

Nonverbal Predication in Amazonian Languages

*edited by Simon E. Overall,
Rosa Vallejos and Spike Gildea*

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Nonverbal Predication in Amazonian Languages

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Nonverbal predication in Amazonia

Typological and diachronic considerations

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The present volume is a collection of 13 chapters selected from 32 presentations at a special session on nonverbal predication at the international conference *Amazônicas V*, that took place in Belem, Brazil, in May 2014.¹ Following this introductory chapter, the papers are primarily descriptive and historical, offering abundant data generally from original and extensive periods of fieldwork, often on languages with relatively little prior description. Thus, each contribution in this volume contains a great deal of new data and analyses, presenting a far more detailed picture of nonverbal predication in individual languages than is found in published grammatical descriptions. Several contributions also offer historical reconstructions, from either comparative data or internal reconstruction.

This volume embodies linguistic diversity in South America, offering chapters dealing with 14 individual languages belonging to nine linguistic families: Arawakan, Cariban, Panoan, Yanomanan, Chicham (formerly known as Jivaroan), Tupían, Tukanoan, Mataguayan and Guaykuruan, plus Movima, an isolate language. In addition, it includes a historical-comparative paper combining original field data with previously published work (Cariban). This volume also embodies the diversity of researchers in this area: contributors are affiliated with academic institutions from around the globe (South and North America, Australasia, and Europe), and the majority of them are engaged in collaboration efforts aimed at promoting local development among speech communities and local institutions.

The analyses presented in each chapter offer typologically well-informed accounts of nonverbal predicate constructions, an area that has not yet had detailed cross-linguistic study in the Amazonian area. On the one hand, it addresses the fact that current typologies of nonverbal predication are still less developed than that

1. We thank Kristine Stenzel, Françoise Rose, Katherina Haude, and Gail Goodwin Gomez for both substantive comments and helpful editorial suggestions on a previous version of this paper.

of verbal predication; and, on the other hand, it provides a wealth of new data and analyses of Amazonian languages, which are still poorly represented in existing typologies. Each chapter included in this volume is concerned with one or more of three topics: (i) the detailed description of nonverbal predicate constructions and their functional correlates in a cross-linguistic perspective; (ii) the distinct linguistic expressions employed to cover particular functional domains within nonverbal predication; and/or (iii) diachronic accounts of specific structural configurations, both as sources for nonverbal predicate constructions and as innovative constructions in which elements of nonverbal predicates (especially copulas) go on to play a role in other domains of the grammar.

1. Preliminaries

1.1 Defining nonverbal predication

In its most literal sense, nonverbal predication describes the formation of a grammatical clause in which, instead of a verb, some nonverbal element functions as the predicate. Since predication is the unmarked function of verbs (Croft 2001: 88), the verbless or copular clause is usually seen as a minor clause type (e.g. Mikkelsen 2011: 1805). However, it is precisely this mismatch of word class and function that gives rise to the rich morphological and syntactic diversity associated with nonverbal predication. Although there are some relatively well-developed typologies of nonverbal predication (e.g. Hengeveld 1992; Stassen 1997, 2009) it is more common to find much richer typological treatments of other parts of the grammar; in larger typological works, nonverbal predication is usually treated briefly, occasionally in its own chapter, but usually in a sub-section of a chapter (e.g. Payne 1997; Givón 2001a; Creissels 2006; Dryer 2007; Dixon 2010b). It is certainly not coincidental that descriptive grammars also usually pay relatively less attention to the description of nonverbal predication, often being satisfied with a quick description of the copula(s) and a few cursory examples of nominal and/or adjectival predicates. The contributions to this volume take their descriptions much farther. Before turning to the contributions themselves, we first offer our own characterization of nonverbal predicates based on the wider typological literature, selected examples from the descriptive literature in Amazonian languages, and the data in the chapters.

For this paper (and this volume) we define nonverbal predicates in structural terms, as clauses that either lack a verb entirely or that have a semantically empty or reduced verb (i.e., a copula), which serves primarily as a means of indicating to the listener that the nucleus of the predicate is a nonverbal element. Obviously, this definition entails the prior definition (or at least identification) of at least two

parts of speech, one of which must be verbs and the other not verbs. Although our definition excludes verbal predicates, it does not further limit which other parts of speech might be expected to occur as predicates. Based on the typological literature, we anticipate that all languages will allow nominal predicates and adverbial predicates (the union of lexical adverbs, adpositional phrases, and oblique case-marked nouns), to which most will add adjectival predicates and a few will add predicate quantifiers and perhaps other, still more minor parts of speech. While each part of speech could logically create a structurally distinct predicate type, it is also logically possible for a single clause type, or construction, to encompass multiple parts of speech in the predicate role. That is, despite differences in the part of speech of the predicate, an otherwise unified construction may be identified based on the coding properties of its subject and the obligatory or optional occurrence of other elements, such as a specific copula, a special nonverbal negator, or special nonverbal question constructions.

Having identified the criteria that distinguish parts of speech, a true verbless clause is usually unproblematic to identify. However, when the clause contains a copular verb, it is not so trivial to identify the predicate as “nonverbal”. In addition, when we consider the functions usually ascribed to nonverbal clauses, it is clear that several of them can be expressed by means of verbal predicates: e.g., property concepts are often lexicalized as verbs rather than adjectives, possession is often expressed via a transitive verb of the ‘have’ type, and location predicates are often expressed via posture verbs like ‘stand’, ‘sit’, or ‘lie’, which are not necessarily semantically reduced. Finally, as Stassen (1997) shows, there are multiple languages in which verbal predicates and nonverbal predicates share tense-aspect marking and person-marking morphology, such that other parts of speech appear to share in verbal predicational behavior. As such, we introduce both this paper and this volume with brief discussions of the grammatical category of nonverbal predicate and the range of functions that may typically be encoded by means of a nonverbal predicate.

Throughout this chapter, we follow Stassen’s (1997) terminology with respect to the morphosyntactic patterns that encode nonverbal predications. He catalogues three strategies: verbal, locative, and nominal. Languages can be said to employ the **VERBAL** strategy if the nonverbal predication construction is the same as the basic construction for predication of action. That is, the nonverbal word that functions as the predicate receives typical verbal inflections (particularly person indexation), does not require an auxiliary element, and is negated in the same way as typical verbal predicate constructions. A language employs a **LOCATIVE** strategy if it uses a locative verb, such as ‘sit’, ‘stand’, or ‘lie’, to predicate any of the non-location semantic functions. This strategy applies if at least one of the members used in the encoding of locational predicates is extended to other functions. Under the **NOMINAL** strategy, Stassen identifies three subtypes: first, **ZERO** copula constructions

are those in which subject and predicate are linked by nothing, they are simply juxtaposed to each other. Second, the NONVERBAL COPULA construction uses an uninflected copula. This copula could be related historically to elements such as demonstratives, personal pronouns, topic markers, or particles; or it may be grammaticalized to the point that its origin is no longer recoverable. The third subtype of nominal strategy is the VERBAL COPULA, in which the copula inflects like any verb. Note that a verbal copula will be categorized under the LOCATION strategy if its source is a locative verb (i.e., be, stand, sit) or a dynamic verb (i.e., go, become, make). Only if the source of the inflected copula is a particle of some sort will this pattern be categorized under the NOMINAL strategy.

In formal terms, there is largely consensus that the term NONVERBAL PREDICATION is usefully applied to both VERBLESS and COPULAR clauses. For a verbless clause, it is almost tautological that the predicate is nonverbal; for a copular clause, the copula may be the syntactic head of the predicate, but even if it is a verbal copula, it does not create a typical verbal predicate. For example, Dik (1987) argues that the copula is a “semantically empty” auxiliary element. Hengeveld (1992: 29) supports this argument by noting that even in a copular clause, it is the nonverbal predicate, rather than the copular verb, that imposes the selection restrictions and determines the number of arguments. Hengeveld concludes that “the nonverbal predicate is the main predicate in nonverbal predications, and that a copula used in nonverbal predications is not (part of) the main predicate of those predications.” Givón (2001a: 120) suggests that the copular verb is “often a *dummy* verb, acting as the syntactic head of the verb phrase, but carrying a reduced lexical-semantic load” [emphasis in the original]. Dryer (2007: 225) suggests that “The verb *be* is more of a function word than a predicate; its function can be thought of as combining with nonverbal predicates to form what is syntactically a verbal predicate.” From this perspective, we might usefully distinguish between nonverbal *predicates* (with or without a copula) and nonverbal *clauses*, where the presence of a verbal copula might make the clause (syntactically) verbal without necessarily making the predicate verbal.²

Representing a different tradition, Dixon (2010a: 101) insists that “The predicate of a copular clause is a copular verb... The copula complement is an argument of the clause, just like s, A, O, E, and CS [Copular Subject].” Similarly, Dixon affirms that a nonverbal clause takes two arguments, the Verbless Clause Subject (VCS) and Verbless Clause Complement (VCC), leaving no overt predicate element at all. However, as he points out a bit later, “The copula complement (CC) generally shows different properties from the other clausal arguments,” identifying specifically that the copula

2. Given that not all copulas cross-linguistically are verbal in nature, a nonverbal predicate with a nonverbal copula would also result in a nonverbal clause.

complement cannot be realized by bound pronouns.³ To this we would add that in many languages, copula complements differ from standard nominal arguments in that they are readily realized by adjectives, adverbs, or adpositional phrases.

In this volume, we take the position given in our title, namely that the predicate is the nonverbal element. As such, the copula, if there is one, is not the predicate itself, but more of an auxiliary element. This raises the question of how we define and then identify a copula, such that we can distinguish between a nonverbal predicate that takes a (verbal) copula and a nonverbal complement to a verb that is itself the nucleus of a verbal clause. The line between these two is not always clear, not least because verbal clauses with nonverbal (e.g. nominal or adverbial) complements are a typical diachronic source for nonverbal predicates in (verbal) copular clauses. This means that there will consistently be cases in which the conservative verbal use of a construction exists alongside the innovative copular use, and the innovative copular verb may not always show a clear grammatical difference to distinguish it structurally from the conservative lexical verb. It is for this reason that we rely heavily on the notion of CONSTRUCTION in our definition.

The typical definition of a CONSTRUCTION is a more abstract version of the definition of a morpheme: it is a conventionalized association between an element of form and an element of function/meaning (Goldberg 1995; Croft & Cruse 2004). By this definition, a morpheme is a construction, with a minimal (i.e., indivisible) unit of form associated with a consistent meaning, which may be concrete (lexical) or abstract (grammatical). Expanding outward from a single morpheme, the formal component of a construction can be sub-lexical combinations of morphemes (i.e. stems), fully inflected words, combinations of words and, at their most abstract, more schematic templates with individual morphemes (e.g. a copula or a case-marker) combined with slots (e.g. a slot for the subject NP or the nonverbal predicate element). The functional/semantic component of a construction is also quite flexible, ranging from the concrete denotational semantics of typical nouns and verbs to the abstract schematic semantics of grammatical morphology, and on to the information structural properties of complex configurations like cleft constructions.

From this perspective, we define a nonverbal predicate construction as one in which the formal structure either contains no verbal element (a nonverbal clause), or contains a verbal element that shows evidence of copular structural properties, such as (relative to the source lexical verb) fewer subject selection restrictions or increased flexibility to occur with different predicate types. For example, we would consider a postural verb to be a copula when it begins to occur with subjects that

3. However, we do note that this observation admits to exceptions: e.g., in Spanish, it is possible to say *Tú eres feliz, y yo quiero ser=lo / yo también lo=soy* literally, 'You are happy, and I want to be=it / I also it=am.' See further discussion of the similar Examples (19a, b) below.

cannot or do not assume the posture in question, or with adjectival predicates in addition to location predicates. Such changes in formal structure usually accompany specific semantic/functional uses, which are captured in various semantic typologies. Table 1 shows those of Payne (1997) and Dixon (2010b), and in the fourth column the composite typology that we use here.

Table 1. Typologies of nonverbal predicates

Typical Predicate	Payne (1997)	Dixon (2010b)	Our categories
Nominal	Equative	Identity	Identification
	Proper Inclusion		Categorization
Adjectival	Attributive	Attributive	Perm. Property
			Temp. Property
Adverbial	Location	Location	Location
		Benefactive	
Existence	Existential		Existential
Possession	Possession	Possession	Possession

Nominal predicates⁴ typically express at least two functions. The first is identification of the subject as a unique individual, as in *The Morning Star is the Evening Star*. This function is captured under various names in various typologies: ‘specificational/identificational’ (Higgins 1973), ‘extensive’ definition (Halliday 1967), ‘specificational’ (Akmajian 1970), ‘identificational’ (Kuno & Wongkhamthong 1980; Pustet 2003), ‘referential’ (Givón 2001a), ‘equative’ (Payne 1997), and ‘Identity statement’ (Stassen 1997). For this function, we utilize the most iconic term, IDENTIFICATION. The second is characterization of the subject as belonging to the category

4. It is frequent that the literature refers to nominal predicates as “predicate nominals” with no apparent semantic distinction; in contrast, verbal and adjectival predicates are never referred to as “predicate verbals” or “predicate adjectivals”. We opt for syntactic consistency in our terminology, hence this footnote is our only use of the term “predicate nominal”.

defined by the predicate noun, as in *My father is a man*. This function is variously called ‘predicational’ (Higgins 1973; Akmajian 1970; Stassen 1997),⁵ ‘intensive’ definition (Halliday 1967), ‘characterizational’ (Kuno & Wongkhamthong 1980), ‘non-referential’ (Givón 2001a), ‘ascriptive’ (Pustet 2003), and ‘proper inclusion’ (Payne 1997). This function we identify as CATEGORIZATION. Both of these functions are typically coded via the same construction, with either no difference or only a difference in the form of the predicate NP: the identification predicate is definite/referential, whereas the categorization predicate is indefinite/non-referential.

One might question the relevance of a functional distinction that does not consistently correlate with a structural difference (cf. Dixon’s decision to combine these into a single category, ‘Identity’). We maintain the distinction because there are so many languages in which these functions condition different constructions. In addition to citing the well-known case of Thai (from Kuno & Wongkhamthong 1980), Stassen (1997: 115–120) identifies six Austronesian languages and two Siouan languages in which categorization predicates use the verbal predication construction (i.e. they bear verb-like TAM and person-number morphology) and, in addition, he identifies 11 African languages, three North American languages, two Altaic languages, and even two Indo-European languages (Polish and Scottish Gaelic) in which categorization predicates utilize the construction typical of location predicates. In all of these languages, identification predicates utilize a distinct construction, Stassen’s nominal Strategy (typically juxtaposition of the subject and predicate NPs, but also possibly utilizing a copula that is different in form from the locative copulas). Neither Stassen nor the authors in this collection, however, identifies any South or Central American language that utilizes different constructions for these two functions.⁶

Adjectival predicates typically attribute properties to the subject, such as *I am hungry* or *my father is tall*. Of course, property concepts are commonly encountered in other word-classes, most commonly nouns and verbs, but sometimes also adverbs. As such, property predication may also be encoded via verbal predicates, as in *I hunger*, possessive predicates, as in *I have such a hunger*, or nominal

5. Note that our two categories greatly simplify the semantic distinctions drawn by philosophers; both Higgins (1973) and Stassen (1997: 100–106) offer subtypes of both our categories. Further, although English identification predicates typically contain definite NPs and categorization predicates typically contain indefinite NPs, both demonstrate convincingly that either definite or indefinite predicate NPs can serve either function. Stassen in particular argues for a more cognitively rich understanding of the different functions of these two categories of nominal predication, and indeed he argues (1997: 107–109) that identification is not even a type of logical predication.

6. As pointed out by Françoise Rose, a sufficiently fine-grained classification of constructions would show a distinction for Kamaiurá (Seki 2001: 161–162), in which the identificational predicate noun bears the suffix *-a* ‘NUCLEAR CASE’, whereas the categorization predicate noun does not.

predicates, as in *I am a hungry one*. Both Payne (1997) and Dixon (2010b) identify a single Attributive predicate function. However, several typologists (e.g., Stassen 1997; Givón 2001a; Pustet 2003) have noted that such predicates vary along the dimension of time stability, in part based on the nature of the property concept being predicated and in part by means of distinct constructions that distinguish permanent properties vs. temporary properties. Constructions expressing permanent properties are usually more similar to nominal predicates, whereas those expressing temporary properties are usually more similar to verbal or location predicates. Typical dimensions of variation are presence vs. absence of a copula (e.g., Akawaio \emptyset for permanent properties vs. *man/eji* ‘be’ for temporary properties [Gildea this volume]); or choice between two copulas (e.g., Spanish *ser* ‘be’ for permanent properties vs. *estar* ‘be’ for temporary properties). To encourage fieldworkers to seek out grammatical differences that correlate with temporal stability, we distinguish the functions of PERMANENT PROPERTY vs. TEMPORARY PROPERTY in our typology in Table 1. While rare in the languages treated in this volume, we do encounter this distinction in the Cariban family and in Paresi-Haliti (Arawakan, Brandão this volume).

The three remaining functions are often structurally intertwined, as it is common diachronically for LOCATION constructions to extend and conventionalize as EXISTENTIAL and/or POSSESSIVE constructions, and for either possessive constructions to become existential or existential constructions to become possessive (cf. § 4 for more detail). Due to the somewhat permeable boundaries between these three functions, some typologists (e.g. DeLancey 2001; Stassen 2009) treat all three as different manifestations of the same fundamental locational semantics:⁷ the location predicate locates the subject in the space characterized by the predicate adverbial, the possessive predicate locates the possessum with reference to the possessor, and the existential construction locates an indefinite subject in the (discourse) world, without necessarily providing a more specific location (this latter point made also by Hengeveld 1992).

As argued by Stassen (1997: 55–61), prototypical location predicate constructions typically express two logically unrelated dimensions of meaning: the label “location” comes from the first, which is that they specify the location (whether in concrete space or metaphorically) of the subject in relation to some other entity; second, they typically specify the posture (Talmy’s 1983 ‘disposition’) of the subject. This latter function is prototypically expressed by posture verbs, so for Stassen, the prototype location predicate contains at least one posture verb – it is not uncommon for there to be more, nor is it uncommon for one of these posture verbs to

7. Although see Payne, Vidal & Otero (this volume) for a trenchant criticism of this interpretation.

‘bleach’ semantically so as to become a generalized locational verb (for which some descriptive grammars use the label *LOCATIVE COPULA*).

Despite the name, as argued extensively by Creissels (2013) and, from different grounds, by Givón (2001b: 255–262), the primary function of existentials is not to actually predicate the existence of an entity, as in *There is a god*. Givón prefers the term Existential-Presentative Construction (EPC), highlighting that positive existentials are typically used as a presentational device, bringing an indefinite subject onstage into the discourse world, as in (*in case you want some*) *there’s coffee in the kitchen*, whereas negative existentials are usually used to indicate absence, often unexpected and temporary, as in *There’s no salt in the soup, you might want to add some*. The indefinite participant introduced in the existential construction often lacks some of the grammatical properties of a prototypical subject, but even so, there is usually no other argument available as a candidate to be subject. Givón also points out that the introduced participant is frequently located with reference to a definite space or is further identified by means of a relative clause. Given this definition of existential, the crucial difference (in a weakly grammaticalized existential construction, perhaps the only difference) between a simple location predicate and an existential predicate is the definiteness of the subject; not surprisingly, this difference in information structure readily correlates with an inversion in the linear order of subject and location.

In contrast, Creissels (2013) argues that constructions called “existential” in the literature show a wide variety of functions and that, when one considers a larger sample (in his case, a convenience sample of 256 languages), it is clear that neither predication of existence (pp. 6–8) nor the introduction of indefinite subjects (pp. 15–16) can be taken as criterial for identifying existential constructions cross-linguistically. Creissels suggests (inspired by Partee & Borschev 2007) that the core definitional criterion of existential clauses should be the ability to predicate an *episodic* (as opposed to permanent) spatial relationship between two concrete entities, a *figure* and a *ground*, such that the *perspectival center* of the predication is the ground rather than the typical figure.⁸ On the basis of this definition, Creissels suggests that a more appropriate term would be *inverse locational predication*, a core function from which the often-observed existential and presentational functions are readily derived. Based on this definition, Creissels identifies seven distinct formal types of existential constructions, nearly all of which derive transparently

8. Creissels (2013: 10) offers the following from Partee & Borschev: “An analogy can be made with a video camera and ‘what the camera is tracking’. A Predication sentence [i.e., a locational sentence] keeps the camera fixed on the protagonist as she moves around (THING as Center), an Existential sentence is analogous to the way a security camera is fixed on a scene and records whatever is in that location (LOC as Center).”

from location or possession predication (the exceptions being one derived from “identificational clauses” and another from “comitative predication”).

The grammatical coding of possession predicates is sufficiently complex that it alone is the topic of two major typological treatments (Heine 1997; Stassen 2009), both of which arrive at substantive diachronic hypotheses, as well. Crucially for its inclusion in this volume, three of Stassen’s (2009) four major types, and seven of Heine’s eight major source construction schemas of possession predicates are also nonverbal predicate constructions:⁹ Stassen’s *LOCATIONAL-POSSESSIVE* and Heine’s *Location Schema* (‘Y is/exists [to/at/by X]’); Stassen’s *WITH-POSSESSIVE* and Heine’s *Companion Schema* (‘X is/exists [with Y]’); Stassen’s *TOPIC-POSSESSIVE* and all three subtypes of Heine’s *Existence Schema* (‘as for X, (his/her) Y is/exists’, ‘X’s Y exists’, and ‘Y exists to/for X’); and Heine’s two additional schemas, the *Source Schema* (‘Y exists [away] from X’) and the *Equation Schema* (‘Y is X’s property’). Alongside these various nonverbal possession predicate constructions, the only verbal possessive predicate is Stassen’s *HAVE-POSSESSIVE* and Heine’s *Action Schema* (‘X takes/has a Y’), in which the predicate is a transitive verb with a possessor subject and a possessum direct object.

It is common for any two of the location, existential, and possession functions – and possible for all three – to be coded via a single construction (cf. Vallejos 2016), but it is also possible to find languages in which each function conditions a different construction, and so we maintain the three-way distinction in our typology.

Finally, we mention in passing some minor types of nonverbal predicate that typically pattern with one of the major types: quantificational predicates, similitive predicates, temporal predicates, etc.

1.2 What constitutes an Amazonian language?

Having delimited the theoretical domain of nonverbal predication, we turn briefly to the question of what constitutes an “Amazonian language”. A strictly geographical definition would delimit the category to those languages spoken in a territory whose watershed ultimately drains into the Amazon River (cf. Queixalós & Lescure 2000 for a particularly clear and rigorous example). However, in practice there are languages (and linguistic families with different languages) spoken on both sides of the hills that divide the Amazon drainage from lands that drain into various other rivers, such as the Orinoco to the north or the Paraná to the south. Although there have been efforts to characterize an “Amazonian Linguistic Area” (most notably Dixon & Aikhenvald 1999), more detailed recent studies (e.g. Birchall 2014;

9. For our terms *POSSessor* and *POSSesSUM*, Stassen uses *POSSessor* and *POSSesSEE* and Heine X and Y. In this paragraph, in the interests of brevity, we use Heine’s formulations.

O'Connor & Muysken 2014) have failed to confirm the robustness of any proposed areal properties. In the absence of meaningful geographic criteria or strong linguistic criteria, we follow the practice described in Birchall (2014: 7): "In the linguistic study of South American languages, it is common to make a distinction between the languages of the lowlands and those of the highlands (e.g. Payne 1990), or those of the Amazon basin and those of the Andes (e.g. Dixon & Aikhenvald 1999), with an often ambiguous or intermediate status attributed to the languages of the eastern foothills of the Andes." The individual chapters of this volume describe nonverbal predication in languages spoken throughout lowland South America, including Amazonia proper, the eastern foothills of the Andes, the Orinoco basin, and the northern Chaco region.

Amazonian languages are poorly represented in typology in general, and especially poorly represented in typologies of nonverbal predication,¹⁰ a situation that this volume aims to improve. Many of our authors have already written grammars of the languages they work with, and here they take the opportunity to expand on their treatment of nonverbal predication, pointing out additional constructions and identifying subtleties of meaning both within and across different constructions. The individual chapters capture both crosslinguistic diversity and similarities in the strategies different languages arrive at to resolve the tension introduced by having a predicate that is not a verb. Some of the chapters also illustrate the pathways by which these strategies evolve, the points at which they enter the larger domain of nonverbal predication and the directions in which they expand their functions to additional subtypes (all issues that we take up in § 4). As a whole, this volume shows that nonverbal clauses in Amazonian languages contain typologically rich variation and that a better understanding of nonverbal predication can play a more central role in our understanding of main clause grammar in general.

In the remainder of this introductory chapter, we present a brief typology of nonverbal predication, focused on Amazonia and highlighting the major findings of these individual studies. We begin with an overview of the structural properties of nonverbal predication (§ 2), discuss the ranges of functions coded by individual constructions in individual languages (§ 3), then review the diachronic sources of nonverbal predicate constructions (§ 4). We conclude with a brief overview of each chapter (§ 5).

10. For example, of the 37 languages in Hengeveld's (1992) sample, only one (Hixkaryana) is Amazonian, and another (Paraguayan Guaraní) is a member of the Tupí family, which is widely represented in Amazonia. Similarly, of the 410 languages in Stassen's (1997) sample, only 20 (from 10 language families) represent lowland South America. In what we take to be a sign of the improvement in both quantity and quality of recent descriptive work in South America, of the 420 languages in Stassen's (2009) sample, fully 49 (from 22 language families) represent lowland South America.

2. Structural properties

Given our characterization of nonverbal predication above, the first question that arises in individual languages is to identify which nonverbal elements can be predicates: the usual candidates are nouns, adjectives, and adverbial phrases (adverbs, adpositional phrases, and oblique NPs). Dryer (2007) distinguishes three categories of nonverbal predicate: nominal predicates, adjectival predicates, and location predicates. Quantifiers, if they form a separate class, may predicate (as is the case in Mojeño Trinitario, Rose, this volume, see Example 1; Kotiria, Stenzel, this volume; Ninam, Gómez, this volume).

- (1) Mojeño Trinitario (Arawakan)
juiti kua-tru-na-wokovi, viti seno-no, viti.
 now four-CLF:hum-1PL PRO.1PL woman-PL PRO.1PL
 ‘Now we are four women, us.’ (Rose, this volume, Example 23)

Since it departs from the usual pattern whereby the predicate function is filled by a verb, nonverbal predication can be seen as involving a form–function mismatch. Within the range of formal strategies that encode nonverbal predicates, the principle of economy leads us to expect some resemblance to the structure of a verbal clause, whether in the marking of grammatical categories or the encoding of arguments or both. While the etymological source construction may contribute to the verbal-clause-like nature of a copular clause, there is also a functional motivation to fit nonverbal predication into the formal mold of verbal predication, leading to the innovation of new copula constructions from verbal sources or the verbalization of erstwhile nonverbal copulas (Stassen 1997). On the other hand, two factors motivate towards incomplete formal identity of verbal and nonverbal clauses: (i) a nonverbal predicate may be unable to host verb-specific morphology; (ii) as Stassen (1997) shows, juxtaposition, nonverbal copulas and some verbal copulas have their diachronic source in identity clauses that are not predication at all, so it is natural that they should differ formally from prototypical verbal predication – such clause types, when they are co-opted for predication, start out from a point of sharing no properties with verbal clauses. These competing motivations underlie the rich structural variation that is found in nonverbal predication, both across and within languages. In this section we present an overview of the structural possibilities, and return to the diachronic processes in more detail in § 4.

There are two general ways in which a clause with a nonverbal predicate can resemble a verbal clause: either (i) the nonverbal predicate resembles an intransitive verb, and is marked for the relevant grammatical categories, while the subject resembles the subject of an intransitive clause (Stassen’s “verbal strategy”); or (ii) there is a verbal copula, and both subject and predicate resemble arguments of

this verb – although this seldom extends to being morphosyntactically identical to a transitive clause. These two possibilities are described in § 2.1, then in § 2.2 we discuss nonverbal predicates that do not resemble verbal clauses. These may involve a nonverbal copula element or simple juxtaposition of subject and predicate – both fall under Stassen’s “nominal strategy”. The parameter of similarity to verbal clauses cross-cuts Stassen’s (1997) typology of intransitive predication, which assigns verbal copulas to the location or nominal strategy depending on their etymological source. In practical terms, the etymology of a copula may be impossible to ascertain, so we have arranged this section according to the more obvious structural features. Of course there is often no clear line to be drawn between verbal and nonverbal copulas, and this issue is addressed in § 2.3. In § 2.4 we address the question of alternation and suppletion within constructions.

2.1 Nonverbal predication that resembles verbal predication

The most obvious way that a nonverbal clause can resemble a verbal clause is to simply have the nonverbal predicate share the properties of a verbal one. This strategy is common in Arawakan languages, for example. In Examples (2–5), the nonverbal predicates take person marking and TAME suffixes just as verbal predicates do.

- (2) Alto Perené (Ashéninka, Arawakan)
ovakera eentsi-t-ap-ak-i-ni
 CONN 3NMASC.S.child-EP-DIR-PFV-REAL-REM.PAST
 ‘... when she was a girl’ (Mihás 2015: 464)
- (3) Yine (Arawakan)
yine-lo-pa-maka-tka-yi
 human-SG.FEM-ALL-FRUST-PFV-2SG
 ‘if (only) you would become a human woman’ (Hanson 2010: 289)
- (4) Tariana (Arawakan)
wyume-ma-se matʃa-ma-pidana
 last-FEM-CONTR good-FEM-REM.P.REP
 ‘the last one was beautiful’ (Aikhenvald 2003: 499)
- (5) Mojeño Trinitario (Arawakan)
nuti p-chicha-nu
 PRO.1SG 2SG-child-1SG
 ‘I am your child.’ (Rose, this volume, Example 16)

The overlap may not be complete, however, and typically involves restrictions on nonverbal predicates relative to verbal predicates. For Alto Perené, for example, Mihás (2015) describes a restricted range of verbal morphology available to

nominal predicates: “Noun-derived predicates exhibit a limited use of verbal derivational and inflectional morphology ... Nouns do not occur as predicate heads in the imperative mood or apprehensive modal construction” (Mihás 2015: 116–117).

Movima shows no distinction between verbal and nominal predicates in most contexts (compare Examples 6, with a verbal predicate, and 7, with a nominal predicate), but the word class distinction is apparent in embedded (i.e. adverbial, complement, and negated) clauses (Haude, this volume), where nominals require a different morphological operation than verbs to function as predicates.

- (6) Movima (isolate)
jo'yaj--[us] neyru
 arrive--3.MASC.AB here
 ‘He arrived here.’ (Haude, this volume, Example 4)
- (7) Movima (isolate)
tolkosya--[’ne]
 girl--3.FEM
 ‘She is a girl.’ (Haude, this volume, Example 10)

For Sikuani (Guahiboan), Queixalós (1998: 5–15) describes a scenario very similar to the verbal strategy, but different in that, while both nominal and adjectival predicates inflect for person and for TAM, the inflections for verbs are not identical to those used for nouns and adjectives, which pattern together. As seen in (8a–c), nominal, adjectival, and verbal predicates have the same argument structure: the subject precedes the predicate with no copula or other additional element.

- (8) Sikuani (Guahiboan)
- a. *Neusalia paxa-Ø*
 Neusalia father-3
 ‘Neusalia is his/her father’
 - b. *Neusalia xanepena-Ø*
 Neusalia good-3
 ‘Neusalia is good’
 - c. *Neusalia hopaika-Ø*
 Neusalia fall-3
 ‘Neusalia falls’

However, although nominal, adjectival, and verbal predicates all inflect for person, nouns and adjectives index first and second person subjects with different morphemes than verbs (9) and future tense morphology further differentiates nouns/adjectives from verbs (10).

- (9)
- | | Noun | Adjective | Verb |
|-----|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| | 'person' | 'satisfied' | 'dance' |
| 1 | <i>pebi-nü</i> | <i>barüya-nü</i> | <i>yawahiba-hü</i> |
| 2 | <i>pebi-mü</i> | <i>barüya-mü</i> | <i>yawahiba-me</i> |
| 3 | <i>pebi-Ø</i> | <i>barüya-Ø</i> | <i>yawahiba-Ø</i> |
| 1+2 | <i>pebi-tsi</i> | <i>barüya-tsi</i> | <i>yawahiba-tsi</i> |
- (10) a. *pebi tsane*
man FUT
'(He) will be a person.'
- b. *barüya tsane*
satisfied FUT
'(He) will be satisfied.'
- c. *kueranae-ena*
be.tired-FUT
'(He) will be tired'

As a final note, we point out that expression of the subject noun is optional (cf. 9, 10 above), but with nominal predicates, absence of subject also allows an additional existential reading (11); however, in the negative, the existential requires a special predicate form, which we gloss here as 'existential negative' (12).

- (11) a. *awiri* 'it is a/the dog'
b. *pepomene* 'there is a stream'
c. *matakabi* 'there's light / here's the day'
- (12) *peri ahibi*
cassava NEG.EXIST
'There's no cassava.'

All of the examples presented so far show the verbal strategy encoding identification, categorization and property predicates. In contrast, there are also languages in which nominal predicates using the verbal strategy encode possession. These languages are Kamaiurá (Tupí-Guaraní, Example 13) and Trumai (isolate), both spoken in the upper Xingu region of Brazil.

- (13) Kamaiurá (Tupí-Guaraní)
je=Ø-memyt-Ø
1SG=REL-SON-NM
'I have a son.' (Seki 2000: 160 Example 496)

In Trumai (Guirardello 1999: 194–196), there is no inflectional verbal morphology. The distinctive feature of verbal predication is that an anaphoric third person argument may be realized as either a preverbal pronoun (14b) or as a verbal enclitic

-e/-n ‘3’ (14c). In the identification and categorization functions, the predicate noun is initial, followed by the [SV] verb phrase (15a–b); the verbal status of the copula is seen in (15c), where it takes the third person enclitic. In what Guirardello (1999: 196) calls the “verbal use of nouns”, an inalienable noun can simply be used as a verbal predicate, being preceded by its possessor subject (16a–b), or bearing the third person enclitic (16c).

Trumai (Guirardello 1999: 194–196)

- (14) a. S V
ha alax
 I hunt
 ‘I hunt’
- b. S V
ine alax
 he hunt
 ‘He hunts’
- c. V-s
alax-e
 hunt-3
 ‘He hunts’
- (15) a. PRED S COP
di ha chi
 woman I COP
 ‘I am a woman’
- b. PRED S COP
di inatl chi
 woman she COP
 ‘She is a woman’
- c. PRED Ø COP-S
di chi-n
 woman COP-3
 ‘She’s a woman’
- (16) a. S POSSD
ha di
 I woman
 ‘I have a woman’ (i.e. ‘I am married’)
- b. S POSSD
ine di
 he woman
 ‘He has a woman’ (i.e. ‘he is married’)

- c. ∅ POSSD-S
di-n
 woman-3
 ‘He has a woman’ (i.e. ‘he is married’)

Arawakan languages make use of a nominal attributive prefix *ka-/ko/=ku-* forming words that mean ‘owner of N’; this noun can then head a nonverbal predication giving the same formal structure as predicates of identity, but with the function of predicating possession (17).

- (17) Terêna (Arawakan)
co-xé'ëxa-ne
 ATTR-child-ALREADY
 ‘He/she has children already.’ (lit. ‘he/she is childed’)
 (cf. Colloquial English ‘He is moneyed’)
 (Ekdahl and Butler 1979: 158; cited in Aikhenvald 1999: 99)

The negative counterpart, privative *ma-*, gives a meaning ‘one who does not have N’. Note that Rose (this volume) analyzes the Mojeño Trinitario attributive prefix as a verbalizer, thereby taking the positive possession predicate outside of the realm of nonverbal predication, whereas the privative prefix is an adjectivizer, making the negative possession construction nonverbal.

As has already been mentioned, even the most verbal-clause-like constructions are not completely identical to verbal clauses. They may show a restricted range of verbal morphology, as in Alto Perené (Mihas 2015), or they may be restricted to certain clause types or TAM configurations. These restrictions generally motivate against an analysis whereby the predicate is a derived verb. Very often those configurations that do not admit the verbal strategy may be encoded via some alternative structure, as discussed in § 2.4.

The second construction that allows a nonverbal predication to resemble a verbal clause involves a full copula verb, with the subject and predicate treated as its arguments – this strategy is typical of Indo-European languages, among others. The copula verb is expected to show all the relevant distinguishing features of a verb, in particular morphological marking of verbal grammatical categories. The verb-like nature of the copula is generally attributable to an etymological source in a full lexical verb, normally of posture or location (§ 4); but it may also be the case that an erstwhile nonverbal copula takes on verbal properties (Stassen 1997), presumably a result of systemic pressure to have the nonverbal clause resemble a verbal one.

It is widely assumed that the motivation for a verbal copula is a requirement that a minimum of verbal categories be marked in a clause, combined with a restriction

that these categories cannot be marked on nonverbal word classes, ruling out the verbal strategy. In this sense, the verbal copula can be seen as an auxiliary verb (or a dummy verb) – note, however, Stassen’s (1997) arguments showing that this cannot be the only motivating factor.

Although the syntax of a copular clause may superficially resemble that of a transitive clause, the arguments typically do not resemble those of a transitive clause. Instead, the subject is treated as that of an intransitive clause, and the complement (=predicate) takes the least marked, citation form. In languages with nominative-accusative case marking, the nominal predicate generally takes nominative case rather than the accusative case marking expected for the object of a transitive clause, as in Latin (18) and Awajún (Overall, this volume).¹¹

- (18) Latin (Indo-European)
 [fortissim-i]_{PREDICATE} sunt [Belgae]_{SUBJECT}
 bravest-MASC.PL.NOM COP.PRES.PL Belgae(MASC.PL).NOM
 ‘the Belgae are the bravest’

Syntactic behaviour may also superficially resemble that of a transitive clause but prove to be distinct on closer investigation. Consider Spanish (19).

- (19) Spanish (Indo-European)
 a. *Si tú comes papaya, yo también la como*
 ‘if you eat papaya, I eat it too’
 b. *Si tú eres feliz, yo también lo soy*
 ‘if you’re happy, I am too’

In (a), the first clause has AVO order and in the second the O is pronominalized to *la* and precedes the verb. The same patterns are shown by the copula clauses in (b), with the copula subject patterning with A and the predicate adjective patterning like O, including pronominal realization (*lo*) in the second clause. But other tests show that the predicate adjective cannot be analyzed as an object. For example, while transitive clauses such as those of (19a) can be passivized, no such construction is possible with copula clauses.

Urarina (isolate, north Peru) has a copula verb which forms clauses that resemble verbal clauses. Transitive clauses in Urarina have basic OVA order, and similarly the subject of the copula appears following the verb, while the nonverbal predicate appears in the preverbal position, like a transitive object (Example 20).

11. Note that Overall follows earlier authors writing in English in calling the language *Aguaruna*; in this chapter, however, we prefer to use the official Peruvian form *Awajún*, as this is more widely accepted among speakers themselves.

- (20) Urarina (isolate)
enamanaa ni-a ka=kataɕa
 [young.man] be-3 [this=man]
 ‘this man is young’ (lit. ‘a young man’) (Olawsky 2006: 392)

As with Spanish, however, Olawsky (2006: 391) notes that other properties of transitive clauses are missing, such as “compatibility with passive and agentive morphemes”.¹² So while a nonverbal clause with a verbal copula may superficially resemble a transitive clause, on closer inspection the nonverbal predicates resist being treated like objects of transitive clauses, both in coding and behavioural properties.

In some languages a verbal copula may also be required in existential clauses, where it takes just one argument; this is the case in Latin (*Deus est* ‘God is’ = ‘there is a God’).

2.2 Nonverbal predication that is distinct from verbal predication

It is not always the case that a nonverbal clause resembles a verbal clause with respect to the marking of grammatical categories. Instead, the nonverbal clause may simply allow these categories to go unmarked. This may involve simple juxtaposition of subject and predicate, with no overt marker of the relation; or they may be linked by a nonverbal copula, defined here as an obligatory grammatical element that has the function of marking the predication relation, and that lacks verbal properties.

Juxtaposition simply involves stating the subject and predicate, as in Yine (21). This same strategy is found in Kamaiurá (Seki 2000), Sikuni (Queixalós 1998), several Cariban languages (Sapién & Gildea this volume), Ninam (Gómez this volume), and Movima (Haude this volume).

- (21) Yine (Arawakan)
 [wale]_{SUBJECT} [kamtʃi]_{PREDICATE}
 3SG.MASC demon
 ‘that (one) is a demon’ (Hanson 2010: 299)

A juxtaposed clause consists formally of two referring expressions. Although logically the simplest way of presenting the relation between subject and predicate, there may nevertheless be some restrictions or requirements on the juxtaposed clause that differ from verbal clauses.

Stassen (1997) argues that the juxtaposed construction originates in identity statements, which do not actually predicate some property of a subject, instead they

12. The ‘agentive’ morpheme is a nominalizer that refers to the A argument and is consequently only compatible with transitive verbs (Olawsky 2006: 322–323).

“provide instructions to the hearer about his [sic] mental organization of knowledge about the world.” (Stassen 1997: 102). TAM values are not overtly marked in identity statements, and Stassen explains this by appealing to their timeless, non-predicating nature (1997: 109–110). When juxtaposition is co-opted to express (nonverbal) predication, however, TAM marking may be required. It is unsurprising, then, that juxtaposition constructions frequently alternate with verbal copular constructions, typically conditioned by TAM configurations such as non-present tenses or negative polarity – this is discussed in § 2.4.

Although they may not include TAM specification, juxtaposed clauses may be associated with obligatory appearance of information structure markers, which are then available to be reanalyzed as markers of predication. In Awajún the subject of a juxtaposed verbless clause typically takes the topic enclitic =*ka* (Overall, this volume) and similar markers are one of the diachronic sources of copulas (Stassen 1997: 85).

(22) Awajún (Chicham)

[*mi=na duku-hu=k*]_{SUBJECT} [*apach*]_{PREDICATE}
 1SG=ACC mother-PSSD.1SG=TOP non.Awajún

‘my mother is non-Awajún’

(Overall this volume: Example 34)

Copulas that have arisen historically from a word class other than verbs may be invariant or they may inflect for nonverbal categories. The most frequent source of nonverbal copulas is in pronouns, as in Hebrew and Panare. The nonverbal copula does not inflect for verbal grammatical categories, but it may mark some other categories, for example, the Hebrew pronominal copula, which varies for number and gender of the subject, but not for person (it is always the third person pronoun, cf. Hengeveld 1992: 190, citing Junger 1981). In Panare (Cariban), verbal morphology indexes person, number, and tense-aspect, however there are three present tense copulas (historically derived from demonstrative pronouns) that vary instead based on animacy and deixis: *kəh* ‘animate.proximate’, *nəh* ‘animate.distal’, and *mən* ‘inanimate’ (Gildea 1993; Payne & Payne 2012). For first and second person subjects there is no copula (23a–b), but for third person subjects, the copula is required (23c–d). The correct copula is chosen based first on animacy (24a–c); for animate subjects, the second consideration is spatial deixis, with *kəh* used in cases where the subject is in close spatial proximity to the speaker (24a) and *nəh* in those cases where the subject is farther away from the speaker (24b).

(23) Panare (Cariban)

a. *maesturu* Ø *yu*
 teacher Ø 1SG
 ‘I am a teacher’

- b. *maesturu* Ø *amən*
 teacher Ø 2SG
 ‘You are a teacher’
- c. **maesturu* Ø *e’ñapa*
 (the Panare is a teacher)
- d. **e’chipen* Ø *manko*
 (mango is a fruit)
- (24) Panare (Cariban)
- a. *maestro kəh* *e’ñapá*
 teacher ANIM.PROX panare
 ‘The Panare is (PROX) a teacher.’ (Gildea 1993: 55)
- b. *maestro nəh* *e’ñapá*
 teacher ANIM.DIST panare
 ‘The Panare is (DIST) a teacher.’ (Gildea 1993: 55)
- c. *e’chipen mən manko*
 fruit INAN mango
 ‘Mango is a fruit.’ (Gildea 1993: 55)

Thus, Panare nonverbal copulas inflect for animacy and deixis, like demonstrative pronouns, rather than the verbal categories of person, number and tense; the asymmetry in copula use (zero for 1+2 versus suppletive copulas for 3) results directly from the etymological source of the copulas in pronominal forms with third person reference – the same source as the Hebrew pronominal copula.

Another source of nonverbal copulas is information structure marking morphology such as topic markers (Stassen 1997 ‘Particle Copula’), as noted above for Awajún juxtaposed clauses. Since nonverbal copulas may have their etymological source in such information structuring devices, the distinction between juxtaposition and a nonverbal copular clause is not always clear. Further muddying the etymological waters, Stassen (1997: 84–85) notes that nonverbal copulas may acquire verbal properties and become verbal copulas.

