click)) | 'don't!, stop it!' | |

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(36) and (37) provide examples of two directive interjections – *ŋi2ʔĩ4* 'take it!' and *ni31e3* 'it doesn't matter' – from the same interaction. In this recording, I have just given the children of Victoria and Menrys' household toy lip glosses as rewards for their participation in a child language study. In (36), Victoria has been trying one of the lip glosses herself and hands it back to the child who received it, saying *ŋi2ʔĩ4* 'take it!' as she offers the object. In (37), a different child has been complaining about the taste of the lip gloss. Menrys tells her not to worry about this for now, using *ni31e3* 'it doesn't matter' with the enclitic *=ta2ã4* 'only.'

(36) ***ŋi2ʔĩ4*** *pa2 mi3ʔ ɲa4a2 dau1ʔĩ4*
**ŋi2ʔĩ4** pa2 mi3ʔ ɲa4a2 dau4=ʔĩ4
INTJ:take.it! VOC baby.VOC DEM.PROX(IV) red=NMLZ(IV)
'Take it, baby, here's the red one (red lip gloss).' [Victoria, LFG-MFG-LVI]

(37) ***ni31e3ta2ma4*** *ɟe3a2 pe31ma4ã2 na4ʔi2*
**ni31e3=ta2ma4** ɟe3a2 pe31=ma4ã2 na4=i2
**INTJ:leave.it.alone=only** DEM.DIST(IV) 2PL=COM 3.SBJ=do/test
'**Just leave it alone** (don't worry/complain about it), that one (Amalia) will try it with you.' [Menrys, LFG-MFG-LVI]

The interjections in Table 31.1 are all addressed to other people. There are some additional interjections which are addressed only to animals, such as *kis/kiʃ* for calling a dog and a repeated postalveolar or retroflex fricative *ʃʃʃ* for shooing chickens. Note that the /s/ and /ʃ/ in these interjections, as well as in the affective interjection *i3s*, do not otherwise exist in the language.

### 31.2.3 Affective interjections and greetings

Some interjections express emotions or responses to a situation, or are used to greet and take leave of other participants. Purely affective interjections include *ai31*, which expresses surprise or pain; high vowels such as *u3* or *i3*, which express that a person or action is adorable; and *i3s* (usually with an extended fricative), which expresses that something is disgusting. The interjection *mba31* 'uh-oh!' is used when something falls, or another unexpected but minor negative event occurs. It is unique for having a prenasalized /b/ and being borrowed from Spanish *va* (which is used in exactly the same way, with a prenasalized or exaggeratedly prevoiced initial /b/, in regional Spanish).

The greeting for a single person is *nu2ʔma5e3*, which is the Class I nominalization of the regional demonstrative *nu5ma2* – that is, it etymologically means 'you are here.' To greet multiple people, one says *nu2ʔma4gi5e3*, which is the

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regular plural form of this nominalization. To take leave of a single person, one says *ku31=ʔna1* (2SG=RCP) 'away from you,' with the motion-source use of the recipient case (Chapter 11.1), and to take leave of multiple people, the form is *pe31=ʔna1* (2PL=RCP) 'away from you-PL.' (38) is an example of the 'goodbye' form in reported speech.

(38) *We3ʔwu5ku1tɨ2ma4ã2 ta4 ni4ʔũ43,* ***ku31ʔna1***
we3ʔwu5=ku1tɨ2=ma4ã2 ta4 ni4=ũ43 **ku31ʔna1**
parrot=foot=COM FUT 3.SBJ=go.SG **INTJ:bye.SG**
'S/he's going to leave with Parrot Foot (a nickname), (saying) '**Bye!**"'
[Teodor Jr., 20180628-002]

The polite response to goodbyes is to say *ma3rɨ3 ni4* with the perfect, which idiomatically means something like 'that's fine,' or to use an interjection that accepts a proposal, such as *kɨ3ma3* or *pa31ʔa2*.

## 31.3 Personal names and vocatives

The most common vocative construction has two parts: the name is introduced by the vocative particle, *pa2*, and it is truncated to the first syllable, as with *Be3ro3ni3ka* > *Be3* in (39a). When someone calls a person's name, they typically reply by saying an interjection. This is most commonly the repair interjection *a2ʔã4* (39b), which is not interpreted in this context as repair, but instead as an opening for the next turn, as shown by (39c).

(39) a. Off-camera Speaker: *pa2 Be3!*
pa2 Be3
voc Veronica.voc
'Hey Veronica!'

b. Veronica: *a2ʔã4?*
a2ʔã4
INTJ:huh?
'Huh?/What?'

c. Off-camera Speaker: *ã4kɨ5e3 ra3ã1 ma3rɨ3 ta4ʔɨ2we3mɨ1*
ã4kɨ5e3 ra3ã1 ma3rɨ3 ta4=ɨ2=we3mɨ1
HESIT(I) TOP PRF 3(I).SBJ=make=NI:cooked.food
'Whatshername is done cooking now.'

[LSC-VSC]

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Alternative vocative constructions include using *pa2* without truncating the name (40) or using a name alone (41). When a name is used alone, it is not truncated.