2.3 Partially verbal copulas

We define a copular clause very broadly as one that includes (at least) a nonverbal predicate and some grammatical element that has the function of marking the relation between the predicate and its subject. Verbal and nonverbal copulas have already been described, but the status of a copula as more or less verb-like is best treated as a continuum, as a copula may share more or fewer morphosyntactic properties with lexical verbs, making it difficult to draw a line between verbal and nonverbal clauses. What does it mean for a copula to be partially verb-like? From a syntactic standpoint, copulas may show different properties from verbs. In

particular, the copula may be morphologically bound, as in Awajún (Overall this volume) and Ecuadorian Secoya (Western Tukanoan; Schwarz this volume).

In Awajún, the copula is encliticized to nominal predicates (Overall 2017). The enclitic copula takes regular finite verb morphology for SAP subjects but has a reduced portmanteau form for third person (25). It also has TAM restrictions, so it cannot be readily analyzed as a verbalizer, since the resulting form doesn't have the same morphological or syntactic properties as underived verbal roots.

- (25) Awajún
nĩ aishman̄ku=i
 3SG man=COP.3SG.DECL
 'he is a man' (cf. Overall 2017: 200)

Morphologically, a copula that is verb-like by virtue of being inflected for the same categories as verbs may nevertheless be incompatible with certain (values of) verbal grammatical categories. We saw above that nonverbal copulas with pronominal sources may vary for properties (such as gender of the subject) that are not reflected in verbal inflection. There may also be some possibility of marking the same values as verbal clauses, but using morphology appropriate to the nonverbal predicate's word class. For example, Awajún has a nominal negative marker that is used derivationally to form antonyms. The same strategy is used to negate a clause with noun or adjective as predicate, achieving the same function as the distinct verbal negative marker, which is not compatible with the partially verb-like copula (Overall, this volume). Similar facts apply in Kamaiurá (Seki 2000: 157–158) and Cariban (Cáceres 2016); in Paresi-Haliti (Brandão this volume), nominal predicates take an additional (emphatic) negative marker and possessive predicates may use typical verbal negation, but they may also utilize a unique negative strategy, namely substitution of the privative prefix for the attributive prefix.

Temporal distinctions may also be marked in nominal predicates using uniquely nominal tense, without resorting to the introduction of a copula with verbal tense. For example, in Kari'nja (Cariban) juxtaposed constructions: "A past tense-like distinction is possible with the 'former, devalued' suffix, *-mbo* affixed to the predicate noun phrase. In (26), two readings are possible. In addition to 'She is my former wife,' a more past-tense like reading, 'She was my wife,' is accepted without reservation. Context disambiguates." (Sapién this volume)

- (26) Kari'nja
Mo'ko pytymbo.
 moko Ø-py(ty)-mbo
 3.ANIM.DIST 1-wife-DVL
 'She is my former wife.'
 'She was my wife.' (Sapién this volume: Example 9)

In a language with less bound morphology, there may be no principled way to distinguish between a nonverbal particle copula and a partially verb-like copula that has some, or even all, of the distributional properties of a verb. This is the case in Trumai, where neither full verbs nor the copula *chi* take morphology.

2.4 Alternation and suppletion

We have already noted that formal strategies for nonverbal predication frequently show restrictions relative to verbal clauses. This raises the question of how notional verbal categories are expressed in nonverbal clauses – for example, if a juxtaposition construction cannot include any marker of tense, how does a speaker encode the difference between, say, ‘I am the chief’ and ‘I was the chief’? This question is frequently resolved by means of obligatory structural alternation within a construction. A well-known example of such structural alternation conditioned by TAM comes from Russian, where nominal predication makes use of simple juxtaposition in present tense, but requires a verbal copula in the past (Payne 1997).

(27) Russian (Indo-European)

a. *Ivan uchitʹelʹi*

John teacher

‘John is a teacher’

(Payne 1997: 114)

b. *Ivan bil učitʹelʹi*

John be:MASC teacher

‘John was a teacher’

(Payne 1997: 114–115)

TAM based alternations between juxtaposition and verbal copula are also described for Hebrew (Hengeveld 1992: 191) and in this volume, similar restrictions are seen with the bound copulas in Awajún and Ecuadorian Secoya.

Obligatory alternation between constructions depending on grammatical factors such as TAM, polarity, or on properties of the participants such as different postural verbs or number/gender, may arise from the etymological source of the construction. We treat these not as different constructions, but as instances of suppletion within a single construction, analogous to the *be/is/was* alternation in the English copula verb, for example (Stassen’s “multi-rooted copulas”, 1997: 97–99). This within-construction alternation is distinct from the phenomenon whereby different constructions encode different functions of nonverbal predication, which is discussed in § 3.

Alternation may also be conditioned by the person or number of the subject. For example, in Awajún there is a restriction that the marked nominal predicate can only appear with a singular subject (25 above), while with plural subjects there is a copula verb that takes over (28). Similarly, in Panare third person subjects require a copula (cf. 23–24 above), but first and second person subjects do not (cf. 23a–b above).

(28) Awajún (Chicham)

dita aishman a-ina-wa-i

3PL man COP-IPFV.PL-3-DECL

'they are men'

(cf. Overall 2017: 200)

In Matses, positive attributive (property, in Table 1) clauses use the existential copula *ic* (29a), whereas negative attributive clauses use the equative copula *ne* (29b).

(29) Matses (Panoan)

a. *senad piu ic-e-c*

deer red be-NPAST-INDIC

'The deer is red.'

b. *senad piu pen-quio ne-e-c*

deer red NEG-EMPH be-NPAST-INDIC

'The deer is not red.'

In Movima a copula only exists to mark negation (Haude, this volume). Similarly, it is relatively common to have a special copula used only for negative existentials, as in the Sikuaní example given in § 2.1.1; in this volume, such a unique negative existential form is attested in Paresi-Haliti, Pilagá, Kotiria, and Wa'ikhana. In two Cariban languages, Panare and Tiriyó, a unique negative existential particle is used with an optional positive copula.

An additional parameter of constructional variation arises from the time stability of the predication – this is the distinction drawn in Table 1 between permanent and temporary properties. Pustet (2003: 24) surveys nonverbal predicates that do and do not occur with copulas and concludes that “the lexical item that is compatible with a copula is always less transitive, less transient, and less dynamic than its counterpart which does not admit copula use.” This claim is consistent with the situation in which the absence of a copula is characteristic of the verbal strategy, whereas the presence of the copula is characteristic of the nominal strategy. However, the opposite direction of correlation is also possible, as in the situation in which simple juxtaposition is characteristic of the nominal strategy and the presence of a copula characteristic of the location strategy, with the latter expected to be the more dynamic of the two. To illustrate this latter situation, examples from Akawaio (Cariban; Meira & Gildea 2009: 109) directly contradict this proposed universal, with the (copulaless) nonverbal clause always more time-stable (30a) as opposed to the relatively transient meaning of the copular clauses (30b).

(30) Akawaio

(Meira & Gildea 2009: 109)

a. *yuwang kërö-rö*

hungry 3ANIM-EMPH

'He's hungry (always, maybe has no property to farm, or is too lazy).'

- b. *yuwang be y-eji-Ø*
 hungry ATTR 3-be-PRES
 ‘He’s hungry (he’s come home late, he’s hungry right now)’

Brandão (this volume) makes a parallel claim for Paresi-Haliti (Arawakan) class membership (categorization in Table 1) predicates, in which simple juxtaposition indicates permanent class membership and the presence of the copula *tyaona* indicates transitory states of affairs. Interestingly, in location predicates, Brandão hypothesizes that the distinction is reversed, in which the copula *tyaona* takes on the more durative lexical meaning of ‘live’, whereas simple juxtaposition indicates a temporary stay of the figure in the location.

3. Mapping semantic functions and structural strategies

This section maps the semantic functions – identification, categorization, property, location, existence, and possession – onto the constructional forms by which these functions are encoded. We focus on eleven languages described in this volume, and incorporate four other languages that have not been discussed in previous typological works, particularly in Hengeveld (1992) and Stassen (1997). These are Kashibo-Kakataibo (Zariquiey 2011) and Matses (Fleck 2003), from the Panoan family; Kamairú (Seki 2000), from the Tupí-Guaraní family; and, Sikuani (Queixálos 2000) from the Guahiboan family. These languages are included because several grammatical facts pertaining to these languages have been brought into the discussion at various points in this volume.

To be able to make some generalizations from comparing such a diverse range of languages, it is obvious that Stassen’s (1997) proposed strategies ignore idiosyncratic structural specificities. The assumption at play is that any type of predication can be expressed via any of the three strategies described here. The results of the form and function mapping are presented in Table 2.

As has been amply demonstrated in the typological and descriptive literature, the distribution of the structural strategies over the semantic functions differs among languages. Thus, it is possible to say that languages divide the domain of nonverbal predication in various ways. The first important finding of this volume is that none of the languages reported here uses different strategies for the *identification* and *categorization* functions; for this reason, we have collapsed each of these into a single column in Table 2. Although the *temporary* vs. *permanent property* distinction is attested in at least the Cariban family, we have collapsed them here for presentational purposes.

Another important distinction is identified in previous typological works, between languages that use a single strategy to cover all the semantic functions versus languages that use multiple strategies for the same purpose. Such a distinction is

relevant for some of the systems reported here. Movima (isolate) uses the NOMINAL (zero copula) strategy for all the functions (excepting the negative existential). Although they have a NOMINAL (zero copula) strategy available, Kari'nja and Akawaio (Cariban) can extend the LOCATION (copula) strategy to all the nonverbal functions. The same is true for Kashibo-Kakataibo (Panoan) and Ecuadorian Secoya (Tukanoan), which can employ the LOCATIVE (copula) strategy for all the functions. All the other languages in the volume require more than one strategy to cover the entire domain of nonverbal predication.

A recurrent pattern in Table 2 is that languages use a single strategy for *location*, *existence* and *possession*. We see the same strategy used only for these three functions in the Chicham languages Awajún and Wampis, the Tukanoan languages Kotiria and Wa'ikhana (although note that both Kotiria and Wa'ikhana also use a 'have' type possessive predicate construction), the Yanomaman language Ninam, and in the isolate language Movima. The same strategy is used for these three functions plus one or two of the other functions in the Tukanoan language Ecuadorian Secoya, and Panoan languages Matses and Kashibo-Kakataibo. Another recurrent pattern is the use of the same strategy for *identification*, *categorization* and the predication of *property concepts*. For example, this distribution shows up in Akawaio (with permanent property concepts), Awajún, Wampis, Ecuadorian Secoya, Kashibo-Kakataibo, Sikuaní, and Movima. The same strategy is used for these three functions plus one or more of the other functions in Mojeño Trinitario, Paresi-Haliti, Kotiria and Wa'ikhana. These patterns of distribution add evidence to the hypothesis of a conceptual link among the functions of, on the one hand, identification, categorization, and property concepts, and on the other hand location, existential, and possession. The expansion of constructions from each of these conceptually linked trios into adjacent functions adds evidence to Stassen's (1997) claim that nominal and location predication strategies may expand into other domains (cf. § 4 for a more explicit formulation of this process).

Table 2. Semantic functions and structural strategies

Family	Language	Identification Property Location Existence Possession categorization
Arawakan	Mojeño	Verbal
	Trinitario	
Paresi-Haliti	Paresi-Haliti	Nominal (zero)
		Locational (COP 'become')
		Nominal (COP 'exist')
		Top-poss
		Non-standard

Table 2. (continued)

Family	Language	Identification categorization	Property	Location	Existence	Possession
Cariban	Kari'nja	Nominal (zero)		Locative (COP 'do, become')		
	Akawaio	zero		Locative (COP 'do, become')		
Chicham	Awajún	Nominal (zero) Locative (COP 'be')		Locative (COP <i>a</i> 'exist')		
	Wampis	Nominal (zero) Locative (COP 'be')			Locative (COP <i>a</i> 'exist')	
Tukanoan	Kotiria		Locative (COP <i>hi</i> <sit)		Locative (COP 'position/posture')	Have-poss
	Wa'ikhana		Locative (COP <i>hi</i> <sit)		Locative (COP 'position/posture')	Have-poss
	Secoya	Nominal (COP <i>a</i> 'particle')		Locative (posture <i>v</i>) Locative (COP <i>pazi</i> 'be, exist')		
Tupí-Guaraní	Kukama-Kukamiria	Nominal (zero)		Nominal (zero)		
	Kamaiurá		verbal	Nominal (zero) Locative (COP 'be, remain')	Locative ('exist')	verbal Have-poss
Panoan	Matses	Locative (COP 'be')		Locative (<i>ic</i> 'be')	Locative (COP 'stand, sit')	
	Kashibo-Kakataibo			Locative (COP <i>t-</i> 'be')		
Yanomaman	Ninam	Nominal (zero)				
		Locative (COP 'be')			Locative (COP 'be')	
Guahiboan	Sikuani	Nominal (zero)			Nominal (zero)	
				Locative (posture <i>v</i>)		Have-poss
Isolate	Movima	Nominal (incipient COP)			Nominal (zero/demonstrative predicate)	

A third scenario of variation arises when we look at the encoding of specific functions. Except for Mojeño Trinitario, Kukama-Kukamiria and Sikuani, the other twelve languages in the sample show some sort of overlap among strategies. That is, in the majority of the languages there is at least one function that may be encoded by more than one construction. Here, we distinguish two different scenarios: *alternation* and *variation*. Alternation is grammatically conditioned (cf. § 2.4), as when certain constructions are used only in present tense, in declarative clauses, etc. An example is Awajún which uses the NOMINAL (zero) strategy with singular subjects, and the LOCATIVE (copula) with plural subjects. Variation occurs when speakers choose one construction over another for non-grammatical reasons (presumably stylistic, dialectal, or based on information structure). The most frequent pattern seems to be the option between a zero-copula and a nonverbal copula construction (see, for instance, Wampis, Ninam, Paresí, and Kari'ña, among others). In future studies, it could be interesting to explore the conditions triggering this synchronic variation. In particular, for the predication of properties it would be interesting to test if some of the suggested parameters, such as the permanency parameter or the inchoative parameter (Stassen 1997: 162–169), can explain speakers' choices, or whether perhaps there is a semantic category split that suggests a hierarchical structuring of property concept words.

As for the distribution of the three main strategies identified by Stassen, in our sample, the verbal strategy is rare. Only Mojeño Trinitario employs this strategy for identification, categorization and property concepts. The vast majority of the languages uses some type of nominal strategy and/or location strategy.

4. Diachronic development of nonverbal clauses and copulas

In this section, we first develop a diachronic typology of nonverbal predication (§ 4.1), then illustrate some of the claims of that typology with reference to data from Amazonian languages (§ 4.2).

4.1 A diachronic typology of nonverbal predication

Our point of departure here is an expansion of Stassen's (1997) perspective, in which there are prototypical constructions associated with different types of predication. Stassen (1997) limits his typological survey to five of our seven functions: identification, categorization, both permanent and temporary properties, and location, setting aside existentials and possession. Within these types, he identifies characteristics of constructions prototypically associated with verbal, location, and

nominal predication; in contrast to these three “focal types”, property predication does not seem to have a characteristic construction type, but rather it adopts one of the other three construction types. At the risk of overly simplifying Stassen’s rich and complex conclusions, one might say that constructions can begin in any of the three focal types, expand to “take over” property predicates, and from there expand to take over any (or potentially all) of the other three types. However, in Stassen’s database, verbal predication is only susceptible to partial takeover, as he found no examples of languages in which all subtypes of verbal predicates utilized either the location predicate construction or the nominal predicate construction.

Taking this perspective as a testable hypothesis, whenever we find a case where property concept predicates take the same grammatical treatment as verbs (often stated as “property concepts are a subclass of the category verb”), this represents the expansion of the verbal predication construction to “take over” property predication. When nominal and location predicates also take the same morphology as verbal predicates, this is understood as the expansion of the verbal predicate construction to those domains, as well (although in this case, usually without inviting the conclusion that identification, categorization, and location predicates pertain to the lexical class of verbs). Using our functional categories for the subset Stassen works with, we diagram this evolutionary path in Figure 1.

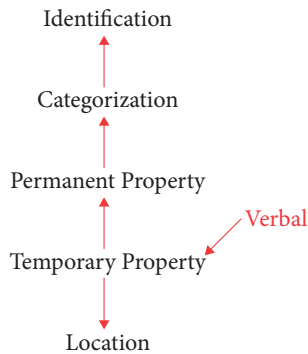


Figure 1. From Verbal Predicates to Properties to both Location and Nominal Predicates

Similarly, whenever we find a case where property predicates take the same grammatical treatment as identification/categorization predicates, this represents the expansion of the nominal predication construction to “take over” property predication; it is not uncommon for the nominal predication construction to expand farther to take over location predicates, but it never seems to take over more than a subset of verbal predicates (which would be recognizable as those with etymological nominalizing morphology, often with copular auxiliaries). Note that distinct verbal

constructions can arise from deverbal nouns in categorization predicates (e.g., ‘John is a hunter’ > ‘John [HABITUAL] hunts’), resulting in the categorization copula as auxiliary; from deverbal adjectives in property predicates (e.g., ‘the window is broken [STATE]’ > ‘the window was broken [PASSIVE]’ > ‘the window was broken by John’ [AGENTIVE PASSIVE] > ‘the window[ABS] broke John[ERG]’) resulting in the property copula as auxiliary; and from deverbal adverbials in location predicates (e.g., ‘John is on hunting’ > ‘John [PROGRESSIVE] hunting’), resulting in the locative copula as auxiliary. Since, in Stassen’s database, none of these strategies is attested as taking over all of verbal predication, in Figure 2, we have put dotted lines from each of these functional domains to the verbal domain. Figure 2 presupposes that the nominal predicate construction spreads to property predication before property predicates expand to the verbal function, and to location predication before location predicates expand to the verbal function, thereby creating three possible vectors for the nominal predicate construction to enter the verbal domain. Of course, it is also logically possible for the prior property and/or location predicate constructions to expand to verbal predication, then for the nominal predicate construction to later expand and replace the prior property and/or location predicate constructions, leaving isolated verbal auxiliaries as the only modern reflex of the prior property and/or location predicate constructions.¹³

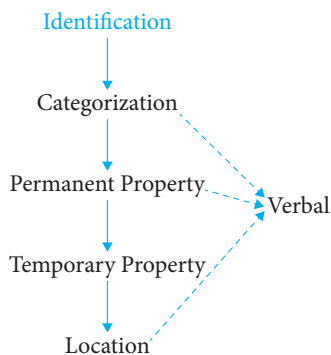


Figure 2. From Identification Predicates to Categorization to Properties to Location

13. Stassen (1997: 122) stipulates as a methodological a priori that “a predicate category can be encoded by a given strategy only if that strategy is also in use for its prototypical category.” This means his coding principles prevent him from capturing a historical scenario in which the nominal strategy has taken over Location predicates, but a modern reflex of the old Location strategy is still used for some Verbal predicates.

Finally, whenever we find a case where property concepts take the same grammatical treatment as location predicates (i.e., utilize a locative copula / posture verb), this reflects the expansion of the location predicate construction to take over property predication. It is not uncommon for the location predicate construction to continue its expansion to take over one or both subtypes of nominal predication; as we did in Figure 2, in Figure 3 we model that a locative copula / posture verb could become a verbal auxiliary directly from a reanalyzed location predicate, but also indirectly, by taking over property and categorization predicates and then becoming auxiliaries for verbal participles and/or nominalizations that are reanalyzed as verbal predicates. While Stassen's hypotheses are both insightful and testable, before bringing new Amazonian data to them, we need to expand them to include the other two functional domains for nonverbal predication, existential predicates and possession predicates.

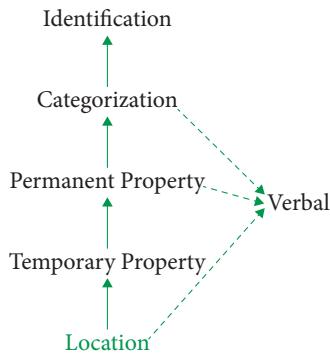


Figure 3. From Location Predicates to Properties to Nominal Predicates

We begin with the observation that existential predicates and location predicates are often indistinguishable except that the subject of the location predicate is definite and the subject of the existential predicate is indefinite. This suggests the hypothesis that the location predicate construction can readily expand to take over existential predication, along with the parallel hypothesis that the nominal or verbal predicate constructions can only take over the existential predicate function if they first take over the location predicate. Examples of location > existential from Heine & Kuteva (2002: 203) include Limbu, English, Swahili, and English creole Sranan.

With regard to possession predicates, Stassen's four major types transparently come from three distinct sources. Almost by definition, both the Locative-possessive and the With-possessive constructions must originate in the location predicate construction, the former locating the subject possessee in relation to the location predicate possessor, the latter locating the subject possessor in relation to

the Associative (a subtype of location) predicate possessee. In contrast, the Topic-possessive construction appears to originate in the existential predicate construction, with the possessee as the existential subject and the possessor as an external topic (pro)noun (*me, the book exists*), although not infrequently also (or instead) marked as an attributive possessor inside the possessee NP (*me, my book exists*, or simply *my book exists*). As might be expected, Stassen's fourth type, the transitive verb Have-possessive, with a possessor subject and a possessee direct object, most commonly originates from a transitive verb. Stassen (2009: 63) lists multiple origins for 'have' verbs, including transitive verbs in which the subject assumes physical (and thus often temporary) possession of an item, such as 'get', 'grab', 'seize', 'obtain', etc. (cf. Givón 1984), as well as non-acquisitive control verbs like 'hold', 'carry', or 'rule' (cf. Heine 1997).

Although three types of possession predicates originate in either location or existential predicates, the fourth type, the Have-possessive construction, gives evidence that possession predicate constructions can also serve as a source of existential predicates. The conceptual basis for this direction of expansion is complex. First, we have seen that possession can be conceptualized as locating one entity, the possessee, at another, the possessor (cf. the Locative-possessive construction). Second, we have seen that existential predication is readily conceptualized as locating an entity, the existential subject, in the current discourse/world, without the need to fully specify a concrete location. Third, although the Have-possessive predicate utilizes the grammar of subject to mark possessor and direct object to mark possessee, it can be seen as an expression of the same locational schema: a (direct object) possessee is located at a (subject) possessor.¹⁴ By replacing the concrete (subject possessor) location with an abstract (discourse world) subject, the Have-possessive predicate can become an existential construction, in which the notional existential subject comes from the direct object possessee of the 'have' verb; as the construction has no referential possessor, the 'have' verb will take the form associated with an indefinite/nonreferential subject (e.g., frozen third person). In this way, an originally transitive active verb of obtention (e.g. Latin *tenere* 'hold, keep, obtain') can become first a 'have' verb in a Have-possessive construction (e.g. Spanish *tener* 'have' or Portuguese *ter* 'have'), and then the existential copula (e.g. Portuguese *ter* 'exist', replacing older *haber* 'have' > 'exist').

14. As argued by Payne et al. (this volume), the existence of various sources of possession constructions demonstrates that the conception of possession is not limited to this locational schema. However, the locative schema clearly does underlie at least one major subtype of possession predicates and as it is also clearly a source of existential predicates, we adopt this conceptualization as a way to unify the two grammatical sources of existential under a single conceptual representation. Even if the reader rejects our conceptual claim, the factual claim remains valid.

Figure 4 represents these schematic relationships between the location, existential, and possession predicates. The verbal predicate construction, represented in red, is the source of the Have-possessive, which in turn may serve as the source of an existential predicate (both expansions indicated with red arrows). The location predicate may serve as the direct source (marked with green arrows) of the existential predicate, the Locative-possessive, and/or the With-possessive. We use a black arrow (rather than the location green or the verbal red) to represent the existential predicate as the source of the Topic-possessive because (limiting ourselves to the source constructions in this diagram) we cannot know whether the existential predicate's source construction involves a location (green) or verbal (red) predicate.

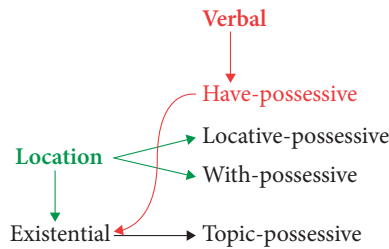


Figure 4. The relationships between Location, Existential, and possession Predication

When we combine this complex of etymological relations between location, existential, and possession predicate constructions with the set of etymological relations already posited by Stassen (1997), we can represent all of the attested and hypothesized source constructions and their subsequent expansions in a single diagram, which we offer in Figure 5.

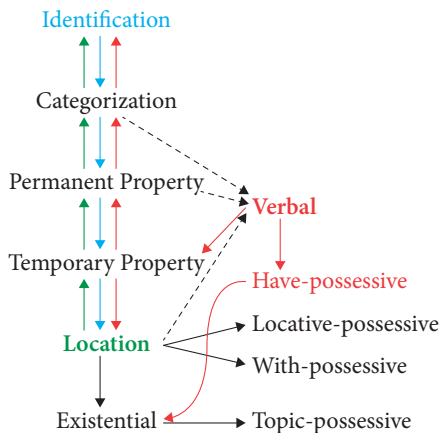


Figure 5. A Diachronic Typology of Nonverbal Predication

In Figure 5, the identification source construction is at the top left in blue and its subsequent expansions are indicated with downward-facing blue arrows; the location source construction is near the bottom left in green and its subsequent expansions (both upwards and downwards) are indicated with green arrows; the verbal source construction is to the right in red and its subsequent expansions are indicated with red arrows. Because the synchronic location predicate in a given language could logically represent any of the three main source predicate types (inherently location predicate or taken over by either the verbal or nominal predicate constructions), we use black arrows to indicate the expansion of the location predicate to the existential, Locative-possessive, and With-possessive predicates, and from the existential to the Topic-possessive predicate. Similarly, given that the nominal, property, or location predicate in a given language could logically represent any of the main source predicate types, we use dotted black arrows to indicate the expansion of these predicate types to the verbal predicate domain.

Obviously, this typology is somewhat programmatic, and to the extent that it makes testable claims, fleshing out the details and seeking counter-examples could be the topic of a substantial monograph of its own. Given our more modest intentions here, we turn now to simply illustrating historical changes in Amazonian languages, both from the literature and from the contributions to this volume.

4.2 Specific diachronic changes identified in Amazonian languages

The diachronic typology proposed in the previous section has its roots in three different source constructions, with subsequent expansions along fairly specific pathways. To the extent that we can make claims on the basis of comparative evidence and synchronic distributional evidence, we do not find examples that obviously contradict the proposed typology. In this section, we present, in turn, examples consistent with sources in (and subsequent expansions from) nominal predicates, location predicates, and then verbal predicates; we conclude with a more specific look at the nexus of location, existential, and possession predicates.

4.2.1 *Identity predicate > other nonverbal predicates*

For Stassen, the nominal Strategy has its source in the identification predicate, which is disproportionately concerned with third person and present tense and which typically includes features that express the marked information structure of the situation in which two NPs are asserted to refer to a single referent. This situation motivates the use of a left dislocation construction, as in (31a), or a right dislocation construction (as in 31b). In either case, when there is no pre-existing copula the result is to introduce a pronominal copy of the subject between the subject and predicate, and that pronoun then goes on to become the obligatory copula.

- (31) a. *John, he my father* > *John he*[COP] *my father*
 b. *My father he, John* > *My father he*[COP] *John*

Outside of Amazonia, this source is reasonably well-attested (e.g. Chinese and Semitic, cf. Li & Thompson 1977, to which Katz 1996 adds Finnish and Turkish). In Amazonia, it is attested with third person subjects in Panare (Cariban; Gildea 1993).

Such marked information structure also motivates the inclusion of the topic marker on subjects of third person nominal predicates in copula-less clauses in Awajún (Chicham, Overall this volume).

The spread of the nominal strategy to other domains is best-attested in Panare, where the innovative pronominal copulas have moved down the chain to occur in property, location, existential, and possession predicates (Payne & Payne 2012: 303–312), in addition to serving as (optional) auxiliaries in at least two different verbal constructions: the nonspecific aspect is derived from an agent nominalization in a categorization predicate (Gildea 1998: 184–186) and the imperfective aspect is derived from a nominalization followed by a locative postposition, all serving as the nucleus of a location predicate (Gildea 1998: 203–206). This expansion is modelled in Figure 6.

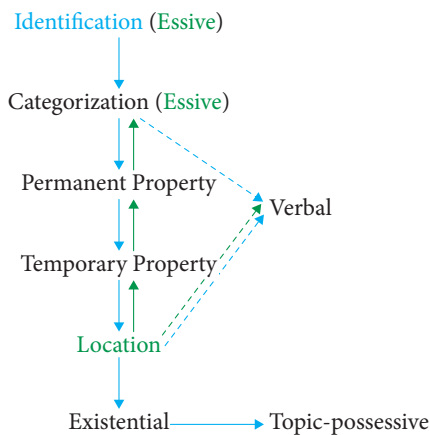


Figure 6. The spread of the Panare (Cariban) Location and Identification copulas

While the comparative evidence makes it clear that the nominal strategy from Panare is both innovative and has spread rapidly, in the case of Movima, the linguistic isolate treated by Haude (this volume), there is no comparative evidence to identify the source of the single construction that is used for all predicate functions, including verbal predicates. Given the identity of grammatical markers in the verbal and nonverbal domain, the definitions used in Stassen (1997) would obligate us to consider Movima as an example in which the verbal strategy has taken over all clause

types. However, the predicate morphology is all consistent with that seen internal to referential nominal phrases (Haude's RPs), and the absence of a copula or distinctive verb-like TAM inflection is equally (or more) consistent with the properties of Stassen's nominal strategy. Independently, there is reasonably strong evidence for an internal reconstruction in which all verbal predicates arise etymologically from cleft constructions (cf. Gildea & Haude 2011; reiterated with much less detail in Gildea & Zúñiga 2016), which are themselves a subtype of identification predicate. As such, it could be argued that Movima is a case in which the original identification predicate construction has taken over the full range of nonverbal predication strategies and the entire domain of verbal predication as well. A similar internal reconstruction has been done for Trumai, a linguistic isolate spoken in the Xingu preserve in Brazil (Guirardello 1999, expanded in Guirardello & Gildea 2011).

In this volume, the spread of the nominal predicate construction to the verbal domain (via insubordination) is the primary topic of the contribution by Reiter for Awetí (Tupían).

4.2.2 *Location predicate > property predicate > nominal predicate*

As indicated by Stassen (1997), a common source of verbal copulas is positional/postural verbs in location predicates. In their original use, such verbs predicate the location of an entity, but usually also offer information about the body configuration of the located subject. A classic example of this phenomenon is found in the Uto-Aztecan family (Stassen 1997: 95), and it is also well-attested in the Amazon. In Sikuaní (Guahiboan; Queixalós 1998: 244), four posture verbs serve as the means of expressing location: *e-ka* 'sit', *nu-ka* 'stand', *bo-ka* 'lie', and *ru-ka* 'hang'. When the actual posture of the subject is unknown (as in a question), the speaker selects the most likely verb depending on the body shape of the subject. In this volume, multiple posture verbs are attested in location predicates in both chapters about languages of the Tukanoan family: Kotiria and Wa'ikhana (Stenzel) and also Ecuadorian Secoya (Schwarz).

It is also attested that one or more of the posture verbs in such location predicates lose their postural semantics to become generic locative copulas and/or expand into coding property predicates (and beyond). Perhaps the best-known example of this is Latin *stāre* 'stand' > Spanish/Portuguese *estar* 'be' for location and (temporary) attributive predicates, but many other examples are attested around the world (Stenzel, this volume, cites also Pustet 2003: 54–55, Dixon 2010b: 182, Heine & Kuteva 2002: 278). In an Amazonian example of ongoing semantic and functional shift, Matses (Panoan) *tsad* 'sit' may be used without postural semantics for location predicates with singular subjects and for property predicates with plural subjects; more limited are the examples of *tabad* 'stand', *saməd* 'lie.PL', *ue* 'lie.SG', which can be used without postural semantics for location predicates with plural subjects

(Fleck 2003: 971–973). In this volume, nonpostural copulas that originate in posture verbs are attested in Chicham languages Wampis *has(a)* ‘become’ < **waha-sa* ‘stand-ATTENUATIVE’ (Peña this volume) and Awajún *waha* ‘COP’ < *waha* ‘stand’ (Overall this volume) as well as in Tukanoan languages Kotiria and Wa’ikhana *ihi/hi* < *duhi* ‘sit’ (Stenzel this volume).

Alongside posture verbs, locative copulas may also come from verbs meaning ‘live, dwell, stay’: Heine & Kuteva (2002: 197) list the cases of West African Pidgin English and Tok Pisin, where locative and existential copulas derive from this source, as well as (p. 198) Basque *egon* ‘wait, stay’ and Proto-Germanic **wes-* ‘live’ > locative copulas. In Matses (Panoan, Fleck 2003: 973) the locative copula verb *ic* ‘be’ can also mean ‘live’ in some contexts. In Chicham language Awajún (Overall this volume), *puhu* ‘live’ is attested as a locative copula and also as an auxiliary for a verbal progressive construction; in subordinate constructions, it occurs also with property predicates. Similarly, the original meaning of Proto-Cariban **eti* ‘COPULA2’ is reconstructed as ‘live, dwell’ on the basis of the meaning of the nominalized form ‘dwelling place’; the Proto-Cariban location construction that uses this copula has expanded into every single nonverbal predicate domain, as well as into negative and progressive verbal constructions (Gildea this volume). Similarly, in the two Arawakan languages in this volume, the apparently noncognate locative/existential copulas *ou* (Mojeño Trinitario, Rose this volume) and *tyaona* (Paresi-Haliti, Brandão this volume) are more commonly used with a durative sense, felicitously translated as ‘live’.

Having presented the strong case for ‘live’ as a source of locative copulas, we recognize also that two authors in this volume suggest an alternative reconstruction for two of these copulas. In discussing the modern reflex of Proto-Cariban **eti* ‘COPULA2’ in Kari’ña, Sapién (this volume) observes that it shifts meaning to ‘become’ when in opposition to modern reflexes of Proto-Cariban **a(p)* ‘COPULA1’; similarly, Brandão (this volume) observes that alongside the meaning of ‘live’, the locative/existential copula *tyaona* also has an inchoative meaning, ‘become’. Both draw the same conclusion, which is that the most plausible reconstruction must be to a change-of-state verb, which would have later developed the stative and durative semantics of ‘live’. In support of this proposal, Heine & Kuteva (2002: 64, citing Hengeveld 1992: 253–4) mention three cases in which a change of state verb ‘become’ evolves into a copula. Similarly, verbs meaning ‘live, dwell’ can come historically from posture verbs: one example from our personal experience is Nepali (Indo-European) *vasnu* ‘sit, stay, live’; one from Amazonia is Matses (Panoan, Fleck 2003: 972) *tabad* ‘stand’, which is sometimes translated as ‘live’; in this volume, Kotiria and Wa’ikhana (Tukanoan, Stenzel this volume) *hi* ‘COP’ (< **duhi* ‘sit’) also means ‘live’ (and, parallel to the Cariban example, one nominalized form even means ‘place of living’).

In contrast, change of state verbs typically originate in telic change of location verbs, such as ‘come/arrive’ (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 74) or ‘get, receive, obtain’ (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 144–145); this is attested in the use of Awajún (Chicham, Overall this volume) *wi* ‘go’ and *wai* ‘enter’ as inchoative copulas with nominative attributive complements. That said, it is also attested for posture verbs to become copulas and then later to develop a change-of-state meaning, cf. Wampis (Chicham, Peña this volume) *waha-sa* ‘stand-ATTENUATIVE’ > ‘become’. Given that the cross-linguistic data provides examples of both directions of change, this is a question that can only be resolved in future research, which seeks additional evidence for origin by more deeply exploring grammatical properties of the constructions in question.

4.2.3 *Verbal predicate > property predicate > nominal predicate*

In three of the languages represented in this volume (Movima, Nivaçle, and Pilagá), verbal predicates are identical to nominal predicates. Following Stassen (1997), the default interpretation of this configuration would be that the grammar of verbal predication has expanded in these languages to take over first property predicates and then both kinds of nominal predicate constructions. However, as we have indicated above, there is internal evidence that argues against this scenario in Movima. So far, we are aware of no arguments for any particular directionality that have been advanced for Nivaçle (or other languages in the Mataguayan family) nor Pilagá (or other languages in the Guaycuruan family). We would be very interested to see if future comparative studies in the Mataguayan and Guaycuruan families might encounter evidence pointing to whether the takeover originated in the verbal or nominal predicate constructions.¹⁵

4.2.4 *Location predicate > existential predicate*

Given the attested historical expansion of location predicates to take over existential predicates, but the absence of attested evidence of the opposite direction of expansion, in every case where the two constructions are identical, the default interpretation is that we are seeing another case of location > existential. Clear cases of posture verbs in the existential function come from Sikuaní, where Queixalós (1998: 246) provides the examples of both *eka* ‘sit’ and *ruka* ‘hang’ as existentials with no explicit locative element. In this volume, a clear case of this direction of change may also be seen in the expansion of Wampis (Chicham, Peña this volume) *waha* ‘stand’ to serve as an inchoative existential, and, assuming the correctness of Stenzel’s (this volume) reconstruction, in the expansion of the earlier Tukanoan word *duhi* ‘sit’, which, in

15. Here, we merely note in passing that, like Movima, referring phrases in both Nivaçle and Pilagá can only be formed via the intercession of determiners, forming not NPs but DPs. It remains to be seen whether this parallel has any historical relevance.

the Kotiria-Wa'ikhana sub-branch of the family, would necessarily have begun as a locative copula and only later become an existential copula.

In this volume, examples of overlap between location and existential predicates are seen in the Chicham family (Awajún, Overall this volume; Wampis, Peña this volume), where the existential verb *a* is both the locative and existential copula, and also in the Arawakan family, where the Mojeño Trinitario existential verb *-(o)jo* 'EXIST' and the negative existential *PRO-ina* 'NEG.EXIST' may (rarely) be used with locative semantics (Rose this volume) and the Paresi-Haliti locative verb *tyaona* is frequent in affirmative existential and locative predications and almost obligatory when they are negated (Brandão this volume). In Kukama-Kukamiria (Tupí-Guaraní, Vallejos this volume), the existential *emete* is sometimes used for location predication; in Ninam (Yanomaman, Gómez this volume), a single copula *kii* is used to create both location and existential predicates; and in Pilagá (Guaycuruan, Payne et al. this volume), distinctive location and existential predicates in affirmative assertions collapse to a single construction in the negative.

4.2.5 Sources of possession predicates

In keeping with Stassen's hypotheses, we expect to see multiple sources for possession constructions, which, when they continue to co-exist synchronically, should ideally correlate with semantic distinctions that reflect these distinct origins. We note that Heine (1997) makes the explicit claim that possession predicates are always modeled on some other semantic relationship, such that the structure of the source is usually transparent in the structure of the synchronic possession predicate. In addition to Stassen's four major types, Heine offers the *Equation Schema*, in which the possessum is subject and the possessor an argument of the predicate noun: 'Y is X's property'. In most cases, we recognize the origins of possessive constructions from the continued presence of the grammatical properties of their sources, so our reconstructions are nothing more than *prima facie* hypotheses to be tested with more careful comparative methodology. Similarly, in most cases we do not have detailed descriptions of when different possessive predicates are used, so we cannot really test any hypotheses about correlations between source constructions and modern functions.

Having put appropriately large hedges in place, we assert that the Amazonian possession predicates originate in sources that give rise to all four of Stassen's types, plus in two distinct sources that we believe can be seen as joined to one of the four semantic schemas that underlie Stassen's types.

The dominant pattern of possession predicate in our chapters is the Topic-existential-possessive, in which the possessor and possessee form a single NP, headed by the possessee, which is the subject of an existential predicate, with the possessor occurring as an optional topic noun. This strategy is attested in

Ninam (Yanomaman, Gómez this volume), Kukama-Kukamiria (Tupí-Guaraní, Vallejos this volume), Panare and Akawaio (Cariban, Gildea this volume), Nivaçle (Mataguayan) and Pilagá (Guaycuruan, Payne et al. this volume). In no case do we have evidence for a particular historical scenario, but neither are there any counter-indications to the assumption that the possession predicates originate from source existential predicates.

In our collection, the With-possessive construction is only attested in the standard possessive construction found across the Cariban family (Gildea this volume). In this construction, the possessor is the subject and the possessee bears the adverbializing circumfix *t-...-ke* ‘AD-...-PROPRIETIVE’ (cf. 32 from Wayana, Tavares 2005: 423). A more-or-less literal translation of (32) would be ‘He/she is [having a father]’. Some descriptions of Cariban languages (e.g. Carlin 2004) analyze the prefix *t-* ‘AD’ as the third person reflexive possessive prefix *t-* ‘3REFL’ and the suffix *-ke* ‘PROPRIETIVE’ as the instrumental postposition *=ke* ‘INSTR’, yielding the literal translation ‘he is [with his father]’. While there are both morphological and semantic properties that make this unviable as a synchronic analysis,¹⁶ it is an obvious reconstruction.

- (32) Wayana (Cariban)
tî-jumî-ke *mane*
 AD-father-PROPR 3.be
 ‘He/she has a father’

Turning to the simple LOCATION > POSSESSIVE, the *mihi est* type of Latin, all of the examples in this volume appear to be recently innovated (i.e. they are not found elsewhere in the respective families) and they are not the dominant strategy for marking possession. The examples are Cariban languages Akawaio and Tiriyo (Gildea), Tupí-Guaraní language Kukama-Kukamiria (Vallejos), and the rarely used locative-existential possessive construction in Mataguayan language Nivaçle (Payne et al.). In at least the Cariban case, it is clear that these are recent innovations in which the location predicate antedates the possession predicate.

In this volume, the Have-possessive, in which a transitive verb takes a possessor subject and a possessee object, is attested only in the Tukanoan family (with a range of forms, cf. Schwarz note 14). We are additionally aware of the examples of Sikuaní (Queixalós 1998) and Kamaiurá; in the latter, the standard possessive construction

16. Semantically, the *t-* ‘3REFL’ prefix only occurs with third person subjects, as part of a paradigm of possessive prefixes, whereas the *t-* ‘AD’ prefix is a fixed form that occurs regardless of person, and it only occurs on adverbs derived from either nouns or verbs; morphologically, *-ke* ‘PROPRIETIVE’ is a derivational suffix, which occurs instead of inflectional possessive suffixes on the noun, whereas *=ke* ‘INSTR’ is a postposition, which takes an inflected noun (including its possessive suffixes) as an object.

is complemented by a transitive verb that, alongside the meaning ‘treat (as/like)’, indicates temporary or contingent possession (Seki 2000: 304–305).

Alongside these expected constructions, presumably with their expected sources, we find a handful of less common possession predicate types. In Kukama-Kukamiria (Vallejos this volume), we have ‘X is Y’s owner’, a reversal of Heine’s expected pattern ‘Y is X’s property’. In Awajún (Chicham, Overall this volume) and in both Nivaçle (Mataguyan) and Pilagá (Guaycuruan, Payne et al. this volume), we have an applicative version of Heine’s ‘Y exists to/for X’ subtype of the *existential schema*: with the applicative added to the existential verb, the possessum is the subject and the possessor is the applied object of the derived transitive verb.

Finally, we have number of languages in which the verbal Strategy applies to the possessed noun, creating a possession predicate that consists of a possessed noun, but which takes verbal morphology as if it were a verbal predicate. On the one hand, this strategy is well-attested in the Tupí-Guaraní family, instantiated by Example (13) in § 2.1; a similar pattern has been reported for two other languages spoken in the Xingu, linguistic isolate Trumai (Guirardello 1999) and Jê language Suyá (Santos 1997). On the other hand, in Arawakan languages Mojeño Trinitario and Paresi-Haliti, the possessed noun bears a derivational prefix *ku-/ko-* ‘ATTRIBUTIVE’, after which it behaves as a possession predicate, joining nominal and property predicates in utilizing the verbal strategy. Stassen (2009: 192–201) hypothesizes that this unusual treatment of possessed nouns as stative verbs is perhaps due to the “predicativization” of a former topic-existential predicate which lost (or never had) an existential verb. The erstwhile possessed noun subject of the existential predicate was then reanalyzed as a stative verb, becoming part of the category of stative verbal predicates. This hypothesis gains some additional plausibility when one considers that there is active disagreement amongst linguists who work on Tupí-Guaraní languages as to whether the entire category of stative verbs (including possessive predicates) might not be better analyzed as a subtype of nominal predication (cf. the contributions to Queixalós (ed.) 2001).

4.3 Some problems of determining directionality

When we find a construction that serves only one function, this raises a question: does a single-function construction like this represent a new innovation or the retention of a construction that once had a wider distribution but has been replaced with innovative constructions in the other functions it once served? If the diachronic typology presented in § 4.1 is correct, then new constructions are only innovated in the identification, location, and possession predicates – thus, if a construction is found only in a categorization predicate, a property predicate, or an existential predicate, it must represent a construction that began elsewhere,

expanded into the function where it is found synchronically, and then was replaced by a newer construction in the function where it originated.

If this hypothesis is correct, then the many examples in this volume of languages with unique existential predicates (positive, negative, or both) represent relic zones, i.e., constructions where we might expect to find relics of nonverbal predicate constructions that have been covered over by innovative constructions introduced to serve the functions of location and/or possession predicates. Similarly, it is possible for the verbal system to retain the only evidence of a construction that was formerly used for either nominal predication or location predication. In Kotiria and Wa'ikhana, the only modern reflex of the Eastern Tukanoan copula *~di* is now as an auxiliary for the verbal progressive construction. The Spanish verb *haber* provides a better-known example of both these phenomena, in that a transitive verb that formerly was used in the Have-possessive predicate is now found only as the existential copula *hay*, the auxiliary for the Perfect, and (with an additional layer of cliticization) as the verbal inflection for the Future and Conditional.

5. This volume

The 13 chapters following this one are arranged in three parts, and are briefly described below.

Part I. Overviews of nonverbal predication in individual languages

2. Nonverbal predication and the nonverbal clause type of Mojeño Trinitario (Arawakan)

Françoise Rose, *Dynamique Du Langage*, CNRS/Université de Lyon

Rose shows that Mojeño Trinitario has a nonverbal clause type clearly distinct from the verbal clause type, and this draws a robust major distinction among lexical classes between, on the one hand, verbs, and on the other hand, non-verbs (nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and numerals). Nonverbal clauses encode some of the most common semantic types of nonverbal predication: equation, inclusion, and attribution; but also typologically neglected types, like quantification and temporality.

3. Nonverbal predication in Paresi-Haliti (Arawakan)

Ana Paula Brandão, *Universidade Federal do Pará*

Brandão shows that there are three types of strategies used in nonverbal predicates in Paresi-Haliti: verbless predicates; copula clauses; and the prefixes *ka-* and *ma-*. The third type is found throughout the Arawakan family. The copula *tyaona* is used

in categorization, property, and location predicates, whereas *aka* is used in negative existential contexts only. Identity statements, such as “That’s a N”, and equational statements (assertion that two expressions refer to one and the same object) are formed by zero encoding.

4. Nonverbal predication in Kari’ña (Cariban) Racquel-María Sapién, University of Oklahoma

Sapién describes three constructions used to encode nonverbal predication in Kari’ña: juxtaposition of subject and predicate; a copula with limited verbal properties; and a fully verbal copula. She shows how the three nonverbal predicate structures differ in terms of person marking, negation, TAM, number, interrogative forms, and the types of complements they permit. In addition to structural characteristics, each construction differs in terms of which functional categories it encodes.

5. Nonverbal predicates and copula constructions in Aguaruna (Chicham) Simon E. Overall, University of Otago/James Cook University

Overall describes nonverbal predicate clauses in Aguaruna, in which the copula element may be a full verb, it may be an enclitic to the copula complement argument, or the clause may be truly verbless, formed by simple juxtaposition of the subject and predicate. The copula verb itself is homophonous with an existential verb, that forms a simple intransitive clause, and a few other intransitive verbs may also function as copulas. The same formal structures also feature in auxiliary constructions and as a means of marking finite verbal categories on nominalized verbs.

6. To *hi* or not to *hi*? Nonverbal predication in Kotiria and Wa’ikhana (Eastern Tukanoan) Kristine Stenzel, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro

Stenzel describes cognate copula verbs *hi* [hí], in Kotiria, and *ihi* [ihí] in Wa’ikhana. These are used in both languages in sentences expressing the main functional categories of nonverbal predication. There are also a number of predicative alternatives to basic copular constructions that allow speakers to express more detailed locational, existential, and possessive notions, and include a set of productively used positional-locative, ‘nonexistence’, and possessive predicates.

A second copula form *~di* [ní] is used exclusively as an auxiliary in the Kotiria and Wa’ikhana progressive constructions. This form is clearly cognate to the general copula *~(a)di* employed in many other East Tukanoan languages, and the chapter concludes with a consideration of the question of the origin of the innovative *hi/ihi* copulas in Kotiria and Wa’ikhana.

7. Between verb and noun: Exploration into the domain of nonverbal predication in Ecuadorian Secoya (Western Tukanoan)

Anne Schwarz, Leibniz-Zentrum Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft

For nonverbal predication in Ecuadorian Secoya, Schwarz describes a repertoire which includes a particle copula with restricted verbal features, a locative-existential copula verb which fulfills an auxiliary function with verbal and nonverbal predicates, and two derived nominals with special possessive semantics. The latter occur in in subordinate copula constructions or are supported by copula verbs in auxiliary function.

The particle copula *-a-* binds directly to the predicative noun and encodes equation or proper inclusion. Although it displays an inflectional paradigm that has some similarities with that of verbs, it cannot be analyzed as a proper verb for its many morphosyntactic peculiarities.

8. Nonverbal predication in Movima (Isolate)

Katharina Haude, CNRS – SeDyL

The remarkably weak noun-verb distinction of Movima means that there is no distinction between intransitive verbs and nouns, and nominal predicates are indistinct from intransitive verbal predicates in positive polarity. However, Haude shows that the difference between verbal and nominal predicates becomes apparent in embedded (i.e. adverbial, complement, and negated) clauses, whose predicates are overtly derived through morphological marking. In such cases the type of marking depends on lexical class. In this way, it can also be shown that pronouns, in an apparently simple fronting construction, function as the main-clause predicate of what can then be identified as a cleft. Haude concludes that by being placed in clause-initial position, any content word or pronominal element serves as a predicate.

9. Nonverbal predication in Ninam (Yanomaman, northern Brazil)

Gale Goodwin Gómez, Rhode Island College

For Ninam, Goodwin Gómez describes a copula *kii* which occurs in nonverbal predicates that are structurally nominal and location predicates; adjectives, meanwhile, are shown to be a subclass of verbs. Nominal and location predicate constructions may also appear in verbless clauses, in which case they lack any verbal inflections on their nuclei and are consequently restricted to present or habitual temporality. Nonverbal predication is also important in the expression of possession in Ninam.

Part II. Exploring specific subtypes of nonverbal predicates

10. Locative, existential and possessive predication in the Chaco: Nivačle (Mataguayan) and Pilagá (Guaykuruan)

Doris Payne (University of Oregon), Alejandra Vidal (CONICET Argentina), Manuel Otero (University of Oregon)

The authors show that Nivačle and Pilagá display greater affinity between their existential and possession predication constructions than between their location and possession ones, and on this basis argue that location predications do not universally underlie possession predications. They also address the possibility that areal contact has played a role in shaping the shared features across the two languages in these constructions.

11. Possessive semantic relations and construction types in Kukama-Kukamiria (Tupían)

Rosa Vallejos, University of New Mexico

Vallejos examines the correlations between possessive semantic relations and construction types in Kukama-Kukamiria. The language does not have lexical verbs or a copula to predicate ownership or any kind of possession. It was found that these notions are inferred from other construction types, including an equative construction and three subtypes of existential constructions. The equative construction covers the most prototypical type of possession, permanent ownership, which suggests that this is the most conventionalized linguistic expression of possession in the language.

Part III. Diachronic pathways to and from nonverbal predication

12. Constructions with *has(a)* in Wampis (Chicham)

Jaime Peña, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú & Universidad Peruana de Ciencias Aplicadas

This chapter describes the development of a copula *has(a)* ‘become’ in Wampis, which can occur as a fully inflected verb or as an invariant copula particle. Peña argues that this morpheme has arisen from the phonetic reduction of a posture verb meaning ‘stand’, and notes that a similar development has not been described for the other closely related Chicham languages.

13. Evidence for the development of action nominals in Awetí (Tupían) towards ergatively-marked predicates

Sabine Reiter, Universidade Federal do Pará & DAAD

Reiter's chapter describes the reanalysis of action nominals as main clause predicates in Awetí. There is evidence that in this Tupían language action nominals as heads of action nominal constructions (ANCs) with the structure of possessive NPs have lost their pragmatic markedness and undergone a reanalysis as nuclei of main clause predicates. This hypothesis accounts for their high frequency of occurrence in any text genre and discourse context and for the broad range of verbal properties they display. This tendency of a reanalysis of nominalizations has been observed in a variety of South American language families.

14. Reconstructing the copulas and nonverbal predicate constructions in Cariban

Spike Gildea, University of Oregon

Gildea's chapter provides a broad overview of nonverbal predication in the Cariban family, focusing on the two major constructions: the juxtaposition construction has no copula and is sometimes limited to only nominal predicates, whereas the copular construction often behaves like an intransitive verb, occurring only with adverbial predicates and the existential. Some modern languages have lost the rigid distinction between these two constructions, allowing juxtaposition to occur with adverbial predicates and in the existential and the copula to occur with nominal predicates. The second half of the paper gives a detailed reconstruction of the two Proto-Cariban copular verbs: **a(p)* 'COPULA1' rarely occurs as a separate verb, but it is frequently found in verbal inflections and in suppletive paradigms with **eti* 'dwell, COPULA2'.

Abbreviations and conventions

Note that glosses have been normalized in examples cited from other sources.

--	external cliticization (see Haude, this volume)	ANIM	animate
		ATTR	attributive
1, 2, 3	first, second, third person	CC	copula complement
A	agent-like argument of a transitive clause	CLF	classifier
		CONN	connective
AB	absential	CONTR	contrastive
ACC	accusative	COP	copula
AD	adverbializer	CS	copula subject
ALL	allative	DECL	declarative

DIR	directional	PFV	perfective
DIST	distal	PL, pl	plural
DVL	devalued, former	POSSD	possessed noun, possessum
E	recipient-like argument of a ditransitive clause	PRED	predicate
EMPH	emphatic	PRES	present
EP	epenthetic segment	PRO	pronoun
FEM	feminine	PROPR	proprietary
FRUST	frustrative	PROX	proximal
FUT	future	PSSD	possessed form of the noun
INAN	inanimate	REAL	realis
INDIC	indicative	REFL	reflexive
INSTR	instrumental	REL	relational prefix
IPFV	imperfective	REM.P.REP	remote past, reported evidentiality
MASC	masculine	REM.PAST	remote past
NEG	negative	s	single argument of an intransitive clause
NM	unmarked case	SG, sg	singular
NMASC	non-masculine	TOP	topic
NOM	nominative	VCC	verbless clause complement
NPAST	non-past	VCS	verbless clause subject
O	patient-like argument of a transitive clause		

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PART I

Overviews of nonverbal predication in individual languages

Nonverbal predication and the nonverbal clause type of Mojeño Trinitario

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Mojeño Trinitario, an Arawak language spoken in Bolivia, makes frequent use of clauses without a verb or a copula. These encode some of the most common semantic types of nonverbal predication – equation, inclusion, attribution (as understood by Payne 1997), but also typologically neglected types, like quantification and temporality. Possession, existence, and two unattested semantic types – motion-presentational and quantified existential, are actually encoded in Mojeño Trinitario with verbal clauses and copular clauses. The non-copular nonverbal constructions present a very regular morphosyntactic pattern, even though they make use of predicates that belong to different classes (nouns, adjectives, adverbs, numerals, demonstratives and prepositional phrases). These constructions can be subsumed under a major clause type distinct from the verbal clause type, and are characterized by a nonverbal predicate either juxtaposed to its argument, or standing by itself if it is suffixed with a person index. Nonverbal clauses share some properties with verbal clauses, like some of the inflectional morphology (e.g. negation, plural, TAM), but they however neatly differ in three respects – constituent order, argument indexing, and irrealis marking. In conclusion, Mojeño Trinitario shows a nonverbal clause type clearly distinct from the verbal clause type, and this draws a robust major distinction among lexical classes between on the one hand, verbs, and on the other hand, non-verbs (nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and numerals).

Keywords: clause type, copula, parts-of-speech, word order, Arawak

1. Introduction

Mojeño, an Arawak language spoken in Bolivia, makes frequent use of nonverbal clauses, as defined by Dryer (2007). This paper investigates nonverbal clauses in the Trinitario dialect, on the basis of a corpus of 6 hours of spontaneous texts and some elicited data collected in the field between 2004 and 2010. The New Testament

translation (New Tribes Mission 2002) has been searched for additional examples. Specific elicitation concerning locative clauses was conducted using the 71 pictures of the *Topological Relations Picture Series* stimuli (Bowerman & Pederson 1992), with three different speakers. The examples presented in this paper are all labeled for their source.¹

Most semantic sub-types of nonverbal predication are expressed in Mojeño Trinitario with non-copular nonverbal clauses, involving a nonverbal predicate which is either nominal, adjectival, adverbial, or numeral. Although this clause type covers six semantic types of predication (equation, inclusion, attribution, location, quantification and temporality) and concerns predicates of four different lexical classes (nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and numerals), it shows a very regular morphosyntactic pattern, similar to verbal clauses in many respects but with a couple of specific properties. This leads to identifying a clause type that will be referred to as “nonverbal clause”, and brings together nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and numerals as predicates, revealing a higher level distinction among lexical classes between verbs and non-verbs.

In this paper, we will use the term ‘nonverbal clauses’ to refer to the clauses in which the semantic content of the predication is embodied in a non-copular nonverbal element, the term ‘nonverbal predicate’ to refer to that nonverbal element, and the term ‘nonverbal predication’ to refer to the functions these clauses generally convey cross-linguistically – i.e. inclusion, equation, attribution, location, existence, and possession (as identified by Payne 1997: 111). Section 2 offers a grammar overview with basic information on parts of speech and syntax that will be necessary to compare nonverbal clauses and verbal clauses. Section 3 adopts a functional perspective on nonverbal predication, and presents the Mojeño Trinitario linguistic devices for the expression of a diversity of functions of nonverbal predication. Section 4 then adopts a formal perspective: it focuses on the Mojeño Trinitario nonverbal clause type and compares it with the verbal clause type.²

1. The very great majority of the examples are taken from spontaneous texts and are labeled with the following tag {text01.001}, where the first number points to the text within my corpus, and the second number to the sentence within the text. A handful of examples are tagged as {elicited}, even fewer as the result of elicitation based on a stimuli {stimLocal}, and one is taken from the New Testament {John18:37}.

2. I wish to thank Natalia Cáceres and anonymous reviewers for commenting an earlier version of this paper.

2. Grammar overview

In this section, the parts of speech of Mojeño Trinitario and the basic syntactic structures are presented, as a necessary basis to later compare the constructions used for nonverbal predication with the verbal clauses. Mojeño Trinitario is an agglutinating language, with a large number of suffix/enclitic slots and a few prefix slots. Lexical and grammatical morphemes display several surface forms, due to a rich system of morphophonemic rules and a pervasive process of vowel deletion (Rose 2014b). Because of that, the phonetic realization of utterances (given in the first line of the examples, in the standard orthography) may differ from their underlying form, given in the second line. When possible, elided parts of morphemes are added into parentheses in the example line to help with morpheme identification.

In Mojeño Trinitario, nouns and verbs differ only statistically in the major functions they are used for without derivational morphology. Nouns are most often used as arguments, and verbs as predicates, but nouns can also be used as predicates without overt marking, as this paper will show, and verbs can sometimes be nominalized without overt marking. For this reason, I use morphological combinatorics as a defining criterion for nouns and verbs. Nouns are defined as the lexical class that can combine with both person prefixes (for possessors – on the subset of possessible nouns, as in (1)) and person suffixes (for the sole arguments of nominal predicates, as in (2)). Transitive verbs are defined as the lexical class that also combines with both person prefixes (for A) and person suffixes (for O), but furthermore takes the active suffix *-ko ~-cho ~-'o* (3). Intransitive verbs combine with person prefixes only, and among them, active verbs, but not stative verbs (5), take the active suffix (4). There is moreover a slight distinction in the paradigm of person prefixes that nouns and verbs can take (see Table 1). Third person prefixes on nouns must always be semantically specified for humanness, number, gender, and gender of the speaker (see Rose 2015b: for more details on the paradigm). For a third person S/A, verbs can take either one of these semantically specified prefixes, or the non-specified third person prefix *ty-*. This prefix is normally found on intransitive verbs for S, and on transitive verbs for A when P is a first or second person (see Rose 2011b for further details). Person indexes are obligatory for pronominal referents on the possessee and on the verbal or nonverbal predicate. Also note that there is no third person suffix in Mojeño Trinitario.

- (1) **n-owsa**
1SG-village
'my village'
- (2) **'jiro-nu=po**
man-1SG=PFV
'I was a man then.'

- (3) *n-echji-ko-'e*
1SG-talk.to-ACT-2PL
'I am talking to you'.
- (4) *n-ute-k=po*
1SG-come-ACT=PFV
'I just came'.
- (5) *n-uuna*
1SG-be.good
'I am good'.

Table 1. Mojeño Trinitario person paradigms

	Prefixes (Poss, A, Sa, Sp)	Suffixes (P, argument of nonverbal predicate)	Pronouns	Demonstrative formatives	Articles
1SG	<i>n-</i>	<i>-nu</i>	<i>nuti</i>	–	–
2SG	<i>py-</i> (~ <i>p-</i>)	<i>-vi</i>	<i>piti</i>	–	–
1PL	<i>vy-</i> (~ <i>v-</i>)	<i>-(wok)ovi</i>	<i>viti</i>	–	–
2PL	<i>a-</i>	<i>-'e</i>	<i>eti</i>	–	–
3M(SG.H) speaker ♂	<i>ma-</i> (~ <i>mu-</i> , <i>m-</i>)	–	<i>ema</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i>
3M(SG.H) speaker ♀	<i>ñi-</i> (~ <i>ñ-</i>)	–	<i>eñi</i>	<i>ñi</i>	<i>ñi</i>
3F(SG.H)	<i>s-</i>	–	<i>esu</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>su</i>
3PL(H)	<i>na-</i> (~ <i>n-</i>)	<i>-woko</i> (3PL)	<i>eno</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>
3NH(SG/PL)	<i>ta-</i> (~ <i>t-</i>)		<i>eto</i>	<i>jo</i> (SG) <i>ma</i> (PL)	<i>to</i>
3	<i>ty-</i> (~ <i>t-</i>) on verbs; <i>-ono</i> (3PL)				

This paper will show that all lexical parts of speech other than nouns and verbs (adjectives, adverbs and numerals) can take person suffixes only, when used as predicates. This basic common morphological feature of nonverbal predicates will be discussed in Section 4.2. Adjectives and numerals usually modify a following head noun (6), and adverbs modify a constituent other than a noun, in either clause-initial (7) or post-verbal position. Numerals must take a classifier in almost all contexts, generally the default human classifier *-na* (8).

- (6) *n-nos=yore te pjoka 'chope wkugi*
1SG-stay=FUT PREP DEM.NH.PROX big tree
'I am going to stay in this big tree.'
- {text19.056}

- (7) **juiti** v-naekcho-w=yore=po to... v-ye'e gravasión...
 today 1PL-start-MID=FUT=PFV ART.NH 1PL-GPN recording
 'Today we are going to start our recordings.' {text30.001}
- (8) **api-na=eji** semana s-jich=yore.
 two-CLF:hum=RPT week 3F-make=FUT
 'She'll be staying two weeks.' {text26.026}

Two further parts of speech are free pronouns: personal pronouns (fourth column of Table 1) and demonstratives. There are several sets of demonstratives, commonly made of one form of the personal paradigm given in the fifth column of Table 1, preceded with *p-* and followed by a demonstrative suffix indicating distance or epistemicity, as in *p-jo-ka* 'DEM-NH-PROX' (6). Three other very common demonstratives are *ene* and *oni*, which both have proximal, distal and manner meanings, and *onogi* 'there'. Finally, there is a single simple preposition in Mojeño Trinitario: *ye'e*. It takes a person prefix agreeing with its complement. Its most frequent form is *te*, reduced from the non-human form *ta-ye'e*, as in Example (6).

In verbal clauses, the inflectional morphology of verbal predicates is rich (Figure 1). There are many TAM markers, though TAM marking is not obligatory. Arguments are optional. The basic constituent order is AVO in transitive clauses (9) and VS in active (10) and stative (11) intransitive clauses. This is linked to the fact that new referents are generally introduced in post-verbal position. Topicalization is marked by fronting, in either a left-dislocated or a preverbal position. Therefore, pronominalized O systematically occur in the pre-verbal position (12).³ There is no nominal case. Referential noun phrases are always introduced by a determiner (article (6) or demonstrative (7), see Table 1), while non-referential noun phrases and nominal predicates are not. Genitive phrases follow the order POSSESSEE POSSESSOR, and a possessive prefix agreeing with the possessor attaches to the possessee, as in (30). The possessive prefix is added to the generic possessive noun *ye'e* if the possessee does not belong to a class of nouns that take prefixes, as in (13). Finally, verbs can be nominalized with a determiner, a nominalizing suffix, both devices as in (11) or none of them as in (10) (see Rose 2016: for more details on the diversity of nominalizations).

NEG 1/2/3-IRR-stem-IRR-MID/1/2/3-PL=TAM=D

Figure 1. Inflectional morphology of verbal predicates

3. The preverbal position of O may trigger a change in A indexing on the verb in special circumstances, very likely for reference-tracking purposes (see Rose 2011b).

- (9) ene takepo ma t(y)-siso 'chane [...] ma-m=po ma 'chane.
and then ART.M 3-black person 3M-take=PFV ART.M person
'And then the black man took the man.' {text8.045}
- (10) ene ty-ute-k=pu=iji ema ma viya
and 3-come-ACT=PFV=RPT PRO.M ART.M man
[t(y)-ekie-ri-k=ri'i]
3-transform-PLURACT-ACT=IPFV
'Then came the man who transforms people.' {text6.003}
- (11) ty-uuna to y-ponre-ru to v-yosio-s-ra
3-be_good ART.NH 1PL-think-SP.PAT.NZ ART.NH 1PL-ask-ACT-ACN.NZ
ma viya
ART.M God
'It is good to think of asking God.' (lit. Our thought of our questioning God is good) {text24.060}
- (12) ene eto ma-k-emptone ma 'chane
and PRO.NH 3M-VZ-work ART.M person
'And this is the work of the man.' (lit. And this works the man) [after a long sequence explaining how one prepares a field] {text21.068}
- (13) ene ma-tan-ko=po to ma-ye'e pak-gira
and 3M-search-ACT=PFV ART.NH 3M-GPN dog-DIM
'And he searched for his little dog.' {text11.026}

More specific information on Mojeño Trinitario can be found in the literature (Rose 2015c), more specifically on person indexing on verbs (Rose 2011b), on negation and irrealis (Rose 2014a) and on nominalization and subordination (Rose 2016).

3. The expression of nonverbal predication in Mojeño Trinitario

The literature on nonverbal predication (Payne 1997; Dryer 2007; Dixon 2010a) lists the major functions of nonverbal predication. The ten functions discussed in this paper, and listed in Table 2, also include minor types more rarely discussed in the literature, like quantification, temporality and presentation.⁴ Table 2 also specifies for each of these nonverbal predication functions the Mojeño Trinitario clause types

4. The benefactive function suggested by Dixon (2010a) is not included in the present paper since a benefactive element carrying the major semantic content of a clause is not attested in the corpus.

that express it, the nature of the predicate, as well as constituent order. The first six functions are expressed with nonverbal predicates without a copula. They show a regular pattern of juxtaposition of the argument and the nonverbal predicate; the latter also found as a stand-alone predicate with a person affix. This pattern that I call ‘nonverbal clause’ is examined in Section 4 where it is compared to the verbal clause. The expression of existence differs in its use of a copula, while possession is generally expressed in a verbal clause. The constructions used for all ten functions of nonverbal predication are now detailed. The examples in this section present the predicate in bold. The predicate is identified as the element on which TAM and sentence negation are marked.

Table 2. Summary of Mojeño Trinitario nonverbal predication

Functions	Clause type	Predicate	Constituent order	Section
equation	nonverbal	N	PRED NP ~ PRO PRED	3.1
inclusion	nonverbal	N	PRED NP ~ PRO PRED	3.2
attribution	nonverbal	Adj	PRED NP ~ PRO PRED	3.3
quantification	nonverbal	Num, Adj	PRED NP ~ PRO PRED	3.4
location	nonverbal	PP, ADV.DEM	PRED NP ~ PRO PRED	3.5
	verbal	V (<i>ow</i>)	location V NP/PRO	
	existential	DEM-(<i>o</i>) <i>jo</i>	PRED (NP)	
temporality	nonverbal	ADV, N	PRED NP ~ PRO PRED	3.6
existence	existential	PRO-(<i>o</i>) <i>jo</i>	PRED NP	3.7.1
		~ PRO-TAM		
		~ PRO.INDET-IRR		
motion-presentation	existential	PRO-(<i>o</i>) <i>po</i>	PRED NP	3.7.2
quantified existence	?	PRO- <i>ini</i>	PRED	3.7.3
possession	verbal	V (<i>ko</i> -N)	NP PRED	3.8
	verbal	V (<i>koy'e</i>)	NP PRED NP	
	existential	PRO-(<i>o</i>) <i>jo</i>	PRED possessedNP	
		~ PRO-TAM		
		~ PRO.INDET-IRR		
nonverbal	Adj (<i>ma</i> -N)	?		

3.1 Equation (or identity)

Payne (1997: 112) defines equative clauses as follows: “Equative clauses are those which assert that a particular entity (the subject of the clause) is identical to the entity specified in the predicate nominal”. Equative clauses in Mojeño Trinitario are

built by simple juxtaposition of a nominal phrase to the predicate nominal phrase,⁵ as in (14). Importantly, nominal predicates are not introduced by an article, which distinguishes them from argument NPs. The argument nominal phrase is optional, though almost always present. In a pragmatically unmarked context, the argument nominal phrase follows the nominal predicate, as in (14) and (17), except when it is expressed as a free pronoun as in (15) and (16), when it then precedes the nominal predicate. The argument is cross-referenced on the nominal predicate with a suffix for 1st, 2nd person, or 3rd person plural, as in (15). Remember there is no 3rd person suffix in Mojeño Trinitario. Note that when the nominal predicate is a possessed noun (16), or a nominalized verb (17), it also carries a person prefix for its possessor. The person prefix participates to nominal morphology, while the person suffix participates to nonverbal predicate morphology.

- (14) **Francisco Luna** mu-ejare
Francisco Luna 3-name
'His name was Francisco Luna.' {text15.022 }
- (15) nuti **presidenta-nu** te pjuena 'tsekreTIPNIS.
PRO.1SG president-1SG PREP DEM.NH.DIST Secure-Tipnis.
'I am president of the Secure-Tipnis region.' {text33.016 }
- (16) nuti **p-chicha-nu**
PRO.1SG 2SG-child-1SG
'I am your child.' {text19.141 }
- (17) **ta-emna-k-sare=ri'i** ma 'moperu, to sap-gira
3NH-love-ACT-HAB.PAT.NZ=IPFV ART.M boy ART.NH toad-DIM
'He was the friend of the boy, the small toad.' {text11.041 }

3.2 Inclusion

Payne (1997: 112) defines the inclusion function of nonverbal predication as follows: "Proper inclusion is when a specific entity is asserted to be among the class of items specified in the nominal predicate". Here too a nominal predicate is juxtaposed to its argument (18), and takes a person suffix for a 1st, 2nd or 3rd person plural argument (19). The argument follows the nominal predicate, except when

5. There are some rare examples in which the argument is an adverb, rather than a nominal phrase :

- (1) Sáwaru=rip=tse 'chochu.
Saturday=PFV=contrast tomorrow
'But tomorrow is already Saturday.' {text37.015 }

expressed by a free pronoun. There is thus no constructional difference between inclusive clauses and the equative clauses presented above: they pertain to the same nonverbal clause type.

(18) *esu s-omuire movima=ri'i, psena*
 PRO3F 3F-also Movima=IPFV DEM.F.DIST
 'She is also a Movima, that woman there.' {text20.034}

(19) *nuti sontaa-nu=u'i*
 PRO.1SG soldier-1SG=IPFV
 'I was a soldier.' {text22.027}

3.3 Attribution

Payne (1997: 111–112) gives the following definition of attributive clauses. "Predicate adjectives are clauses in which the main semantic content is expressed by an adjective. [...] Semantically, these clause types can be described as attributive clauses". Mojeño Trinitario has a small class of adjectives, i.e. terms that can be used attributively to modify a noun. However, these are most often used as predicates, in attributive clauses like (20) and (21). Attributive clauses follow the same pattern as equative and inclusive clauses: the predicate is juxtaposed to the argument noun phrase, and takes a person suffix when the argument is 1st, 2nd or 3rd person plural. The argument follows the adjectival predicate, except when expressed by a free pronoun. Notice that in the two following examples, the predicate takes a TAM marker. This fact will be discussed in Section 4.1.

(20) *powre=ripo to pjoka 'resia*
 poor=PFV ART.NH DEM.NH.PROX church
 'The church here is poor.' {text16.006}

(21) *juiti 'chos-nu=po.*
 now old-1SG=PFV
 'Now I am old.' {text15.025}

3.4 Quantification

Predication on quantity is rarely discussed in the literature. "Another class of existential predicates in some languages involve numerals or quantifier expressions denoting quantity with meanings like 'many' or 'few' (Dryer 2007: 246)." Dryer considers quantifier and numeral predicates as a minor type of nonverbal predicates, and more specifically as a sub-type of existential clauses. This actually seems to be based on the fact that in English quantifier predicates translate as existential

clauses. “We thus do not generally say *The men in the room were three* but are more likely to express the intended meaning by saying *The men in the room were three in number* or *There were three men in the room*” (Dryer 2007: 246). However, in my opinion, there is no reason for sentences like *The men in the room were three*, or like the Hanis Coos Example (22) to be analyzed as existential predicates, on neither formal nor semantic grounds. These sentences do not predicate the existence of some entity, which is in fact presupposed. The major semantic content of the sentence is the quantity specification, carried out either by a numeral or a quantifier.

- (22) Hanis Coos (Frachtenberg 1922, cited in Dryer 2007: 246)
 kat^CE'mis hanL IE qaiLā'was
 five FUT the rollers
 ‘the rollers will be five (in number)’ (or ‘there will be five rollers’)

Mojeño Trinitario data also call for an analysis of predicates expressing quantification as distinct from existential predicates. Quantification predication is expressed with the same type of nonverbal clauses that has been described for equation and inclusion predication in the preceding sections, while existential predicates require an existential suffix *-ojo* (see Section 3.6), absent in quantification predicates. Examples (23) and (24) show nonverbal clauses expressing quantification predication: an argument is simply juxtaposed to a nonverbal predicate, a numeral (23) or a quantifying adjective (24). The argument follows the quantification predicate, except when expressed by a free pronoun. Quantification predicates take a person suffix when the argument is 1st, 2nd or 3rd person plural (23).

- (23) juiti **kuatru-na-wokovi**, viti seno-no, viti
 now four-CLF:hum-1PL PRO1PL woman-PL PRO1PL
 ‘Now we are four women, us.’ {text33.015}
- (24) **movera** to jani-ono
 numerous ART.NH wasp-PL
 ‘And the wasps were numerous.’ {text11.021}

3.5 Location

Locative predicates in Mojeño Trinitario do not make use of a copula or any special locative word. This contradicts Dixon’s claim that a verbless clause is unlikely to be used to express location (Dixon 2010b: 161). The Mojeño locative constructions follow the same pattern as the nonverbal constructions presented in the preceding sections. The locative predicate, either a *te* prepositional phrase (as in the second clause of (25)) or an adverbial demonstrative (26), is juxtaposed to the argument. Only the adverbial demonstrative can be suffixed by a person index referring to the

- (30) ene ma-(o)w-ri-ko⁹ te to ta-táwo-gi
 there 3M-be_at-PLURACT-ACT PREP ART.NH 3NH-branch-CLF:cyl
 to wkugi
 ART.NH tree
 ‘There he is, in the branches of the tree. [about a boy who normally lives in a house]’ {text18.031}

Some examples of locative clauses such as (31) use the existential construction (presented below in Section 3.7.1), in which the existential predicate is introduced by a pronoun suffixed with *-(o)jo* (realized *-ja* in this example). When the pronoun is a demonstrative, this latter includes a locative semantic component (i.e. distance from the reference point). An existential predicate built on a demonstrative pronoun is interpreted as a locative clause for two reasons: first, this use of the demonstrative generally entails that the referent has been introduced already (and therefore its existence is already given); second, the use of the demonstrative also locates the referent relative to the point of reference. Example (25) also shows a negative existential clause (*majina* ‘there is no one’) used as a locative clause meaning ‘he is not here’.

- (31) to mitsi, jen-ja=a’i [...] en te ta-ena’u
 ART.NH cat DEM.NH.DIST-EXI=IPFV there PREP 3NH-top_of
 pjue carpeta
 DEM.NH carpet
 ‘The cat, there it is, [...] there on the carpet.’ {stimLocal_L_40}

3.6 Temporality

Time expressions are not listed within minor types of nonverbal predication in the literature (Dryer 2007: 247). Mojeño Trinitario data offer examples of nonverbal predication with a temporal meaning. The predicate is either adverbial (*chochu* ‘tomorrow, one future day’, *kope* ‘yesterday, one past day’), or nominal (*sache* ‘day’, *yoti* ‘night’, *kopere* ‘afternoon’, *ora* ‘hour’). In any case, the clause is of the nonverbal type. If an argument is present, it follows the temporal predicate, as do the nominalizations marked with a non-human article in (32) and (33). When the predicate is adverbial, the construction differs from locative predication in meaning only (32). When the predicate is nominal, the construction differs from equation/inclusion predicates in meaning (33) but also in that the predicate often stands alone, without an argument (34).¹⁰

9. The initial /o/ of *ou* is not realized when following an /a/.

10. *’ni’-im=po* is not a nominal phrase but a quantified existential (see Section 3.7.3) and constitutes a separate clause here.

- (32) **'chochu=wore** to v-yan-a=wore y-vejno to wkugi
 tomorrow=REP ART.NH 1PL-go-IRR=REP 1PL-get ART.NH wood
 'Tomorrow again we'll go and get wood one more time.' {text29.010}
- (33) takepo t-yon-om=pu=iji, **yoti=ji** to t-yon=ri'i.
 then 3-go-PL=PFV=RPT night=RPT ART.NH 3-go=IPFV
 '(It is told that) then they went, it was night-time when they went. (lit. their
 going was at night)' {text.19.145}
- (34) **yoti=ripo**, 'ñi'-im=po.
 night=PFV mosquito-QUANT.EXI=PFV
 'It was already night-time, there were plenty of mosquitos.' {text29.009}

The predication types described above all use the same general construction, i.e. the juxtaposition of a nominal phrase and a nonverbal predicate that also takes a person marker for a 1st, 2nd or 3rd plural argument. The argument follows the predicate when its head is a full noun phrase, and precedes it when it is a pronoun only. We refer to this construction as the 'nonverbal clause type'.

3.7 Existence

Existential constructions can be identified by "their ability to provide an alternative way to encode the prototypical figure-ground relationships also denoted by plain locational sentences." (Creissels 2013). Besides offering an alternative perspective on figure-ground relationships, existential predicates differ from locational predicates in that they "are not adequate answers to questions about the location of an entity, but can be used to identify an entity present at a certain location" (Creissels 2013). There is a basic construction for existential predication in Mojeño Trinitario, marked in different ways according to whether it also marks TAM and negation. There are also two minor types of existential predication with additional semantics (motion-presentational, and quantified existential). The primary function of all these constructions is to assert the existence of the referent, and they are often used to introduce a new participant in discourse. They differ from both verbal clauses and the non-copular nonverbal clauses seen in Sections 3.1 to 3.6: they constitute a third, and minor, clause type: the existential clause.

3.7.1 *The basic existential construction*

In the basic existential construction, the predicate is always clause-initial and contains a pronominal element. It can have three different forms.

- i. PRO-(o)jo(=ri'i)
- ii. PRO-TAM
- iii. PRO.INDET-ina

In absence of TAM or negation, the clause-initial predicate is made up of a pronoun suffixed with the copula *-(o)jo*. The clause-initial pronoun can either be an independent personal pronoun (including first or second person) (35) or a demonstrative pronoun (36), and agrees in humanness, number and gender with its argument.¹¹ The suffix *-(o)jo* (alternating with *-ja* due to vowel harmony)¹² is not used as a copula elsewhere. It is specific to this construction. It can be followed by other morphemes, and is almost always followed by the imperfective marker *=ri'i ~ =:i*. The single argument of the existential predicate follows it.

- (35) **em-ja=a'i=ji** ma 'chane t-k-ésa-ne [...],
 PRO.M-EXI=IPFV=REP ART.M person 3-VZ-garden-POSS
et-jo mógi-ji
 PRO.NH-EXI corn-CLF:mass
 'People say that there was a man that has a garden, there was a corn field.'
{text6.034}

- (36) **makñ-ojo=o'i** kristianu, t-ejve-k=jicha
 DEM.M.NVIS-EXI=IPFV human 3-smell-ACT=well
 'There is a human being over there, it smells strong.'
{text19.079}

The existential meaning crucially builds on the dedicated existential marker *-(o)jo*. Without this copula, the construction would be interpreted as an equative predication made up of an independent pronoun (usually referring to a participant given in the context) and an NP, respectively the subject and predicate of a (non-copular) nonverbal clause. Example (35) without the two existential markers would in fact read as 'People say that he is a man that has a garden, it is a corn field.' The presence of the existential marker is therefore crucial for the existential meaning.

When TAM other than the imperfective or the speculative is specified in the existential predication, the clause-initial predicate almost always lacks the suffix *-(o)jo*. The TAM markers attach directly to the clause-initial independent pronoun, that agrees in humanness, number and gender with the nominal phrase, as in the examples below.¹³ The construction looks very much like an equative predication, but it presents an existential function and a different placement of the TAM markers.

11. In this construction, personal pronouns of the form (...)V.CV- lose their final vowel at the morphological boundary with the *-(o)jo* suffix (like *ema* PRO.3M and *eto* PRO.3NH in (35)), while demonstratives are reduced to a personal index and a spatio-epistemic suffix (whereas they additionally take an initial *p-* when used as pronouns or modifiers within a noun phrase).

12. Due to a regular vowel deletion process (Rose 2011a, 2014b), the /a/ triggering vowel harmony is never visible after *-jo* is suffixed.

13. In only one example is the pronoun a demonstrative rather than an independent personal pronoun, and it shows the initial *p-* that is absent in existential predicates with a copula (see note 11).

The TAM markers attach to the pronoun in the existential predication without a copula, while they attach to the nominal predicate in the nonverbal clause type used for equative predication, as Section 4.1 will show.

- (37) ante **ema=rich'o** ma yru'eru.
 before PRO.M=still ART.NH bajón_player
 'Before, there still was a bajón¹⁴ player.' {text25.112}
- (38) ene **esu=po** su na-chineno-o'i.
 and PRO.F=PFV ART.F 3PL-daughter_in_law-IPFV
 'And there was their daughter-in-law (imagining the success of a virtual farmer, whose children would grow and find partners).' {text21.094}
- (39) **eto=pripo** eto t-k-ijare kavildo.
 PRO3NH=PROG.GRAD PRO3NH 3-VZ-name cabildo
 'There was already what is called cabildo (an indigenous local government).' {text24.129}

The Mojeño Trinitario basic existential construction offers an obvious counterexample to three general claims about nonverbal predication. First, the claim that existence is rarely expressed in verbless clauses (Dixon 2010b: 161). Second, the claim that “verbless clauses do not – save exceptional cases – mark tense” (Dixon 2010b: 161). Third, the claim that non-present tenses are cross-linguistically a common grammatical condition for the presence of a copula (Payne 1997: 118–119, Dryer 2007: 236–237, Dixon 2010b: 180–181). Surprisingly, the Mojeño Trinitario copula is generally absent when TAM is marked. Dixon (2010b) writes that “a common explanation offered for the omissibility of a Copula verb is that it is, effectively, a ‘dummy’ element needed just to carry bound morphemes providing information about TAM, person/number of Copula Subject, etc.” This explanation does not hold for Mojeño Trinitario, because the copula is precisely absent when TAM is specified. But remember that, in the absence of TAM specification, the juxtaposition of a pronoun and a nominal phrase is interpreted as an equative predication (asserting identity between the two, as in (16)). An explanation for the presence of the copula in the absence of TAM specification is that it is crucial to identify the construction as different from the nonverbal clause type, and render an existential meaning, while in the presence of TAM specification, their placement on the pronoun is sufficient to identify the construction as existential.

Finally, the third form of the existential predicate is a negative existential copula, made of an indeterminate pronoun with the nominal irrealis *-ina*.¹⁵ This clause-initial negative existential predicate carries the TAM markers and agrees in

14. A Bolivian musical instrument that is a huge panpipe.

15. Marbán (1702) provides historical evidence for this.

humanness, number and gender with the head of the noun phrase (see Rose 2014a for more details). It is followed by the noun phrase of which the existence is negated, as in (40) and (41). The source structure of the negative existential construction seems to be an equative predication, literally ‘the sun is nothing’ as a gloss for the probable source structure of Example (40).

- (40) **taj-(i)na=wore** **sache-(i)na**
 PRO.INDET-IRR=REP SUN-IRR
 ‘There is also no sun.’ {text19.052}
- (41) **naj-ina=rich’o** **aakare-na** **naj-ina=rich’o** **prefekt-ina**
 PRO.INDET-IRR=yet mayor-IRR PRO.INDET-IRR=yet governor-IRR
 ‘There was no town mayor yet, there was no governor yet.’ {text24.007}

The basic existential construction of Mojeño Trinitario presented above differs from non-copular nonverbal clauses. First, in some contexts, a copula suffix dedicated to existence is used. Second, the morphological load of the existential predication is carried by the clause-initial pronoun, rather than by the nominal phrase that carries the semantic content in the predication (see Section 4 for a description of the morphological load of nonverbal predicates). The existential construction therefore constitutes a separate clause type, that will not be further discussed in this paper.

3.7.2 *Motion-presentationals*

Presentationals (Gast and Haas 2011) are the constructions conventionally used to encode speech events in which the speaker ‘call[s] the attention of an addressee to the hitherto unnoticed presence of some person or thing in the speech setting’ (Lambrecht 1996). In many languages, existential predicates are used as presentationals, in competition with other types of constructions (Creissels 2013). In Mojeño Trinitario, a construction very similar to the basic existential construction is used to introduce a new character. In this construction, the personal (42) or demonstrative (43) pronoun is followed by the copula *-(o)po* instead of the *-(o)jo* existential suffix or a TAM marker. This adds a motion meaning to the presentative meaning, translatable as ‘here comes...’. Without the copula, the nominal clauses in (42) and (43) would be interpreted as equative or inclusive predications such as ‘he is the hunter’ and ‘it seems these are people’.

- (42) **ta-yere-wo=o’i,** **eñi-po** **ñi** **kasador.**
 3NH-last-MID-IPFV PRO.M-MOT.PRES ART.M hunter
 ‘Time was passing by, then came the hunter.’ {text35.079}
- (43) **kut=chujcha** **nokro-po** **’chane.**
 be_like=just DEM.PL.POT.LOC-MOT.PRES person
 ‘It seems people are coming.’ {text35.082}

The *-(o)po* marker takes part in the associated motion system. Markers of associated motion encode, on a lexical verb, a motion event in a temporal relation with the event expressed by the lexical verb. They convey in one morpheme what is most often expressed via subordination (“before I go”) or coordination (“do and go”) in the languages of the world. Mojeño Trinitario has five verbal markers of associated motion (Rose 2015a), such as *-num(o)* in (44). The *-(o)po* morpheme presented above is unique in the very sparse and recent literature on associated motion in that it does not attach to a verb, but to a pronoun, as a copula used for nominal predication (see Rose 2015a for more details).

- (44) p-ni-k-num-a
 2SG-eat-ACT-SUBS.MOT-IRR
 ‘Eat before you go.’ {elicited}

Payne (1997: 113) states that “locomotion clauses are those in which someone or something changes place” and are “not very likely to lack a semantically rich verb, but still may”. For instance, in Hopi, motion predicates lack a verb and structurally belong to nonverbal predicates (Payne 1996: 226–228). Mojeño Trinitario, like Hopi, can express motion without a verb, yielding an additional semantic type of nonverbal predication. Additionally, this type of predicate asserts the existence of the referent of the noun phrase and introduces it as a new participant. It is therefore very similar to the basic existential construction, both formally and semantically: it also instantiates the existential clause type.