(40) *e3ka1 pa2 Adriana?*
e3ka1 pa2 Adriana=ʔ
INTJ:let's.see VOC Adriana=VOC
'Let's see, Adriana.' [Victoria, AFG-LVI]

(41) a. Adriana: *A3le1?!*
A3le1=ʔ
Alex=VOC
'Alex!'

b. Alex: *a2ʔã4?*
a2ʔã4
INTJ:huh?
'Huh?/What?'
[AFG-LVI]

Many vocatives, both with and without *pa2* voc, have a glottal stop after the name or other address term, as shown in (40) and (41). However, using the glottal stop is not obligatory with either truncated (39) or full address terms. For example, there is no glottal stop on the address term *ku3ma5* 'comadre' in (42).

(42) *ni31ʔĩ5 na4ʔã3mi1ki3e1tʃa1 a4 ku31a3ki1* ***pa2 ku3ma5****, re3kạ1 ni4*
ni31=ʔĩ5 na4=ã3=mi1ki3=e1tʃa1 a4 ku31=a3ki1 **pa2**
3=BEN 3.SBJ=have=companion=constantly DET(IV) 2SG=daughter **VOC**
**ku3ma5** re3kạ1 ni4
**comadre** INFO
'Your daughter is always with her friend, **comadre**, that's why (she acts like that).' [Victoria, MFG-LFG-LVI]

As well as names, it is common to truncate alienably possessed common nouns or kinship terms in the vocative. For example, *ma3ma5* 'mother' > *ma3* and *mi3ʔẽ5* 'baby' > *mi3* are both ubiquitous truncated vocatives. There are also truncations of less fully conventional kinship terms in the corpus, such as addressing one's own child as *i3(ʔ)* (< Spanish *hijo/a*) rather than *tʃau2ne3*/*tʃau1ʔa3ki1* 'my son/daughter.'

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However, *inalienably* possessed kinship terms are never truncated in the vocative. There are 94 corpus examples of vocatives with *pa2* and an inalienable kinship term, and none of them are truncated. Instead, the full possessed term appears, as in (43).

(43) *pa2 tʃa1ʔu3ma1!*
pa2 tʃau1=ʔɨ3ma1
VOC 1SG=BW
'Hey sister-in-law!' [off-camera speaker calling to participant, LFG-MFG-LVI]

There are two conventional vocatives which are not based on names, kinship terms, or age terms such as 'baby' – the gender vocatives *pa2 ɟa31* 'hey man/boy!' and *pa2 ʎe31* 'hey woman/girl!.' These vocatives are derived from the initial syllables of the words *ɟa31tɨ1* 'be male (v.); man (n.)' and *ʎe31* 'be female (v).'[1] They are affectionate vocatives which speakers use only for children and in the context of intimate relationships, such as speaking to one's own spouse, adult sibling, adult child, or extremely close friend.

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[1]The male vocative is always truncated from the root; the vocative **pa2 ɟa31tɨ1* is not attested.

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# 32 Other phrasal enclitics

This chapter discusses all phrasal enclitics that have not been covered in other chapters. Some phrasal enclitics can occur on multiple constituent types. These are discussed in §32.1. Other phrasal enclitics are restricted to appearing on only one constituent type, either noun phrases (§32.2) or predicates (§32.3).

## 32.1 Phrasal enclitics that combine with multiple constituent types

Number enclitics such as the plural *=gɨ4* and distributive *=tʃi1gɨ1* can combine with multiple constituent types (Chapter 7.3.1), as can the reportative enclitic and some discourse markers (Chapter 31). Besides these, this section discusses four more enclitics which can combine with either predicates or noun phrases: *=ã4ma4*, which marks contrast and concessive meanings; *=ʔɨ5tʃi2* 'really'; *=ʔɨ1ra1* 'sort of'; and *=i5ra1* 'first.'

### 32.1.1 The multifunctional enclitic *=ã4ma4*

This phrasal enclitic has several distinct uses. Each is associated with a different type of host. First, on an allative or locative noun phrase, it means 'toward' (changes motion goal readings to direction of motion readings). This use has already been discussed in Chapter 11.

Second, *=ã4ma4* occurs on the speaker-proximal, speaker-medial, speaker-distal, and regional nominal demonstratives. On these hosts, it expresses contrast between two referents that have the same spatial relationship to the speaker, as shown in (1c) and (2).

(1) Context: child and caregiver playing marbles

a. Caregiver: *to1gu5e3*
to1gu5e3
other(I)
'(Flick) another (marble).'

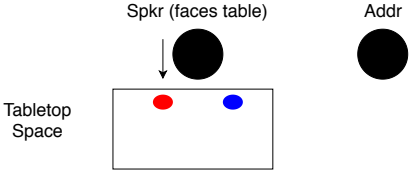
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b. Child: *a2ã4?*
a2ã4?
INTJ:huh?
'Huh?'

c. Caregiver: ***da31ʔe2ã4ma4*** *ti4ʔĩ4 di1ʔ*
**da31ʔe2=ã4ma4** ti4ʔĩ4 di1ʔ
**DEM.PROX(I)=CONTRAST** 3(I).SBJ.COP INTJ:look!
'**Here's another one**, look!'