3.7.3 *Quantified existential*

A very rare construction seems to express both an existential predication and quantification. It differs in two respects from the nonverbal clause types. First, it consists of a nominal predicate without any noun phrase or pronoun juxtaposed to it. Second, the nominal predicate is marked with an *-ini* copular suffix, as found on *’ñi’i* ‘mosquito’ in (45), and *kujpa* ‘yuca’ in (46). This construction predicates both the existence of the referent of the noun and its large quantity. My textual corpus offers only two examples of this construction, given in (45) and (46), but a similar suffix (segmented *-ni*)¹⁶ with the same function has been identified in the neighboring dialect Mojeño Ignaciano (Olza Zubiri et al. 2002: 369–372). It is said to occur only on Ignaciano nouns that do not combine with a possessive prefix, which is actually also the case in the two Trinitario examples.

16. The segmentation *-ini* is confirmed by elicited data (*’ñi’-ini* mosquito-EXI.QUANT ‘They are a lot of mosquitos’). The surface forms in (45) and (46) result from phonological and prosodic rules; in (45), vowel deletion suppresses the final *i* of the suffix and the *n* of the suffix assimilates the labial place of articulation of contiguous *p*; in (46), the sequence of morpheme final *a* and a morpheme-initial *-i* is realized *ue* [we].

- (45) *yoti=ripo, 'ni'-im=po*
 night=PFV mosquito-QUANT.EXI=PFV
 'It was already night-time, there were plenty of mosquitos.' {text29.009}
- (46) *kujpu-em=po*
 yuca-QUANT.EXI=PFV
 'There is a lot of yuca.' {text21.073}

3.8 Possession

Cross-linguistically, possessive predicates have been classified into eight types, depending on the construction they are based on (Heine 1997). Most possessive predicates are based on nonverbal predication (locative or existential sentence for example), while one type only is clearly characterized as transitive with the possessor as the agent and the possessee as the patient (Action Schema in Heine 1997: 47). Mojeño Trinitario offers four possibilities for expressing possessive predication (Table 2). The two most common constructions use a denominal verbal predicate, a possibility that is not accounted for in the typology of possessive predication. This paper will not give many details on these constructions, since they are verbal.

The first type of possessive predication is a denominal verb made up with the so-called "attributive" verbalizer *ko-* typical of Arawak languages and a noun referring to the possessee. The *ko-* verbalizer can combine with any noun that can take a possessive prefix, and this usually results in a possessive predicate meaning 'have N'. Remarkably, this construction does not conform to the typological characteristics of verbal possessive predicates. The construction is in fact intransitive, since the possessee is part of the denominal verb stem ((47), see also (35)). A third person subject is regularly indexed with *ty-* as on intransitive verbs.¹⁷

- (47) *p-woo'o=po p-a-k-ima?*
 2SG-want=PFV 2SG-IRR-VZ-husband
 'Do you want to have a husband?' {text26.049}

In the second type of possessive predication, the *ko-* verbalizer also attaches to a noun, but the result is a transitive verb. The noun used in this denominal verb form is the generic possessive noun *ye'e* that was introduced in Section 2 (see Example (13)), and the resulting verbal stem is *koy'e* and means 'to have'. This

17. A few *ko-* denominal verbal forms have lexicalized into a non-possessive (usually active) meaning, and the resulting construction is either intransitive or transitive. For example, *ko-metsi* vz-pot means 'to cook (intransitive)' and *ko-chane* vz-person means 'to be accompanied by (transitive)'. These cases fall beyond the scope of this paper.

construction is generally used when the possessee is a noun that does not combine with possessive prefixes. These possessive predicates are transitive: the possessor and possessee are constructed as the subject and object respectively, as in (48) and (49). Also, they can take a semantically specified third person prefix like *na-* in (49), though *ty-* is generally preferred, depending on information structure (see Rose 2011b for further details). Even though it involves a transitive predicate, this construction does not conform to the Action Schema of Heine's (1997) typology, because the meaning of the verb is simply possessive and not active (note that the denominal verbs do not take the active suffix).

- (48) ene **p-ko-y'e** to awariente?
 and 2SG-VZ-GPN ART.NH alcohol
 'And do you have alcohol?' {text30.078}
- (49) **t-ko-y'-om=po** to waka. t-wachri-ko-m=po smoru,
 3-VBZ-GPN-PL=PFV ART.NH COW 3-buy-ACT-PL=PFV pig
 chiwa [...]. eto **na-ko-y'e**.
 goat PRO.NH 3PL-VZ-GPN
 'They had cows. They bought pigs, goats... these they had.' {text21.065}

The third type of possessive predicates in Mojeño Trinitario is nonverbal. In this construction, a possessed noun is the argument of an existential predicate. Nominal possession is encoded by either a personal possessive prefix as in (50) or through the intermediary of the possessive noun *ye'e* as in (51). This type illustrates Heine's (1997) Genitive Event Schema: 'X's Y exists'. Its negative counterpart uses the negative existential word-form as in (52).

- (50) eno 'jirono, **en-jo=o'i** no na-yeno-m=po'o'i
 PRO.PL man-PL PRO.PL-EXI=IPFV ART.PL 3PL-wife-PL=each
 'The men, they each had a wife (lit. there was their wife of each of them).'
 {text19.002}
- (51) **et-jo=o'i** to ma-ye'e libro májiko, eto ma-ko-y'e
 PRO.NH-EXI=IPFV ART.NH 3M-GPN magic_book PRO.NH 3M-VZ-GPN
 ema JSN
 PRO.M JSN
 'He has his magic book (lit. there was his magic book), José Santos Noko had this.' {text22.037}
- (52) **taj-(i)na=pka** na-ye'e-(i)na puera,...
 PRO.INDET-IRR=SPEC 3PL-GPN-IRR pan
 'If they don't have a pan (lit. if there are not their pans), [they are going to get clay (to make a pan)].' {text21.075}

Finally, a fourth and less frequent type of possessive predicate consists in the use of a denominal adjective as the nonverbal predicate of an NP (53). This adjectival form is made of a noun with the privative prefix *ma-* (also realized *m-* or *mu-*; for more information on this privative prefix, see Rose 2014a). It does not take person prefixes, just like non-derived adjectives, but takes person suffixes, like other non-verbal predicates (54). There are too few textual examples (only two) to posit any basic constituent order. This denominal adjectival construction is not accounted for in the typological literature on possessive predication.

- (53) ñi Ramo **mu-emptone**
 ART.M Ramón PRIV-work
 ‘Ramón doesn’t have work. (lit. Ramón is work-less)’ {text37.066}
- (54) m-chicha-re-nu
 PRIV-child-N.POS-1SG
 ‘I don’t have children’ {elicited}

Section 2 has presented the ten different types of nonverbal predication listed in Table 2, including the six major types discussed in the literature (predication of equation, inclusion, attribution, location, existence and possession), as well as two minor types little described in the literature (predication of quantification and temporality) and two types absent from the literature (presentational with motion, quantified existence). Two of these types in Mojeño Trinitario are typologically remarkable. The existential construction is exceptional in leaving off the copula when TAM markers are present, a condition for copula omissibility opposite to that commonly described in the literature. The possessive construction, a denominal verb whose root can refer to the possessee, is not discussed in the typological literature. Existence and possession aside, all other predication types are expressed in Mojeño Trinitario via the same nonverbal clause type. The properties specific to this clause type are discussed in the next section.

4. The nonverbal clause type of Mojeño Trinitario

This section focuses on the morphosyntactic properties of the most multi-functional construction used for the expression of nonverbal predication, i.e. the (non-copular) nonverbal clause type. It leaves aside the existential clause type (with or without a copula), and the different types of possessive clauses (with denominal verbs, or based on the existential construction). This section therefore covers nonverbal predication of the following type: equation, inclusion, attribution, quantification, location, and temporality. It involves nominal, adjectival (including quantifier),

numeral, adverbial and prepositional phrase predicates. It does not concern the constructions in which the predicate is based on a pronoun (personal or demonstrative): these are of the existential clause type.

The preceding section has already shown that the non-copular nonverbal predicates share some basic properties, and can therefore be said to embody a single clause type. Here are the basic properties of nonverbal clauses:

- i. a nominal phrase and a nonverbal predicate are juxtaposed
- ii. the nominal phrase is optional
- iii. the nominal phrase follows the nonverbal predicate when its head is a noun or a nominalized element, and precedes it when it is a pronoun
- iv. the nonverbal predicate obligatorily takes a person marker when the single argument is 1st, 2nd or 3rd plural.

The remainder of this section further specifies the properties of nonverbal clauses, demonstrating that the nonverbal clause type is clearly distinct from the verbal clause type, regardless of the part-of-speech of the nonverbal predicate. Section 4.1 describes the properties that verbal and nonverbal clauses have in common, and Section 4.2 the properties that distinguish them. These similarities and differences between nonverbal clauses and verbal clauses are summarized at the end of the section in Table 3.

4.1 Properties shared with the verbal clause type

Nonverbal predicates take to a certain extent the same inflectional morphology as verbal predicates. This section will show that the morphology of negation, plural and TAM is the same for nonverbal and verbal predicates.

The first series of examples shows how negation is comparable on both nominal (55), adjectival (56), numeral (57), adverbial demonstrative (58), and prepositional phrase (59) predicates on the one hand, and on verbal predicates (60) on the other hand. There is no example of standard negation on an adverbial predicate in my corpus. Standard negation is always marked with a clause-initial negative word *wo* that is immediately followed by the predicate (see Rose 2014a about negation in Mojeño Trinitario).¹⁸ The single argument follows, whether pronominal (55) or nominal (57).

18. Example (59) is taken from a written text. The unexpected placement of the subject before the negative word *wo* could be explained either by topicalization, or by a calque from Spanish in the process of translation.

- (55) **wo** pakrara-ena jmaro-no negation on nominal predicate
 NEG peccary-IRR DEM.NH.MED-PL
 ‘These are not peccaries.’ {text19.014}
- (56) **wo** winaraji-na. negation on adjectival predicate
 NEG bad-IRR
 He is not bad. {text22.049}
- (57) **wo** mopon-ena ñi-tupara’o negation on numeral predicate
 NEG three-IRR 3M-function
 ‘His functions are not three.’ {elicited}
- (58) **wo** oni-(i)na negation on demonstrative predicate
 NEG here-IRR
 ‘It is not here.’ {text25.136}
- (59) to n-tupara’o **wo** taye’e-(i)na pjoka pog’e
 ART.NH 1SG-kingdom NEG PREP-IRR DEM.NH.PROX earth
 negation on PP predicate
 ‘My kingdom is not on this earth.’ {John18:36, transcription modified}
- (60) **wo** n-ech-a negation on verbal predicate
 NEG 1SG-know-IRR
 ‘I don’t know.’ {text10.015}

The second series of examples shows that the encoding of plural is comparable on both nominal (61), adjectival (here quantifier) (62), and numeral (63) predicates on the one hand, and on verbal predicates (64) on the other hand. The marker *-ono* indicates the plurality of the subject. It is not attested on adverbs, the adverbial demonstratives or the preposition in my corpus.

- (61) ’muii-muri trinran-**ono** eno tparaa-k-ono plural on nominal predicate
 all-CLF:group Trinitario-PL 3PL charge-N.POS-PL
 ‘The persons in charge were all Trinitarios.’ {text24.002}
- (62) movera-**m=po** to sap-gira-no plural on adjectival predicate
 numerous-PL=PFV ART.NH toad-DIM-PL
 ‘The small toads were numerous.’ {text11.038}
- (63) dies-na-**no** no sontar-ono plural on numeral predicate
 ten-CLF:hum-PL ART.PL soldier-PL
 ‘The soldiers were ten.’ {text22.009}
- (64) ty-ero-**no** v-eesa. plural on verbal predicate
 3-drink-PL 1PL-chicha
 ‘They drink our *chicha* (traditional beverage).’ {text25.133}

The third series of examples shows that the encoding of TAM is comparable on non-verbal and verbal predicates. Here this is exemplified with the perfective aspect =*po* on various predicates: a noun (65), an adjective (66), a numeral (67), a prepositional phrase (68) – it then attaches to the preposition – and a verb (69). An example of TAM (repetitive) on an adverbial predicate was given in (32) above.

- (65) *sache=po=pka* TAM on nominal predicate
day=PFV=SPEC
 ‘Maybe it was already day-time.’ {text18.010}
- (66) *juiti ’chosi-nu=po* TAM on adjectival predicate
now old-1SG=PFV
 ‘I am old now.’ {text15.004}
- (67) *te kuaru=pu=iji to ñi-añu-ra,* TAM on numeral predicate
when four=PFV=RPT ART.NH 3M-year-POSS
 ‘when he was four years old,...’ {text19.128}
- (68) *psukro Pransiska te’=po s-owsa* TAM on PP predicate
DEM.F.POT.LOC Francisca PREP=PFV 3F-town
 ‘Francisca is already in her town.’ {elicited}
- (69) *takepo t-im-ko=po* TAM on verbal predicate
after 3-sleep-ACT=PFV
 ‘After that, he slept.’ {text11.005}

These three series of examples show that a great part of the inflectional morphology of verbs is also found on nonverbal predicates, notwithstanding their part-of-speech classification. This morphology can therefore be considered to be predicate morphology.

4.2 Properties specific to the nonverbal clause type

The nonverbal clause type nevertheless differs from the verbal clause type in at least three major respects: constituent order, person indexing, and the form of the irrealis.

The first distinction between nonverbal and verbal clauses lies in constituent order. Section 2 showed that the basic constituent order in intransitive verbal clauses is VS. This is the case with both active and stative intransitive verbs whether the subject is expressed by a full noun phrase, as in (10) and (11), or by an independent pronoun, as in (70) and (71). Section 3 showed that there are two basic constituent orders in nonverbal clauses, depending on whether the argument is a full noun phrase or an independent pronoun. The two orders are: PRED NP, and PRO PRED. The PRED NP order of nonverbal clauses aligns with the VS order of verbal clauses,

but the PRO PRED does not. The constituent order of nonverbal and verbal clauses is therefore clearly distinct when their single argument is a pronoun. This contradicts the claim that “When there is a fixed or preferred order for the constituents within a transitive or intransitive clause, a requirement for fixed order generally carries over into copula and verbless clauses” (Dixon 2010b: 164).

- (70) ene t(y)-echmu-k=po eto t(y)-vénopo te pog'e
 and 3-go_loose-ACT=PFV PRO.NH 3-fall PREP ground
 ‘It (a bee hive hanging in a tree) went loose and fell on the ground’ {18.027}
- (71) t(y)-ijye=e'i jmakni¹⁹
 3-smell.good=IPFV DEM.M.NVIS
 ‘he smells good’ {text19.079}

The second distinction between nonverbal and verbal clauses lies in the indexing of a single argument. Section 2 introduced the fact that all Mojeño Trinitario intransitive verbs take a person prefix (72) while nominal predicates take a person suffix (73). The two sets were presented in Table 1. Section 3 additionally showed that other types of nonverbal predicates behave like nominal predicates: demonstratives (26), adjectives (74), adverbs derived from demonstratives (75),²⁰ and numerals (76) also take a suffix for 1st person, 2nd person or 3rd person plural (remember there is no third person singular suffix). Nonverbal and verbal predicates thus differ in the position and the set of the index that they take for their single argument.

- (72) n-uuna
 1SG-be.good
 ‘I am good’.
- (73) ’jiro-nu=po
 man-1SG=PFV
 ‘I was a man then’.
- (74) juiti ’chosi-nu=po
 now old-1SG=PFV
 ‘Now I am old’.

19. The initial *j* is the result of dissimilation of /p/ before /m/ (Rose 2015c: 68).

20. The adverbs *ongira* ‘little’ and *ommuri* ‘few’, used either in adverbial or predicative function in the corpus, are derived from the adverbial demonstrative *oni* (see Section 2) with the diminutive *-gira* or the classifier *-muri* ‘group’ (sometimes realized *-muu*). Underived adverbs have not been found with a person suffix: having essentially temporal meanings, they are not expected to have a non-third person argument.

- (75) om-muu-**wokovi**
 few-CLF:group-1PL
 ‘We are few’ {elicited}
- (76) mopo-na-**wokow(i)=ri’i=(i)ni**.
 three-CLF:hum-1PL=IPFV=PST
 ‘We were three.’ {text19.088}

The distinction is even more striking when comparing nonverbal and verbal clauses with two participants. If the noun of a nominal predicate is possessed, the possessor is encoded by a possessive prefix on the predicate noun and can be developed in a genitive noun phrase following the predicate noun (77), as for the genitive phrase in (30). The indexing on the nominal predicate in (77) is structurally reversed in contrast with the predicative transitive verb in (78). In (77), the prefix on the nominal predicate agrees with the possessor noun phrase following the predicate, while the suffix agrees with the pre-predicate subject. In (78), the prefix on the verbal predicate agrees with the pre-verbal subject, while the suffix agrees with the post-verbal object.

- (77) y-mutu **ma-chicha-nove-wokovi** ma Viya
 1PL-all 3M-SON-PL.KIN-1PL ART.M God
 ‘We all are the sons of God.’ {text24.036}
- (78) pñi ’chane **ñ-etavi-k-woko** pno ’seno-no [...].
 DEM.M person 3M-pass-ACT-3PL DEM.PL woman-PL
 ‘The man is passing by the women...’ {stimPath_C_33}

To summarize, the single argument of nonverbal clauses clearly shows different properties from the single argument of intransitive verbal clauses, both in terms of constituent order and person indexing. In fact, as far as alignment is concerned, Arawak languages are known for displaying split-intransitivity (Aikhenvald 1999: 86), as defined by Merlan (1985). Durand (2016) distinguishes the following types within the family: split-intransitivity based on the lexical class of verbs or predicates (active/stative), on parts-of speech (verbs/non-verbs), on grammatical factors (TAM, constituent order, or main/subordinate distinction), or on semantic and pragmatic factors (agent/patient). Split-intransitivity based on parts-of-speech (verbs/non-verbs) has been noted in at least six Arawak languages (Durand 2016),²¹ including Mojeño and Baure, a close relative (Danielsen and Granadillo 2008).²² In these languages, the single argument of all intransitive verbal predicates aligns

21. Bahuana, Resigaro (?), Wauja, Mehinaku, Baure, Mojeño and Yine.

22. Baure however radically differs from Mojeño in that nouns and adjectives must take a copula *-wo* to be used as predicates.

with the A of transitive verbal predicates, while the single argument of nonverbal predicates aligns with the O of transitive verbal predicates. And indeed in Mojeño, there are three manifestations of the alignment of the single argument of nonverbal clauses with O. First, both follow the predicate when they are expressed by full NPs (compare for instance (14), (20), and (32), with (9)). Second, both precede the predicate when expressed by independent pronouns (compare for instance (18) with (12)), because pronominalized objects are in the pre-verbal topic position (see Section 2). Third, both are indexed with the same set of suffixes on the predicate (compare (73) to (76) with (3)). Mojeño Trinitario therefore displays a split-intransitivity alignment system, if one takes into account all types of predicates (verbal and nonverbal) : the single argument of intransitive verbal clauses aligns with the A of transitive clauses, while the single argument of nonverbal clauses aligns with the O of transitive clauses.

The third distinction between nonverbal and verbal clauses lies in the form of the irrealis marker. Nonverbal predicates differ from verbal predicates in taking the irrealis *-ina* rather than the *-a* found on verbs. This is visible in all the negative examples given above from (55) to (59), since negation entails the irrealis in Mojeño Trinitario. An additional pair of examples of nonverbal/verbal predicates is given below, with the irrealis expressing the hortative meaning (Rose 2014a further describes the irrealis in Mojeño Trinitario).

- | | | | |
|------|--|---------------------------------|--------------|
| (79) | <p>'tume-wokov-ina
strong-1PL-IRR
'Let us be strong.'</p> | irrealis on nonverbal predicate | {text24.044} |
| (80) | <p>vi-om-a te pjué kavildo
1PL-carry-IRR PREP DEM council_house
'Let us take her to the council house.'</p> | irrealis on verbal predicate | {text29.058} |

Since *-ina* is not only used on predicates but also on arguments, for example on a virtual object (81) or oblique (82) and in constituent negation (83), *-ina* can therefore be identified as the irrealis marker for non-verbs, and *-a* as the irrealis suffix for verbs. In sum, this piece of morphology is not only useful in distinguishing verbal from nonverbal clauses, but more generally verbs from the other lexical classes.

- | | | |
|------|---|--------------|
| (81) | <p>p-epia-k-a to p-mimr-ina
2SG-make-ACT-IRR ART.NH 2SG-mask-IRR
'Make your mask.'</p> | {text8.037} |
| (82) | <p>taj-ina to 'puuj-ina ta-ye'e-(i)na.
PRO.INDET-IRR ART.NH medicine-IRR 3NH-PREP-IRR
'There is no medicine for this.'</p> | {text14.014} |

- (83) wo ene-(i)na n-ut-s-i'-a.
 NEG here-IRR 1SG-be.born-ACT-APPL-IRR
 'It is not here that I was born.' {text15.002}

The similarities and differences between nonverbal clauses and verbal clauses highlighted in Section 4 are summarized in Table 3. Information was easier to find for nominal, adjectival and numeral predicates, because they are more frequent and easier to elicit than adverbial, demonstrative and prepositional phrase predicates. Section 4.1 showed that nonverbal and verbal clauses share some properties, which leads us to consider these to constitute the morphology and syntax of predicates in general. Nevertheless, Section 4.2 showed that nonverbal and verbal clauses differ in several other respects. We therefore consider them to be two distinct major clause types in Mojeño Trinitario. We have noted that constituent order played a role in this distinction, and that this was not typologically expected. Underlying this nonverbal /verbal clause distinction is a robust distinction among lexical classes between verbs on one hand, and all other lexical classes on the other hand. This lexical distinction is based on the fact that the *-ina* irrealis found in nonverbal clauses – but not in verbal clauses – is also found on nonverbal non-predicative elements, most typically on nominals in argument position. All this reinforces the analysis of some property words as belonging to a lexical class of adjectives (rather than verbs) in Mojeño Trinitario, a classification that varies among Arawak languages (Durand 2016: 161–168).

Table 3. Properties of various types of nonverbal predicates compared to verbal predicates (=identical property, ≠ different property, 0 no example)

	N	ADJ	NUM	ADV	ADV.DEM	PREP / PP
Standard negation	=	=	=	0	=	=
Plural in <i>-ono</i>	=	=	=	≠	≠	≠
TAM	=	=	=	=	0	=
Pronominal single argument follows the predicate (≠ : precedes)	≠	≠	≠	0	0*	0
Person indexing via prefixes (≠ : suffixes)	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠	0
Irrealis in <i>-a</i> (≠ : <i>-ina</i>)	≠	≠	≠	0	≠	0

* There is no example of a pronominal single argument followed by an adverbial demonstrative. Existential constructions such as (31) are used instead.

5. Conclusion

This paper has first followed an onomasiological approach to nonverbal predication by reviewing how Mojeño Trinitario encodes ten functions of nonverbal predication. The various constructions can be organized in three clause types: verbal, nonverbal (also non-copular), and existential clauses. The nonverbal clause type is particularly widespread: it is used for almost all types of nonverbal predication (equation, inclusion, attribution, location, quantification, temporality and negative possession), with the exception of existence and possession. This clause type is defined as consisting of a non-copular and nonverbal predicate, and is characterized by the juxtaposition of a nominal phrase and a nonverbal predicate, that takes a person marker for a 1st, 2nd or 3rd plural argument.

This paper has then focused on further morphosyntactic properties of the nonverbal clause type. The properties shared with verbal clauses were analyzed as predicative morphosyntax. Among the properties distinguishing nonverbal and verbal clauses, the nonverbal morphology not only covers nonverbal predicates but also non-predicative elements. This underlines the neat behavioral split among Mojeño Trinitario lexical classes between verbs on the one hand, and all other classes on the other hand: nouns, adjectives, numerals, adverbs and pronouns. This is of high interest because of the debated classification of adjectival terms as adjectives, nouns or verbs in the Arawak family.

This paper has also brought to light constructions that do not fit with the existing typology of nonverbal predication. First, it includes little-described types of nonverbal predication (numeral or quantifier predication), types not commonly considered within this domain (temporal predication), as well as typologically unattested types (motion-presentational, quantified existence). Second, it offers original data for the typology of existential and possessive predication. The existential construction is remarkable in showing TAM distinctions, and even more in the fact that the copula is absent precisely when TAM is overt, a situation opposite to that commonly found crosslinguistically. The major possessive construction is based on a predicate derived from a nominal root referring to the possessee. While this derivation is found throughout the Arawak family (Durand 2016: 303), it is not accounted for in the typology of possessive predication. Third, the paper shows that constituent order may actually plainly differ between verbal and nonverbal clauses, contrary to expectations.

Finally, this paper also offers data for a rather neglected type of alignment: split-intransitivity based on a part-of-speech distinction. In Mojeño, the single argument of nonverbal predicates aligns with the P of transitive clauses, while the single argument of both active and stative intransitive verbs aligns with the A of transitive clauses. This is a split-intransitivity system, but it cannot be described

as having a semantic basis: the definition of nonverbal predication as an utterance “that presents the expression of a property and of an entity that can a priori satisfy the property or not” (Creissels 2006: 343) is satisfied not only for the nonverbal clause type, but also for the existential and possessive predicates, as well as for the stative intransitive verbs. Stative intransitive verbs and nonverbal predicates cannot therefore be distinguished on a semantic basis, but they can be on the basis of their morphosyntactic behavior. Consequently, the split-intransitivity system of Mojeño Trinitario rests upon a morphosyntactic rather than a semantic basis. This goes back to the primacy of the lexical class distinction between verbs and non-verbs in Mojeño Trinitario.

Abbreviations

ACN.NZ	action nominalizer	NVIS	non-visible
ACT	active	N.POS	non-posessed
APPL	applicative	PFV	perfective
ART	article	PL	plural
CLF	classifier	PL.KIN	plural for kinship terms
D	discourse marker	PLURACT	pluractional
DEM	demonstrative	POSS	possessed form of the N
DIM	diminutive	POT.LOC	potential location
DIST	distal	PREP	preposition
EXI	existential	PRIV	privative
F	feminine (singular)	PRO	pronoun
FUT	future	PROG.GRAD	progressive gradual
GPN	generic possessive noun	PROX	proximal
HAB.PAT.NZ	habitual patient nominalizer	PST	past
INDET	indeterminate	QUANT.EXI	quantified existential
IPFV	imperfective	REP	repetitive
IRR	irrealis	RPT	reportative
M	masculine (singular)	SG	singular
MED	medial	SPEC	speculative
MID	middle	SP.PAT.NZ	specific patient nominalizer
MOT.PRES	motion presentational	SUBS.MOT	subsequent motion
NEG	negation	TAM	tense-aspect-mood
NH	nonhuman	VZ	verbalizer

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Nonverbal predication in Paresi-Haliti

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The Paresi people, who number approximately 3000, live in Mato Grosso, Brazil. The following types of predicates are found: nominal, adjectival, locational, existential and possessive predicates. There are three types of strategies used: verbless predicates, the use of the copula *tyaona*, and the use of prefixes. The source of the copula may be its homonymous form *tyaona* 'live, be born, happen'. It has a more restricted use in nominal and adjectival predicates, with the meaning 'become' (similar to a semi-copula), and takes aspectual markers. Nominal predicates can be further semantically classified into identity or predicational statements (Stassen 1997). In locative predicates, a copula is used when the personal proclitics are used instead of full noun phrases. Existential predicates are formed by the existential verb *aka*. Possessive predicates are formed by prefixes, a strategy which is not common cross-linguistically. They may be derived from inalienable (plant parts and kinship terms) and alienable nouns through the attributive *ka-*. Its negative counterpart, the prefix *ma-*, derives private stative predicates from nouns and stative verbs.

Keywords: Arawak, Paresi, nonverbal predication, copula

1. Introduction

The goal of this paper is to contribute to the typological understanding of nonverbal predicates by describing the different strategies of nonverbal predication used in Paresi, such as the distribution of the copula, and to contribute to a better understanding of the possessive construction with the prefix *ka-* in the Arawak family. Paresi is spoken by approximately 3000 people located in Mato Grosso (Brazil). The Paresi corpus used for this chapter resulted from my own research since 2006 in the communities of the Rio Formoso and Paresi indigenous territories. Paresi shows the following morphosyntactic characteristics: it is polysynthetic, head-marking and agglutinative; it has inalienable (bound nouns), alienable, and non-possessed nouns; person marking on the verb is generally determined by the semantic feature

of control; verb roots can be intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive; adjectives form a very small class of just eight words; and its default constituent order is SOV.

Typologically, nonverbal predication is a construction with an argument and a predicate of a category other than a verb, and in some cases a copula (Hengeveld 1992). In the approach used here the nonverbal predicate is the main predicate in the nonverbal predication, and the copula has only a supportive function. There are three types of strategies used in nonverbal predicates: (i) verbless predicates; (ii) the copulas *tyaona* or *aka*; and (iii) the prefixes *ka-* and *ma-*. The third type is found throughout the Arawak family (Aikhenvald 1999). The following types of predicates (considering the classification of predicates in Stassen 1997) are found: property-concept, class-membership, locational and possessive predicates.

In § 2, I provide the typological approach used for describing nonverbal predicates in Paresi. In § 3, I provide information about nouns, verbs and adjectives in Paresi. The copulas *tyaona* and *aka* are described in § 4, class-membership predicates in § 5, possessive predicates in § 6, property-concept predicates in § 7, locational/existential predicates in § 8, and negation of nonverbal predicates in § 9.

2. Typological approach to nonverbal predication

In this work, I follow the semantic classification of predicates presented in Stassen (1997: 18). He identifies four semantic classes of predicates: event predicates, when the predicates indicate events; property-concept predicates, when predicates designate a property or quality; class-membership predicates, when predicates designate a class and in which the subject is assigned membership of that class; and locational predicates, when predicates refer to location. Each predicate category is encoded by a prototypical strategy, except property-concept predicates.

Property-concept, class-membership and locational predicates may have non-verbal status. One needs to follow some criteria for ascribing nonverbal status to encoding strategies. Stassen (1997: 35) describes three criteria which can be applied in some languages: person agreement, auxiliary use, and negation. With regards to person agreement, Stassen (1997: 38) presents an agreement universal which says “if a language has person agreement, any predicational strategy in that language which does not employ the same system of person marking as verbs is non-verbal.”

Paresi, as seen above, exhibits two agreement systems, sets A and B proclitics, one used in agentive verbal predicates, and the other one used in non-agentive verbal predicates, possessive and property-concept predicates (which make them more verb-like), and in predicates with the copula; other non-verbal predicates do not exhibit person agreement markers. As such, the agreement criterion is only applicable in Paresi to distinguish class-membership and locational predicates from verbal predicates.

Another criterion used by Stassen for diagnosing nonverbal status is the auxiliary criterion. A category is a case of nonverbal encoding when it needs a supportive item, which is referred to as a copula in property-concept and class-membership predicates. As seen below, class-membership, property-concept and locational predicates in Paresi may occur with the copula *tyaona*. However, there are nonverbal predicates which occur without the copula, a strategy referred to as zero copula or zero encoding. In other literature (Hengeveld 1992; Stassen 1997; Pustet 2003), a copula is characterized as a linguistic element which does not add any semantic content. The general view of copulas as linking morphemes which carry some grammatical function is referred to as the dummy hypothesis. Paresi seems to support this view, as it is aspect and tense categories that motivate the introduction of the copula in this language.

A final criterion used is negation. According to Stassen, when the negation strategy of intransitive predicates differs from the negation strategy of predicative verbs, then they must be analyzed as being encoded nonverbally. In Paresi, nonverbal predicates have negative strategies different from the ones used in verbal predicates. Only nonverbal predicates occur with the negative focus particle *xini*. Locative and existential predicates have also a distinct negation strategy, in which negation is formed by the copula *tyaona* and the negative prefix *ma-*, respectively.

In addition to the classification seen above, there is a distinction between identity statements and predicational statements in Stassen's (1997) classification; Pustet (2003) proposes to label the same difference as identificational versus ascriptive. According to Stassen (1997: 101), identity statements are of two types: presentational, which provides an object with a 'name' (e.g., *There's my car*) or equational,¹ when two expressions refer to one object (e.g., *The Morning Star is the Evening Star*). Predicational statements are of two types: characterizational, when the speaker intends to add knowledge to a file which he assumes is already present with the hearer (e.g., if someone asks *Tell me about Warsaw*, one could respond *Well, for a start, Warsaw is the capital of Poland*), or classificational, when adding new content to an already existing mental file (answering the question "in which file should I classify X?").

The distinction between these types is not straightforward in Stassen, as the same predicate can be interpreted as identificational or predicational depending on context. Stassen's main argument is that identity statements have a zero encoding which is common in nominal predicates. This distinction attempts to provide explanations for why languages diverge in terms of compatibility of copulas with predicates, as the dummy hypothesis alone does not explain it. In Paresi, identity statements do have zero encoding.

1. Payne (1997) also called this type as equative clauses, and the predicational statement of the type classificational as inclusion.

On the other hand, Pustet (2003) presents the criterion of uniqueness of the referents to distinguish between the identificational and ascriptive predicates. She says “an identificational predicate has only one possible referent in the specific universe of discourse it is embedded in.” (Pustet, 2003: 29). In her analysis, considering ascriptive predicates, the higher the time stability of a semantic class, the higher the percentage of copularizing lexemes (lexemes that occur with a copula, which can be omitted in cases of “copula dropping”) within this semantic class. This means nominals tend to occur as copularizing lexemes more than adjectivals and verbs. In Paresi, it will be seen that time-stability can also explain why the copula occurs only with some class-membership and locational predicates.

3. Nouns, verbs and adjectives in Paresi

There are two major word classes in Paresi, nouns and verbs, that can be defined according to syntactic, semantic and morphological factors. In Paresi, nouns have affixes indicating number (the suffix *-nae*) and possession (the possessor proclitics and possessed suffixes), as seen in Example (1). Most of the prefixes used for possessors on nouns also occur as prefixes indicating person/number of subject on verbs. However, the third person in verbs is unmarked while in nouns it is marked by *e=* or *i=*, a property which can be used as a parameter to tease apart nouns from verbs. Verbs in Paresi have affixes or clitics indicating aspect, valence-changing operations, person/number of subjects and objects: for example, in (1) the verb *mo* ‘put’ bears *na-* ‘1SG’ and *-heta* ‘PERFECTIVE’; further, such verbs can be nominalized, for example with the nominalizer *-re* in a relative clause, as shown in (2).

- (1) ehare namoheta niraini malo zoimanae hare
 ehare na= mo -heta n= irai -n -i malo zoima -nae hare
 this 1SG= put PFV 1SG= talk POSS 1SG daughter child PL also
 zoimanae notxiyetena
 zoima -nae no= txiyete -nae
 child PL 1SG= grandson PL
 ‘This is my speech, my daughter, my children, my grandsons.’
(xihatyoawihaliti)
- (2) haliti hakiterena kakoa
 haliti haki -te -re -nae =kako
 person work IFV NR PL =COM
 ‘with the Paresi Indians who work’
(E)

Verbs can be classified according to their valence into intransitive, transitive or ditransitive. Here, I present only intransitive verbs in order to compare them to nonverbal predicates. In Brandao (2014), intransitive verbs can be further classified

as agentive or non-agentive depending on the type of personal proclitics they take: agentive verbs index their subjects with the same pronominal clitics as transitive verbs, while non-agentive verbs index their subjects with a different set of pronominal clitics. Table 1 identifies two sets of proclitics: Set A goes on agentive/control verbs and set B goes on non-agentive verbs.

Table 1. Subject proclitics in Paresi

	<i>set A</i>	<i>set B</i>
1SG	na=	no=
2SG	ha=	hi=
3SG	Ø=	Ø=
1PL	wa=	wi=
2PL	za=	xi=
3PL	Ø=...-ha	Ø=...-ha

Subjects of agentive/control verbs are agents, which perform, effect, instigate, or control the situation denoted by the predicate. Subjects of non-agentive verbs, such as ‘die’, ‘wake up’, and ‘sleep’, are patients or participants that lack control; property concepts are also non-agentive verbs.

Adjectives form a very small class of just eight words (Brandão 2010, 2014). These are words for dimensions (*kalore* ‘big’, *kirane* ‘small’, *wahahare* ‘tall’), physical properties (*tihē* ‘bitter’, *katyala* ‘sour’, *timena* ‘heavy’), age (*waitare* ‘old’) and value (*waiye* ‘good’). Brandão (2010), points out that it is difficult to define the class of adjectives in Paresi because, similarly to other Arawak languages, there are no clear-cut distinctions between descriptive words and the classes of verbs. The adjective class in Paresi is defined based on structural coding criteria of typological markedness found in Croft (2000): adjectives refer to a property, are prototypically modifiers and will be unmarked in this function.

In Paresi, adjectives juxtaposed to a noun are interpreted as modifying the noun. Adjectives in their attributive uses can modify a noun without additional morphology, as shown in (3), whereas verbs need to be nominalized. Adjectives cannot take the plural marker or the possessor and possessed markers like nouns do without additional morphology. However, adjectives share properties with verbs in that they take aspect when functioning as predicates, as for example the imperfective aspect *-ta* seen in (4).

- (3) *hati kalore tyomaha*
ha kalore tyoma -ha
 house big make, do PL
 ‘They made a big house’ (E)

- (4) nozaotsehalitiri kaloreta
 no= zaotsehaliti -ri kalore -ta
 1SG= wound POSS big IFV
 ‘The wound is big’ (E)

In contrast, descriptive verbs occur in their unmarked form as predicates and cannot act as attributive modifiers without an additional morphological marker.

Verbal predicates have a personal clitic from sets A or B attached to them, however the distinction is neutralized in third person, which has no phonological form (see Table 1). It is also possible to find co-occurrence of a subject clitic and a coreferential independent noun phrase (a noun or independent pronoun), as in (5), but often the subject noun phrase is not overt. There is no cross-referencing between an object noun phrase and the only object personal enclitic =*ene* ‘3o’, as *ene* is only used when the object noun phrase is not mentioned as in sentence (5).

- (5) natyo noterene
 natyo no= ter =ene
 1SG 1SG= drink =3o
 ‘I drank it.’ (E)

Possessive predicates, property-concept predicates, and nonverbal predicates with the copula *tyaona* take the set B personal clitics like non-agentive verbs. Class-membership and locational/existential predicates without a copula do not take personal clitics.

4. Copulas *tyaona* and *aka*

Important aspects in the distribution of the copula *tyaona* in Paresi are the semantic features of transience and tense. The copula *tyaona* ‘COP/BECOME’ is used in the past or future and with aspect marking, in class-membership predicates of the ascriptive type and in locational predicates implying a long stay of the subject in the location. The copula *tyaona* occurs with Set B clitics and aspect markers. In non-negative sentences, the default interpretation of *tyaona* is past tense; a present tense interpretation is available when *tyaona* bears the imperfective suffix *-ita* and future when *tyaona* bears the transitional suffix, *-hena* (6).

- (6) Nilce professor tyaonehena
 nilce professor tyaone -hena
 Nilce teacher COP TRS
 ‘Nilce will be a teacher.’ (Batsaji tahi)

All the nonverbal predicates except possession can be formed through the copula strategy with *tyaona*. In Paresi, the transience feature is very important in the distribution of the copula, but it has opposite effects with nominal versus locational predicates: in class-membership, *tyaona* is used with transitory states of affairs, but in locational predicates it is used to indicate a long stay of the subject in the location.

As a main verb, *tyaona* has the meanings ‘live, be born, stay, become’. Heine & Kuteva (2002) have in their list of common source for copula the change-of-state (‘become’), giving as an example the Proto-European form **bhū* ‘become’, which has given rise to copulas including English *been*. As such, the most probable source for the use of *tyaona* as a copula is the reading ‘become’ (an inchoative), as in (7).

- (7) kalikini escola kalore tyaona
 kalikini escola kalore tyaona
 now school big become
 ‘Recently, the school became big’ (demarcação)
- (8) maihaya imoti hitsaonita
 maiha =ya imoti hi= tyaona -ita
 NEG =IRR non-Indian 2SG= COP IFV
 ‘You will not become a non-Indian’ (Cabeceira do osso-PK)

The existential copula is *aka* ‘EXIST’ (9), which cannot take personal clitics and is restricted to negative clauses.

- (9) kala ehare mahalitihare witsekore atyo ezowakiya
 kala ehare ma- haliti -hare witsekore =atyo ezowakiya
 DUB this NEG person M goods =TOP period, time
 maiha aka
 maiha aka
 NEG EXIST
 ‘Then at that time there were no non-Indian goods.’ (Kamoro nawenane)

5. Class-membership predicates

Nominal predicates in Paresi can be formed with zero encoding (verbless predicates), with the copula *tyaona*, or via the attributive *ka-*. Identity statements, such as “That’s a N”, and equational statements (assertion that two expressions refer to one and the same object) are formed only by zero encoding. The identity statement (“That’s a N”) in Paresi involves the demonstratives *eze~eye* ‘this’ (10), or *hatyo* ‘that’ (11); while equative statements involve a pronoun or a noun (12).

- (10) eye Buritiza
 eye buriti -za
 this buriti CLF.liquid
 ‘This is the Buriti river’ (cabeceira)
- (11) hatyo atyo haliti zaolone
 hatyo =atyo haliti zaolo -ne
 that =TOP person headdress POSS
 ‘That is the headdress of the Paresi’ (omati-ZK)
- (12) baba ene atyo kaloreze ityani
 baba =ene =atyo kalore -ze ityani
 dad =PST =TOP big NR son
 ‘My deceased father is the son of the leader’ (JG nawenane)

In both identity and ascriptive predicates, the subject noun precedes the predicate noun, which cannot bear a subject clitic, as in membership of ethnic group (13) and kinship relations (14). When the predicate noun bears a Set B clitic, such as *no=* ‘1SG’ in (15), this can only be interpreted as indexing the possessor and not the subject.

- (13) natyo atyo Enomaniere
 natyo =atyo Enomaniere
 1SG =TOP Enomaniere
 ‘I am an Enomaniere.’ (Formoso onetse)
- (14) natyo heye
 natyo h= eye
 1SG 2SG= father
 ‘I am your father’ (kinship)
- (15) nozekohatseti
 no= zekohatse -ti
 1SG= chief NPOSS
 *‘I am a chief’./ ‘My chief’.

In general, Stassen (1997: 107) characterizes identity statement predicates formally as having the third-person form and a timeless nature, meaning that they are temporally unspecified, or if they must be marked for tense, the tense form is the present. They are also more stable-time nominals. In some languages, they may occur with discourse markers, such as topic and focus markers. In Paresi, the subject of the nominal predicate can be marked by *atyo* ‘TOP’ (as seen in several examples above), *ala* ‘FOC’ or *-tya* ‘EMPH’.²

2. Basic constituent order in Paresi is SV in intransitive clauses, and AOV in transitive clauses.

Other class-membership predicates can be considered as ascriptive predicates. Similarly to identity statement predicates, when the tense is present (which is unmarked) there is no need for a host, as in (16). However, they are different from identity and equative statements because they do not have a timeless nature, and can occur with other tense and aspect markers which are marked in the copula. For instance, in Paresi, professional or class membership occurs with the copula *tyaona* in the past or future, which is marked by the aspect markers *-ita* in (17), and *-hena* ‘transitional’³ in (18).

- (16) notxiyete kore iyawitsekohare
 no= txiyete kore iyawitseko -hare
 1SG= grandson DUB hunter M
 ‘My grandson is a hunter.’ (JT nawenane)
- (17) Disso tyaonita zekohatseti
 disso tyaona -ita zekohatse -ti
 Disso COP IFV chief NPOSS
 ‘Adison was a chief’
- (18) Nilce professor tyaonehena
 nilce professor tyaone -hena
 Nilce teacher COP TRS
 ‘Nilce will be a teacher.’ (Batsaji tahi)

6. Possessive predicates

Predicates of possession are derived from possessed nouns with the attributive *ka-*. In the typology on possessive predicates (Stassen 2009), there are four standard types: locative possessive, with-possessive, topic-possessive and have-possessive, and other non-standard variants. Paresi exhibits a non-standard type called predicativization, a process that reanalyzes the possessee phrase as the predicate of a possessive construction that has the possessor as the subject.

These predicates involve two entities: the possessor and the possessee. The most prototypical subdomain of possession is the alienable possession, in which the notion of possession is not seen as ‘inherent’ or ‘indissoluble’. Other important subdomains presented in Stassen (2009) and considered here are the inalienable possession (involving body parts and kinship terms) and temporary possession (availability at a certain point of time). Nouns in Paresi can be classified into three

3. The transitional marker is used in situations where an action has just started, or has not started yet.

types: inalienable (bound nouns), alienable nouns, and non-possessed nouns. Inalienable nouns are inherently possessed: they must take a possessor (a personal clitic or another nominal root) when possessed, or the unpossessed suffix *-ti* when unpossessed. Semantically, inalienable nouns include nouns for kinship terms, body or plant parts, personal belongings, and a few other nouns.

Alienable nouns are free noun roots that are optionally possessed, and do not occur with the unpossessed marker *-ti* (with few exceptions). When they are possessed, they must occur with the possessor and one of the three subsets of possessed suffixes: *-za*, *-la* or *-ne*. The choice of the subsets of possessed suffixes is in part semantically conditioned: most animate nouns take the possessed suffix *-za*, inanimate nouns take the suffix *-ne*, and other nouns take *-la*. (Brandão 2014: 169). Non-possessed nouns include proper names of people or of places, and natural elements (e.g.: *kamae* ‘sun’, *kaimare* ‘moon’, *zoretse* ‘star’).

In Paresi, nominal predicates of possession exhibit the possessee marked by a prefix *ka-* or *ma-* (for more information about *ma-* see Section 10). These possessive constructions with *ka-* occur in a predicative function in which the possessor is the subject. The *ka-* possessive construction is productive, occurring with alienable and inalienable nouns. In the case of alienable nouns (including temporary possession), the possessive constructions also exhibit possessed suffixes (nominalizers), as seen in (19) to (22). Examples (21) and (22) show possessive predicates with kinship terms and plant parts, respectively.

- (19) nokahaniye
 no= ka- ha -ni -ye
 1SG= ATR house POSS NR
 ‘I have a house.’ (Wazare)
- (20) nokakawaloniye
 no= ka- kawalo -ni -ye
 1SG= ATR horse POSS NR
 ‘I had a horse.’ (Kotitiko wenakalati)
- (21) nokaitsaniro
 no= ka- itsani -ro
 1SG= ATR son NR
 ‘I have children.’ (E)
- (22) maiha kakanohiye
 maiha ka- kano -hi -ye
 NEG ATR arm CLF.thin NR
 ‘It does not have a branch (*kanohi*: ‘branch’)’ (E)

Possessive constructions with *ka-* have more in common with nouns than with verbs. Similarly to nouns, they take gender suffixes (similarly to nominalized forms); the pronominal set B, which can also be used for possessors; and possessive suffixes. The only characteristic in common with verbs is the fact that they can take TAM markers.

The nominalizer suffixes *-(ha)re~-ye⁴* (for masculine) and *-(ha)lo~-ro* (for feminine) can be used when there is no other mention to the gender of the subject in the discourse. In (23) and (24), the information about the gender is lexical, and therefore the gender marking is not needed.

- (23) hatyaotseta owa nozakaitere eye ohironae
 hatyaotseta owa no= zakai -te -re eye ohiro -nae
 then right now 1SG= tell IFV NR this woman PL
 kaiyanene , kaitsaniha hoka
 ka- iyanene ka- itsani -ha hoka
 ATR husband ATR son PL CON
 ‘Then, as I just said, the women got married (lit. got a husband) and they had children.’ (Batsaji tahi)

- (24) kalini nokatxiyete hoka notxiyete nohaliye
 kalini no= ka- txiyete hoka no= txiyete no= haliye
 now 1SG= ATR grandson CON 1SG= grandson 1SG= near, next to
 tyaonita
 tyaona -ita
 live IFV
 ‘Now I have grandsons, and my grandson lives with me.’ (Katomo nawenane)

Possessive constructions with a prefix *ke-/ka-/ko-* are found in most Arawak languages. I treat *ka-* as an attributive prefix following the analyses for other Arawak languages proposed by Aikhenvald (1999: 99). Stassen (2009) gives examples found in Arawak languages such as Lokono and Palikur. In Lokono (25), *ka-* possessive constructions are as productive as in Paresi, while in Palikur *ka-* only occurs in a close set of cases (26). Baure, a South Arawak language, like Paresi, also has the prefix *ka-/ko-* (27).

- Lokono (Arawak)
 (25) kasikoakai
 ka- sikoa -ka -i
 ATR house PERF 3SG
 ‘He has a house.’ (Pet 1987: 74)

4. The allomorphy is phonologically conditioned. The allomorph *-ye* occurs following [i], while *-ro* occurs following the vowels [i] and [e].

- Palikur
 (26) ig kakakura
 ig ka- kakura
 3SG ATR money
 'He has money' (Launey 2003: 80)
- Baure
 (27) rikoširapik
 ri- ko- šir -a -pik
 3SGF ATR son LK come
 'She will have a baby' (Danielsen 2007: 266)

7. Property-concept predicates

Nonverbal predications based on adjectival predicates express a semantic relation of property assignment. Cross-linguistically adjectival predicates have no prototypical encoding strategy of their own (Stassen 1997). In Paresi, they take the same set of the person agreement used with non-agentive intransitive verbs (set B). As seen in Section 2, (about adjectives) colors and human propensities are stative verbs while dimension, age, value, and physical properties are adjectives. Adjectivals occur without copula (zero encoding or zero copula), as in (28) and (29).

- (28) nokiranetse
 no= kirane -tse
 1SG= small CLF.small
 'I am small' (E)
- (29) etse kiranetse
 e= tse kirane -tse
 3SG= seed small CLF.small
 'The seed is small' (E)

8. Locational/ existential predicates

Locational/ existential predicates are formed by a theme or figure and a location or ground (which may be optional in the case of existential predicates) with or without a copula. The location may precede or follow the theme and it is given by an adverb, as seen in (30) and (31), or/and a nominal combined with a postposition, as in (32). More investigation is needed in order to clarify the differences between constructions without and with the copula *tyaona*. The hypothesis is that zero encoding is used to imply a temporary stay of the figure in the location as in

examples from (30) to (32), while the copula *tyaona* is used to imply a long stay of the figure in the location (which may be related to the meaning of the verb *tyaona* as ‘live’), as shown in (33) and (34).

- (30) alita natyo
ali -ta natyo
here EMPH 1SG
‘I am here.’ (E)
- (31) hitsaonero alimaniya
hi= tsaonero ali maniya
2SG= cousin here side
‘Your cousin is here on this side.’ (Katomo Aug iraiti)
- (32) oloniti ita baldeakore
oloniti ita balde -ako -re
chicha.beverage there
‘The *chicha* (traditional beverage) is there in the bucket’ (Kabikule)
- (33) baba hawawa ali tyaona
baba wawa ali tyaona
dad be.alone here COP
‘My father was alone here’ (Wenakalati)
- (34) owene nika tihanaló tyaonita
owene nika tihana -lo tyaona -ita
there EVID sorcerer NR COP IFV
‘The sorcerer stayed there’ (BO nawenane)

I am describing clauses that are translated into Portuguese and English as existential predicates in the same section with locative predicates because they exhibit the same juxtaposed structure in Paresi: a theme followed by a location (35). As seen in these examples, there is no particular choice of adverb locative which goes with one of the predicate types, and there is no marker of (in)definiteness on the subject/theme either.

- (35) kahare haliti nali
kahare haliti nali
a.lot person there
‘There are many people there’ (Wenakalati tahi)
- (36) kalikini Polo base ali tyaonita
kalikini Polo base ali tyaona -ita
now health center here COP IFV
‘Now there is a health center here’ (Batsaji tahi)

Existential clauses without a location argument are formed by zero encoding (37), the existential copula verb *aka* (38), or the copula *tyaona* (39). Further work is needed to describe the semantic differences between using the two copulas.

(37) hinamali taitehena tyakoira
 hinama -li taite -hena tyakoira
 two CLF.round only TRS chicken
 ‘There are only two chickens’ (E)

(38) oloniti aka
 oloniti aka
 chicha.beverage EXIST
 ‘There is chicha.’ (E)

(39) hatya oloniti tyaonita
 hatya oloniti tyaona -ita
 INDF1 party COP IFV
 ‘There is a party’ (Tohieyere-NB)

9. Negation of nonverbal predicates

The negative particle *maiha* can be used in transitive and intransitive clauses, including negative nonverbal predicates (Brandão 2014). However, there are differences between the negation of verbal (standard negation) and some cases of nonverbal predicates.

According to Brandão (2014), the structural difference from nonnegative sentences is the presence of the negative particle *maiha* or *maitsa*, and of the progressive marker *-ita*, as in (40) or of the nominalizers *-re* (or its variants *-ze* and *-ye*), as in (41).

(40) heiyaya ihiyeha hoka maiha
 h= eiya =ya i= =hiye -ha hoka maiha
 2SG= say =IRR 3SG= =BEN PL CON NEG
 tsemazematyahitaha
 tsema =zema -tya -h -ita -ha
 hear =COM2 TH PL IFV PL
 ‘You talk to them but they do not listen to it’ (Formoso onetse)

(41) maiha aitsare Txinikalore , Timalakokoini
 maiha aitsa -re Txinikalore Timalakokoini
 NEG kill NR Txinikalore Timalakokoini
 ‘He is not able to kill Txinikalore and timalakokoini’ (Txinikalore)

In class-membership predicates, the negative particle *maiha* occurs obligatorily with the negative focus *xini* following the nominal head (with some material between the head noun and *xini*), as in (42) and (43). The marker *xini* also occurs in constituent negation, similar to the nominal irrealis marker *-ina* found in Mojeño (Rose, 2014: 227). The negation in an property-concept predicate uses the standard negation strategy, as illustrated in (44).

- (42) *maiha wiwaikohera hekoti xini*
maiha wi= waikohe -ra hekoti xini
 NEG 1PL= land POSS at least NEG
 ‘It is not even our land.’ (BO nawenane)
- (43) *maiha atyore owi xini menetse*
maiha =atyo -re owi xini menetse
 NEG =TOP NR snake NEG anaconda
 ‘It is not any snake, it is an anaconda’ (JT nawenane)
- (44) *maiha waiyeze*
maiha waiye -ze
 NEG good NR
 ‘It is not good’ (JT nawenane)

Locational/ existential predicates are negated with *maiha* or *maitsa*⁵ and the copula *tyaona*, which is marked by the nominalizer *-re*, as shown in (45) to (47). There is only one example in which the copula is not used (48).

- (45) *maiha ali tyaonare*
maiha -ta ali tyaona -re
 NEG EMPH here COP NR
 ‘He is not here.’ (Kabikule Daniel iraiti 2)
- (46) *hatyo escola maitsa aldeia tyaonare ali*
hatyo escola maitsa aldeia tyaona -re ali
 that school NEG indigenous.community COP NR here
 ‘If it was not for that school, there would not be a village here.’
 (Bacaval wenakalati)
- (47) *maiha alimaniya ezowaka kalore cidade tyaonare*
maiha ali maniya ezowaka kalore cidade tyaona -re
 NEG here side period, time a.lot city COP NR
 ‘At that time there was no big city on this side.’ (cabeceira do osso)

5. In my data, *maitsa* and *maiha* are in free variation, but in the past they may have pertained to different varieties.

- (48) maiha nali capitão
 maiha nali capitão
 NEG there captain
 ‘The captain was not there’ (JG nawenane)

Existential constructions with the existential verb *aka* employ standard negation with the particle *maiha* ‘NEG’ (49).

- (49) kala ehare mahalitihare witsekore atyo ezowakiya ,
 kala ehare ma- haliti -hare witsekore =atyo ezowakiya
 DUB this NEG person M goods =TOP period, time
 maiha aka
 maiha aka
 NEG EXIST
 ‘Then at that time there were no non-Indian goods.’ (Kamoro nawenane)

In *ka*-possessive constructions, there are two strategies for forming the negative possessive constructions, one with the negative *maiha*, the attributive *ka*- and the nominalizer *-re*, as in (50a), and the other one with the negative *ma*-, as in (50b). The difference between them is that the latter refers to a more permanent or less temporary state, while the former refers to a temporary state.

- (50) a. maiha nokaitsaniye
 maiha no= ka- itsani -ye
 NEG 1SG= ATR SON NR
 ‘I do not have children.’ (E.)
- b. maitsanihalo
 ma- itsani -halo
 NEG SON F
 ‘One who does not have children’/ ‘She does not have children’ (E)

10. Final considerations

I have shown three encoding strategies for nonverbal predicates in Paresi: zero encoding (without copula), predicates with the copulas *tyaona* or *aka*, or predicates with the prefixes *ka*- and *ma*-. Typologically, we have seen that the criteria for identifying nonverbal status of predicates can be partially applied in Paresi to distinguish nominal and locative predicates from verbal predicates. Paresi exhibits two personal agreement systems, one used with agentive verbs and another one used with non-agentive verbs and some nonverbal predicates (possessive, property-concept predicates and predicates with the copula). In addition, the copulas *tyaona* and

aka, and different negation strategies can be used with nonverbal predicates. The zero encoding is available for class-membership, property-concept and locational predicates, while the copula strategy is available only for some class-membership and locational predicates; prefixation is available only for possessive predicates.

Further investigation of the semantic properties of lexemes involved in nonverbal predicates showed that semantic features such as time-stability and transience can explain the distribution of the copula. Works such as Pustet (2003) related these semantic features to copularization, in the sense that more time-stable lexemes or with the specification [-transient], such as nouns and some adjectives tend to be nonverbal predicates. In Paresi, nouns and adverbs may occur or not with a copula depending on whether they involve more transient states of affairs or location. The transience feature plays also an important role in the use of the prefix *ma-* or the particle *maiha* for the negation of possessive predicates (see Brandão 2014).

This study is a preliminary description of the semantics of nonverbal predicates. Future research will clarify whether other semantic features, such as dynamicity, transitivity, and dependency (presented in Pustet), are related to the distribution of the copula in Paresi.

Abbreviations

ATR	Attributive	IRR	Irrealis
BEN	Benefactive	LK	Linking morpheme
CLF	Classifier	LOC	Locative
COM	Comitative	M	Masculine
CON	Connector	NEG	Negative
COP	Copula	NR	Nominalizer
DUB	Dubitative	O	Object
EMPH	Emphasis	PERF	Perfective
EVID	Evidential	PL	Plural
EXIST	Existential	PN	Proper noun
F	Feminine	POSS	Possessed
FOC	Focus	PST	Past
IFV	Imperfective	TOP	Topic
IND	Indefinite	TRS	Transitional

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Nonverbal predication in Kari'nja (Cariban, Suriname)

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This paper describes the forms and functions of nonverbal predication in Kari'nja (Cariban, Suriname). Previous descriptions of nonverbal predication in Kari'nja are limited to a single copular form, and make only passing mention of a subset of functions. Kari'nja employs the copula, as well as apposition (without a copula), and a verbal copula. Formally, each of the three nonverbal predicate structures differs in terms of person marking, negation, TAM, number, interrogative forms, and the types of complements it permits. In addition to structural characteristics, each construction differs in terms of which functional categories it encodes. This paper describes the formal properties and functional motivation for using each available construction in Kari'nja. It thereby provides a more complete analysis of the Kari'nja system specifically, examines the typological characteristics of nonverbal predication more generally, and contributes to our understanding of the ways in which systems can vary and change.

Keywords: Kari'nja, nonverbal predication, copula

1. Introduction

This chapter provides a systematic description of the formal properties and functional motivation for use of three available nonverbal predicate constructions in Kari'nja, a Cariban language of Suriname. It begins with a brief overview of formal and functional properties of nonverbal predication more generally followed by demographic information. This is followed by a description of the Kari'nja system, challenges to the analysis, and how Kari'nja fits into the typology of nonverbal predication.¹

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1.1 Nonverbal predicate forms

According to Dryer (2007: 224–225), nonverbal predicates are those in which the predicate nucleus is something other than a verb. He further distinguishes clauses with nonverbal predicates (those that include a copula) from nonverbal clauses (those without a copula). Dixon (2010) distinguishes copula and verbless clauses from transitive and intransitive clauses based on relational versus referential functions. According to Dixon, transitive and intransitive verbs have referential meanings, while copula verbs code the semantic relationship between a subject and its complement (2010: 159). Pustet (2003), defines a copula as an element that acts as a predicate nucleus but “does not add any semantic content to the predicate phrase it is contained in (2003: 5)”

These and other typological profiles (c.f. Payne 1997; Stassen 1997; Hengeveld 1992) share the notion of a nonverbal predicate as an independent clause in which some property is predicated of a nominal element with something other than a full lexical verb. This may include intransitive verbs that perform other functions in the language (such as stative or posture verbs), semantically empty copulas, or no separate predicating element at all, instead predicating by simple apposition of a subject and its complement (Dryer’s (2007) *nonverbal clause*). I use *subject* throughout to refer to the nominal element of which a functional category is predicated, and *complement* to refer to the structure that encodes the function. A complement in Kari’nja may be a noun phrase (NP) such as (1), ‘my name,’ adverbial phrase (AP)²

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2. There is an ongoing debate among Caribanists and typologists regarding the presence or absence of a separate adjective class in the family (c.f. Dixon & Aikhenvald (2006) for an argument in favor of a universal class of adjectives, and Meira & Gildea (2009) for an opposing viewpoint based on Cariban data). I do not enter that debate here, but rather note that what I call ‘adverbials’ could be split into separate ‘adjective’ and ‘adverb’ word classes, at least functionally. Adverbs in Kari’nja are most often derived by means of an adverbializing circumfix, [t- V/N -ce] that is common in the family. Other adverbial functions such as location are generally coded with a locative postposition, *po*. Attribution, commonly an adjectival function, may be accomplished by means of an attributive postposition, *me*. Although I have chosen not to enter the debate regarding a separate word class of adjectives, future work will examine word classes specific to the predication of human propensities and property concepts. Kari’nja predicates many of these (such as hunger) with verbs. Initial findings suggest that, on structural grounds, identification of a separate class of adjectives in Kari’nja is untenable. According to Meira and Gildea (2009), a more felicitous solution to the question of whether adjectives exist as a unique word class in Cariban languages is to identify a single class of adverbs that includes a subclass of adjectivals. Future work will examine the Kari’nja system more carefully.

as in (3), 'sweet,' or postpositional phrase (PP) as in (2), 'on the matapi stick.' The complement and predicating element (in the case of the copula and verbal copula constructions) together form the predicate. Since there is no separate predicating element in an apposition construction, the NP complement is also the predicate.

- (1) [Jety 'ne]_{SUBJ} [Racquel]_{PRED}
 j- ety 'ne Racquel
 1- name.PSSD INTNS NM
 'My name is Racquel.'
- (2) [Matasapai tupo]_{PRED} [mang]_{SUBJ.COP}
 matasapai tupo mang
 matapi.stick atop 3.COP
 'She is (sitting) on the matapi stick.' (CF UrMa 0023)
- (3) [Typosinje]_{PRED} [ne'i]_{SUBJ.COP}
 ty- posin -ne n- e'i -i
 AZR- sweetness - AZR 3- COP -REC.PST
 'It was sweet.'

Although previous work on Kari'nja has a single copular form as its focus (c.f. Hoff 1968: 212–213; Courtz 2007: 91–93), in fact the language employs all three nonverbal predicate construction types: apposition, copula, and verbal copula. Each differs in terms of inflections and complement types it permits. Formally, the subject is obligatorily coded with pronominal prefixes in the copular and verbal forms in Kari'nja, and may be further specified with a separate nominal element. In an apposition construction, the subject is a noun or non-bound pronoun.

1.2 Functional categories of nonverbal predication

In languages that employ more than one nonverbal predicate construction type, different structures may be associated with different functions. Payne (1997) identifies six functional categories of nonverbal predication: equation, proper inclusion (or category membership), attribution, location, existence, and possession. Dixon (2010) identifies five functions, collapsing Payne's equation and proper inclusion into a single function that he terms "Identity." Since existence takes only a subject and no complement, he separates this function from nonverbal predicates, preferring to describe it as an intransitive construction (2010: 159–160). He further divides the Identity category into Specific Referent, Specific Description, and General Description, and adds a category of "Benefaction" not present in Payne's typology.

Stassen (1997) focuses on what Dixon (2010) terms 'Identity,' teasing out different semantic characteristics, and formal encoding strategies for each (100–120).

Dryer (2007) describes formal properties of nonverbal predication based on predicate type (adjectival, nominal, or locative),³ though he does make some mention of functions in a section on “Minor Predicates,” including genitive, benefactive, and comitative, among others (247–251).

Although their examples illustrate a subset of stative functions, previous descriptions of Kari’nja make no specific mention of semantic functions of nonverbal predicate constructions (c.f. Hoff 1968; Courtz 2007). In Kari’nja, each formal construction type differs in terms of the functional categories it encodes. Furthermore, Kari’nja recognizes an additional category, desiderative, beyond those identified by Payne (1997) or Dixon (2010).

1.3 Demographics

Also known as Carib or Carib of Suriname, Kari’nja (*car*) is a member of the Cariban language family and is spoken across the Guyana Shield from Brazil to the east, west across the Guianas, and into Venezuela. Spoken by approximately 7,358 people worldwide (Lewis et al. 2013), the language is classified as *highly endangered* by the UNESCO Red Book (2003). There are an estimated 1,200 speakers in Suriname (Carlin, 2001) who speak one of two identified dialects, *Tyrewuju* or *Aretyry*.⁴ The prestige dialect, Tyrewuju, has by far the greatest number of speakers in Suriname. Although detailed descriptions of dialectal variation are scant, speakers are able to readily identify one dialect from the other, and the two are mutually intelligible. Data for this paper come from speakers of the Aretyry dialect as spoken in western Suriname. All speakers reside in Konomerume (more commonly known as Donderskamp),⁵ which lies on the banks of the Wajambo River in the Sipiliwini District of Suriname.

2. Kari’nja nonverbal predication

Kari’nja has three nonverbal predicate constructions. These include simple apposition, the *a* copula, and a lexical intransitive verb, *e’i*, functioning as a copula. Each construction is distinct in terms of how it codes person, negation, TAM and

3. I understand locative as a functional rather than a formal category, and would instead term this category *adpositional*.

4. Speakers consider *Murato*, the more widely used name for the Aretyry dialect, pejorative.

5. Konomerume is the Kari’nja name for the village. C.f. Yamada (2014) for more discussion of the two names.

number, interrogative forms, as well as allowable complement type. Furthermore, each formal construction type differs in terms of which functional categories it encodes. In the sections that follow, I describe the formal properties and functional distribution, with a focus on categories identified by Payne (1997), of each of the three nonverbal predication strategies Kari'nja employs.

2.1 Apposition

In order to predicate a state of a NP subject, Kari'nja speakers may appose two nominal elements (4). This construction has none of the typical verbal properties such as person, number, or TAM morphology, though some are possible with repurposed nominal morphology.

- (4) [Jety 'ne]_{SUBJ} [Racquel.]_{COMP}
 j- ety 'ne Racquel
 1- name.PSSD INTNS NM
 'My name is Racquel.'

2.1.1 Apposition: Person and number

The subject nominal of an apposition construction may be a full noun as in (5), 'field,' a pronoun as in (6), 'this person,' or a [Possessor Possessed] noun phrase as illustrated in (7), 'my uncle's name.' Number is indicated with a nominal collective suffix, *-kong* affixed to either the subject or complement (8).

- (5) [Poto pore]_{PRED} [mainja.]_{SUBJ}
 poto pore mainja
 big.one INTNS field
 'The field is a very big one.' (CF JeNj 0011)
- (6) [Mose 'ne]_{SUBJ} [sano.]_{PRED}
 mose 'ne Ø- sano
 3.AN.PX INTNS 1- mother
 'This is my mother.'
- (7) [Jawo ety 'ne]_{SUBJ} [Paco.]_{PRED}
 jawo ety 'ne Paco
 uncle name.PSSD INTNS NM
 'My uncle's name is Paco.'
- (8) [Tumung 'ne]_{PRED} rapa [itjererykong.]_{SUBJ}
 tumung 'ne rapa i- kiere -ry -kong
 big.one INTNS INTNS 3- cassava -PSSD -COL
 'Her cassava are really big ones.' (CF CeAr 0013)

2.1.2 *Apposition: Temporal distinctions*

A past tense-like distinction is possible with the ‘former, devalued’ suffix, *-mbo* affixed to the predicate noun phrase. In (9), two readings are possible. In addition to ‘She is my former wife,’ a more past-tense like reading, ‘She was my wife,’ is accepted without reservation. Context disambiguates.

- (9) *Mo’ko pytymbo.*
 moko Ø- py(ty) -mbo
 3.AN.DIST 1- wife -DVL
 ‘She is my former wife.’
 ‘She was my wife.’

2.1.3 *Apposition: Interrogative forms*

There is not a question form for the apposition construction. A copula is necessary to form a polarity question and the addition of an indefinite pronoun and optional question particle forms an information question (c.f. § 2.2.3).

2.1.4 *Apposition: Negation*

The apposition construction may be negated by means of a negative particle, such as *kapyng*, ‘not,’ placed after the predicate, as in (10).

- (10) *Jumy kapyng ‘ne mo’ko.*
 Ø- jumy kapyng ‘ne mo’ko
 1- father NEG INTNS 3.AN.DIST
 ‘He is not my father.’

2.1.5 *Apposition: Predicate types*

In the texts, predicates in an apposition construction included NPs (11), APs (12), and PPs (13).

- (11) *Ero [paranakyry netry]_{NP}.*
 ero paranakyry net -ry
 3.IN.PX white.person net -PSSD
 ‘This is a white person’s net.’ (CF JuAl 0079)
- (12) *[Tomaminje pore]_{AP} mose worryi ri.*
 t- emamin -je pore mose worryi ri
 AZR- work -AZR very 3.AN.PX woman INTNS
 ‘This woman is very hardworking.’ (CF JeNj 0006)
- (13) *Mo’ko pitjani mje [tyjumy maro]_{PP}.*
 moko pitjani me ty- jumy maro
 3.AN.DIST child small 3R- father with
 ‘The little boy is with his own father.’ (CF HeAl 0063)

Although apposed adverbial predicates do exist in the texts, they are rejected in elicitation. When I ask for grammaticality judgements of the text examples, speakers consistently either add in a copula, or change the predicate to a verb to make the utterance more “correct.” For example, *Mo'ko worryi tore'ke*, ‘The woman is angry,’ was consistently changed to either add in a copula as in (14), or to use a main clause form, as in (15). In this case, the construction was changed from the derived adverbial form *tore'ke* to the lexical verb form *norekoi*.

- (14) *Mo'ko worryi [tore'ke]_{AP} mang.*
 mo'ko worryi t- wot- ere'ko -ke mang
 3.AN.DIST woman AZR- DETR- make.angry -AZR 3.COP
 ‘The woman is angry.’

- (15) *Mo'ko worryi [nor'ekoi]_{VP}.*
 mo'ko worryi n- wot- ere'ko -i
 3.AN.DIST woman 3- DETR- make.angry -REC.PST
 ‘The woman is angry.’
 ?*Mo'ko worryi tore'ke.*

While forms like (13) with an apposed PP predicate exist in text data, these, too, are “corrected” in elicitation. For example, when asked for grammaticality judgements of *Okoju topu tupo*, ‘A snake is on a rock,’ speakers rejected it as ungrammatical and offered forms such as (16) with an *a* copula, or (17) with *e'i*, ‘COP.’

- (16) [*Okoju*]_{NP} [*topu tupo*]_{PP} mang.
 okoju topu tupo mang
 snake stone atop 3.COP
 ‘A snake is on a rock.’

- (17) [*Okoju*]_{NP} [*topu tupo*]_{PP} ne'i.
 okoju topu tupo n- e'i -i
 snake stone atop 3- COP -REC.PST
 ‘A snake was on a rock.’
 ?*Okoju topu tupo.*

Gildea (this volume) proposes that the Proto-Cariban apposition construction (his “juxtaposition predicate”) permitted only nominal predicates. Given that this restriction is found today in four other languages as well as speakers’ grammaticality judgements, I treat the [AP NP] and [PP NP] constructions in Kari'nja as marginal. They may be an innovation in progress, possibly due to elision of a copular form (c.f. Hoff 1995).

As for constituent ordering, the subject is more often construction-initial, but the subject or predicate may come first with no apparent difference in meaning. The intensifier *ne*, though not obligatory, frequently co-occurs with one of the nominal

constituents (18). Of course, given that both elements are NPS, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish subject from predicate. The hearer must rely on context to disambiguate.

- (18) *Omepaneng awu 'ne.*
 wos- emepa -neng awu 'ne
 DETR -teach -NZR I INTNS
 'I am a teacher.'

2.1.6 *Apposition: Functions*

The primary functions coded via apposition are equative (19), and proper inclusion (20).

- (19) *Ero a'na beredery.*
 ero a'na berede -ry
 3.IN.PX 1+3 bread -PSSD
 'This is our bread.' (CF JuAl 0055)
- (20) [*Potonong*]_{NP} *itjerery.*
 poto -nong i- kiere -ry
 big.one -COL 3- cassava -PSSD
 'Her cassava are big (ones).' (CF JeNj 0017)

Of functional categories identified by Payne (1997) and Dixon (2010), I found examples in the texts of the apposition construction fulfilling all but the existential and possessive functions. Apposition is also rejected for these functions in elicitation. Additionally, although attributive (21) and locative (22) functions are present in the texts, they are rejected in elicitation or corrected to copular (14) or verbal (15) forms. This is likely due to the restriction to NP predicates in an apposition construction (as proposed by Gildea (this volume) for Proto-Cariban). These are marginal uses of the apposition construction.

- (21) [?][*Tarure*]_{AP} *wjery.*
 tarure i- wewe -ry
 dry 3- wood -PSSD
 'Her wood is dry.' (CF MaCh 0027)
- (22) [?]*Mo'ko pitjani mje [tyjummy maro]_{PP}*
 moko pitjani me ty- jummy maro
 3.AN.DIST child small 3R- father with
 'The little boy is with his own father.' (CF HeAl 0063)

2.2 Copula

A second nonverbal predicate construction in Kari'nja employs the *a* copula. The copula based on this root serves only to connect a subject and its complement and adds no additional semantic content. However, the root may be inflected morphologically for person, number, tense, and certainty.

2.2.1 Copula: Person and number

Although the root itself serves only to link the subject to the concept predicated, the person of the subject is obligatorily indicated within the copula. The copula is a bound root and as such requires a person-marking prefix that identifies the subject. In addition to person marking, the *a* copula may be marked with a collective suffix, *-tong*. Table 1 illustrates person and collective forms of the copula.

Table 1. Person and collective forms of the *a* copula

Person	Copula	Gloss	Collective	Gloss
	<i>a</i>	COP	<i>-tong</i>	COL
1	<i>wa</i>	'I am'		
2	<i>ma(na)</i>	'you are'	<i>mandong*</i>	'you all are'
1+2	<i>kyta</i>	'we two are'	<i>kytatong</i>	'we all are'
3	<i>na</i>	's/he/it is (uncertain)'	<i>nandong</i>	'they are'
3	<i>mang</i>	's/he/it is (certain)'	<i>mandong</i>	'they are'

* t > d/ [+nasal] ____

There are two different third person forms, *mang* and *na*. The difference between the two forms appears to be related to prior knowledge. According to Hoff, "*na* is used when the speaker makes a statement about a state of affairs he finds in existence at the moment of speaking, *mang* (orthography mine) is used when he makes a statement about a state of affairs which he already knew about apart from [sic] the speech event" (1968: 213). In a more recent analysis, Hoff (pc.) identifies directivity as the differentiating factor between *mang*, *na*, and *nang*. Meira and Gildea (2009) gloss cognates as differing in terms of visual versus nonvisual evidence. I gloss them here as 'uncertain' and 'certain'. In addition to copula-internal person marking, the person of the subject may be further specified with a separate nominal element (23).

- (23) [J:umy 'ne]_{Pred} [moko]_{SUBJ} mang.
 Ø- jumy 'ne moko mang
 1- father INTNS 3.AN.DIST 3.COP
 'That is my father.'

2.2.2 Copula: Temporal distinctions

Cognates to *a*, and indeed the Kari'nja *a* copula itself have been termed 'suppletive' (c.f. Derbyshire, 1985) or 'defective' (c.f. Hoff 1968: 282) as a means of recognizing their limited distributional and inflectional possibilities. The form is limited to Present⁶ and Simple Past tenses in Kari'nja. The unmarked forms, inflected for person (as illustrated in 23), are in Present tense. Simple Past is indicated with a suffix, *-jakong*, which is infixed with *to-* for collective. These forms are illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2. Past non-collective and collective forms of *a* copula

Person	Past non-collective	Gloss	Past collective	Gloss
	<i>-jakong</i> *	PST	<i>-ja-to-kong</i>	PST.COLL
1	<i>wakong</i>	'I was'		
2	<i>makong</i>	'you were'	<i>matokong</i>	'you all were'
1+2	<i>kytakong</i>	'we were'	<i>kytatokong</i>	'we all were'
3	<i>kynakong</i> **	's/he/it was'	<i>kynatokong</i>	'they were'

* *-jakong* reduces to *-kong* following roots that end with /a/.

** The *ky-* in third person is historically a marker of remote distance. It is required for Past tense. C.f. Yamada (2011) for a description of the evolution of this form.

2.2.3 Copula: Interrogative forms

For polarity questions, Kari'nja employs a marker of uncertainty, the suffix *-ng*. Since Collective forms already end in a nasal, a change in intonation indicates a polarity question. Interrogative forms are illustrated in Table 3.

Table 3. Polarity question non-collective and collective forms of the *a* copula

Person	Question non-collective	Gloss	Form	Question collective
	<i>-ng</i>	DBT	<i>-tong</i> + Intonation	COLL.DBT
1	<i>wang</i>	'am I?'		
2	<i>mang</i>	'are you?'	<i>mandong?</i>	'are you all?'
1+2	<i>kytanong</i>	'are we?'	<i>kytatong?</i>	'are we?'
3	<i>nang</i>	'is s/he/it?'	<i>nandong?</i>	'are they?'

In addition to polarity question forms illustrated in Table 3 and in (24), the *a* copula may be combined with an indefinite pronoun plus an optional question particle to form information questions (25). Information questions employ a copular form that is only marked for person, but not for uncertainty. The function of interrogative is fulfilled by the indefinite pronoun and question particle.

6. This tense form has also been referred to as non-temporal (Hoff 1968: 175) and non-past (Gildea 1998: 98), among other terms. It is used to refer to situations or events in the present, but may also be used for past events in contexts such as storytelling.

- (24) *Pary* 'ne mose nang?
 pary 'ne mose na -ng
 grandchild INTNS 3.AN.PX 3.COP - DBT
 'Is this your grandchild?'
 **Pary* 'ne mose?

- (25) *Noky ko mose na?*
 noky ko mose na
 who QP 3.AN.DIST 3.COP
 'Who is this person?' (FF HeAl 0008)
 (Lit. 'This person is who?')

2.2.4 Copula: Negation

Negation with an *a* copula is accomplished by use of a negative particle following the predicated element to be negated. In Example (26), the adjectival notion 'well' is negated with the particle *waty*, and in (27), the nominalized 'write' is negated in the same way.

- (26) *Jupa 'ne waty wa.*
 jupa 'ne waty wa
 well INTNS NEG 1.COP
 'I am not well.'

- (27) *M'hm, mijerory waty mang.*
 m'hm i- mero -ry waty mang
 m'hm 3- write -NZR NEG 3.COP
 'M'hm, she is not going to paint it.' (CF HeMa 0057)⁷
 (Lit. 'She is it's painting not.')

2.2.5 Copula: Constituent ordering and predicate types

The *a* copula in Kari'nja exhibits two characteristics that are unusual among Cariban languages. First of all, the constituent order [[Complement] [Subject] [Copula]] is unusual in the family. Secondly, most Cariban languages do not permit nominal complements in a copula construction. However, in Kari'nja, both features are robust (28), (29), (30).

- (28) [*I:jo*]_{COMP} *painjare* [*mose*]_{SUBJ} *na.*
 i- ijo painjare mose na
 3- husband maybe 3.AN.PX 3.COP
 'Maybe this is her husband.' (CF HeAl 0011)

7. 'Write' here refers to a process of decorating cassava bread by "drawing" patterns in the flour as the bread roasts on the pan.

- (29) [*Paranakyry manarery*]_{COMP} [*moro*]_{SUBJ} *mang.*
 paranakyry manare -ry moro mang
 White.person sieve -PSSD 3.IN.MD 3.COP
 ‘That is a White person’s sifter.’ (CF WiMa 0074)
- (30) [*Komamyryko* ‘*ne*’]_{COMP} [*ero*]_{SUBJ} *mang.*
 k- ema(my) -ry -kong ‘ne ero mang
 1+2- live -NZR -COL INTNS 3.IN.PX 3.COP
 ‘This is how we live.’ (Lit. ‘our living’) (CF WiMa 0111)

The typical Cariban copula construction, when a separate nominal subject is present, is in the order [[Subject] [Complement Copula]] (Gildea this volume). That is, the complement immediately precedes the copula, forming a [Complement Copula] constituent, and the subject is free to occur on either side of the [Complement Copula] unit. In addition, nominal complements are not permitted. The more typical Cariban copula construction, which does exist in Kari’nja, has either an adverbial (31) or postpositional phrase (32) complement that directly precedes the copula.

- (31) [*Tyka:se*]_{COMP} *mang.*
 ty- ka(py) -se mang
 AZR- make -AZR 3.COP
 ‘It is done.’ (FF HeAl 0039)
- (32) [*Tumary*]_{SUBJ} [*moro wa’to tupo*]_{COMP} *mang.*
 Ø- tuma -ry moro wa’to tupo mang
 1- pot -PSSD 3.IN.DIST fire atop 3.COP
 ‘My pot is on the fire.’ (FF CeAr 0091)

In contrast to the more typical Cariban ordering, in Kari’nja, separate Subject and Complement constituents may occur in either order preceding the copula as in (33), [Complement Subject Copula] or (34), [Subject Complement Copula].

- (33) [*Takyse k’ba*]_{COMP} [*moro kiere pung*]_{SUBJ} *mang.*
 takyse kaba moro kiere pung mang
 firm already 3.IN.DIST cassava meal 3.COP
 ‘That cassava meal is firm already.’ (CF JeNj 0029)
- (34) [*Awu*]_{SUBJ} [*omepaneng me*]_{COMP} *wa.*
 awu wos- emepa -neng me wa
 1 DETR- teach -NZR ATTR 1.COP
 ‘I am a teacher.’

Hoff (2005) notes that the constituent order [Complement Subject Copula] is not unusual in Kari’nja, which tends to have few word order restrictions. Although the unusual constituent order and complement type permitted in Kari’nja are frequent, the construction is not without restrictions. In Kari’nja, the constituent order

[Complement Subject Copula] is permitted only if the separate subject is a pronoun (35). If the subject nominal is a full noun phrase, speakers reject this constituent order and “correct” tokens by either changing to a pronoun or adding an attributive postposition, *me*, to the predicate noun. That is, (36), with a full NP subject, was rejected or corrected to (37) with the attributive postposition, *me*, while (38), with a pronominal subject, was accepted without reservation.

(35) [Masuwa]_{COMP} [moro]_{SUBJ} mang.
 masuwa moro mang
 net 3.IN.DIST 3.COP
 ‘That is a fishing net.’ (FF HeAl 0006)

(36) **Omepane* *Racquel mang.*
 wos- emepa -neng Racquel mang
 DETR- teach -NZR NM 3.COP
 ‘Racquel is a teacher.’

(37) *Omepane* *me Racquel mang.*
 wos- emepa -neng me Racquel mang
 DETR- teach -NZR ATTR NM 3.COP
 ‘Racquel is a teacher.’

(38) *Omepane* *mose mang.*
 wos- emepa -neng mose mang
 DETR- teach -NZR 3.AN.PX 3.COP
 ‘She is a teacher.’

Álvarez (2005) notes something similar in Kari’ña of Venezuela and offers a possible explanation for situations where what appears to be a full nominal complement precedes a [Pronoun Copula] constituent. Álvarez analyzed this as a type of fronting construction in Kari’ña of Venezuela.⁸ That is, the core clause is the [Pronoun Copula] unit, and what appears to be a nominal complement is, in fact, a case of left dislocation and not actually an argument or complement of the copula. In the Venezuela case, what appears to be a single construction is, in fact, two separate constructions: a nominal apposition construction (‘You are a man’) and a separate copula construction (‘You are.’) (39).

(39) [NP NP] [PRO COP]
Amooro vüküürü amooro maana
 2 hombre 2 2.COP
 ‘Tú eres hombre.’ (Lit: You are a man, you are.) (Álvarez, 2005: 5)

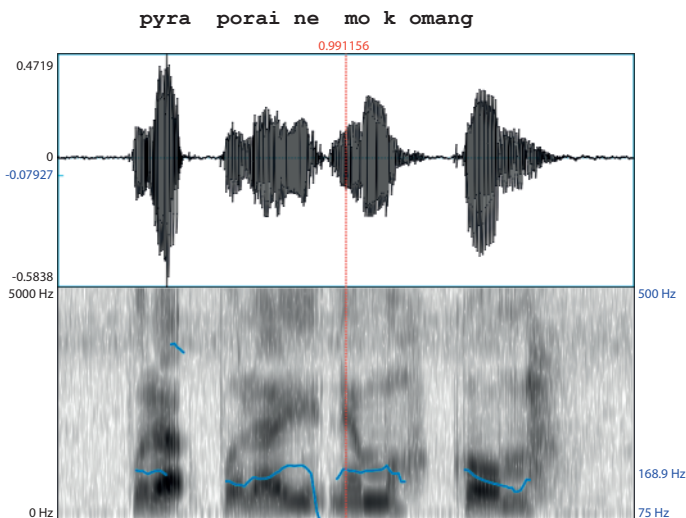
8. “...las clausulas con el verbo “copulativo” son simplemente intransitivas y lo que en español constituye un predicado nominal no lo es en kariña (salvo en las cláusulas sin verbo), sino un complemento adverbial que requiere me u otra forma funcionalmente equivalente a un adverbio...” (Álvarez 2005: 3).

Álvarez (2005) confirmed this analysis with prosody. In every such case, there is a pause between the fronted NP and the subject pronoun. In addition, the two constructions are under separate, independent pitch contours.

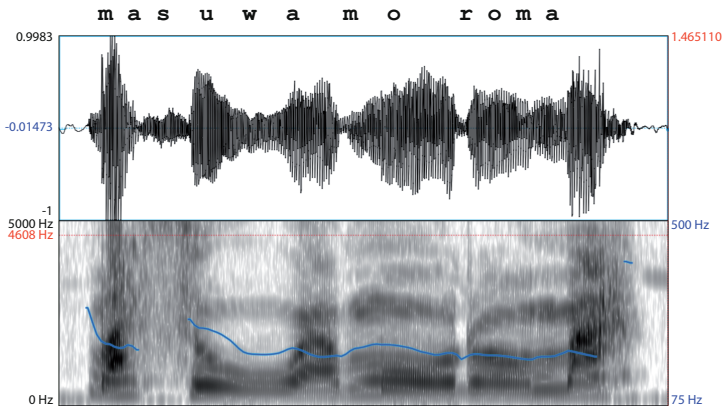
This analysis is predictive of the Kari’ña of Suriname data in that, in all cases with a separate nominal subject and nominal complement, the subject is a pronoun, and the pronoun is closest to the copula, potentially forming a [Pronoun Copula] constituent (28), (29), as Álvarez’s analysis for Venezuela Kari’ña would predict. In elicitation, a full noun phrase was consistently rejected in the pre-copula position. Speakers either replaced the NP with a pronoun, or added in an attributive postposition. However, they accepted a pronoun in that position without reservation. In addition, the nominal complement frequently occurs with an intensifier, *ne* (30), which could be an indication of fronting.

In order to confirm that Álvarez’ (2005) analysis holds for Kari’ña of Suriname, there would need to be a pause and/or pitch reset between the “fronted” nominal complement and the following pronoun. In addition, such pauses and intonational contours would need to be confirmed as indicators of constituency in the language. In fact, neither a pause nor pitch reset is present in Kari’ña. In (40), a pause would be expected between *ne* and *mo’ko*, while in (41), a pause between *masuwa* and *moro* would confirm a fronted nominal constituent. In both cases, there is no discernable pause.

- (40) *Pyra’porai ne mo’ko mang.*
 fish.sp INTNS 3.AN.DIST 3. COP
 ‘That’s a pyra’porai fish.’ (FF CeAr 00072)



- (41) *Masuwa moro mang.*
 net 3.IN.DIST 3. COP
 ‘That’s a fishing net.’ (FF HeAl 00006)



However, these data might simply indicate that pauses and intonational contours do not correlate with independent constituents in Kari'nja. That they do is confirmed by examination of a larger context. In (42), pauses and intonation contours clearly correspond to independent clause constituents. The first break, indicated with /, represents a 140ms pause and there is a clear pitch reset at the start of the next constituent, indicated by a jump from 141 to 225 hertz. Although the second constituent boundary, indicated with //, has a less clear pitch reset (from 188 to 221 hertz), the pause is a robust 228ms. The third major pause (///), between the third and fourth constituents in the speech stream, is of 843ms, but with an indeterminate pitch reset due to the following constituent starting with a creaky voice (due to a nasal onset). The final pause of 734ms between the fourth and fifth constituents is indicated with ////. Each of these pauses and pitch resets corresponds to expected clausal constituent boundaries.