[Child 19 CCI]

(2) Context: Speaker is looking at two marbles, as shown in this image:




*da³¹ʔe² ri¹ ta⁴ɟau⁵ʔra¹pi̱¹ʔi³, ri¹* ***da³¹ʔe²ã⁴ma⁴*** *to¹gu³ʔe¹ ri¹ ta⁴dau⁴ʔra¹pi̱¹ʔi³.*
da³¹ʔe² ri¹ ta⁴=ɟą̱u̱¹=ʔi¹ra¹=pi̱¹ʔi³ ri¹
DEM.PROX(I) TOP 3(I).SBJ=blue=sort.of=CLFI:sphere TOP
**da³¹ʔe²=ã⁴ma⁴** to¹gu³ʔe¹ ri¹ ta⁴=dau⁴=ʔi¹ra¹=pi̱¹ʔi³
**DEM.PROX(I)=CONTRAST** other(I) TOP 3(I).SBJ=red=sort.of=CLFI:sphere
'This one is sort of blue, and **this other one** is sort of red.'

[LWG: 2018.1.134]

The third reading of *=ã4ma4* occurs with speaker-proximal, speaker-medial, and speaker-distal nominal demonstratives. It expresses that the speaker does not see the referent at the time of speech (3). Note that without *=ã4ma4*, (3) is unacceptable because the root forms of the speaker-medial and speaker-distal require visibility (Skilton 2021b).

(3) Context: Speaker and addressee are standing at one end of a cleared space over 10m long. At the end of the cleared space, there is a barrier. A basket is behind the barrier. The speaker and addressee know it is there, but cannot see it. (Wilkins 1999 Scene 15)
*#**ɟi2a4** / ✓**ɟi²a⁴ã⁴ma⁴** pe⁴ʔtʃi¹ ri¹ ku³¹ri³ ni⁴ʔĩ⁴?*
**#ɟi2a4** / ✓**ɟi²a⁴=ã⁴ma⁴** pe⁴ʔtʃi¹ ri¹ ku³¹ri³
**#DEM.MED(II)** / ✓**DEM.MED(II)=INVIS** basket(II) TOP 2SG.POSS
ni⁴ʔĩ⁴
3(II)SBJ.COP
'**That** (invisible) basket, is it yours?' [LWG 2017.1.172]

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The fourth reading of *=ã4ma4* occurs when the enclitic attaches to a locative demonstrative. When a locative demonstrative has *=ã4ma4* and is not modified by other nouns, it simply means 'toward here/there.' However, locative demonstratives with *=ã4ma4* (but not locatives without it) can be possessed by other nouns. The Poss + Dem=*ã4ma4* construction then conventionally means 'on the near/far side of Noun (relative to the speaker).' Possessed proximal demonstratives are interpreted as meaning 'on the near side' in this construction, while distals mean 'on the far side,' as in (4).[1]

(4) Context: Where is Erené (another town)?
*E3re3ne5 na4ŋe2ʔma4 i4* ***Bellavistaa1ri3 ɟe5a2ã4ma4ʔĩ1ra1ma3.***
E3re3ne5 na4=ŋe2ʔma4 i4 **Bellavista=a1ri3**
Erené 3.SBJ=be.in.place DET(IV) **Bellavista(IV)=POSS**
**ɟe5a2=ã4ma4=ʔĩ1ra1=ma3**
**there.DIST.ALL=toward=sort.of=INFO**
'Erené is **on the other side of Bellavista** (from here).' [YCG HALDI]

The fifth reading of *=ã4ma4* occurs when the clitic attaches to a pronoun. The pronoun=*ã4ma4* constituent usually occurs as a nominal predicate and receives a reading like 'it's up to Pro; Pro can decide' as in (5).

(5) Context: reported dialogue; Veronica's addressee had been asking her advice about going to another town
*"ŋe5 na1ʔũ43,* ***ku31ã4ma4*** *e3ri1, ma3ri3 ni31wa5 ma3ri3 na4ta2ʔu2ma3 a4 di3ẽ3ru1tʃi3ga1 a4 tą2ʔki4," ɲa5tʃa3ri3gi3ma3 ni31ʔĩ3*
ŋe5ma2 na1=ũ43 **ku31=ã4ma4** e3ri1 ma3ri3 ni31wa5 ma3ri3
there.ANA.ALL IMP=go.SG **2SG=toward** INFO:CNG PRF INFO PRF
na4=ta2ʔu2ma3 a4 di3ẽ3ru1=tʃi3ga1 a4 tą2ʔki4
3.SBJ=NEG.EXIST DET(I) money(I)=RN:about DET(IV) what(IV)
ɲa5tʃa3ri3gi3=ma3 ni31=ʔĩ3
1SG.SBJ.QUOT=INFO 3=ACC
"'Go there, **it's up to you**, now that there's no question about money," I said to her.' [Veronica, LSC-VSC]

The sixth and final reading of *=ã4ma4* occurs when the clitic attaches to a predicate. This reading is concessive, conveying that the predicate happened despite

[1]Note that in (4), *=ã4ma4* is phonologically reduced to *=ma4*. This occurs with most tokens of *=ã4ma4* on locative demonstratives, whether in the possessed demonstrative use or other uses. The first vowel of the enclitic generally resurfaces when people repeat the constituent slowly.

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something that might be expected to prevent it. It can usually be translated by English *still* or *anyway*, as in (6).