- (42) *masuwa kaije djombo* /
masuwa ka -e djombo
 fish.trap say -PRS then
 'Fishing net, I say then,'
masuwa moro mang. //
masuwa moro mang
 fish.trap 3IN.MD 3.COP
 'that is a fishing net,'
Serepi ejatojato ///
serepi ejato -ja -tong
 fishing.net call - PRS -COL
 'the one they call *serepi*'
masuwa, kari'nja masuwary ////
masuwa kari'nja masuwa -ry
 fish.trap Kari'nja fish.trap -PSSD
 'fishing net, a Kari'nja fishing net,'

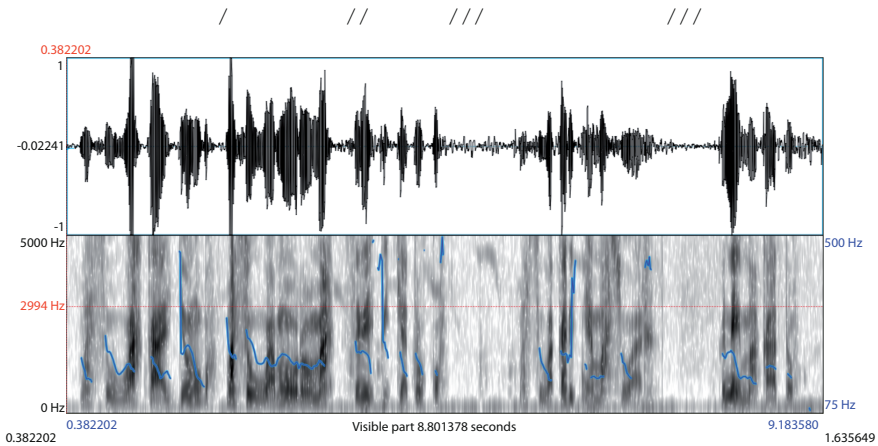
kynemakatong

ky- n-emaka -tong

RM- 3A3O- comb.parting -COL

‘they are opening a path for it.’

(FF HeAl 00006)



Although the analysis of a fronting construction works for Kari’ña of Venezuela, the same does not hold true for the Areyty variety spoken in Western Suriname. The Kari’ña construction may have begun life as a focus construction as in Kari’ña of Venezuela, but has since lost that pragmatic function, as reflected in the loss of a pause (c.f. Gildea (1993) for a review of literature exploring this phenomenon).

The second unusual characteristic, from a Cariban perspective, of both copula and verbal copula constructions in Kari’ña has to do with the use of the postposition, *me*. Historically, *me* is an attributive postposition roughly translating to ‘serving as, like, resembling.’ It still clearly performs this semantic function with lexical verb constructions, as in (43) and (44).

- (43) *Amu pishipjo ykotojang tybetiry me*
 amu pisi -mbo ykoto -ja -ng ty- beti -ry me
 a piece -DVL cut -PRS - DBT 3R- bait -PSSD ATTR
tykoweitjy betitoto’me.
 ty- koweit -ry beti -to -to’me
 3R- fishhook -PSSD bait -VZR - PURP

‘He cuts a small piece (to use) as his bait so he can bait his hook.’

(FFMaAl 00021)⁹

9. In the particular scene being described here, a man has just caught a fish that he then cuts a piece of to use as bait.

- (44) *Eropo amu, ah, ma'mi seneja wewe pa'kotory i'ja*
 eropo amu ah ma'mi s- ene -ja wewe pa'koto -ry i- 'wa
 here some HES boy 1A3O- see -PRS tree slash -NZR 3- AGT
*tymainjary me painjare.*¹⁰
 ty- mainja -ry me painjare
 3R- field -PSSD ATTR maybe
 'Here some, ah, I see a young man cutting a tree perhaps (to serve) as his field.'
 (CF JuAI 0001)

However, in nonverbal predicates, the semantics have been bleached. Although this semantic value is still available, *me* marks complements that cannot be interpreted to mean 'resembling,' in that they serve equative (45) or proper inclusion (46) functions.¹¹

- (45) *Roberto Joghie ety me na.*
 roberto joghie Ø- ety me na
 NM NM 3- name.PSSD ATTR 3.COP
 'Roberto Joghie is his name.'
 (CF WiMa 0002)
- (46) *Mo'ko jopoto me kynakong.*
 mo'ko jopoto me kynakong
 3.AN.DIST chief Attr 3.COP.DST.PST
 'He used to be chief.'
 (Intrv CeAr 0109)

In these cases, the *me* appears to fulfill a purely syntactic function distinct from the semantic function of attribution. In this case, it serves to allow a full noun phrase to be used as a predicate with a copula and occupy a position directly preceding the copula. This is a distinction noted by Hoff (1968). He suggested two separate elements: one postposition *me*, and a second particle or suffix *me*, the latter of which performs the strictly syntactic function of marking the complement of an *a* copula (1968:198).

The construction types described herein employ the syntactic *me*. However, in these cases, it is an independent postposition, phonologically. It does not condition reduction of the preceding element, as would be expected of a suffix, and is phonologically independent. Furthermore, *me* as described here does not alter the rhythmic structure of the complement word (c.f. Hoff 1968: 88–93). Kari'nja *me* is

10. A high-frequency form, *eropo*, 'here,' is historically a postpositional phrase composed of the proximal demonstrative pronoun *ero*, 'this,' and the locative postposition *po*. Distal (*moro*, 'that') and remote (*mony*, 'that over there') demonstratives behave similarly forming *moropo*, 'there' and *monypo*, 'over there.'

11. C.f. also (82), (83) below where the subjects did not *resemble* leaders, they were leaders.

one of a handful of postpositions (this group also includes the locative postposition *po*) that appear to be grammaticalizing to clitics and then on to affixes with purely syntactic functions.

Both Proper Inclusion and Attribution functions can be encoded with a *me*-headed postpositional phrase complement to the copula. This is typologically unusual as Proper Inclusion more commonly requires a nominal complement, and attribution an adverbial one. Postpositional phrase complements for both functions are headed solely by attributive *me*. It is possible that *me* is progressing toward a syntactic change from an independent postposition to an adverbializing clitic or suffix. In fact, such is the case in Tiriyo, a Cariban language spoken in southern Suriname and northern Brazil. According to Meira (1999), a cognate to Kari'nja *me* allows Tiriyo speakers to attribute features of a noun or nominalized verb to a participant via predication. Thus, the nominalized verb meaning 'eat' derives the property 'edible,' as in Example (47).¹²

- (47) *pakira_n-ai* *ěně_me*
 peccary_3S_A-COP eat:N_ATTR
 'Peccary is edible.' (Meira 1999: 428)

2.2.6 Copula: Functions

The *a* copula differs from the noncopular construction in that it predicates a full range of semantic functions.

The equative function is fulfilled by NP predicates (48), subject to the restrictions described in the previous section.

- (48) [*P:ary* *'ne*]_{NP} *mose* *mang.*
 Ø- pary 'ne mose mang
 1- grandchild INTNS 3.AN.PX 3.COP
 'This is my grandchild.'

Proper inclusion, or category membership, is fulfilled by noun (50) or postpositional phrases headed by the attributive postposition *me* (49). Postpositional phrases are a typologically unusual complement type, cross-linguistically, for this function. More commonly, proper inclusion is coded with a predicate nominal (Payne 1997: 119). However, a nominal complement is innovative in Kari'nja and not without restrictions. In (50), the noun phrase complement precedes the subject which is, as expected, a pronoun.

12. Although it is beyond the scope of the present chapter, a full examination of these high frequency forms, including comparisons to languages for which there are adequate descriptions (c.f. Derbyshire (1985), Meira (1999), among others), will be the subject of future work.

- (49) *Awu 'ne [omepaneng me]_{pp} wa.*
 awu 'ne wos- emepa -neng me wa
 1 INTNS DETR- teach -NZR ATTR 1.COP
 'I am a teacher'
- (50) *[Omyja pore worryi]_{NP} mose mang, tzybrymbo kapyng*
 omyja pore worryi mose mang tzybry -mbo kapyng
 young.one SUPR woman 3.AN.PX 3.COP old.woman -DVL NEG
 'This is a beautiful young woman, not an old grandmother.' (CF JuAI 0031)

Attribution may be accomplished via an AP (51) or PP (52) complement. The latter is typically headed by the attributive postposition, *me*.

- (51) *Tanshi [tukobire]_{AP} mang.*
 tanshi tukobire mang
 grandfather bald 3.COP
 'Grandfather is bald.'
- (52) *[A'na tumary me]_{pp} mang.*
 a'natuma -ry me mang
 1+3 soup -PSSD ATTR 3.COP
 'It's like our soup' (CF JuAI 0035)

Locative predication is fulfilled solely with postpositional phrase predicates (53).¹³

- (53) *[Matasapai tupo]_{pp} mang.*
 matasapai tupo mang
 matapi.stick atop 3.COP
 'She is (sitting) on the matapi stick.' (CF UrMa 0023)

Existence is predicated with AP predicates as in (54).

- (54) *Tamushi [mondo]_{AP} mang.*
 tamushi mondo mang
 god present 3.COP
 'God exists.'

Possession is predicated with adverbial predicates (55), (56).

- (55) *[Tysumbarake 'ne]_{AP} mang.*
 t- sumbara -ke 'ne mang
 AZR- machete -AZR INTNS 3.COP
 'He has a machete.' (Lit. 'He is macheted.')

13. C.f. n. 10 regarding *eropo*, 'here.' Although the translational equivalent is an adverbial, this form is historically a postpositional phrase in Kari'nja, employing the locative postposition *po*.

- (56) *Mose poitjo [tɣpyke]_{AP} mang,¹⁴ [tymene]_{AP} mang.*
 mose poitjo t- py(ty) -ke mang t- yme -ne mang
 3.AN.DIST young.man AZR- wife -AZR 3.COP AZR- child -AZR 3.COP
 ‘This young man has a wife, he has a child.’ (Lit. ‘He is wifed, he is childed.’)
 (CF WiMa 0008)

In an apparent possessive construction, a separate pronominal or copula-internal subject with a possessed noun complement is also possible with the *a* copula. However, in this case, possession is not what is actually being predicated. This construction fulfills the proper inclusion function, identifying the subject (‘that’) as an item belonging in the category of “items owned by subject” (‘his machete’) (57).

- (57) *Ishumbarary ‘ne moro mang.*
 i- sumbara -ry ‘ne moro mang
 3- machete -PSSD INTNS 3.IN.DIST 3.COP
 ‘That is his machete.’

2.2.7 Copula: Additional constructions

The copular form described in this section is not limited to the functional categories described in Payne (1997). Formally similar constructions are also employed to code a desiderative function as well as to negate a main clause verb. The desiderative function is coded with a person-marked copula and a postpositional phrase complement employing the desiderative postposition, *se*, as in (58).

- (58) *Amu tuna se wa.*
 amu tuna se wa
 some water DESID 1.COP
 ‘I want some water.’ (Lit. ‘I am [(desirous) of some water]_{PP}’)¹⁵

This particular postposition is unusual in that it may be negated with the suffix, *-hpa*, more typically applied to nouns or verbs. The negative-marked postposition is illustrated in (59), and a corresponding negative verb is illustrated in (60) (the latter construction is further illustrated in (64) and (65)).

- (59) “*Wokytyry se’pa wa,” ngato “mainja*
 wos- ky -ry se -hpa wa n- ka -tong mainja
 DETR- grate -NZR DESID -NEG 1.COP 3- say -COL field

14. Usually, reducing roots leave vowel length behind. The root *pyty*, ‘wife’, is probably not monomorphemic, historically.

15. This is a clumsy translation in that ‘some water’ is the object of the desiderative postposition, *se*, in Kari’nja. There is no equivalent English preposition, so the gloss is a verb phrase.

pomyry se'pa wa," ngatong.
 po(my) -ry se -hpa wa n- ka -tong."
 plant -NZR DESID -NEG 1.COP 3- say -COL

'“I don't want to grate,” they say, “I don't want to plant a field,” they say.'

(Lit. 'I am [want-not] grating.') (CF WiMa 0054)

(60) *Anene'pa wa.*

an- ene -hpa wa
 3.NEG- see - NEG 1. COP

'I can't see it.'

(CF HeAl 0011)

As with other postpositions, complements of *se* may be indicated with either a personal prefix or a separate nominal. Examples (61) and (62) illustrate personal prefixes, and (63) a separate nominal.

(61) *Ma yse'pa te'ne mang.*

ma y- se -hpa te'ne mang
 but 1O- DESID -NEG actually 3.COP

'But it doesn't love me.'

(DK Interviews WiTo 0175)

(62) *Da koko tywonyry she'pa moropo mang.*

da koko t- wot- eny(ry) i- se -hpa moropo mang
 then night 3R- DETR- drink 3- DESID -NEG there 3.COP

'Then he doesn't want to drink there at night.'

(MCO2 00022)

(63) *Tykuruturukong se'pa mandong.*

ty- kuruturu -kong se -hpa mang -tong
 3R - culture -COL DESID -NEG 3. COP -COL

'They don't want their culture.'

(MCO2 00123)

Kari'nja's rich system of class changing morphology allows lexical verbs to be easily nominalized or adverbialized. The resulting adverbial phrases can then act as complements of the copula, as in the negative construction (c.f. also Álvarez, 2000). In this construction, the adverbialized negative verb acts as a complement to the copula, as in (64) and (65).

(64) [*I:jo*]_{SUBJ} [*anepanopy'pa*]_{COMP} mang.

i- ijo an- epano(py) -hpa mang¹⁶
 3- husband 3.NEG- help -NEG 3.COP

'Her husband does not help (her).'

(CF JuAl 0039)

(Lit. 'Her husband is not-helping her.')

16. Reducing roots do not reduce in the negative. I nonetheless enclose the reducing segment in parentheses in the parse line for consistency.

- (65) *Auran anukuty'pa mandong.*
 auran an- uku(ty) -hpa mang -tong
 language 3.NEG- know -NEG 3.COP -COL
 'They don't even know the language.' (DK Interviews FlBr 0080)
 (Lit. 'They are not-knowing it')

The Kari'nja copula, with an adverbialized complement, may also fulfill a passive function (66).

- (66) *Da eropo tymainjary tykoroka i'ja mang.*
 da eropo ty- mainja -ry ty- koroka i- 'wa mang
 then here 3R- field -PSSD AZR- burn 3- DAT 3.COP
 'Then here his field has been burnt by him.' (CF CeAr 0004)

2.3 Verbal copula

The verbal copula *e'i* has a second synchronic function as a regular intransitive verb. As such, it participates in the full range of temporal, aspectual, and modal distinctions. Suffixes indicate tense, aspect, modality, and number. In addition to its function as a copula in stative predications, *e'i* may also code processes such as 'become,' or actions such as 'do.'

According to Meira and Gildea, it is historically an intransitive verb meaning 'to dwell' (2009: 127). There is some evidence that this form also codes the stative function 'stay' or 'dwell' synchronically in Kari'nja, but this is a marginal use of the verb. It is more common to code 'stay' or 'dwell' with the full lexical verb, *amymy(ry)*, 'live.' Since it does not involve direct linking of a state or property to a nominal subject, a full description of the verbal functions of *e'i* is outside the scope of this article. However, comparisons between the verbal and copular function of *e'i* are included where relevant.

2.3.1 Verbal copula: Person and number

As with the copular form, the person of the subject in the verbal copula *e'i* is indicated with an obligatory person-marking prefix, illustrated in Table 4.

Table 4. Recent past tense forms marked with SA personal prefixes

Person	SA Prefix	Full Form	Gloss
		<i>e'i</i>	COP
		<i>-i</i>	REC.PST
1	<i>w-</i>	<i>we'i</i>	'I was'
2	<i>m-</i>	<i>me'i</i>	'you were'
1+2	<i>kyt-</i>	<i>kytei</i>	'we were'
3	<i>n-</i>	<i>ne'i</i>	's/he/it was'

Collective number is indicated with the verbal suffix, *-tong* (67).

- (67) *Jupy mene ne'itjong.*
 jupy mene n- e'i -i -tong
 good Intns 3- COP -REC.PST -COL
 'They were okay.' (DK Intrv FlBr 0066)

As with the copula, for tenses marked with a two-syllable suffix, the infix *-to-* indicates collective number (68).

- (68) *Kyneijatokong.*
 ky- n- e'i -ja -to- -kong
 RM- 3- COP -DST.PST - COL - -DST.PST
 'They were then.'

2.3.2 Verbal copula: Temporal distinctions

The *e'i* form participates in the full range of Kari'nja temporal and aspectual distinctions. Table 5 illustrates tense markers.

Table 5. Tense marking of *e'i* verbal copula

Tense	Suffix	Form	Gloss
Present	<i>-ja</i>	<i>kynejang</i>	'It becomes.'
Simple Past	<i>-jakong</i>	<i>kynejakong</i>	'he was then'
Present Continuous	<i>-jainje</i>	<i>weijainje</i>	'I am continuously'
Recent Past	<i>-i</i>	<i>we'i</i>	'I was'
Distant Past	<i>-ne</i>	<i>weinje</i>	'I was then'
Past Habitual	<i>-to</i>	<i>weitjo</i>	'I used to be'
Imperative	<i>-ko</i>	<i>eitjo</i>	'you must'
Future	<i>-take</i>	<i>we'itjake</i>	'I will'
Future Optative	<i>-neng</i>	<i>ne'inje</i>	'let it be'
Future Optative (Collective)	<i>-seng</i>	<i>kyteisheng</i>	'let us be'

* While this inflection is presumably possible with the verbal copula, and has been documented by Hoff (1968), there were no examples of it in the texts. Simple past was coded only with the *a* copula in the texts. Speakers, too, reject this form in elicitation. I include it here for the sake of completeness, but am not convinced it is a productive synchronic form with *e'i*.

** Like *-jakong* (c.f. prior note), this form, too, was absent in the texts. There is strong evidence that the present continuous function is being coded with an innovative main clause form (c.f. Sapién (2015)).

The following examples provide a sampling of TAM marking of the *e'i* copula in context. Example (69) illustrates Recent Past, (70) Imperative, and (71) and (72) illustrate non-collective and collective forms of the Future Optative, respectively.

- (69) *Awu erapa jopoto me we'i.*
 awu erapa jopoto me w- e'i -i
 I again boss ATTR I- COP -REC.PST
 'I was the boss.' (FM-MA 00329)

- (70) *Da m:aro eitjo mijaro.*
 da Ø- maro e'i -ko mijaro
 then 1- with COP -IMPER there
 'Then you must stay with me there.' (Intrv WiTo 0065)
- (71) *Weidjykong ne'inje.*
 we'i -ry -kong n- e'i -neng
 COP -NZR -COL 3- COP -OPT
 'Let their being be.' (Intrv WiTo 0059)¹⁷
- (72) *Ero wara kyteisheng, ja:sakarykong.*
 ero wara kyt- e'i -seng j- asaka -ry -kong
 3.IN.PX way 1+2- COP -OPT. COLL 1- companion- POSS - COLL
 'Let's be like this, my friends.' (CF WiMa 0057)

The *e'i* verbal copula may also be inflected for Present tense with the suffix *-ja*. In this tense, it is in direct competition with the *a* copula. In *-ja* tense, the *e'i* copula fulfills a different semantic function than predicating a state of a subject. In this tense form, *e'i* functions as a full lexical verb meaning either 'become,' 'do,' or 'make,' (73), (74). In these cases, context disambiguates.

- (73) *Da moro arinjatu ashimbe kynejang.*
 da moro arinjatu ashimbe ky- n- e'i -ja -ng
 then 3.IN.DIST pan hot RM- 3- become -PRS -DBT
 'Then the pan becomes hot.' (CF WiMa 0081)
- (74) *Ero wara a'na eropo kynejang.*
 ero wara a'na eropo ky- n- e'i -ja -ng
 3.IN.PX way 1+3 here RM- 3- do -PRS -DBT
 'We do it this way here.' (CF JuAl 0029)

2.3.3 Verbal copula: Interrogative forms

In most tenses, polarity questions are formed through a combination of the uncertainty suffix, *-ng* and a change in intonation. Polarity questions with *e'i* in recent past are formed with a change in intonation only (75), (76). Generally, prosody combined with context make it clear that a question is being asked.

17. This odd sounding example includes a nominalized *e'i* as the subject nominal, 'their being.' The speaker was discussing the love his daughter had for his then-future son in law, and his desire to not stand in the way of their being together. The greater discourse context included something like, "As long as they love each other, their being together is not a problem for me. Let their being (together continue to) be."

- (75) *Aembo me'i?*
 aembo m- e'i -i
 finished 2- COP -REC.PST
 'Have you finished?'
- (76) *Paramuru po me'i?*
 paramaru po m- e'i -i
 Paramaribo LOC 3- COP -REC.PST
 'Were you in Paramaribo?'

Information questions are formed in combination with an indefinite pronoun and an optional question particle, (77). The *e'i* retains its tense marking in the interrogative construction (78).

- (77) “*Oty ko me'i,*” *kaije i'ja,* “*oty ko me'i?*”
 oty ko m- e'i -i Ø- ka -ja i- 'wa oty ko m- e'i -i
 what QP 2- COP -REC.PST 1- say -PRS 3- DAT what QP 2- COP -REC.PST
 'What have you done, I said to her, what have you done?' (FM-MA 00429)
- (78) *Oty poko ko neitja?*
 oty poko ko n- e'i -take
 what occupied.with QP 3- COP - FUT
 'What will she be occupied with?' (MCO2 00074)

2.3.4 Verbal copula: Negation

As with the *a* copula, the verbal copula may be negated with a negative particle. In most cases, the particle occurs following the predicated element to be negated, but it may also occur following the copula, as in (79). Example (80) illustrates the more common constituent order.

- (79) *Typyitje kyte'i uwa.*
 t- pyi -se kyt- e'i -i uwa
 AZR- shame - AZR 1+2- COP -VET NEG
 'You must not be ashamed, no...?' (CF WiMa 0112)
- (80) *Sambura poko waty kyne'itja.*¹⁸
 sambura poko waty ky- n- e'i -take
 drum occupied.with NEG RM- 3- COP -FUT
 'They will not be playing sambura.' (MCO2 00072 M)

18. *-ta > -tja / [i]_____*

2.3.5 Verbal copula: Complement types

Unlike the copula form, the verbal copula permits only adverbial (81) or postpositional phrase (82) complements. Subjects are obligatorily indicated with verbal person-marking prefixes, and may be further specified with separate, optional nominal or pronominal forms.

- (81) [Tysumbarake 'ne]_{AP} me'i.
 t- sumbara -ke 'ne m- e'i -i
 AZR- machete -AZR INTNS 2- COP -REC.PST
 'You had a machete.' (Lit. 'You were macheted.')
- (82) [Bestuur me]_{PP} we'i.
 bestuur me w- e'i -i
 leader ATTR 1- COP -REC.PST
 'I was a leader.' (MCO2 00009)
 *[Bestuur]_{NP} we'i.

2.3.6 Verbal copula: Functions

Of Payne's (1997) functions, all but equative and existential appear in the texts. An existential predicate is presumably possible, but, given the restriction on noun phrase predicates, it is unsurprising that this construction would not code the equative function. Each function differs in terms of predicate type.

Proper inclusion is predicated with a postpositional phrase (82), (83).

- (83) Ah, moropo te'ne [bassja me]_{PP} rapa me'itjo.
 ah moropo te'ne bassja me rapa m- e'i -to
 ah there actually bassja ATTR again 2- COP - PST.CONT
 'You were actually a bassja there.' (Intrv FlBr 0034)

Attribution may be predicated by PP (84), adverbial (85), or AP predicates (86).

- (84) [Awosin me]_{PP} kyneitjang y'wa.
 awosin me ky- n- e'i -take-ng y- 'wa
 weight ATTR RM- 3- COP - FUT -DBT 1- DAT
 'It will be heavy for me.' (FM-MA 00460)
- (85) [Typyitje]_{AP} kyte'i, uwa.
 t- pyi -se kyt- e'i -i uwa
 AZR- shame -AZR 1+2- COP -VET NEG
 'You must not be ashamed.' (CF WiMa 0112)

- (86) [Jato'ke pore]_{pp} ne'i.¹⁹
 j- ato'ke pore n- e'i -i
 1- painful INTNS 3- COP -REC.PST
 'It was very painful to me.' (FM-MA 00419)

Locative predicates with *e'i* include only postpositional phrases (87).

- (87) [Peja po]_{pp} ne'i.
 peja po n- e'i -i
 waterside LOC 3- COP - REC.PST
 'He was at the waterside.'

As with the *a* copula, possession is predicated with a derived adverb using the circumfix form *t-N-ce*.²⁰ The result translates to something like 'NOUN-ed,' as in (81) above.

2.3.7 Verbal copula: Additional constructions

As a main clause verb, *e'i* can translate to 'do,' 'make,' or 'become' (88). In these cases, context usually disambiguates.

- (88) M'hm, wapotombo me mei'mjai
 m'hm wapotombo me m- e'i -'ma -i
 INTJ elder ATTR 2- become -CMPLTV -REC.PST
 'ne, jawo.
 'ne jawo
 INTNS mat.uncle
 'M'hm, you have become an elder, uncle.' (DK Intv FIBr 0013 FeMa)

Like the copula, *e'i* performs an auxiliary-like function in the desiderative and negative verbal constructions as illustrated in (89) and (90), respectively. The choice of *a* or *e'i* is dependent on tense. The copula, *a*, is used for present and simple past tenses, and *e'i* is used for all other tense and aspect distinctions.

- (89) Jemydjy bongbongary se'pa weitjake.
 j- emyi -ry bongbong -ka -ry se -hpa w- e'i -take
 1- daughter -PSSD bang.bang -CAUS -NZR DESID -NEG 1- COP -FUT
 'I don't want you to beat my daughter.' (DK Interv WiTo 0056)
 (Lit. 'I will be not wanting my daughter's beating.)

19. Kari'nja *ato'ke* is a postposition meaning 'painful to.' Like other postpositions, its object may be indicated with either a personal prefix or a separate nominal object.

20. There is some allomorphy in the second segment of the circumfix.

- (90) *Awu ko, anukuty'pa erapa weitjo.*
 awu ko an-uku(ty) -'pa erapa w- e'i -to
 1 SLNT NEG - KNOW -NEG also 1- COP -PST.CONT
 'Me then, I didn't know about it, either.'
 (Lit. I was (continuously) not knowing.) (FM-MA 00360)

2.4 Constructions compared

Each of the three available nonverbal predicate types in Kari'nja is deployed for different grammatical or semantic functions. However, they occasionally appear to be in competition. When the copula, *a*, and verbal copula, *e'i*, are in competition (in present, *-ja*, and simple past, *jakong* tenses), the copula is used for nonverbal predication (91), while the verbal copula is employed in its change of state or eventive intransitive functions (92), (93), (glossed as 'become,' 'do,' or 'make').

- (91) *Ashimbe moro arinjatu mang.*
 ashimbe moro arinjatu mang
 hot 3.IN.MD cassava.pan 3. COP
 'The pan is hot.' (CF JuAl 0056)
- (92) *Da moro arinjatu ashimbe kynejang.*
 da moro arinjatu ashimbe ky- n- e'i -ja -ng
 then 3.IN.DIST pan hot RM- 3- become -PRS -DBT
 'Then the pan becomes hot.' (CF WiMa 0081)
- (93) *Ero wara a'na eropo kynejang.*
 ero wara a'na eropo ky- n- e'i -ja -ng
 3.IN.PX way 1+3 here RM- 3- do -PRS - DBT
 'We do it this way here.' (CF JuAl 0029)

More recalcitrant, from a descriptive standpoint, is the competition between the apposition and copula constructions. In this case, the apposition construction fulfills an equative function while the copula is employed for a more attributive or contrastive function. For example, (94) is a clear equative, perhaps used in an identificational context. By contrast, (95) has a more attributive sense. For example, if I were to express my surprise that my dog had impregnated the neighbor's dog, my interlocutor might use (95) in her reply, "Yeah, but what did you expect? It's a dog!"

- (94) *Peru moko*
 peru moko
 dog 3.AN.DIST
 'That's a dog.'

- (95) *Peru moko mang.*
 peru moko mang
 dog 3.AN.DIST 3.COP
 'That's a dog.'

The primary predictors of which construction type is used are tense and function. The apposition construction is used exclusively for equative and proper inclusion functions in present tense. It is used marginally for past tense using the 'former, devalued' suffix, *mbo*. The copular construction is used present and past tenses for all predicate functions, and it allows all predicate types. However, predicate type differs depending on function. Finally, the verbal construction, when functioning as a copula, codes all but Present and Simple Past tenses. This construction codes all but equative and (possibly) existential functions, and allows only prepositional and adverbial phrase predicates. The verbal construction, too, allows only certain predicate types depending on function. Table 6 compares the three constructions in terms of synchronic tense and aspect distinctions, and Table 7 compares them in terms of function.

Table 6. Construction types and tense/aspect distinctions

Construction Type/Form → Tense/Aspect ↓	Apposition	Copular	Verbal
Present	unmarked	- <i>ja</i>	X
Simple Past	- <i>mbo</i>	- <i>jakong</i>	X
Present Continuous	X	X	- <i>jainje</i>
Recent Past	X	X	- <i>i</i>
Distant Past	X	X	- <i>n</i>
Past Habitual	X	X	- <i>to</i>
Imperative	X	X	- <i>ko</i>
Future	X	X	- <i>take</i>
Future Optative	X	X	- <i>neng</i>

Table 7. Distribution of predicate and construction types among semantic functions

Function	Apposition	<i>a</i> Copula	<i>e'i</i> Verbal Copula
Equative	+	+	(+)
Proper Inclusion	+	+	(+)
Attributive		+	+
Locative		+	+
Possession		+	+
Existential		+	?

3. Conclusions and future work

The system of nonverbal predication in Kari'nja exhibits both expected and unexpected patterns. The distribution among tenses and functions of the three constructions is not unusual, typologically. The formal split between equative and proper inclusion versus other functions is common in languages that have more than one nonverbal predication construction. The notion of time stability is useful in considering the multiple parameters that govern choice of construction type. Equation and proper inclusion, as more time stable concepts, are restricted to the apposition and copular constructions. Furthermore, they allow primarily predicate nominals. The less time-stable functions of attribution, location, and possession require a copular form (either the copula, *a*, or the verbal copula, *e'i*). This split is not unusual, typologically (c.f. Pustet, 2003). Existence, as a function, is difficult to analyze in terms of time stability, and it is also an uncommon topic of conversation. It may be construed as permanent, as in 'There is a god.' However, when coding the existence of an entity at a particular location, as in 'There are sodas in the cooler,' existence is temporary. Presumably, the *e'i* copula would be employed for the latter function though there were no examples in the texts.

Additionally, the distribution of the three constructions among tenses, with the apposition and copular constructions limited to present and simple past tenses, is not uncommon both across languages in the family and cross-linguistically. Since the verbal copula, *e'i*, continues to function as a dynamic intransitive verb in other contexts, that it may be inflected for all tense distinctions as a copula is unsurprising. However, its continued function as a full lexical verb is somewhat more unusual.

Also, unusual, from a Cariban perspective, are the existence of NP complements of the copula, and constituent ordering that permits a subject NP between the copula and its complement. However, there is evidence that this is an innovative form that was historically a focus construction.

Questions that merit further exploration include the status of *me* and *po* as postpositions. Both are evolving toward affixes that fulfill a particular grammatical function with a reduced semantic load. Whether they are full postpositions, clitics, or affixes, synchronically, remains to be explored.

Another open question is the existence of AP and PP predicates in apposition constructions. Most Cariban languages permit only NP predicates in apposition constructions. In Kari'nja, although speakers tend to reject them in elicitation, [AP NP] and [PP NP] examples do exist in the texts. There are two possible diachronic reasons for these potentially innovative constructions. Either a copular form has elided (most likely the *a* copula), or these constructions are changing by analogy to the copula construction. Future research will examine this construction with an eye toward determining the diachronic source and robustness of the unusual predicate types.

The source of *e'i* as a copula remains unexamined. Although Meira & Gildea (2009) posit an intransitive stative verb meaning 'dwell' as its source, it may also have evolved from a dynamic change of state verb (meaning 'become') that came to focus on the resultant state (meaning 'be'). That Kari'nja encodes 'stay' or 'dwell' with a different lexical verb synchronically, and the current status of *e'i* as a change of state verb in its non-copular function are evidence in favor of the latter hypothesis. However, this remains an open question.

Abbreviations

1	first person	LOC	locative
1+2	first person inclusive	MD	medial
1+3	first person exclusive	N	noun
2	second person	NEG	negative
3	third person	NM	name
3R	third person reflexive	NP	noun phrase
AN	animate	NZR	nominalizer
AP	adverbial phrase	O	O argument
ATTR	attributive	OPT	optative
AZR	adverbializer	PRED	predicate
CAUS	causative	PRO	pronoun
CMPLTV	completive	PP	postpositional phrase
COL	collective	PRS	present
COMP	complement	PST	past
CONT	continuous	PX	proximal
COP	copula	PSSD	possessed
DAT	dative	PSSR	possessor
DBT	doubt, uncertainty	QP	question particle
DEM	demonstrative	REC	recent
DESID	desiderative	RM	remote
DETR	detransitivizer	S _A	S _A argument
DIST	distal	SAP	speech act participant
DST	distant	SG	singular
DVL	devalued, former	SLNT	salient
FUT	future	S _O	S _O argument
IN	inanimate	SUBJ	subject
INSTR	instrumental	V	verb
INTJ	interjection	VET	vetative
INTNS	intensifier	VP	verb phrase
IMPER	imperative	VZR	verbalizer.

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Nonverbal predicates and copula constructions in Aguaruna (Chicham)

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This chapter focuses primarily on the formal expression of equative, proper inclusion and attributive relations in Aguaruna, all three of which are encoded as copula clauses. The copula clause involves two arguments that both take nominative case; the copula element may be a full verb, it may be an enclitic to the copula complement argument, or the clause may be truly verbless, formed by simple juxtaposition of the arguments. The copula verb itself is homophonous with an existential verb that forms a simple intransitive clause, and a few other intransitive verbs may also function as copulas. Finally, I show that the formal structures associated with copula clauses also feature in auxiliary constructions and as a means of marking finite verbal categories in clauses with nominalized verbs.

Keywords: copula, verbless clause, nominalization, auxiliiation

1. Introduction

This paper consists primarily of a description of nonverbal predication in Aguaruna. As is the case for many other languages, this area of the grammar has received relatively little attention in prior literature. The questions to be addressed are, what formal structures can be considered copula clauses in Aguaruna? What semantic relations do they convey? What properties do the predicates have, and how do they differ from verbal predicates?

Aguaruna (known to its speakers as *Imiá Chicham*, and as *Awajún* in Spanish) is a Chicham (formerly known as Jivaroan) language spoken by about 55,000 people in north Peru (INEI 2009), mainly along the Cenepa, Marañón, Santiago, Chiriaco and Nieva Rivers.¹ The language is nominative-accusative, verb-final,

1. The family name Jivaroan comes from the now outdated ethnonym *Jivaro*, which itself probably derives from a hispanification of the autodenomination that gave rise to modern ethnonyms

clause-chaining and suffixing. The other Chicham languages are Wampis (also known as Huambisa), spoken in Peru, Shuar in Ecuador, and Achuar and Shiwiar spoken on both sides of the border. The languages are very closely related and largely mutually intelligible. This analysis is based on data collected over about 20 months fieldwork, including texts, elicited sentences and personal correspondence with native speakers.

Copula constructions in Aguaruna form a family of constructions defined by grammatical and semantic criteria. The basic grammatical criterion is that the copula clause involves two arguments that both take nominative case. Semantically, copula clauses are used primarily to express equative, proper inclusion, and attributive relations between the two arguments, but the same formal structures also feature in auxiliary constructions and as a means of marking finite verbal categories on nominalized verbs. The copula element may be a full verb, it may be an enclitic to the copula complement argument, or the copula clause may be truly verbless, formed by simple juxtaposition of the arguments. The copula verb itself is homophonous with an existential verb, that forms a simple intransitive clause, and a few other intransitive verbs may also function as copulas.

The structure of the paper is as follows: I first describe the clause types of Aguaruna, addressing the distinctions of transitivity and finiteness that define them (§ 2). Next (§ 3) I describe the grammatical properties of copula clauses, and in the following three sections describe the enclitic copula (§ 4), the verbless clause (§ 5), and copula verbs (§ 6). In § 7 I describe the extended functions of constructions with the formal appearance of copula clauses, and finally offer some concluding remarks in § 8.

A brief note on the examples is in order: an important characteristic of Aguaruna phonology is extensive vowel elision, which can obscure the regularity of the basically agglutinating morphology. Examples in this paper are given in surface forms, after the application of vowel elision, but bound morphemes cited in isolation are given in their underlying forms. Verb roots are cited as bound forms e.g. *puhu-* ‘live’. The orthography used is basically IPA except that I follow local orthographic practices with respect to the following graphemes: <ch> = [tʃ]; <r> = [r]; <sh> = [ʃ]; <y> = [j]. Spanish words in the examples are italicized and given in Spanish orthography.

Shuar, Shiwiar and Achuar (Gnerre 1973). In Ecuador the term *Jivaro* is considered offensive, and consequently indigenous scholars there have led the way in relabelling the family *Chicham*, from the common term for ‘word, speech, language’ (Katan Jua 2011).

2. Clause types in Aguaruna

Aguaruna clauses may be classified on the basis of two major criteria, namely transitivity and finiteness, and both of these criteria are relevant for the description presented here. Firstly, the copula clause is defined formally within the context of transitivity and grammatical relations; and secondly, the grammatical categories of tense, mood and number of the subject, as well as finite versus non-finite status of the clause, all affect the formal realization of copula clauses (described in § 4). In the following sections I first approach a description of the clause on the basis of transitivity (§ 2.1), then on the basis of finiteness (§ 2.2).

2.1 Transitivity and grammatical relations

Grammatical relations in Aguaruna follow a nominative-accusative pattern, contrasting SUBJECT with OBJECT. Overt subject NPs in intransitive and transitive clauses take the formally unmarked nominative case, and object NPs in transitive clauses take accusative case, marked with the enclitic =*na*. There is a scenario-conditioned split in accusative case marking, whereby third person objects take accusative case marking only if the subject is first person singular or third person, and remain unmarked in clauses with first person plural or second person subject (see Overall 2017a for a full description). The split accusative marking is not relevant to the analysis presented in this chapter.² No argument is obligatorily realised as an overt NP, and both transitive and intransitive clauses may consist solely of an inflected verb. The following examples illustrate (1) an intransitive clause; (2) an intransitive clause including an oblique (locative marked) NP; (3) a transitive clause with first person singular subject and third person object – the latter marked with accusative case; and (4) a transitive clause with second person singular subject and third person object – the latter unmarked.

- (1) *tsitsima-ha-i*
be.cold+IPFV-1SG-DECL
'I'm cold'
- (2) [*hiya-hu=i*]_{NP.OBLIQUE} *wakit-ha-i*
house-PSSD.1SG=LOC return+IPFV-1SG-DECL
'I'm returning to my house'
- (3) [*washi=n*]_{NP.O} *in-kua-ŋ-ha-i*
monkey.sp=ACC meet-PFV-1SG-DECL
'I've found a spider monkey'

2. The accusative enclitic =*na* also marks pronominal possessors in possessive NPs, as in Examples 17, 21, 34, 48.

- (4) [yawaã ii-nu]_{NP:O} ma-a-sh-ma-k-um
 dog 1PL-POSS kill-PFV-NEG-PAST-Q-2SG
 'have you killed our dog?'³

Dixon (2010: 161) gives a framework of clause types based on the number of arguments and their grammatical properties, labelling the arguments according to the well-established S, A, O system. Note that in this framework, the ditransitive clause type is considered to be essentially the same as a monotransitive clause with the addition of an extra argument (E). Copula and verbless clauses each have two arguments: a subject and a complement. These are labelled CS (copula subject) and CC (copula complement) or VCS (verbless clause subject) and VCC (verbless clause complement), respectively. Table 1 shows the possible clause types in Aguaruna, the number of arguments, and the argument labels, following Dixon's terminology.

Table 1. Aguaruna clause types by transitivity

Clause type	Number of arguments	Argument labels		
intransitive	1	S		
transitive	2	A	O	
ditransitive	3	A	O	E
copula	2	CS		CC
verbless	2	VCS		VCC

In Aguaruna, the eight argument types (S, A, O, E, CS, CC, VCS, VCC) are grouped into three classes, with the members of each class showing the same grammatical properties. These three classes constitute the grammatical relations SUBJECT (S, A, CS, and VCS), OBJECT (O, E), and COPULA COMPLEMENT (CC, VCC). The following paragraphs briefly review the grammatical properties that are diagnostic of grammatical relations in Aguaruna.

Subject

Subject is defined by the following criteria:

- Overt subject NP appears in unmarked nominative case
- Subject triggers person and number agreement marked on the predicate (the markers for finite predicates are shown in Table 2 below; different sets of markers are used in dependent clauses)
- Subject is involved in coreference relations between dependent and main clauses, triggering 'same-subject' or 'different-subject' switch-reference marking

3. The negative marker here is a common feature of polar questions in Aguaruna.

Table 2. Finite verbal subject markers⁴

Person	Tense	Marker	
		SG	PL
1	all tenses	<i>-ha</i>	<i>-hi</i>
2	past tenses	<i>-umi</i>	<i>-uhumi</i>
	non-past tenses	<i>-mi</i>	<i>-humi</i>
3	present and definite future tenses	<i>-wa</i>	<i>-wa</i>
	other tenses	portmanteau tense + person markers	

Both predicate marking and switch-reference marking show that A = S = CS. In Example (5), the bracketed subordinate clause is formally a copula construction, and the second person singular CS subject is indexed with the ‘same subject’ form, as it is coreferent with the S subject of the controlling clause.

- (5) waŋka ami=sh [ibau tsaka-h-u=it-ku-mi=sh]
 why 2SG=Q.TOP INTENS grow.up-PFV-NMLZ=COP-SIM-2SG.SS=CONCES
 wahi-ŋ-mi=haĩ=sh wĩkai-ta-mi
 sister.in.law-PSSD-2=COMIT=Q.TOP walk+PFV-IFUT-2SG
 ‘why, even though you are so grown up, do you want to walk with your sister-in-law?’

There is little morphosyntactic evidence to demonstrate the identity of the verbless clause subject (VCS) with other subjects: there is no predicate agreement, and the verbless clause does not enter into multiclausal constructions so there is no switch-reference relation. Two pieces of evidence, however, do show that VCS is a subject: (i) VCS always takes nominative case, as do other subjects; and (ii) the verbless clause construction can always be paraphrased with a verbal or enclitic copula construction, which does show subject agreement.

Object

Objects are defined by the following criteria:

- Overt object NPs are marked with accusative case, subject to the split described above

4. Note that third person does not distinguish singular and plural person markers; second person plural forms appear to be historically morphologically complex, involving a plural marker *-hu*, and the number distinction is optional in second person subordinate verbs; only first person consistently distinguishes singular and plural number throughout the grammar. Plural subject can also be encoded in aspect-marked verb stems, independently of person marking – see § 4.1.

- SAP objects are indexed on the verb
- Object is involved in coreference relations with one switch-reference marker, which requires that the subject of the dependent clause be coreferent with an object of the controlling clause

The split accusative marking was illustrated in Examples (3, 4) above. Example (6) shows a clause with first person singular object, which is marked with a verbal suffix as well as accusative case on the pronoun.

- (6) mi=na ayamhu-t-ka-ta
 1SG=ACC defend-1SG.OBJ-PFV-IMP
 ‘defend me!’

The O (patient-like object) and E (recipient-like object) functions are treated identically by the grammar, a ‘symmetrical object’ pattern in Bresnan & Moshi’s (1990) terminology. Compare (6) with (7), in which a first person recipient (E) object is marked on the verb and with accusative case (third person objects are never marked on the verb).

- (7) mi=na su-hu-s-ta
 1SG=ACC give-1SG.OBJ-PFV-IMP
 ‘give it to me!’

See Overall (2007, 2017a) for a more detailed discussion of object properties.

Copula complement

The copula complement is characterized by the following properties:

- Appears in nominative case
- Potential host of the enclitic copula (subject to grammatical constraints described in § 4)

The copula complement may be a noun, adjective, or nominalized verb. Although grammatically distinct, nouns and adjectives share many properties. In particular, the grammatical distinction between the two classes is neutralized when they function as predicates; and adjectives appear much more frequently in predicate than in attributive function.⁵ In this chapter I use the term *NOMINAL* as a convenient cover term for nouns, adjectives and nominalizations (cf. Overall 2017a).