(6) Context: Speaker wants addressee to stay home because she, the addressee, is sick.
*ɟe2ʔa4ta2ã4 ma3rɨ3 ĩ43gu2 ku3tʃa1mu2tʃi4re5ʔĩ4 rɨ1 ã4kɨ4 tʃo31we5*
***ku1rɨ3ʔũ43ã4ma5ʔĩ4** e3ga4 tɻ2ʔkɨ4 ɟi1ʔĩ4gu2*
ɟe2ʔa4=ta2ã4 ma3rɨ3 ĩ43=gu2 ku31=ʔĩ3
there.DIST.LOC=only PRF house=LOC 2SG=ACC
tʃa1=mu2=tʃi4rɻ̃=ʔĩ4 rɨ1 ã4kɨ4 tʃo31=we5
1SG.SBJ.SC=put.ANIM=ANTIPRF=SUB and HESIT 1SG=RN:following
**ku1rɨ3=ũ43=ã4ma4=ʔĩ4** e3ga4 tɻ2ʔkɨ4 ɟi1ʔĩ4=gu2
**2SG.SBJ.SC=go.SG=CONCESSIVE=SUB** if what? 3SBJ.SC.COP=COND
'I left you right there in the house, but whenever something is going on, **you keep following me around anyway**.' [Edith, YCG-SCG-DGC]

### 32.1.2 The intensifier *=ʔɨ5tʃi2*

The enclitic *=ʔɨ5tʃi2* 'really' is an intensifier. It attaches to nominal demonstratives, nominal predicates, verbal predicates, adverbs, and on occasion, nouns in argument position.

When it combines with a nominal demonstrative, *=ʔɨ5tʃi2* intensifies the spatial meaning of the demonstrative. For example, an object referred to as *ɲa4a2=ʔɨ5tʃi2* (DEM.SPKR.PROX=really), as in (7), is usually closer to the speaker than something referred to with the root demonstrative *ɲa4a2*.

(7) ***ɲa4a2ʔĩ5tʃi2** ta4 ni4ʔĩ4 na1tʃi4ne3ta2ʔĩ4 ɲa4a2 dɨ1ʔ*
**ɲa4a2=ʔĩ5tʃi2** ta4 ni4ʔĩ4
**DEM.SPKR.PROX(IV)=really** FUT 3.SBJ.COP
na1=tʃi4=ne3ta2=ʔĩ4 ɲa4a2 dɨ1ʔ
3.SBJ=bite.of.insect=pretend=SUB DEM.SPKR.PROX(IV) INTJ:look!
'**These ones right here** are going to pretend bite, here they are.'
[Child10-Child13 CCI, Caregiver]

When *=ʔɨ5tʃi2* combines with a nominal predicate (8) or a verbal predicate (9), it intensifies the property expressed by the predicate. See Chapter 3.5.1.4 for examples of the enclitic combining with various other nouns, verbs, and adverbs in the property-intensifying reading.

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(8) Context: traditional narrative of a bird who disguised herself as a woman
*ta4ma3 ai2ki4ma4* ***du1ĭ3ʔĭ4****ʔĭ5tʃi2 ɟi1ʔĭ1ʔ*
ta4ma3 ai2ki4ma4 **du1ĭ3ʔĭ4=ʔĭ5tʃi2** ɟi1ʔĭ1ʔ
NEG truly **person(IV)=real** 3.SBJ.SC.COP
'She was not truly **a real human being**.' [LWG tau]

(9) ŋe3a2 **i51ra1ʔi5tʃi2ʔĭ4** ŋe3a2
ŋe3a2 **i51ra1=ʔi5tʃi2=ʔĭ4** ŋe3a2
DEM.MED(IV) **small=really=SUB** DEM.MED(IV)
'That one **is really small**, that one.' [Laura, LSC-VSC]

Beyond the use with demonstratives, *=ʔi5tʃi2 can* attach to non-predicate noun phraes, but it very rarely does so. There are just three examples in the corpus where it attaches to an adjunct or vocative noun, and none where it attaches to an argument. However, a text not included in the parsed corpus does include a sentence where *=ʔi5tʃi2* attaches to an argument. This example, where *=ʔi5tʃi2* intensifies the meaning of the noun property, appears in (10).

(10) Context: 'To fly on an airplane while you're pregnant...'
*na31ʔwẹ1e3 ni4 ŋe3* ***doctorʔi5tʃi2*** *a4 ŋe5 na1ʔi2mi1ki2ʔĭ4*
na31ʔwẹ1e3 ni4 ŋe3ma2 **doctor=ʔi5tʃi2** a4
DEONTIC.NECESSITY COMP DEM.ANA(IV) DOCTOR(IV)=REALLY DET(IV)
ŋe5ma2 na1=i2=mi1ki3=ʔĭ4
there.ANA.ALL 3.SBJ.SC=do=NI:companion=SUB
'**A real doctor** must accompany (you) there.' [Veronica, 2023 LSC-VSC]

### 32.1.3 The deintensifier *=ʔi1ra1*

The enclitic *=ʔi1ra1* 'sort of' is a deintensifier. It has an extremely similar distribution and readings to *=ʔi5tʃi2*. The main difference between *=ʔi5tʃi2* and *=ʔi1ra1* relates to use with locative demonstratives.

To begin with the similar readings, *=ʔi1ra1* attaches to nominal demonstratives and deintensifies their spatial meaning. For example, some participants in Skilton & Peeters 2021 used the demonstrative *ɲa4a2=ʔi1ra1* (DEM.SPKR.PROX=sort.of) for referents close to, but not in, their reaching space. However, there are no clear examples of this use in the corpus.

The enclitic can also attach to predicates, deintensifying the property which they convey (11), or to adverbs (12) and nominal predicates (13) with the same reading. All of these readings are shared with *=ʔi5tʃi2*. However, while there is

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some corpus evidence that *=ʔɨ5tʃi2* can attach to nouns in argument or adjunct position, there is no evidence for this with *=ʔɨ1ra1*.

(11) Context: discussing a drink that is still in the process of fermenting
*na2tɨ4rɨ4 wo5e3ta2ã4* ***na4mai2ku3ra3ʔɨ1ra1***
na2tɨ4rɨ4 wo5e3=ta2ã4 **na4=mai2ku3ra3=ʔɨ1ra1**
but simply=still **3.SBJ=sweet=sort.of**
'It's still **sort of sweet** (not thoroughly fermented).' [LVI, LFG-MFG-LVI]

(12) ***ĩ3pa3ɨ1ra1*** *ma3ma5gɨ4 nu2a2 rɨ3tʃo43ʔgu2*
**ĩ3pa3=ɨ1ra1** ma3ma5=gɨ4 nu2a2 rɨ3=tʃo43=gu2
**long.ago=sorta** mother=PL here.LOC 3.SBJ.SC=stay.PL=COND
'**kind of a long time ago**, when mom and her companions were staying here' [Caregiver, C31-32 CCI]

(13) *e3rɨ4 a4 ɲu̯1ʔma5ĩ1kɨ2ã3 na4* ***mu1kɨ3ʔɨ1ra1*** *na4 ɟi1ʔĩ4 rɨ1*
e3rɨ4 a4 ɲu̯1ʔma5=ĩ1kɨ2=ã3 na4 **mu1kɨ3=ʔɨ1ra1** na4
because DET(IV) NOW=INFO=REP COMP **rainy.season=sort.of** COMP
ɟi1ʔĩ4 rɨ1
3.SBJ.COP.SC TOP
'since now **it is sort of the rainy season**' [NWG Brazil Trip]

The only meaningful difference in distribution between *=ʔɨ5tʃi2* and *=ʔɨ1ra1* relates to their use with locative demonstratives. All locative demonstratives can take the collocation of *=ã4ma4* 'toward' and *=ʔɨ1ra1* (in that order) to express the non-compositional meaning 'further in the direction of Demonstrative.' For example, in (14), the constituent *nu5a2ma4ʔĩ1ra1* is interpreted as 'further toward here,' and to ask someone to move further away from you, you conventionally say *ɟe5a2ma4ʔĩ1ra1* 'further toward there; take a step back!.' *=ʔɨ5tʃi2* does not occur in this construction.

(14) ***nu5a2ma4ĩ1ra1*** *na3na4e3kɑ̨1*
**nu5a2=ã4ma4=ĩ1ra1** na3=na4=e3kɑ̨1
**here.ALL=toward=sort.of** IMP>3.OBJ=transport.INAN.PL=INFO
'So, bring them **further in this direction**.' [C1-C2 2019, Child2Caregiver]

### 32.1.4 The enclitic *=i5ra1* 'first'

The phrasal enclitic *=i5ra1* 'first' attaches to predicates and noun phrases. When it attaches to a predicate, it scopes over that predicate, conveying that it holds before all other predicates (15). In other words, a predicate with *=i5ra1* means 'do Verb first, then do another Verb.'

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(15) *pa31ʔa2, tɨ31ʔĩ3* ***i5ɟa3dau2i5ra1****, ɲu1ʔã4tʃi4 nu5a2 na1ʔũ43*
pa31ʔa2 tɨ31=ʔĩ3 **i5=ɟa3=dau2=i5ra1** ɲu1ʔã4tʃi4 nu5a2
INTJ:cmon 3(I)=ACC **VCL=IMP.AM=look.for=first** also here.ALL
na1=ũ43
IMP=go.SG
'C'mon, **go look for it first** and then come here.' [Caregiver, C19 2019]

When *=i5ra1* 'first' attaches to an argument, it conveys that the predicate holds of that argument before it holds of other arguments (i.e., 'Noun was the first to Verb'). In cases where *=i5ra1* attaches to an argument, the host is almost always a pronoun, even if there is a coreferential noun phrase available which could host it. For example, in (16), the noun phrase *Don Fermí* refers to the first person to live in an area, but it does not directly host *=i5ra1*. Instead, the enclitic attaches to the coreferential pronoun *nɨ31* at the left edge of the clause.

(16) Context: When did people start living at Guan Creek?
*rɨ1* ***nɨ31ʔi5ra1*** *nu5a2 na4ʎu3 ga4 Don Fermí*
rɨ1 **nɨ31=i5ra1** nu5a2 na4=ʎu3 ga4 Don Fermí
and **3=first** here.ALL 3.SBJ=arrive DET.REM.PST Don Fermí
'Don Fermí arrived here (to live) **first** (before everyone else did).' [DGG HALDI]

Besides the 'first' readings, *=i5ra1* can also attach to pronouns with the meaning 'it's Pro's turn' or 'Pro should try now,' as shown in (17). This use does not mean 'first' because it is acceptable in a context where other subjects have already done the predicate. It occurs almost exclusively with the first- and second-person singular pronouns. The same pronouns can also be used with the third-person copula in a similar meaning (e.g., *ku1ma1 ni4* 'it's your turn').