5. This is unsurprising given the areal context: Doris Payne (2001: 595) notes “weakness of a class of adjectives” as a possible areal Amazonian trait, and Krasnoukhova (2012) suggests that noun-like adjectives are more characteristic of Western South America. Krasnoukhova

The copula construction predicates identity, quality or class membership of the subject, and the complement denotes the predicated entity, quality or class. In pragmatic terms, the copula complement represents new information, while the subject represents given information of which the new information is predicated.

The verbless clause type is essentially in free variation with a subset of copula clause types, as described in § 5, and as such it is best analysed as a copula clause in which the copula has zero realization. The grammatical identity of vcc and cc is shown by the fact, mentioned above, that a verbless clause can always be paraphrased by a copula clause with the erstwhile vcc hosting the enclitic copula.

2.2 Finiteness

Finite verbs (i.e. those whose clause can form a grammatical utterance) are obligatorily specified for tense, person of the subject (and SAP object), and mood/modality – the latter forms a single paradigm covering traditional mood (in the sense of grammatical distinction between speech acts: statements, questions and commands) and markers of speaker’s attitude and commitment to the truth of the proposition expressed, that is, the domain of modality. The basic structure of a finite verb is shown in Figure 1.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
ROOT	VALENCY CHANGE	OBJECT	ASPECT	NEGATION	TENSE	SUBJECT	MOOD

Figure 1. Finite verb morphological slots

Slots E, F and G contain the morphology that marks a verb form as finite. The stem including morphology up to slot D can be nominalized, or followed by a marker of subordination plus subject and switch-reference marking.

Aspect marking, in slot C, is mainly conditioned by the selection of tense marker. The primary aspectual distinction is between perfective and imperfective; other forms with more limited application are potential, durative, and an unmarked stem with no suffix in slot C. Table 3 summarizes the properties of slot C aspect marking. Note that perfective and imperfective also encode plurality of subject, independently of the person marking paradigm shown in Table 2 above.

(2012: 184) also notes that a number of Amazonian languages in her sample either disallow or disprefer attributive use of adjectives. See Overall (2016) for further discussion.

Table 3. Aspect marking and verbal stems

Stem	Marker	Semantics	Distribution
IMPERFECTIVE	Plural subject <i>-ina</i> Singular subject <i>-a</i>	Marks a temporally unbounded action or situation.	Appears in present tense, and may appear in remote past tense. May be nominalized.
PERFECTIVE	Marked with a set of suffixes that also convey limited information on verbal semantics. May be followed by a plural subject marker <i>-aha</i> ⁶	Marks a temporally bounded action or situation.	Appears in most past and future tense forms, as well as imperative. May be nominalized.
POTENTIAL	<i>-mai</i>	Marks possibility or ability. Potential stems of transitive verbs become S=O ambitransitive.	May appear in present tense, but more often nominalized.
DURATIVE	<i>-ma</i> ; also triggers lengthening of the preceding vowel	Marks an action to be continued.	Compatible only with imperative verb forms.
UNMARKED	No marker in slot C		May appear in remote past tense, may be nominalized.

The mood paradigm involves suffixes in two morphological slots. Imperative meanings are conveyed by markers that appear in the tense slot (E), and some are cognate with future tense markers. Unlike future tense, however, the imperative markers block the addition of mood marking in the final morphological slot (G), showing that they do impart a mood value to the clause. Compare Example (8a), with “immediate future” marker *-ta* followed by person and mood suffixes, with (8b), where the cognate imperative suffix *-ta* does not take person or mood marking (see Overall 2017b for a detailed description of imperative mood marking in Aguaruna).

- (8) a. *wi-ta-ha-i*
 go+PFV-IFUT-1SG-DECL
 ‘I will go’
 b. *wi-ta*
 go+PFV-IMP
 ‘go!’

6. Note that Figure 1 is an idealization, as the perfective stem plural marker *-aha* actually FOLLOWS a negative marker in slot D, if present.

There are 13 distinct mood markers, shown in Table 4. Note that the “narrative” marker *tuwahamĩ* is a separate word, unlike the other markers which are all bound. This is relevant to the constructions discussed in § 7 below.

Table 4. Mood markers

Mood	Clause type	Marker
Indicative	Declarative	<i>-i</i>
	Counter-expectation	<i>-hama</i>
	Narrative	<i>tuwahamĩ</i>
	Speculative	<i>-tai</i>
Interrogative	Polar interrogative	= <i>ka</i> (or <i>-Ø</i> if marked elsewhere in the clause)
	Content interrogative	suppression of apocope (clause contains an interrogative word)
	Tag question	<i>-api</i>
Exclamative	Exclamative	<i>-Ø</i>
Imperative	Imperative	<i>-ta</i>
	Jussive	<i>-ti</i>
	Hortative	<i>-mi</i>
	Apprehensive	<i>-ĩ</i>
	Prohibitive	<i>-ipa</i>

(marked in slot E)

Copula constructions are compatible with all four major moods (indicative, interrogative, exclamative and imperative), but have restrictions on the formal realizations of various of the clause types, as discussed in § 4.

The verbless clause involves no verbal element, and thus represents a mismatch between formal (“fully inflected”) and functional (“able to form a complete grammatical utterance”) definitions of finiteness. The highly restricted distribution of this construction, however, means that it is *specified* for finite verbal categories of tense, person and mood: it can only appear in present tense, third person declarative contexts. This is discussed further in § 5 below.

Having given an overview of the key properties of clauses in Aguaruna, we now turn to a detailed analysis of copula constructions.

3. Copula clauses

The copula clause is defined formally as one that has two arguments, the copula subject and copula complement, both of which appear in nominative case. Semantically, copula clauses in Aguaruna are used to predicate equative, proper inclusion and attributive relations, and a lexical verb *nahani-* forms copula clauses expressing the inchoative relation ‘become’. A lexical existential verb *a-* forms an

intransitive clause and is used to express existence, location and, with applicative derivation, possession. There is no dedicated benefactive construction. Table 5 shows the constructions used to express the various semantic types (these semantic types represent a synthesis of those in Payne 1997 and Dixon 2012, with the addition of an “inchoative” type which is represented with a copula verb in Aguaruna). The final column indicates key examples in this chapter that illustrate each type.

Table 5. Semantic types expressed by copula and other related constructions

Semantic type	Construction	Clause type	Lexical alternatives	Examples
Equative	Copula	Copula		(17), (21)
Proper inclusion	Copula	Copula		(14b), (16b), (25), (27), (34)
Attributive	Copula	Copula	<i>waha-</i> ‘stand’	(15b), (18), (20), (44)
Location	Existential <i>a-</i> +NP:LOC	Intransitive	<i>puhu-</i> ‘live’	(11), (13)
Existential	Existential <i>a-</i>	Intransitive		(9), (10b), (38), (39)
Possession	Existential <i>a-</i> +APPL	Transitive		(12)
Inchoative	<i>nahani-</i> ‘become’	Copula	<i>wi-</i> ‘go’, <i>wai-</i> ‘enter’	(42), (45)

Although the location, existential and possession types are not expressed with copula clauses, the existential verb *a-* is homophonous with, and presumably historically related to, the copula verb in some forms (see § 4). Location and existential constructions are not formally distinct, as both use the existential verb. Location constructions require a locative marked NP, but existential constructions also very frequently include a locative marked NP, and in such cases the question of whether it is the location or existence that is being predicated is a pragmatic one. Consider (9), in which existential is used in a presentative construction, at the start of a narrative – the numeral *makichik* ‘one’ functions like an indefinite article here.

- (9) [makichik muun]_{NP:S} a-haku=i
 one adult exist-NARR.PAST=COP:3:DECL
 ‘there was a man’

Now, in (10b) there is a locative marked NP, referring anaphorically to the location Chiclayo, which has already been established in (10a). It is the existence of a Western Union office in Chiclayo that is being predicated, so this an existential construction, not a locational one.

- (10) a. wi=ka *Chiclayo* wi-mai-na=it-ha-i
 1SG=TOP P.N. go-POT-NMLZ=COP-1SG-DECL
 b. [au=ĩ]_{NP:LOC} a-wa-i [Western Union]_{NP:S}
 DIST=LOC exist+IPFV-3-DECL P.N.
^aI can go to Chiclayo, ^bthere is a Western Union office there'

Contrast the locational Example (11), in which the location of a previously established entity (a cave) is predicated (note that [yutupis nuwanuĩ] is a single locative case marked NP).

- (11) “[yutupis nuwanu=ĩ]_{NP:LOC} a-wa-i” ti-mayi
 P.N. ANA=LOC exist-3-DECL say+PFV-INT.PAST.3+DECL
 ‘“It (the cave) is there, at Yutupis” he said.’

With the addition of the applicative derivation, the existential verb forms a transitive clause expressing possession. The possessor is encoded as the object added by the applicative, and the thing possessed, that would be the S of the corresponding existential construction, is the subject.

- (12) [mi=na]_{NP:O} kuashat [kanjka]_{NP:A} a-hu-t-u-i
 1SG=ACC many fish.sp exist-APPL-1SG.OBJ+IPFV-3-DECL
 ‘I have many *boquichico* fish’ (literally ‘many *boquichico* exist for me’)⁷

Location may also be expressed using the lexical verb *puhu-* ‘live’ (Example 13a), along with some other dedicated lexical verbs (cf. *waha-* ‘stand’ in Example 43 below).

- (13) a. nu=ĩ *hospital* puha-ĩ
 ANA=LOC hospital live+IPFV-1SG.DS
 b. *navidad* hiujā-bi
 christmas arrive+PFV-INT.PAST.3+DECL
^awhile I was there in hospital, ^bChristmas came’

The remainder of this paper focusses on the formal expression of equative, proper inclusion and attributive relations, all three of which are encoded identically in the grammar. Overall (2007) describes three possibilities for encoding such relations:

- i. the predicate nominal may have an enclitic copula;
- ii. the unmarked predicate nominal may be juxtaposed to the subject, resulting in a genuinely nonverbal clause;
- iii. a separate fully inflected copula verb may be used.

7. Although the quantifier *kuashat* ‘many’ modifies an NP semantically, other examples show that it is not actually formally part of the NP and is best analysed as an adverbial element (Overall 2007).

Option (iii) is in complementary distribution with the other options, and is obligatory in most non-present tenses; imperative clauses; most non-finite clauses; and (usually) where the subject is plural. In § 4 I describe the enclitic construction, and its complementary distribution with the full copula verb. Then in § 5 I describe the verbless clause construction.

4. The enclitic copula construction

There are three enclitic copulas: a present and a past tense form, that are compatible with all persons, and a non-visual form that is compatible only with third person subject. The SAP subject forms have allomorphs that are predictable on phonological grounds, while the third person present tense form has a wider range of allomorphy, described below. The third person forms are portmanteaus, combining copula, person and some mood values. Table 6 shows the basic forms of the copula enclitics.

Table 6. Enclitic copulas

	Present tense	Past tense	Non-visual
SAP subject	= <i>aita</i>	= <i>ya</i>	–
Third person subject, declarative mood	= <i>ai</i>	= <i>yi</i>	= <i>ĩ</i>

The past tense and non-visual forms are infrequent in text data, so the remainder of this section focuses on the present tense copula.

The present tense copula has the underlying form =*aita*; it loses its initial /a/ following CV syllables. When it follows a sequence of vowels, the copula enclitic does not lose its initial /a/, but triggers the insertion of epenthetic glides (glossed EP, as in Example 26). The final vowel is elided following predictable rules of apocope, if word final, and syncope when followed by person and mood markers (slots F and G in Figure 1).

Third person shows reduced forms =*ai* (declarative) and =*a* (non-declarative). The declarative form must be reduced from *=*aiti*, which is the cognate form in Wampis (Peña, this volume) and Shuar (Saad 2014: 100). The non-declarative form appears to be the result of reanalysis of the final /i/ of the declarative form as the declarative suffix -*i*, and consequently this has been dropped. A third person exclamative form =*a* differs slightly in the triggering of glide insertion from a more general non-declarative =*a*, but this is not relevant to the discussion at hand. The various allomorphs of the third person copula enclitic are shown in Table 7. Interrogative clauses with third person subject take the full form of the copula =*aita*. One of the markers of content interrogative clauses in Aguaruna is suppression of the usual apocope process in the predicate; consequently a content interrogative

clause with third person subject is the only grammatical context in which the full underlying form of the present-tense copula enclitic =*aita* may appear. In polar interrogative clauses, the copula follows the polar interrogative marker =*ka*, and loses its final vowel to apocope, surfacing as =*it*.

Table 7. Allomorphs of present tense copula with third person subject

Morphosyntactic context	Form of copula
Content interrogative	= <i>aita</i> / = <i>ita</i> (following single vowel)
Polar interrogative	= <i>it</i> (follows polar interrogative marker = <i>ka</i>)
Declarative	= <i>ai</i> / = <i>i</i> (following single vowel)
Non-declarative	= <i>a</i> ; = <i>i</i> with speculative modality (Example 22)

The verbal properties of the enclitic copula are restricted. In finite clauses, it can take first and second person subject markers and declarative and interrogative moods; and it can appear in subordinate clauses taking the ‘simultaneous’ form. When combined with the enclitic copula, negation and polar interrogative are marked as for nominals, not as for verbs. In grammatical contexts that disallow the enclitic copula, a copula verb *a* is used, forming a separate phonological word. These contexts include plural subject, most non-present tenses, imperative mood and most subordinate forms. The copula verb is defective, and only appears in grammatical contexts that disallow the enclitic copula – it is described in § 6. In the following sections I consider the morphological properties of copula constructions in relation to:

- Person and number of subject (§ 4.1)
- Tense/aspect (§ 4.2)
- Mood (§ 4.3)
- Polarity (§ 4.4)
- Subordination (§ 4.5)

4.1 Person and number of subject

For first and second person subjects, the copula enclitic is followed by person and mood markers from the finite verb paradigms (cf. Table 2 and Table 4 above). Examples (14, 15) show that the person and mood marking is identical following a verbal stem (a) and the copula enclitic (b) when the subject is first or second person singular.

- (14) a. wɨtuɔa-ha-i
 go+IPFV-1SG-DECL
 ‘I am going’

- b. awahuni=it-ha-i
 Aguaruna=COP-1SG-DECL
 ‘I am Aguaruna’
- (15) a. wiuja-mi
 go+IPFV-2+DECL
 ‘you are going’
- b. shiinbauch=it-mi
 pretty=COP-2+DECL
 ‘you are pretty’

For third person singular subjects, a portmanteau =ai (=i following a single vowel) marks copula, subject and declarative mood (16b), distinct from the verbal marking (a).

- (16) a. wiuja-wa-i
 go+IPFV-3-DECL
 ‘s/he is going’
- b. muunta=i
 big=COP.3.DECL
 ‘s/he is an adult’

In general, the enclitic copula is incompatible with plural subjects, and instead a separate copula verb must be used, as in (17, 18).

- (17) [mi=na kai-ŋ] a-ina-wa-i
 1SG=ACC sister.of.female-PSSD.1SG COP-PL.IPFV-3-DECL
 ‘they are my sisters’ (comment on Facebook)
- (18) sinchi a-ina-hi
 strong COP-PL.IPFV-1PL+DECL
 ‘we are strong’ (comment on Facebook) (cf. 14b, where 1SG subject takes the enclitic copula)

Contrary to the above generalization, however, the first person plural suffix does sometimes appear with the enclitic copula, as in Example (19). This seems to be possible only with first person plural.⁸

- (19) paki-chau-w=ait-hi, ii-y=ait-hi
 white.lipped.peccary-NEG.NMLZ-EP=COP-1PL+DECL 1PL-EP=COP-1PL+DECL
 ‘we’re not white-lipped peccaries, we’re us (i.e. people)’

8. The restriction to first person plural presumably stems from the fact that this is the only consistently marked plural form in the grammar (see footnote 4 above) and is thus treated like a member of a four-person paradigm, i.e. 1SG, 1PL, 2, 3.

4.2 Tense and aspect

The enclitic copula is compatible only with a narrow range of tenses. The basic and overwhelmingly most frequent form is interpreted as present tense, the unmarked tense in Aguaruna. There is also a past tense copula enclitic (Example 20), which has the same form as the remote past tense marker. For third person subject, declarative mood, the past copula takes the portmanteau form =*yi*. The past copula enclitic is apparently not very frequent, and all the examples in my corpus are elicited. Text examples such as (37) below show the copula verb followed by the remote past suffix in contexts where one might expect the past tense copula enclitic. For all other tensed forms, the copula verb *a* must be used.

- (20) piŋkiha=ya-ha-i
 good=COP.PAST-1SG-DECL
 'I was good'

4.3 Mood

Of the clause types shown in Table 4, the enclitic copula is compatible with indicative, interrogative and exclamative. There is no possibility of combining imperative with the enclitic copula. Table 8 summarizes the restrictions.

Table 8. Compatibility of clause types with enclitic copula

Mood	Clause type	Compatible with enclitic copula?
Indicative	Declarative	Yes
	Counter-expectation	Yes
	Narrative	no information
	Speculative	Yes
Interrogative	Polar interrogative	Yes, but following nominal pattern (Example 25)
	Content interrogative	Yes
	Tag question	Yes
Exclamative	Exclamative	Yes, with special form (Example 27b)
Imperative	All types (see Table 4)	No

In the indicative types, various examples have already illustrated the use of declarative marking (e.g. 14b). Example (21) illustrates counter-expectation, marked with the suffix *-hama*. As can be seen, this suffix simply follows the third-person non-declarative form of the copula enclitic.

- (21) [hu] [mi=na aha-hu=a-hama]
 PROX 1SG=ACC garden-PSSD.1SG=COP.3-CNTR.EX
 'this is my garden!'

Example (22) illustrates speculative marking. This marking involves a floating enclitic =*tsu* (surfacing as /*ts/* in the example) and a verbal suffix *tai*. Interestingly, the suffix follows what looks like the declarative form of the third-person copula =*i*. I do not have enough examples of this construction to say why that might be.

- (22) *Suiza*=*nma*=*ya*=*ts* ima piŋkiha=*i*-*tai*
 Switzerland=LOC=ABL=SPEC INTENS good=COP.3-SPEC
 'perhaps the (knife) from Switzerland is better'

In interrogative clauses the enclitic copula may be used, but the positioning of the polar interrogative enclitic =*ka* differs from the verbal marking pattern. In verbal clauses, polar interrogative appears in slot G, following person marking, as it is part of the mood paradigm (Example 23).

- (23) *mina*-*mi*=*k*
 come+IPFV-2=Q
 'are you coming?'

It is also possible for the enclitic to be attached to a nominal that is the focus of interrogation, leaving verbal slot G empty. In Example (24) polar interrogative is marked on the pronoun, and the verb has no mood marking in slot G.

- (24) *mi*=*na*=*ka* tu-hu-t-a-m
 1SG=ACC=Q say-APPL-1SG.OBJ-IPFV-2SG
 'is it *me* you're talking to?'

In copula clauses the polar interrogative enclitic appears on the copula complement, but it does not appear in slot G, following the copula's person marker. Instead it must always appear directly attached to the predicate nominal, and is then followed by the copula enclitic (Example 25). In this respect a nominal predicate differs from a verbal predicate, and is treated as a nominal constituent.

- (25) *ami*=*sh* awahun=*ka*=*ita*-*m*
 2SG=Q.TOP Aguaruna=Q=COP-2
 'are you Aguaruna?'

Content interrogative is marked with suppression of apocope on the predicate; in such clauses the third-person enclitic copula takes its full form =*aita* (Example 26).

- (26) ya-nau-w=aita
 who-POSS-EP=COP.3
 ‘whose is it?’

Third person copula has a distinct non-declarative form which appears in exclamative clauses (recall from Table 4 that exclamative mood has no overt suffix). The final /i/ of the declarative copula enclitic has been reanalysed as the declarative suffix *-i*, and is dropped in exclamative (and some other non declarative) contexts. Note that the exclamative copula is distinct synchronically, that is, it is not simply the declarative copula form without its final /i/. This can be seen in examples such as (27), where the declarative copula (a) takes the postvocalic allomorph =*i*, and the exclamative copula (b) is =*a*.

- (27) a. aintsu=i
 person=COP.3.DECL
 ‘it’s a person’
 b. aintsu=a
 person=COP.3.EXCL
 ‘it’s a person!’

There is also a distinct non-visual third-person copula =*ĩ*, used when the subject is not present (see Example 48 below). This is very rare in my corpus, although presumably more common in conversational data.

In contrast to the other moods, all imperative types must use a full copula verb, as in (28).

- (28) aishman a-ta
 man COP-IMP
 ‘be a man!’

4.4 Polarity

Copula clauses are negated by means of a negative suffix *-chau ~ -chu* on the nominal, which is then followed by the copula enclitic (29).

- (29) wi=ka yawaã-chu=it-ha-i
 1SG=TOP dog-NEG.NMLZ=COP-1SG-DECL
 ‘I am not a dog’

The same suffix is used derivationally to negate nouns and adjectives (30), and also nominalizes verb roots (hence I gloss it NEG.NMLZ).

- (30) piŋkiŋ-chau
 good-NEG.NMLZ
 'bad'

This is quite distinct from verbal negation, which uses suffixes in slot D. Compare (31), in which negative is marked with the suffix *-tsu*. As we saw above with polar interrogative, the nominal predicate is treated as a nominal constituent, distinctly from verbal predicates, for the purposes of negative marking.

- (31) wi=ka buut-tsu-ha-i
 1SG=TOP cry+IPFV-NEG-1SG-DECL
 'I am not crying'

4.5 Non finite clause types

The copula enclitic can be followed by the 'simultaneous' subordinating suffix *-ku* (as in Example 32, also 5 above); but for all other subordinate clause types the copula verb is used, in its subordinate stem *asa* (33a with same-subject marking, 33b with different-subject marking).

- (32) ami wi-chau=ait-ku-mi-nĩ=ŋ, shiij ania-sa-n
 2SG go+PFV-NEG.NMLZ=COP-SIM-2-DS=COND well be.happy-SBD-1SG.SS
 puhu-mai-na=it-ha-i
 live-POT-NMLZ=COP-1SG-DECL
 'if you had not gone, I would be happy'

- (33) a. muntsuhut asa-n ...
 young.woman COP.SBD-1SG.SS
 'when I was a young woman ...'
 b. muun asa-mtaĩ ...
 adult COP.SBD-1/3.DS
 'being an adult...'

4.6 Summary of the enclitic copula construction

Table 9 summarizes the verbal and non-verbal properties of the enclitic copula construction. It is clear that the copula enclitic cannot be treated as a verbalizing derivation, as it does not produce fully verbal forms, and both polar interrogative and negated clauses involve marking that follows a nominal rather than a verbal pattern. Beyond that, there is not a simple distinction to be drawn, as the verbal and non-verbal properties are scattered throughout the paradigms.

Table 9. Summary of verbal categories in enclitic copula and verbal predicate

Grammatical category	Enclitic copula clause = verbal clause	Enclitic copula clause ≠ verbal clause
PERSON	1st and 2nd person marked as for verbs	Reduced portmanteaux for 3rd person
NUMBER	Copula enclitic typically compatible only with singular subject (but see § 4.1)	Must use separate copula verb to host plural subject marking
TENSE	No tense marking, but distinct present and past copula enclitics	Other tenses require separate copula verb
MOOD	Most mood markers are compatible with copula when subject is SAP	Portmanteau third person + declarative mood; polar interrogative marked as for nominal constituent; imperative requires separate copula verb
POLARITY	None – copula enclitic cannot take verbal negative marker	Negation marked as for nominal constituent
SUBORDINATION	Copula enclitic compatible only with ‘simultaneous’ subordinate clause marker	Separate copula verb required for most subordinate clause types

5. The verbless clause construction

The verbless clause construction is available only in a subset of the contexts that allow the enclitic copula, and the two constructions are apparently in free variation. The verbless construction can be used only with third person singular subject declarative clauses, and typically only in present tense; so another way to conceptualize it is as ellipsis of the enclitic =*ai* ‘COP.3.DECL’. Typically the subject of a verbless clause is marked with the topic enclitic =*ka*, as is the case in (34).

- (34) [mi=na duku-hu=k]_{VCS} [apach]_{VCC}
 1SG=ACC mother-PSSD.1SG=TOP non.Aguaruna
 ‘my mother is non-Aguaruna’

Verbless clauses can be negated using the nominal negative suffix (35a), as we saw above with the enclitic copula (29).

- (35) a. [hu=ka]_{VCS} [wiik-chau]_{VCC}
 PROX=TOP leafcutter.ant-NEG.NMLZ
 b. [hu=ka]_{VCS} [wisut]_{VCC}
 PROX=TOP ant.sp
 ‘this isn’t a leafcutter ant, this is a *wisut* ant.’

It seems to be the case that a verbless clause cannot be questioned.

Although the verbless clause is interpreted as present tense by default, context can allow a past tense reading, as in Example (36) from a narrative couched entirely in past tense.⁹

- (36) [du=ka]_{VCS} [shukuim akapi=n yu-a nunu]_{VCC}
 ANA=TOP boa.sp liver=ACC eat-IPFV+3 REL
 ‘that was a shukuim boa, that eats livers’

6. The verbal copula

The full copula verb has the root *a-*, and alternates with the enclitic and verbless copula constructions in contexts where those are ungrammatical. The copula verb is probably derived from an existential verb *a-*, and the two are compared in § 6.1. The copula takes no overt aspect marking in slot C, apart from the plural subject imperfective suffix *-ina* (as in Examples 17, 18 above). In § 6.2 I describe two other verbs that can be considered copulas in that they appear in clauses with two nominative arguments.

6.1 Copula and existential

As noted above, the copula verb is in complementary distribution with the enclitic copula / verbless clause, and appears only in contexts where those constructions are excluded. In most contexts that require the full copula verb, it is homophonous with the existential verb – compare the copula clause in (37) with the existential clause in (38). Note that like the copula, the existential verb also takes no overt aspect marking.

- (37) [du=ka hospital-a=k]_{CS} [Dos de Mayo]_{CC} a-yi
 ANA=TOP hospital-EP=TOP P.N. COP-REM.PAST.3+DECL
 ‘that hospital was [named] *Dos de Mayo*’
- (38) [utuŋchat]_S a-yi nuŋka=num
 problem exist-REM.PAST.3+DECL land=LOC
 ‘there was a problem in the land’

9. Note, however, that this clause forms a parenthetical aside, in which the narrator steps out of the storyline to clarify a point, and as such could be considered to be outside of the temporal setting of the rest of the narrative.

With plural subjects, however, the copula takes the expected form *a-ina-* (COP-PL.IPFV-), as seen in Examples (17, 18) above, while the existential has a suppletive plural stem *aya* (39).

- (39) [pipina=ts]_{NP.S} wawik=numa=k aya-tai
 fish.sp=SPEC P.N.=LOC=TOP exist.PL+3-SPEC
 ‘perhaps there are *macana* fish in the Wawik River’

This distinction is probably a relatively recent phonological reduction */aina/ > /aya/; Saad (2014: 101–102) points out that the cognate forms in Shuar both show the expected stem *a-inia-* (COP-PL.IPFV-).

The copula verb is defective, and cannot appear in contexts where the enclitic copula is possible. In such clauses, the verb *a-* can only be interpreted as existential – compare (40a and b). So the enclitic and verbal copula are in complementary distribution.

- (40) a. numi-y=ai
 tree-EP=COP.3.DECL
 ‘it’s a tree’
 b. numi a-wa-i
 tree exist-3-DECL
 ‘there’s a tree’ (*it’s a tree)

6.2 Other copula verbs

There are two full lexical verbs that semantically encode identity and take two arguments in nominative case. These are *dikapi-* ‘feel’ (41) and *nahani-* ‘become’ (42).

- (41) [ashi aints a-ina-u]_{CS} [ikamyawā=na=k kakahus
 all person COP-PL.IPFV-NMLZ jaguar=ACC=TOP easily
 maani-mai-n-chau]_{CC} dikapi-na-u
 fight-POT-NMLZ-NEG.NMLZ feel-PL.IPFV-NMLZ
 ‘all the people felt that they were unable to fight a jaguar’
- (42) [nunu namak a-ina du=ka]_{CS} ... [mama]_{CC} nahania-k-u
 ANA fish COP-PL.IPFV REL=TOP ... manioc become-PFV-NMLZ
 a-ina-wa-i
 COP-PL.IPFV-3-DECL
 ‘Those fish (when the young man took them out of the water) turned into manioc.’

A few lexical verbs that normally appear in intransitive clauses can function as copula verbs, with the addition of a second argument in nominative case (see Table 5). For *waha-* ‘stand, be’ compare the intransitive clause in (43) with the copula clause in (44); and the inchoative ‘become’, for which the dedicated lexical verb *nahani-* was illustrated in (42) above, may also be encoded with the normally intransitive *wi-* ‘go’ (45) and occasionally *waĩ-* ‘enter’.¹⁰

- (43) [kaŋkap]_S nain waha-kmã antu-k-u=i
 P.N. hill+LOC stand-TERM+3.SS hear-PFV-NMLZ=COP.3.DECL
 ‘as Kagkap stood at the top of the hill, he heard (the people calling him)’
- (44) [iinia]_{CS} [kaka-k-chau]_{CC} waha-s-u=i
 1PL be.strong-PFV-NEG.NMLZ stand-PFV-NMLZ=COP.3.DECL
 ‘our people were not strong’
- (45) [nuhĩ=a nunu]_{CS} [bachik kapantu]_{CC} wi-a-k
 beak+PSSD.3=COP.3 REL little.bit red go-IPFV-SIM+3.SS
 [bachiki-ush nantia-s-u-sh]_{CC} wi-a-wa-i
 little.bit-DIM bend-PFV-NMLZ-DIM go-IPFV-3-DECL
 ‘its beak becomes reddish, it becomes a bit curved’

7. Copula constructions beyond copula clauses

Aguaruna makes frequent use of auxiliary constructions to form periphrastic tense and aspect marking. The most common auxiliaries are the intransitive verb *puhu-* ‘live’ and the copula. A few posture verbs may also function as auxiliaries (see Overall 2007: 280 for details). The simultaneous subordinate form of the verb combines with an auxiliary to form a progressive construction (46), and nominalizations combine with auxiliaries to form a stative construction (47).

- (46) [taka-ku-n]_V [puha-ha-i]_{AUX}
 work+IPFV-SIM-1SG.SS live+IPFV-1SG-DECL
 ‘I am working’
- (47) sinchi [wakiy-in]_V [a-ya-ha-i]_{AUX} wi=sha
 strongly want-NMLZ COP-REM.PAST-1SG-DECL 1SG=ADD
 au-sa-tasa-n
 study-PFV-INTENT-1SG.SS
 ‘I really wanted to study too’ (lit. ‘I was a wanter’)

10. The copula enclitic that appears in (43) and (44) is part of a construction marking non-firsthand evidentiality, described below in § 7.

The enclitic copula may also function as an auxiliary with a nominalized main verb, as in (48).

- (48) mi=na apa-ŋ “auŋ-nu-w=ĩ” tu-sã
 1SG=ACC father-PSSD.1SG read-NMLZ-EP=COP.NVIS.3.DECL say-SBD+3.SS
 hintin-kaŋt-inu=n uha-ka-bi
 teach-1PL.OBJ-NMLZ=ACC tell-PFV-INT.PAST.3.DECL
 ‘my father told the teacher, saying “he can read!”’ (lit. ‘he’s a reader’)

The combination of nominalization and copula is formally identical to a copula construction, with the nominalization as copula complement argument. It is not clear how to distinguish the two, or even whether this question is relevant for Aguaruna grammar. The clause in (49) can be translated equally well as a copula clause or a verbal clause with a complex predicate.

- (49) wii uchi chicha-h-in a-ta-ha-i
 1SG child+ACC speak-APPL-NMLZ COP-IFUT-1SG-DECL
 ‘I will be the children’s advisor’ or ‘I will be advising the children’

It does seem to be the case that unlike an equational copula clause, a clause with an enclitic copula functioning as auxiliary cannot be paraphrased as a verbless clause.

A formally similar construction allows one type of subject nominalization, formed with the suffix *-u*, to stand in lieu of finite verbs, most commonly in traditional stories, where they function as a non-firsthand evidentiality strategy (see detailed discussion in Overall 2014). This differs from the auxiliary construction in that the enclitic copula can be dropped, giving a formally verbless clause. Unlike the equational type copula and verbless clauses, however, the tense in this construction is interpreted as past, not present. Compare (50), in which the nominalization + copula construction is interpreted as past tense, with (51b), in which the same form of the verb *wi-* ‘go’ is interpreted as present tense.

- (50) wikaiuja-k wi-u-w=ai kuntu=n
 walk+IPFV-SIM+3.SS go+PFV-NMLZ-EP=COP.3.DECL animal=ACC
 mantu-ma-a-tatus
 kill+APPL-REFL-PFV-INTENT+3.SS
 ‘he went walking to kill animals for himself’ (i.e. ‘he went hunting’)

- (51) a. hapa=k sinchi tupika-in=ai
 deer=TOP strongly run-NMLZ=COP.3.DECL
 b. sinchi wi-u-w=ai
 strongly go+PFV-NMLZ-EP=COP.3.DECL
^a‘the deer is a strong runner, ^b‘it goes strongly’ (lit. ‘it is a strong goer’)

The copula enclitic is apparently only present in such constructions in order to allow the nominalized verb to host finite verbal morphology. Compare (52), in which the enclitic copula hosts person and declarative mood marking, with (53), in which third person subject is unmarked and narrative modality is marked with the separate word *tuwahamĩ*. The copula enclitic is not required, as there is no bound morphology to host.

- (52) wi=ka akina-u=ait-ha-i comunidad chikais
 1SG=TOP be.born+PFV-NMLZ=COP-1SG-DECL community P.N.
 ‘I was born in the community Chikais’
- (53) tsampaunumi=n wĩ-ha-k, uchi=n
 manioc.leaf=ACC go-APPL+IPFV-SIM+3.SS child=ACC
 batsa-ki-u tuwahamĩ
 leave-PFV-NMLZ NARR
 ‘going to get manioc leaves, they left the children, so the story goes’

The nominalization may appear alone in a narrative context, formally resembling the verbless equative clause with elided copula. In this case, however, it is more reasonable to assume that it is the narrative marker *tuwahamĩ* that has been elided, as this marker always appears in the same narratives. Example (54) is from later in the same narrative as (53). The narrative modality marker has a wider scope than the clause, and functions as a genre marker for the whole narrative.

- (54) hĩuã isa-hĩ=n pĩim-ka-u
 house+GEN beam-PSSD.3=ACC cling-PFV-NMLZ
 ‘he clung to the ridge beam’

Finally, note that the past tense interpretation of these forms is not related to aspect, as both perfective (as in 54) and imperfective stems (as in 55) can participate in this construction.

- (55) tikich tsawanta=i hĩuã-hu-ã diiya-u
 other day=INS arrive-APPL-PFV+3.SS look.at+IPFV-NMLZ
 ‘another day, after he arrived he looked at it’

To summarize, nominalizations functioning in lieu of finite verbs have the formal appearance of copula clauses, but a closer investigation reveals that they differ from copula clauses in their temporal semantics, and that the copula is present only to host bound morphology. These clauses are best analysed as verbal clauses with non-firsthand evidentiality.

8. Concluding comments

The data presented above show that Aguaruna has a readily identifiable copula clause type, identifiable by the presence of two arguments in nominative case, and that this clause type is used to express semantic relations of identity, as is cross-linguistically expected. The copula element itself is enclitic to the copula complement, but in a rather disparate set of morphological environments is replaced with a full copula verb. The copula verb is homophonous with an existential verb, and most likely has the same origin. The enclitic is not simply a bound form of the copula verb, as the two are quite distinct phonologically; but it does appear to be the result of a straightforward phonological reduction of an independent verbal element. There is also a verbless clause type, which has a highly restricted distribution and is best analysed as the result of ellipsis of the enclitic copula.

Constructions involving NOMINALIZATION + COPULA find extended uses besides expressing equative/attributive relations. They may take part in auxiliary constructions with stative or habitual semantics, and they may function as an evidentiality strategy, expressing past events that the speaker did not personally witness. These developments are relatively recent; they have not been documented in other Chicham languages, even by analysts specifically looking for equivalents of the Aguaruna constructions (Saad 2014; Martin Kohlberger, personal communication).

Abbreviations and conventions

The hyphen (-) marks affix boundaries; equals sign (=) marks clitic boundaries; full stop (.) separates semantic components of a portmanteau; plus sign (+) separates morphemes marked by identifiable but non-segmentable processes such as accent shift.

1, 2, 3	1st, 2nd, 3rd person	COND	conditional
A	agent-like argument of a transitive clause	COP	copula
		CS	copula subject
ABL	ablative	DECL	declarative
ACC	accusative	DIM	diminutive
ADD	additive	DIST	distal demonstrative
ANA	anaphoric pronoun	DS	different subject
APPL	applicative	E	recipient argument of a ditransitive clause
CC	copula complement		
CNTR.EX	counter expectation	EP	epenthetic segment
COMIT	comitative	EXCL	exclamative
CONCES	concessive	GEN	genitive

LOC	locative	POT	potential
NARR.PAST	narrative past	PROX	proximal demonstrative
NEG	negative	PSSD	possessed
NMLZ	nominalizer	Q	question marker
NVIS	nonvisual	Q.TOP	topic marker in interrogative clause
O	patient-like argument of a transitive clause	REFL	reflexive
OBJ	object	REL	relativizing pronoun
P.N.	proper name	REM.PAST	remote past
PFV	perfective	S	single argument of an intransitive clause
PL	plural	SBD	subordinate
POSS	possessive	SG	singular
IFUT	immediate future	SIM	simultaneous
IMP	imperative	SPEC	speculative
INS	instrumental	SS	same subject
INT.PAST	intermediate past	TERM	terminative
INTENS	intensifier	TOP	topic
INTENT	intentional	VCC	verbless clause complement
IPFV	imperfective	VCS	verbless clause subject

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To *hi* or not to *hi*?

Nonverbal predication with and without the copula in Kotiria and Wa'ikhana (East Tukano)

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This chapter describes nonverbal predication in the Kotiria-Wa'ikhana sub-branch of the East Tukano family of northwestern Amazonia. It begins with a general overview of use of the copulas *hi/ihi* in sentences coding the main functional categories of nonverbal predication. Copular sentences with predicate nominals express notions of 'identity' and 'existence'; those with predicate locatives indicate temporary or permanent locational association. 'Adjectival' notions – nominalizations derived from stative verb roots or from nouns by means of the attributive suffix *-ti* – are also expressed in copular sentences. This general profile also highlights the inflectional properties of copular verbs and their productive use as the head roots in derivations of nominals of various types. The second section presents the predicative alternatives to copular constructions, including productively used 'nonexistence', possessive, and positional-locative predicates. The final section discusses a second copular form, *ni*, a clear cognate to the general copula (*a*)*ni* found in many other East Tukano languages, synchronically used as an auxiliary in the Kotiria/Wa'ikhana progressive constructions. It briefly explores two hypotheses regarding the retention of *ni* and origin of the innovative *hi/ihi* copulas in Kotiria and Wa'ikhana.

Keywords: East Tukano, copular verbs, nonexistence predication, adjectival predication, innovation of copulas

Introduction

This chapter discusses nonverbal predication in the Kotiria (Wanano) – Wa'ikhana (Piratapuyo) sub-branch of the East Tukano language family.¹ East Tukano languages are spoken in the Vaupés region of northwestern Amazonia in the Brazilian state

1. The names Wanano/Guanano/Uanano and Piratapuyo are also used in the literature on Tukanoan languages; however, at the request of the speakers with whom I work, I adopt use of their own traditional names: *Kotiria* 'water people' and *Wa'ikhana* 'fish people'.

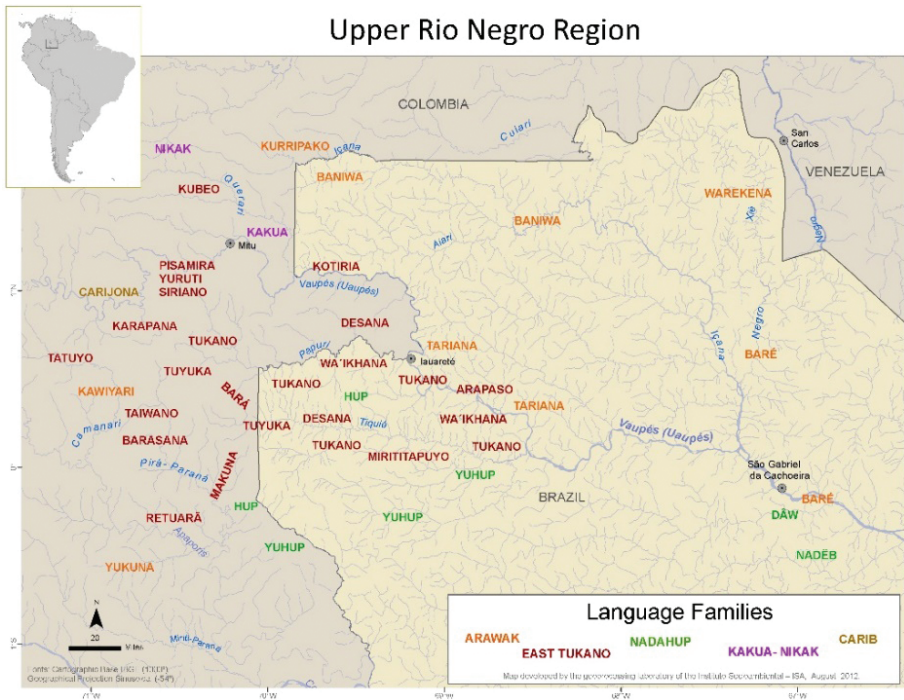
of Amazonas and the Colombian department of Vaupés.² The binational Kotiria and Wa'ikhana ethnic populations both number around 1800, with the majority of Kotiria residing in Colombia and the majority of Wa'ikhana living in Brazil (Map 1).

Kotiria and Wa'ikhana have long been recognized as very closely related sister languages. The earliest lexical comparison (Waltz & Wheeler 1972: 121) indicated an extremely high level of cognates between the two languages – 99% – while later studies by Ramirez (1997: 15) and Waltz (2002) cite slightly lower (but still high) percentages, respectively 95% and 94%. Waltz also states, however, that the languages “are *not* mutually intelligible (except superficially, as are Spanish and Portuguese)” (Waltz 2002: 158, my emphasis). My own work on Kotiria and Wa'ikhana³ shows that there are both significant lexical and morphosyntactic similarities, and, contrary to Waltz's findings, speakers have told me they can understand each other without much difficulty.

Are we dealing, then, with variants of a single language or with two different languages? There is no simple answer to this question. We should acknowledge that within the Vaupés region, affirming closely related sister languages as ‘distinct’ is arguably more a sociocultural imperative than a reflection of true linguistic distance. It is also the case that fine-grained comparative analysis reveals differences. In the Kotiria/Wa'ikhana case, I find that Wa'ikhana displays some features closer to the East Tukano profile (and languages such as Desano, Tukano, and Tuyuka), while Kotiria shows unique innovations in phonology and morphosyntax that are likely attributable to more intense contact between Kotiria and Arawak-speaking groups since the days of Proto-KOT/WAI (see Stenzel & Gomez-Imbert 2009). Given that the Kotiria and Wa'ikhana consider themselves brother groups and therefore do not intermarry within the local system of linguistic exogamy, we cannot attribute similarities between the languages to contact of this nature. Rather, shared features confirm a common linguistic ancestry parting from Proto-Eastern Tukanoan to

2. An estimated 28,000 people belong to East Tukano ethnic groups, the largest being the Tukano (approx. 12,000) and the Kubeo (approx. 5,000), each having large numbers of speakers. The remaining groups, the Waimajã (Bará), Barasana, Desano, Karapana, Makuna, Pisamira, Siriano, Eduuria (Taiwano), Retuarã, Tatuyo, Tuyuka, and Yuruti have smaller populations that range from around 150 (Eduuria/Taiwano, Siriano) to between 1,000–2,000. The exact numbers of speakers of each language are unknown. Population figures given are based on information from the Brazilian Instituto Socioambiental (ISA) *Povos Indígenas no Brasil* <<http://pib.socioambiental.org/pt/c/quadro-geral>> (11 July 2014), and the Colombian Departamento Nacional de Planeación (DNP) *Informacion Sobre Acciones y Procesos Institucionales para los Pueblos Indigenas de Colombia*, publication based on the 2005 national census: <<https://pwh.dnp.gov.co/Programas/DesarrolloTerritorial/OrdenamientoyDesarrolloTerritorial/Grupos%C3%89tnicos/PueblosInd%C3%ADgenas.aspx>> (11 July 2014).

3. My work with the Kotiria began in 1999 and with the Wa'ikhana in 2005, and analysis of primary data from both languages is ongoing. I gratefully acknowledge financial support from NSF/NEH DEL Program (BCS-1664348; FA-52150-05), ELDP (MDP-155), CNPq and CAPES.