(17) Context: encouraging a child to play
***ku31i5ra1****, pa31ʔa2,* ***ku31i5ra1*** *na1tʃi4*
**ku31=i5ra1** pa31ʔa2 **ku31=i5ra1** na1=tʃi4
**2SG=first** INTJ:cmon **2SG=first** IMP=stand
'C'mon **try it**, you **try it**, stand up!' [C4-C9 CCI, Caregiver]

## 32.2 Noun phrase enclitics

As discussed in other chapters, noun phrases take enclitics to mark case, possession, and the nominal plural. There are also a variety of derivational enclitics which attach to noun phrases in predicate and/or argument position.

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The enclitic *=kɨ1ɑ̃1* attaches to a noun phrase denoting a location. It has the reading 'be from Noun, come originally from Noun.' In almost all tokens, the NP with *=kɨ1ɑ̃1* functions as a predicate and is predicated of a human or animate subject, as in (18). However, it is possible for an NP with *=kɨ1ɑ̃1* to act as (part of) an argument and to describe an inanimate. For example, in (19), the constituent *hospital=kɨ1ɑ̃1=gɨ4* 'originating from the hospital' occurs in a appositive relationship to the inanimate noun *ɨ2ɨ1ʔĩ4=gɨ4* 'medicines.'[2]

(18) *tʃo31rɨ3 pa3pa5 na4* ***nu5a2kɨ1ɑ̃1****ta2ã4.*
tʃo31rɨ3 pa3pa5 na4 **nu5a2=kɨ1ɑ̃1**=ta2ã4
1SG.POSS father COMP **here.ALL=originating.from**=only
'My father was **from right here**.' [LGC HALDI]

(19) ***nu5a2kɨ1ɑ̃1gɨ4, hospitalkɨ1ɑ̃1gɨ4*** *i4 ɨ2ɨ1ʔĩ4gɨ4 rɨ1 nɨ31wa5 ŋe3ma2 rɨ1 calmantegɨ4ma3re3 ni4ʔĩ4*
**nu5a2=kɨ1ɑ̃1=gɨ4** **hospital=kɨ1ɑ̃1=gɨ4** i4
**here.ALL=originating.from=PL** SP:hospital=PL DET(IV)
ɨ2ɨ1ʔĩ4=gɨ4 rɨ1 nɨ31wa5 ŋe3ma2 rɨ1 calmante=gɨ4=ma3re3
medicine(IV)=PL TOP INFO DEM.ANA(IV) TOP SP:painkiller=PL=just
ni4ʔĩ4
3.SBJ.COP
'**The ones from here**, the medicines **from the hospital** (here), as for those, they are only painkillers.' [RGW, 20170527-002]

The enclitic *=nɑ1ʔkɑ̨1* attaches to noun phrases and leads to the reading 'made from Noun Phrase.' In the corpus, this enclitic occurs only in nominal predicates, such as (20).

(20) Q: What was the Cushillococha school like when you were young?
*gu2ma2 ʎu5e3pa4ta3ĩ1 rɨ1,* ***mɨ3ra3pe3wa1na1ʔkɑ̨1ma3re3*** *ni4ʔĩ4*
gu2ma2 ʎu5e3pa4ta3ĩ1 rɨ1
DEM.ANA.REM.PST(III) school(III) TOP
**mɨ3ra3pe3wa1=na1ʔkɑ̨1=ma3re3** ni4ʔĩ4
**plank=made.from=just** 3.SBJ.COP
'The school was just **made from wood** (not concrete).' [SSG HALDI]

[2]The modification relationship in (19) is not a relative clause, since the modifier precedes the noun and there is no copula or relativizer. Instead, it is identical to other appositives (Chapter 13.5).

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The enclitic *=a3kɨ1* is derived from the inalienable noun *a3kɨ1* 'child, daughter.' It attaches to noun phrases to convey that the referent is small or adorable. For example, in (21), the diminutive noun phrase refers to a small child's shirt. All diminutives in the corpus refer to inanimates or lower animates such as fish, not to humans. They can be either arguments or nominal predicates.

(21) *ta2ʔu2ʔĩ4ma3 a3rɨ1 no51rɨ3* ***dau5ʔĩ2a3kɨ1***
tau2ʔ=ʔĩ4=ma3 a3rɨ1 no51rɨ3 **dau5ʔĩ2=a3kɨ1**
NEG.EXIST=SUB=INFO INFO 3.POSS **shirt=DIM**
'His/Her **little shirt** isn't there.' [Yaneth, YCG-SCG-DGC]

The enclitic *=e̱1pɨ3* attaches to noun phrases and derives quantifiers, as described in Chapter 13.1.2. Quantifiers with *=e̱1pɨ3* can then take the enclitic *=kɨ5na1* 'times' to derive an adverbial which means '(do Predicate) Quantity times,' as in (22). *=kɨ5na1* never occurs in the reading 'times' without *=e̱1pɨ3*.

(22) ***ɲu̱1ʔre5e̱1pɨ3kɨ5na1*** *ni4ʔĩ4 ma3rɨ3 nu5a2 ku1ʔũ31ʔ*
**ɲu̱1ʔre5=e̱1pɨ3=kɨ5na1** ni4ʔĩ4 ma3rɨ3 nu5a2
**how.many=quantity=times** FOC PRF here.ALL
ku1=ũ43=ʔ
2SG.SBJ.SC=go.SG=SUB
'How many times have you been here now?' [LGC HALDI]

The enclitics *=a1kɨ2* and *=a1kɨ2na3* appear to be synonymoous. They attach to noun phrases and derive an adverbial with the reading 'at the same distance (from me) as Noun Phrase is now.' For example, in (23b), the constituent *ku31=a1kɨ2* (2SG=distance) means 'at the distance that you are from me.' There are also some corpus examples that use *=kɨ5na1* alone in this function.

(23) Context: Deoclesio is telling his daughter how to plant a new crop. He is sitting 2-3 meters from her.

a. *dos metrogu2 rɨ1 ma3rɨ3 ni4ʔĩ4*
dos metro=gu2 rɨ1 ma3rɨ3 ni4ʔĩ4
SP:two SP:meter=LOC TOP PRF 3.SBJ.COP
'(Planting one seedling every) two meters is fine.'

b. *ma3rɨ3* ***ku31a1kɨ2tʃi1gɨ1***
ma3rɨ3 **ku31=a1kɨ2=tʃi1gɨ1**
PRF 2SG=distance=DISTRIB
'Each one (should go) at the distance that you are (from me) now.'

[Deoclesio, 20170527-002]

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## 32.3 Predicate and adverbial enclitics

There are two very frequent enclitics that other chapters of this book do not describe: *=kɨ5ra1ĩ1* 'seems like' and *=ne3ta2* 'pretend.' Both of these enclitics can attach to verbal predicates, nominal predicates, adverbs, and adjuncts (after the case marking). However, they do not attach to arguments.

### 32.3.1 The evaluative/inferential enclitic *=kɨ5ra1ĩ1*

In token terms, the enclitic *=kɨ5ra1ĩ1* occurs mainly on evaluative predicates. It is a hedge which can usually be paraphrased with English *seem* or a predicate such as *sound/look*.

Evaluative *=kɨ5ra1ĩ1* occurs on both predicates that are intrinsically evaluative, such as *me43* 'good,' *tʃi̱1* 'delicious,' and predicates that in context make a strongly positive or negative evaluation. For example, at one point in the conversation between Victoria and Adriana, Victoria is talking about things which are unique about their language and points out that certain Ticuna demonstratives are in minimal tone pairs (Chapter 13.3). She deliberately says a demonstrative with the wrong tone, causing incorrect noun class agreement with the accompanying noun, and then comments that the phrase is ungrammatical in (24). The verb *tʃi31e2* 'bad,' which hosts *=kɨ5ra1ĩ1*, is intrinsically evaluative.

(24) *dɨ1 na1tʃi31ʔe2kɨ5ra1ĩ1ma3re2ʔĩ4 ta1*
dɨ1 na1=tʃi31ʔe2=kɨ5ra1ĩ1=ma3re3=ʔĩ4 ta1
INTJ:look! 3.SBJ=bad=INFER=just=SUB also
'Look, it also just sounds bad.' [AFG-LVI, Victoria]

Predicates which express evaluation or taste, but do not have this as part of their lexical meaning, can also take evaluative *=kɨ5ra1ĩ1*. For example, the interrogative/indefinite quotative predicate *ɲu1ʔũ4 ɲa4* literally means 'do/say what?, do/say something, do/say anything' and is not evaluative. In (25), Menrys uses this predicate in the 'do whatever' indefinite declarative sense. She contextually contrasts the subject 'doing just anything' or 'doing whatever' with doing what is morally appropriate, and therefore attaches evaluative *=kɨ5ra1ĩ1*.

(25) Context: 'My daughter behaves right as long as I'm around.'
*na2tɨ4rɨ4 ɲu̱1ʔma5rɨ5ĩ1 na1ʔã3mɨ1kɨ3gu2 wi31ʔi5 ni4ʔĩ4 i4 ɲu1ʔũ4*
***ɲa4ʔkɨ5ra1ĩ1ma3re2ʔĩ4***

na2ti4ri4 ɲu1ʔma5=ri5ĩ1 na1=ã3=mi1ki3=gu2 wi31ʔi5
but now=like 3.SBJ.SC=have=NI:companion=SUB CONT.FOC
ni4ʔĩ4 i4 ɲu1ʔũ4 ɲa4=**ki5ra1ĩ1**=ma3re3=ʔĩ4
3.SBJ.COP DET(IV) how? QUOT=**INFER**=just=SUB
'But like now, when she's with her friends, **it seems like** she just does whatever (follows her friends and doesn't listen to me).' [MFG, MFG-LFG-LVI]

In addition, *=ki5ra1ĩ1* can be used in non-evaluative contexts to convey that the speaker knows the predicate by inference or guessing. This is shown in (26), where Victoria (speaking in 2022) is trying to estimate when she bought an article of clothing. In line (a), she guesses various times that she might have made the purchase, marking the guess with the inferential/reportative use of *tʃau1=kạ1* (1SG=PURP) (Chapter 30.2). In line (b), she rejects the other possibilities and chooses one date as the most likely. The estimated date is expressed as an adjunct marked with *=ki5ra1ĩ1* in an adjunct focus construction.

(26) a. *tʃau1kạ1 ma2na4 ĩ3pa3 ɟe5a2ʔã3 tʃo31ri3 nai1gu2ma3, nai1, dos mil-*
tʃau1=kạ1 ma2na4 ĩ3pa3 ɟe5a2=ʔã3 tʃo31ri3
1SG=PURP EPIST long.ago there.ALL=REP 1SG.POSS
nai1=gu2=ma3 nai1 dos mil
other(III)=LOC=INFO other(III) 2000
'There, I think it was a long time ago, last year, last, 2000-'

b. ***diecinuevegu2ki5ra1ĩ1*** *ni4 na31ʔkạ1 tʃa1ta4e2ʔĩ4ma3*
**diecinueve=gu2=ki5ra1ĩ1** ni4 na43=kạ1 tʃa1=ta4e3=ʔĩ4=ma3
**19=LOC=INFER** FOC 3=PURP 1SG.SBJ.SC=buy=SUB=INFO
'It **must have been 2019** that I bought it.'
[Victoria, LFG-MFG-LVI]

The corpus contains 342 tokens of *=ki5ra1ĩ1*, but only about one-third are clearly inferential, like (26). The rest are either evaluative or ambiguous.

### 32.3.2 The enclitic *=ne3ta2* 'pretend'

This enclitic is extremely frequent in the corpus. It occurs 375 times – more often than, for example, the verb *me43* 'good.' The high frequency of *=ne3ta2* 'pretend' in the corpus is partly an effect of the large amount of child-caregiver transcripts which I analyzed. In this subset of the data, it is among the top 10 most frequent verbal bound morphemes.

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*=ne3ta2* has a variety of readings. First and least marked in terms of register, it can attach to a verb and mean 'do Verb as a test.' For example, in (27), the enclitic attaches to the verb *kụ1* 'put on an article of clothing' to mean 'try on clothing for fit.'

(27) ma3ri3 ni31ʔĩ3 **ku3kụ1ne3ta2**?
ma3ri3 ni31=ʔĩ3 **ku3=kụ1=ne3ta2**
PRF 3=ACC **2SG.SBJ=put.on.clothes=pretend**
'Have you **tried it on**?' [Caregiver, C27 CCI]

In child-directed speech, *=ne3ta2* usually attaches to verbs with the meaning 'pretend to/play at Verbing' (28) or to nominal predicates with the meaning 'be a pretend/play Noun' (29). In both of these examples, the speaker is narrating a child's game, either as the child plays or as they play with the child. They also use other markers of pretend-play speech, such as the 'pretend' use of the reportative (Chapter 30.2), alongside *=ne3ta2*.

(28) *tʃo31ʔĩ5* ***na4ʎu31ne3ta2*** *ta4 a1 avión?ã3*
tʃo31=ʔĩ5 **na4=ʎu31=ne3ta2** ta4 a1 avión=ʔã3
1SG=BEN **3.SBJ=fall.SG=pretend** FUT DET(III) SP:airplane=REP
'**Let's pretend** my plane is landing.' [C10-C13 Caregiver]

(29) ***wo3ka1ne3ta2ʔã3*** *ti4ʔĩ4 re3kụ1 ni4ʔĩ4*
**wo3ka1=ne3ta2=ʔã3** ti4ʔĩ4 re3kụ1 ni4ʔĩ4
**cow=pretend=REP** 3(I).SBJ.COP INFO:that's.why
'So **let's pretend** it's a cow.' [CG29, C24-C29]

While the pretending or playing of *=ne3ta2* can be attributed to the subject of the predicate f it is animate, in most examples, such as (28), the pretending can only be attributed to the discourse participants. Therefore, the anonymous research assistant preferred to translate verbs with *=ne3ta2* using parenthetical expression like *Simulemos que...* or *Fingamos que* 'let's pretend that...', rather than using *simular* or *fingir* 'pretend' in a complex predicate with the main verb. I follow this practice in my English glosses of *=ne3ta2*.

Like the 'pretend' use of the reportative, people also sometimes use *=ne3ta2* simply to index that they are talking to or about a small child. This register-marking use of *=ne3ta2* does not carry the meaning 'pretend.' For example, in (30), the speaker is telling her mother-in-law and sister-in-law about how she treated her one-year-old daughter while the child was sick. The context contains nothing about pretending or playing; while two children are present, they are

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both asleep and the speaker is addressing only adults. Despite this, she still uses *=ne3ta2* on the predicate *tai31ɟa2* 'hungry', apparently indexing that the subject is a young child.

(30) ʎi2ri4 tʃau1ĩ1ta1wa5 na4to1ku2tʃi4 i4 ŋe4ʔgu2ma3 **tai31ɟa2ne3ta2ʔĩ4**
me31ʔ ʎi2ri4 tʃau1=ĩ1ta1=wa5 na4=to1-ku2tʃi4 i4
suddenly 1SG=RN:at=ALL 3.SBJ=sit-DIR:inward DET(IV)
ŋe4ʔgu2ma3 **tai31ɟa2=ne3ta2=ʔĩ4** me31ʔ
then **hungry=pretend=SUB** EPIST
'Then all of a sudden she came in and sat next to me; she must have **been hungry (let's pretend)**.' [C27 CCI, Caregiver]

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