Map 1. The Upper Rio Negro region, language families and ethnolinguistic groups.

derive a synchronic sub-branch, as the most recent reconstruction of the family indicates (Chacon 2014: 282). In this work, I maintain identification of the languages as distinct codes, but the degree of similarity will be obvious to the reader.

In keeping with the general East Tukano typological profile, Kotiria and Wa'ikhana display nominative-accusative alignment and fairly consistent OV constituent order. The positioning of subjects is more mobile and depends on considerations of topicality and information structure (topicalized subjects, whether or not they are actually new in the discourse, occur sentence-initially, while known subjects, often expressed as pronominals, occur sentence-finally) (see Stenzel 2015). East Tukano languages generally employ dependent-marking strategies to indicate clause-level grammatical relations, although there is some limited head-marking of subjects. However, fewer subject-indexing distinctions occur in Kotiria-Wa'ikhana verbal morphology than are generally found in other languages of the family (see Stenzel 2008). Exclusively suffixing and agglutinative morphology, a high degree of synthesis, productive verb root serialization, and pervasive derivational operations that result in two basic word classes – nominal and verbal – are among the other salient characteristics of East Tukano morphosyntax (see also Barnes 2006; Gomez-Imbert 2011; Gomez-Imbert & Stenzel, to appear).

In the first section of this chapter, I offer a general overview of when Kotiria and Wa'ikhana speakers opt to '*hi*', showing that the cognate copula verbs *hi* [hi],

in Kotiria, and *ihi*[ihí] in Wa'ikhana are regularly used in both languages in sentences expressing the main functional categories of nonverbal predication. Copular sentences with predicate nominals expressing notions of 'identity' (covering both the notions of 'equation' and 'proper inclusion') as well as general 'existence' are discussed in § 1.1, and those with predicate locatives, indicating temporary or permanent locational association in § 1.2. In § 1.3, I show that adjectival notions – descriptions of the qualities or attributes of an entity – also occur in copular sentences. These can be analyzed as a subtype of nominal predicate, since 'adjectival' predicates are nominalizations derived either from stative verb roots or from other nouns by means of the attributive suffix *-ti* (the same construction also employed to express certain possessive notions, discussed in § 2.3). I wind up the general profile by looking at the inflectional properties of copular verbs (§ 1.4) and showing how the copulas are themselves productively used as the head roots in derivations of nominals of various types (§ 1.5).

Despite the common and widespread use of the *hi/ihi* copulas, Section 2 shows that speakers may also opt *not* to '*hi*', there being a number of predicative alternatives to basic copular constructions. These alternatives allow speakers to express more detailed locational, existential, and possessive notions, and include a set of productively used positional-locative predicates, the topic of § 2.1, predicates of 'nonexistence', described in § 2.2, and possessive predicates, discussed in § 2.3.

Finally, in Section 3, I show that speakers also have occasion to '*ni*', as there is yet a second copula form *~di* [ní], used exclusively as an auxiliary in the Kotiria and Wa'ikhana progressive constructions. This form is clearly cognate to the general copula *~(a)di* employed in many other East Tukano languages with functions parallel to those described for Kotiria and Wa'ikhana (Gomez-Imbert & Stenzel, to appear). Thus, the major departure in the Kotiria-Wa'ikhana branch seems to have more to do with *form* than with *function*, and I conclude the chapter by considering the question of where the innovative *hi/ihi* copulas in Kotiria and Wa'ikhana may have come from, briefly exploring two hypotheses regarding their origin.

1. The copulas *hi/ihi*

Kotiria and Wa'ikhana make ample, regular use of their basic copula verbs: *hi* (KOT) / *ihi* (WAI), which are clear cognates and whose form is unique to this specific sub-branch of the family (see § 3.1 for copular forms in other East Tukano languages). The *hi/ihi* copulas are consistently employed in Kotiria and Wa'ikhana in sentences expressing the main functional categories of nonverbal predication, and occur with nominal, locative and nominalized 'adjectival' predicates (following the classifications in Payne 1997; Pustet 2003; Dryer 2007; Dixon 2010).

1.1 To *hi*: Copular sentences with nominal predicates

Copular sentences with nominal predicates are a mainstay of Kotiria and Wa'ikhana discourse. One of their primary functions is to express notions of *identity*, covering two subtypes defined by Payne (1997: 114) as “proper inclusion”, when the “entity is asserted to be among the class of items specified in the nominal predicate”, and “equation”, when the “entity (the subject of the clause) is identical to the entity specified in the predicate nominal”.⁴ A few representative examples are given in (1)–(5).

KOT

- (1) a. *nũhkũwãhtiro hia.*
 ~*dũkũ*~*watí-ró* *hí-a*
 forest-devil-SG COP-ASSERT.PERF
 ‘(He/it) was a forest devil.’ [A7.57]⁵
- b. *borarowũ’rũ hia tiro.*
 borá-ro-wũ’rũ *hí-a* *tí-ró*
 curupira-SG-AUG COP-ASSERT.PERF ANPH-SG
 ‘(He/it) was a huge curupira.’⁶ [A7.102]
- (2) *yũ’ũkhũ hiha koiro.*
 yũ’ũ-khũ *hí-ha* *kó-iro*
 1SG-ADD COP-VIS.IMPERF.1 (water)relative-NOM.SG
 ‘I too am a relative (a fellow Kotiria, a ‘water-person).’ [A7.39]

4. Terms for ‘identity’ predicates vary in the cited sources. Dryer (2007: 233) refers to “non-referential/generic” and “referential” nominal predicates (corresponding to Payne’s *proper inclusion* and *equational* types), while Pustet (2003: 29–30) distinguishes between “ascriptive” (class membership) and “identificational” (exclusive referent) predicates.

5. All data comes from the author’s own fieldwork and documentation projects, and is registered in the Kotiria and Wa’ikhana Cultural and Linguistic Archives at ELAR (HRELP/University of London) and the Museu do Índio (FUNAI/PRODOCLIN/RJ). The first line of text examples gives the utterance using each group’s currently employed practical orthography. Nasalization and glottalization operate as morphemic suprasegments and are represented in the second (morphemic) line. Following the commonly-used convention in the literature on Tukanoan languages, morphemic nasalization is indicated by a tilde ‘~’ preceding the morpheme and glottalization by an apostrophe in glottalized morphemes. Tone is a third suprasegment, but is represented only in the Kotiria data, as tonal analysis of Wa’ikhana is still ongoing. The acute accent mark indicates High tone; Low tone is unmarked. Cliticized morphemes, which always have Low tone, are indicated by =. Gloss abbreviations are given at the end of the chapter. Bracketed example codes beginning with A refer to the line in the Texts Appendix in (Stenzel 2013: 380–449); other codes identify texts in the respective archives, and elicited sentences are uncoded.

6. A ‘curupira’ is a mythical, human-like creature, often with long wiry hair, that lives in the forest and often does (or tries to do) harm to humans. Curupiras figure prominently in narratives of all groups in the region, and in stories, they are cast as guardians of forest creatures or streams.

- (3) *phamo mahsa ti chʷriro hira.*
 ~phabó ~basá ti=chʷ-ri-ro hí-ra
 armadillo people 3PL.POSS=eat-NOM-SG COP-VIS.IMPERF.2/3
 ‘Armadillos are food for people (lit., ‘ones that/what people eat’)’ [A11.5]

WAI

- (4) a. *wa’ikʷ ihiaha.*
 wa’i-kʷ ihi-aha
 fish-MASC COP-VIS.IMPERF.1
 ‘I’m a Wa’ikhana (man).’ [w004]
- b. *yʷʰ wehetada buhei panami yʷʰta ihiaha.*
 yʷʰ wehetada buhei ~padabi yʷʰ-ta ihi-aha
 1SG W. B. (prop.name) grandson 1SG-EMPH COP-VIS.IMPERF.1
 ‘I myself am Wehetada Buhei’s grandson (descendant).’ [w004]
- (5) *tido bukʷdo mʷnano yaido ihiñugʷ.*
 ti-do bukʷ-do ~bʷda-do yai-do ihi-~yugʷ
 ANPH-SG old.one-SG deceased-SG shaman-SG COP-HSAY
 ‘(People say) the old man (now deceased) was a shaman.’ [w016]

Copular sentences with nominal predicates also function to indicate *existence*, and are equally common in Kotiria and Wa’ikhana discourse, as we see in (6)–(8). The sentence in (9) contains a *quantificational* predicate, which can be considered a specific type of existential (Pustet: 2003: 31).

WAI

- (6) *makoe ihide.*
 ~bakoe ihi-de
 pacú.fish COP-VIS.IMPERF.2/3
 ‘(This) is a pacú fish / Pacú fish exist.’ [w017:makoe2]

KOT

- (7) *phanopʷre hiatiga mahsayahkaina.*
 ~phadó-pʷ-re hí-ati-a ~basá-yáká-~ídá
 be.before-LOC-OBJ COP-IMPERF-ASSERT.PERF people-steal-NOM.PL
 ‘In the olden days there were (used to be) people-stealers.’ [A4.1]

KOT

- (8) *khumu phiri khumu hia.*
 ~khubú phí-ri ~khubú hí-a
 log be.big-NOM log COP-ASSERT.PERF
 ‘There was a great fallen log (there).’ [A4.37]

- (9) *tina n̄n̄natiga. k̄ñiro wa'm̄natariro, do'kai, pairo, tiaro to pho'na hia.*

tí~da ~dudú-ati-a ~k̄ñ-iró

ANPH-PL follow/chase-IMPERF-ASSERT.PERF one-NOM.SG

~wa'búátá-ri-ró do'kái pá-iro tíá-ró

adolescent.boy-NOM-SG young.boy ALT-NOM.SG three-SG

to=~pho'dá hí-a

3SG.POSS=children COP-ASSERT.PERF

'They chased (after their mother). One adolescent, a younger boy (and) another one; (they were) three, her sons.'

[A4.41]

The examples presented so far show that nominal predicates can take a variety of shapes. They may be simple bare noun roots, such as *~bakoe* 'pacú fish' (6) or inflected nominals such as *borá-ro-wu'ru* 'huge curupira' (1b), *wa'i-ku* 'Wa'ikhana man' (4a), or *yai-do* 'shaman' in (5). Moreover, compounded noun roots, such as *~dukú-~wati-ró* 'forest devil' (1), can also serve as nominal predicates, as can simple or complex derived nominals like *kó-iro* 'fellow Kotiria person' (2) and *~basá-yáká-~ídá* 'people-stealers' (7), relative clauses such as *~basa ti=chú-ri-ro* 'food for people/that people eat' (3), or possessive NP constructions, such as *wehetada buhei ~padabi* 'Wehetada Buhei's grandson/descendant' (4b).

1.2 To *hi*: Copular sentences with locative predicates

The NP predicate in a copular sentence can also denote the temporary location of an entity, as we see in (12)–(14), or to more general or permanent spatial association – places where entities live, exist, or originate, as in (15)–(17).⁷ Predicate locative noun phrases are marked by a locative case suffix, usually *-pu*, although locations that are close to and visually assessable to the speaker at the moment of speech are alternately marked by the suffix *-i* in Kotiria and are Ø-marked in Wa'ikhana (see Stenzel 2013b: 88–90).

WAI

- (12) *yũ'ũ namodo me'na ihiũ, to yũ'ũ comunidadepu são paulopũ.*

yũ'ũ ~dabo-do=~be'da ihi-ũ to yũ'ũ comunidade-pũ

1SG wife-SG=COM/INST COP-VIS.PERF.1 REM 1SG community-LOC

são.paulo-pũ

são.paulo-LOC

'(In 2001) I was with my wife, there in my community, in São Paulo (village on the Papurí river).

[w006]

7. In Pustet's terms: "oblique-case" predicates (2003: 33).

- (13) *pɲado ihiaɣe tida diedoa, tida soðpɲ.*
pɲa-do ihí-aye tí~da diedo-a tí~da ~soð-pɲ
 two-SG COP-ASSERT.PERF ANPH-PL dog-PL ANPH-PL DEIC:DIST-LOC
 ‘There were two of those dogs over there (in a canoe).’ [w016]

KOT

- (14) *tina ti wuʼu phiriwuʼuɲɲ hira.*
tí~da tí=wuʼú phí-ri-wuʼu-pɲ hí-ra
 ANPH-PL 3PL.POSS=house be.big-NOM-house-LOC COP-VIS.IMPERF.2/3
 ‘They (some women) were in their longhouse.’ [k006]

- (15) *tiro diapɲ hika.*
tí-ró díá-pú hí-ka
 ANPH-SG river-LOC COP-ASSERT.IMPERF
 ‘It (a bass) lives/exists in the river (rather than in small streams or flooded forests).’ [k023:bass]

- (16) *yɲʼu Mo mahkariropɲ hiha.*
yɲʼú ~bó ~baká-ri-ro-pɲ hí-ha
 1SG Mō Village/origin-NOM-SG-LOC COP-VIS.IMPERF.1
 ‘I am from Mō.’ (lit., ‘I am a Mō-villager.’) [A1.2]

WAI

- (17) *tina topɲ nukɲpɲde soðpɲ ihidi.*
tí~da to-pɲ ~dɲkɲ-pɲ-de ~soð-pɲ íhi-di
 ANPH-PL ANPH-LOC forest-LOC-OBJ DEIC:DIST-LOC COP-VIS.IMPERF.1
 ‘They (our Waʼikhana ancestors) lived out there in the forest.’ [w002]

Locative predicates can also indicate *being* or *existence* at a specific temporal spot or during a specific temporal period, as we see in (18)–(19).

KOT

- (18) *tinare ñɲi waʼatii yɲʼu ya mahkapɲ hii.*
tí~da-re ~yú-í waʼá-ati-i
 ANPH-PL-OBJ visit-(1/2)MASC go-IMPERF-VIS.PERF.1
yɲ=yá~báká-pú hí-i
 1SG.POSS=POSS-village-LOC COP-(1/2)MASC
 ‘They are the ones I used to go see when I lived/was in my village.’ [A3.6]

- (19) *chɲ tuʼsɲ, tina khāria waʼara te panɲmapɲ tina hira.*
chú tuʼsú tí~da ~kharí-a=waʼara té
 eat finish ANPH-PL sleep-AFFEC= go-VIS.IMPERF.2/3 until
pá~dɲba-pɲ tí~da hí-ra
 ALT-day-LOC ANPH-PL COP-VIS.IMPERF.2/3
 ‘When (Kotiria people are) done eating, they go to sleep until (it is) the next day.’ [A1.2]

It is interesting that specific time references often occur with cognate expressions formed with the copulas: *hichu* (KOT) / *ihigũ* (WAI), shown in (20)–(23). All subordinate clauses that occur with switch-reference markers are nominalized forms (see Stenzel 2016). In this case, the nominalizations are composed of the copula + switch-reference marker, with the existential reading ‘there was X / X happened at specific reference time Y’. As nominalizations, such referential temporal expressions can be marked by the objective case marker *-re/-de*, as we see in (22).

KOT

- (20) *setembro 2002 khu'ma hichu, yoarithu hira.*
*setembro*_[B]^s 2002 *~khu'bá hi-chu*
 Sept. 2002 year COP-SW.REF
yoá-ri-thu hí-ra
 do/make-NOM-CLS:stacked COP-VIS.IMPERF.2/3
 ‘It’s September of the year 2002 (and we’re) making this book. / This book-making is in Sept. 2002.’ [A8.9]
- (21) *sã=formatura hichu, formatura yoai domingo hichu.*
*~sa=formatura*_[B] *hi-chu formatura yoa-i*
 1PL:EXC.POSS=graduation COP-SW.REF graduation do-VIS.PERF.1
*domingo*_[B] *hi-chu*
 Sunday COP-SW.REF
 ‘(There was) our graduation (ceremony), (we) did the graduation (last) Sunday.’
 (Stenzel & Khoo 2016: 90)

WAI

- (22) *ya'udukuye saawa'adide 2001 ihigude.*
ya'u-duku-ye saa-wa'a-di-de 2001 ihi-gu-de
 talk/tell-stand-NOM.INDEF do/be.thus-go-NOM-OBJ 2001 COP-SW.REF-OBJ
 ‘[...] (I’m) telling what happened (how it went) in 2001.’ [w002]

1.3 And still to *hi*: Nominalized ‘adjectival’ predicates in copular clauses

The third type of NP predicates that occur in copular clauses are those expressing ‘adjectival’ or attributive notions. These are formed in one of two ways. The first is nominalization of a stative verb of quality, an operation that essentially forms a small descriptive relative clause: ‘one that is X, has the property or quality X’. Nominalizing morphology reflects the grammatical categories marked on the semantic class of the referent: predicate nominalizations denoting qualities of

8. [B] indicates a borrowing from Portuguese; in (20)–(21): *setembro* ‘September’; *formatura* ‘graduation ceremony’; and *domingo* ‘Sunday’.

animates are nominalized by *-ri-ro* / *-di-do* (NOM-SG) for singular referents (23) and by *--ida* (historically derived from *-ri/-di--da*, NOM-PL) for plural referents (24). Inanimate and abstract nouns are directly derived from the verbal root by the generic nominalizers *-ri/-di* or *-ro/-do*, as we see in (25).

KOT

- (23) a. *ñariro hia.*
 ~yá-ri-ro *hí-a*
 be.bad-NOM-SG COP-ASSERT.PERF
 ‘(It/he) was an evil being.’
- b. *tiro wāhtiro sū’ariro hia.*
 tí-ró *~watí-ró* *~sū’á-ri-ro* *hí-a*
 ANPH-SG devil-SG be.sticky-NOM-SG COP-ASSERT.PERF
 ‘That devil was all sticky.’ (lit., ‘a sticky one’) [A4.29–30]

- (24) *buhūina dainakā ba’aa hika.*
 buhū--ida *dá--ídá--ká* *ba’á-á hí-ka*
 be.large-NOM.PL be.small-NOM.PL-DIM bass-PL COP-ASSERT.IMPERF
 ‘There are large and small bass.’ (lit., ‘bass, large ones, small ones, exist’) [k023]

WAI

- (25) *to kuado ihide peoꞤ.*
 to *kua-do* *ihí-de* *peo-pꞤ*
 REM be.dangerous-SG COP-VIS.IMPERF.2/3 rapids-LOC
 ‘The rapids there are dangerous.’ [w017:makoe2]

Although adjectival predicates usually occur in sentences with a copula, there are a few examples in the data indicating the possibility of ‘copula dropping’ with such predicates. The Wa’ikhana utterance in (26) describes a species of catfish as ‘spotted’ and as being a ‘lake dweller’. It has no copula but does contain the suffix *--khu*, indicating a ‘place of origin/living/existence’. Copula dropping also occurs in line *b* of the Kotiria text in (43) below, in which the animal species ‘agouti’ is described as *nūhkuꞤ hiriro*, a ‘forest-being/dweller (a wild animal)’. It thus seems that copula dropping is a grammatical option in situations of a-temporal, generic descriptive predicates. However, since copula use in such contexts is actually the norm rather than the exception, further investigation is required to uncover the patterns, preferences and possible restrictions on when copula dropping occurs.

WAI

- (26) *oredo do’dorikido paritadokhūdo.*
 oredo do’do-di-kido *parita-do--khu-do*
 catfish be.spotted-NOM-SG lake-SG-origin-SG
 ‘Spotted catfish (*surubim*) (is) a lake-dweller.’ [w017:oredo]

A second type of nominalized ‘adjectival’ predicate ascribes a specific attribute to an (animate) entity. These differ from the first type only in that the nucleus of the nominalization is a single noun root, such as ‘spots’, ‘flesh’, and ‘wife’ in (27)–(29), or full NP, such as ‘bad hair’ in (30). This nucleus takes the attributive suffix *-ti*, which derives an intermediary verbal concept of the sort ‘to have X, an attribute/property’, which is then re-nominalized by the same morphological means used to nominalize stative verbs of quality. It is not surprising that this construction overlaps with the expression of possessive notions: to ‘have’ spots, fat, a wife, or horrible hair.

WAI

- (27) *kũwã'i parapeditirikido ihide.*
kũwã-wã'i parape-di-ti-di-kido ihi-de
 manioc-fish spot-PL-ATTRIB-NOM-SG COP-VIS.IMPERF.2/3
 ‘A manioc fish has spots /is spotted.’ [w017:kũwã-wã'i]
- (28) *tikiro ke'noano di'itidikido ihide.*
ti-kido ~ke'doa-do di'i-ti-di-kido ihi-de
 ANPH-SG be.good-SG flesh-ATTRIB-NOM-SG COP-VIS.IMPERF.2/3
 ‘It (a pacú fish) is quite fleshy/fat.’ [w017:makoe2]

KOT

- (29) *tiro namotiro hira.*
tí-ró ~dabó-ti-ri-ro hí-ra
 ANPH-SG wife-ATTRIB-NOM-SG COP-VIS.IMPERF.2/3
 ‘He is married.’ (lit., ‘one who has a wife’)
- (30) *phoari ñatirrowũ'rũ hia tiro.*
phoá-rí ~yá-ti-ri-ro-wũ'rũ hí-a tí-ró
 hair-PL be.bad-ATTRIB-NOM-SG-AUG COP-ASSERT.PERF ANPH-SG
 ‘He was a large horribly hairy being.’ [A7.103]

1.4 Morphology with the copula

Copular verbs, like all stative verbs in Kotiria and Wa'ikhana, have slightly simpler morphological templates when compared to nonstative verbs, which occur more frequently in serializations.⁹ However, the examples given so far show that the Kotiria and Wa'ikhana copulas can take any of the verbal inflection markers generally found on stative verbs. These include aspectual markers such as *-ati* ‘imperfective’, in (7) above, the negative morphemes *-era/-eda* (see also (49)–(51) in § 2.2), and modal markers such as the speculative *-ka* (32) and dubitative *-bo* (33). Copulas can also take the full range of final clause modality morphemes, including interrogative suffixes,

9. See Stenzel (2013a: Chapters 7–8) for more complete discussion.

such as *-ri* (31) and *-ahari* (34), and VISUAL, ASSERTION, and HEARSAY evidentials. The copula *hi* is itself the auxiliary verb in the construction used to code INFERENCE, as we see in (34)–(35).

KOT

- (31) *yabariro hikari hi'na?*
yabá-rí-ró hí-ka-ri ~hí'da
 WH-NOM-SG COP-SUPP-INT EMPH
 ‘Who (in the world!) could that be?’ [A7.28]

- (32) *yɯ mahkɯre wāharokari hire.*
yɯ=~bak-ú-ré ~wahá-roka-ri hí-re
 1SG.POSS=child-MASC-OBJ kill-DIST-NOM(INFER) COP-VIS.PERF.2/3
 ‘My son’s been killed (apparently)’ [A6.58]

WAI

- (33) *tido hiiboaga peoka'a.*
ti-do ihi-bo-aga peo-ka'a
 ANPH-SG COP-DUB-ASSERT.IMPERF rapids-around
 ‘It (a tucunaré fish) sometimes (might) stay near the rapids.’ [w017:be'e]

- (34) *mɯ'ɯ oõ ihiahari?*
~bu'ɯ ~oõ ihi-ahari
 2SG DEIC.PROX COP-INT.IMPERF
 ‘Do you live here?’ WAI

- (35) *ɯkādɯ keēmi, susudɯ ihika'ari ihiditha.*
~ɯka-dɯ ~kee-~bi susu-dɯ
 one/a-CLS:cylindrical chop-FRUS.1 be.hollow-CLS:cylindrical
ihi-~ka'a-di ihi-di-ta
 COP-COMPL-NOM(INFER) COP-VIS.PERF.2/3-EMPH
 ‘We chopped down a trunk (to make a canoe), (but unfortunately) it had been hollowed out.’ [w001]

1.5 Derivations from the copula

Still looking at the copulas themselves, we find that they are also productively used as the roots in derivations of various kinds of nominals. These include locational nominalizations such as *hiropure* ‘a place of being/living’ (36), the indefinite temporal *hia* ‘once’ (37), derived nominals referring to animate ‘beings’ *hiriro* and *hiku* (38)–(39), and inanimates, such as the tree trunk (marked by the noun classifier for cylindricals *-dɯ*) in (42). The Kotiria terms used for indefinite reference *hiphitiro* ‘everything’ and *hiphitina* ‘everyone’ (40)–(41), which have cognate forms *ihipitido* and *ihipitiri* in Wa'ikhana are also clearly derived from the copulas.

KOT

- (36) *yũ soanũmarire yũ'ũ hiropũre . . .*
yũ=soá-~dũba-ri-re yũ'ũ=hí-ro-pũ-re
 1SG.POSS=rest-day-PL-OBJ 1SG(POSS)=COP-SG-LOC-OBJ
 'On my special (resting) days, in my village/living place . . .' [A3.2]
- (37) *kũta hia kũiro mũno to namonore õse nia . . .*
~kũ=ta hí-a ~kũ-író ~bũ-ro to=~dabó-ro-re
 one/a=REF COP-PL one/a-NOM.SG man-SG 3SG.POSS=wife-SG-OBJ
~ó-sé ~dí-a
 DEIC.PROX-be.like say-ASSERT.PERF
 'Once a man said this to his wife: . . .' [A7.3]
- (38) *tĩpũ phu'ichapũre kũiro mahsũnose hiriro boraro ti(na) nirirore kũiro khõaga.*
tĩ-pũ phu'icha-pũ-re ~kũ-író ~basũ-ró-sé
 ANPH-CLS:basket inside-LOC-OBJ one/a-NOM.SG man-SG-be.like
hí-ri-ro borá-ro tí-(~da) ~dí-ri-ro-re ~kũ-író
 COP-NOM-SG curupira-SG ANPH-PL say-NOM-SG-OBJ one/a-NOM.SG
~khoá-a
 lie/be.lying-ASSERT.PERF
 'A humanlike being they call a curupira was lying inside that basket.' [A5.8]
- (39) *mũ'ũ hikũ yũ'ũre wã'kora.*
~bũ'ũ hí-kũ yũ'ũ-ré ~wã'kó-ra
 2SG COP-(1/2)MASC 1SG-OBJ wake-VIS.IMPERF.2/3
 'You're the one who woke me up.' [A7.129]
- (40) *kũiro hiatiga to phõ'na, namono, hiphitiro.*
~kũ-író hí-ati-a to=~phõdá
 one/a-NOM.SG COP-IMPERF-ASSERT.PERF 3SG.POSS=children
~dabó-ro hí-phiti-ro
 wife-SG COP-COLL-SG
 'Once there was a man (with) children, a wife, everything.' [A5.2]
- (41) *to namonore hiphitina ya'ua . . .*
to=~dabó-ro-re hí-phiti-~da ya'ú-a
 3SG.POSS=wife-SG-OBJ COP-COLL-PL tell-ASSERT.PERF
 '(The man) told his wife (and) everyone . . .' [A4.9]

WAI

- (42) *soõ ihimeedũ apedũtha.*
~soõ ihí-mee-du ape-du-ta
 DEIC.DIST COP-be.small-CLS:cylindrical ALT-CLS:cylindrical-EMPH
 'Over there is another small one (trunk, to make a canoe out of).' [w001]

The short Kotiria text about agoutis in (43) serves well to summarize what we have seen so far, as it exemplifies almost all of the types of nonverbal predicate types mentioned in this section, the productive and pervasive use of the copula, and several copula-based derivations. Identity and existential copular clauses with nominal predicates occur in lines *a*, *d*, *g*, and *n*, while line *c* contains a locative predicate. ‘Adjectival’ predicate NPs, both with and without the copula, occur in lines *i* to *j*, and there are nominalizations derived from the copula in lines *b* and *n*.

- (43) *Sama* ‘Agoutis’ [k070:sama]
- a. *a’riro hira sama.*
a’ri-ro hi-ra ~saba
 DEM:PROX-SG COP-VIS.IMPERF.2/3 agouti
 ‘This is an agouti.’
- b. *nũhkũpũ hiriro.*
~dũkũ-pũ hi-ri-ro
 jungle-SG COP-NOM-SG
 ‘It’s a forest-being/dweller (a wild animal).’
- c. *tiro hika dahchoripe to nũhkũpũ.*
ti-ro hi-ka dacho-ri-pe to ~dũkũ-pũ
 ANPH-SG COP-ASSERT:IMPERF day-PL-QUANT:C REM jungle-LOC
 ‘It lives/is there every day out in the jungle.’
- d. *õpeina hira tiro ba’ro samaba’a, samani.*
~o-pe-~ida hi-ra ti-ro=ba’ro
 DEIC:PROX-QUANT:C-NOM:PL COP-VIS.IMPERF.2/3 ANPH-SG=kind
~saba-ba’a ~saba-~di
 agouti-tucunaré agouti-be.black
 ‘Here are the types: ‘bass’ agouti and black agouti.’
- e. *tirore chũduana dieya nũnũina me’re wa’aka.*
ti-ro-re chũ-dua=~da die-ya ~dũdũ-~ida=~be’re
 ANPH-SG-OBJ eat-DESID-PL dog-PL chase-NOM:PL=COM/INST
wa’a-ka
 go-ASSERT:IMPERF
 ‘When we want to eat them, we (go after them) with hunting dogs.’
- f. *paina wa’aka ñamirire wãha phichũkũ me’re tiro chũa õpe hira.*
pa-~ida wa’a-ka ~yabi-ri-re ~waha
 ALT-NOM:PL go-ASSERT:IMPERF night-PL-OBJ kill
phichũ-kũ=~be’re
 shoot-CLS:cylindrical=COM/INST
 ‘Some (people) go at night to kill (them) with shotguns.’

- g. *tiro chña ôpe hira: simi, wahso,*
ti-ro chña ~o-pe hi-ra
 ANAF-SG food DEIC:PROX-QUANT:C COP-VIS.IMPERF.2/3
 ~sibi waso
 waku seringa
na'a, wahpɯ, pekɯ dɪcha, khɯbo, khɯ sɔ'a.
 ~da'a warɯ pekɯ dɪcha khɯbo khɯ~sɔ'a
 buriti kunuri pekɯ tree.fruit soaked.manioc manioc.root -be.red
 'Here are the foods an agouti eats: waku, seringa, buriti, kunuri, pekɯ and
 (other) tree fruits, soaked manioc (and) red manioc.'
- h. *tiro khārika khoparɯ, yɯhkɯkɯ suhsudɯpɯ*
ti-ro ~khari-ka kopa-pɯ yɯkɯ-kɯ
 ANPH-SG sleep-ASSERT:IMPERF hole-LOC tree-CLS:tree
susu-dɯ-pɯ
 be.hollow-CLS:cylindrical-LOC
 'It sleeps in a hole in a tree or hollow log.'
- i. *tiro bahuka sɔ'a nisa dɔ'roriro.*
ti-ro bahu-ka ~sɔ'a ~di-sa
 ANPH-SG appear-ASSERT:IMPERF be.red be.black-?
dɔ'ro-ri-ro
 be.spotted-NOM-SG
 'Its appearance is: red (with) black spots.'
- j. *dɯhsepoari khɯariro, phichono marisikā khɯariro.*
dɯse-poa-ri khɯa-ri-ro ~phicho-ro ~ba-ri-si-~ka
 mouth-hair-PL have-NOM-SG tail-SG be.small-NOM-?-DIM
khɯa-ri-ro
 have-NOM-SG
 '(and it) has whiskers (and) a small tail.'
- k. *piri dahcho mahkārɯpɯ bɯhɯa khɯariro hira,*
piri dacho ~baka-ri-pɯ bɯhɯ-a khɯa-ri-ro
 tooth middle origin-PL-LOC be.large-PL have-NOM-SG
hi-ra
 COP-VIS.IMPERF.2/3
- l. *khapari khɯariro, phititia da'pori khɯariro.*
khapa-ri khɯa-ri-ro phititia da'po-ri khɯa-ri-ro
 eye-PL have-NOM-SG four leg-PL have-NOM-SG
 'It has big front teeth in the middle, eyes (and) four legs.'
- m. *tiro pho'na tika kɯiro ta.*
ti-ro ~pho'da-ti-ka ~kɯ-iro-ta
 ANPH-SG offspring-VBZ-ASSERT:IMPERF one/a-NOM:SG-REF
 'It always has a single baby.'

- n. *tiro ba'ro mahsuno yorose hiro hika.*
ti-ro=ba'ro ~basu-ro yoa-ro-se hi-ri-ro
 ANPH-SG=kind person-SG do/make-SG-be.like COP-NOM-SG
hi-ka
 COP-ASSERT:IMPERF
 'This kind (of animal) is/acts like a person (is person-like being).'
- o. *sama to phukoro me're mahareka.*
~saba to=phuk-ko-ro=~be're
 agouti 3SG.POSS=parent-FEM-SG=COM/INST
~bahare-ka
 move.about-ASSERT:IMPERF
 '(Because) agouti (babies) go around (everywhere) with their mothers.'

2. Or not to *hi*: Copula alternatives

We have seen that copula clauses are widely used, yet there are also several alternatives to the basic copula construction that provide speakers with the means to express more detailed locational, existential, and possessive notions. We examine these in the sections below.

2.1 Positional-locative predicates

Stative position/posture (or 'stance') predicates are often used instead of copular clauses with locative predicates. The basic set of these verbs is given in (44) (from Stenzel 2013b: 93), followed by a few representative Examples (45)–(48).

(44)	Position/posture predicates	Kotiria	Wa'ikhana
a.	'be on (horizontal surface)' – stative (45)	<i>pisa</i>	<i>pesa</i>
b.	'be leaning' (non-horizontal support) – stative (46)	<i>~wa'a</i>	<i>~wa'ya</i>
c.	'be hanging' – stative	<i>yosa</i>	<i>yosa</i>
d.	'be inside' – stative	<i>po'sa</i>	<i>pose</i>
e.	'be lying/lie' – active/stative	<i>~khoa</i>	<i>~kuya</i>
f.	'be sitting/sit' – active/stative	<i>duhi</i>	<i>duhi</i>
g.	'be standing/stand' – active/stative (47)	<i>duku</i>	<i>duku</i>
h.	'be/move inside' stative/active	<i>~sa</i>	<i>~saya</i>

KOT

- (45) *tiro topu pihsaga*
ti-ro to-pu pi-sa-a
 ANPH-SG REM-LOC be.on-ASSERT.PERF
 'He (a disobedient boy) just stayed up there (on the roof).'

[A5.31]

- (46) *ti hori tākap# wā'ana*
ti=hó-rí ~tá-ká-p# ~wā'á-rá
 ANPH=drawing-PL rock-CLS:round-LOC be.leaning-VIS.IMPERF.2/3
 ‘The drawings (petroglyphs) are leaning on (carved into the surface of) the rock.’

WAI

- (47) *kum#durip# dukude*
~kub#-duri-p# duku-de
 fallen.branch-CLS:pile-LOC stand-VIS.IMPERF.2/3
 ‘(Nimastoa, sp. of fish) live/stand (stand) in piles of fallen branches.’
 [w017:nimastoa]

- (48) *tik#do ynk#so torep# sayādukuaye tik#na p#ado.*
ti-k#do ynk#-sa torep-p# ~saya-#uku-aye
 ANPH-SG tree-CLS:hollow be.inside-LOC be.inside-stand-ASSERT:PERF
ti-~k#da p#a-do
 ANPH-PL two-SG
 ‘The two (dogs) stayed there inside his canoe.’ [w016:28]

Position/posture verb roots usually occur by themselves as the sole predicate of the clause, as we saw in (45)–(47). However, in contrast to the copulas, position/posture verb roots (as well as motion verbs of all types) can also occur in serializations, adding aspectual or adverbial manner information. For example, the posture verb *duku* ‘stand’ in the serialization in (48) codes continuous aspect (see also (22) above).¹⁰ Moreover, and similar to what was shown for the copula in § 1.5, position/posture verbs can themselves be the root nucleus from which animate nominalizations, such as *duku-ri-ro* (be.standing-NOM-SG) ‘(some)one standing up’, are derived.

2.2 Negation of the copula and predicates of ‘non-existence’

In Section 1.1 we saw that the copulas *hi/ihi* are used with all major categories of nonverbal predication in affirmative clauses, and we now turn to what happens in contexts of negation. Although the copulas can be negated by addition of the general negation suffixes *-era* (KOT) / *-eda* (WAI), the resulting reading is restricted to a ‘non-identificational’ interpretation, as we see in (49)–(50), where a ‘non-existential’ reading is not possible. With an ‘adjectival’ nominalized predicate, as in (51), the negated copula returns the expected ‘non-quality/attribute’ reading.

10. For more on serial verb constructions in Kotiria and the use of position and posture verbs to code aspectual and adverbial information, see (Stenzel 2013a: 204–06).

KOT

- (49) a. *hierara a'rina.*
hi-éra-ra *a'ri-~ída*
 COP-NEG-VIS.IMPERF.2/3 DEM.PROX-NOM.PL
 'These are not (people).'
 *'There are no people.'

[A5.18]

- b. *ñaina hira.*
~yá-~ida hí-ra
 be.bad-NOM.PL COP-VIS.IMPERF.2/3
 'These are evil beings.'

[A5.29]

- (50) *ne mari phukú hierara. a'riro wāhtiro hiri hira.*
~dé ~bari=phuk-ú hi-éra-ra a'ri-ró
 NEG 1PL.INC.POSS=parent-MASC COP-NEG-VIS.IMPERF.2/3 DEM.PROX-SG
~watí-ró hí-ri hí-ra
 devil-SG COP-NOM(INFER) COP-VIS.IMPERF.2/3
 'It's not our father. This is (must be) a devil.'

[A4.35]

WAI

- (51) *siodo ihiedatiari ihimedi.*
sio-do ihi-eda-tia-di ihi-~be-di
 be.difficult-SG COP-NEG-ATTRIB-NOM(INFER) COP-FRUS-VIS.PERF.2/3
 'It (making a canoe) is not hard (apparently, as I had expected).'

[w001]

In order to express the notion of 'non-existence', speakers use suppletive, inherently negative stative verbs: *~badia* (KOT) / *~badieda* (WAI). Recognizable traces of the negation suffix are still observable in these forms; indeed, the suffix is there in its entirety in the WAI form, while in KOT it has been reduced from *-era* to *-a* (following a tendency for left-edge phonological attrition in this language).¹¹ 'Non-existence' verbs are a common feature of East Tukano languages, the basic cognate element being the initial syllable *~ba*, which occurs in the forms in almost all languages of the family.¹² (52)–(55) demonstrate use of these nonexistence verbs in Kotiria and Wa'ikhana narratives and conversation.

11. I would like to thank one of the reviewers of this chapter for an insightful hypothesis regarding these 'non-existence' forms: that they might be an example of the middle state of Jespersen's cycle, with *~ba* representing the original negative marker, which in some languages is affixed by an epenthetic suffix *-di* in order to form a bimoraic stem. Negation is then reinforced by use of regular negative suffixes. This hypothesis is certainly worthy of investigation in future comparative studies.

12. However, these cognates are labeled and glossed in a variety of ways in the literature. For example, (Miller 1999: 110) glosses the Desano cognate *~bara* as 'not be', while Silva (2012: 206) identifies *~badi* as the Desano 'nonexistential'. Barnes (1999: 220) glosses the Tuyuka cognate

WAI

- (52) *tido oõde maniedade.*
ti-do ~oõ-de ~badieda-de
 ANPH-SG DEIC.PROX-OBJ non.exist-VIS.IMPERF.2/3
 ‘He isn’t here (doesn’t live/exist) here.’

KOT

- (53) *marire chũa maniara.*
~bari-re chũa ~badía-ra
 1PL.INC-OBJ food non.exist-VIS.IMPERF.2/3
 ‘There isn’t any food for us.’ [A7.5]

- (54) *ti khoma ba’ro mariachũa ne khāweto bahsioeraka.*
ti=~khobá=ba’ro ~badía-chũ~da ~dé ~khá~weto
 ANPH=axe=type non.exist-SW.REF-(1/2)PL NEG chop-open
basio-éra-ka
 be.easy-NEG-ASSERT:IMPERF
 ‘Without a (metal) axe, it’s not easy for us to chop/split (firewood).’
 [k070:khoma]

- (55) A. *mũ mahko ti hiroprũre mahchũ maniari*
~bũ=~bak-ó to=hí-ro-pũ-re
 2SG.POSS=child-FEM 3SG.POSS=COP-SG-LOC-OBJ
~bachú ~badía-ri
 leafcutter.ant not.exist-INT
 ‘Aren’t there any (edible) ants in your daughter’s village?’
 B. *ne maniare*
~dé ~badía-re
 NEG not.exist-VIS.PERF.2/3
 ‘No, there are none.’ [Baskets conversation]

~badi as ‘not have’, and the two negative stative verbs in Tukano, *~bari* and *~boó*, are glossed respectively as ‘not be/exist’ and ‘not have/possess’ (Ramirez 1997a:154). In Siona, a West Tukano language with which Kotiria shares a number of grammatical features (but *not* suprasegmental nasalization) the negated copula has the underlying form *pāā(je)*. There is an additional suffixed negation verb which is underlyingly *-ma*’ as well as a basic negative suffix *-a* (Bruil 2014). Whether or not this latter form is cognate with the *-a* and *-eda* suffixes in Kotiria and Wa’ikhana is still a questions for investigation. However, it would seem that a negative formative composed of a bilabial nasal consonant + *a* is reconstructable for Tukanoan. Chacon (2014: appendix B) proposes *m as the source for synchronic East Tukano b, which surfaces as [m] in contexts of morphemic nasalization.

2.3 Predicate possession verbs

The use of stative verbs of possession *khua* (КОТ)¹³ / *ku'o* (WAI) is a third copula clause alternative available to Kotiria and Wa'ikhana speakers, as we see in (56)–(58). Like the copula and position predicates, 'have' verbs can also be the main root in nominalizations that express adjectival-type notions, such as *phuria khuariro* 'one who has poison/is poisonous' in (57) (and *khapari khuariro, phititia da'pori khuariro* 'one who has eyes and four legs' in (43) above). In Wa'ikhana, there is also a suppletive 'non-possession' root *~bade*, used in the nominalization in (59).

KOT

- (56) *ā yoa ōse hiare khuari a'rina.*
~a=yoá ~ó-sé hí-a-re khuá-ri a'ri--dá
 so=do/make DEIC.PROX-be.like COP-PL-OBJ have-INT DEM.PROX-PL
 'So! These people have ones (baskets) like this?' [Baskets conversation]
- (57) *phuria khuariro hira tiro.*
~phuri-a khuá-ri-ro hí-ra tí-ró
 poison-PL have-NOM-SG COP-VIS.IMPERF.2/3 ANPH-SG
 'It (a pit viper) is extremely poisonous (one having a lot of poison).' [k023:āga]

WAI

- (58) *pu'ndogāde ku'odi tikodo bukudo.*
pu'n-do-~ga-de ku'o-di ti-ko-do bukū-o-do
 basket-SG-DIM-OBJ have-VIS.PERF.2/3 ANPH-FEM-SG spouse-FEM-SG
 'My wife had a little basket.' [w006]
- (59) *yukusa maneyekina.*
yukū-sa ~bade-yee-~kida
 tree-CLS:hollow not.have-POSS:PL-PL
 'People who don't have (their own) canoes.' [w001]

13. In Kotiria, *khua* is also used, though less frequently, in the semantically related nonstative sense 'hold' (as seen in the example below). Though synchronically, the same root can be used to express both meanings, it is much more commonly used with stative, 'possessive' semantics.

- tiro phichaku khuaa*
tí-ró phichá-kú khuá-a
 ANPH-SG shoot-CLS:tree/shaft hold/have-ASSERT.PERF
 'He (the father) had/was holding a shotgun.' [A6.30]

3. To *hi*, not to *hi*, or to *ni*! – the East Tukano copula as an auxiliary

In addition to the basic copulas *hi/ihi*, both Kotiria and Wa'ikhana employ a second copula root, *~di* [nĩ], exactly cognate in both languages, as an auxiliary root in their progressive constructions,¹⁴ which have the main verb as a nominalized complement.¹⁵ Progressive constructions are extremely common in discourse and daily conversation, (60)–(62) being just a small sample from numerous occurrences in the data.

WAI

- (60) *yũ'ũ wahaũ niinaha.*
yũ'ũ waha-ũ ~di-i-naha
 1SG row-(1/2)MASC be.PROG-VIS.PERF.1-EMPH
 'I was rowing.' [w006]

KOT

- (61) *soro pahpekũ niha.*
sóró papé-kũ ~dí-ha
 not.now play-(1/2)MASC be.PROG-VIS.IMPERF.1
 'Not now. I'm playing.' [A5.32]

- (62) *ā yoa dierose'e wa'ikirore nũnũro nire.*
~a=yoá díe-ró-séé wa'í-kíró-ré ~dudũ-ro
 so/then=do dog-SG-CONTR animal-SG-OBJ chase-(3)SG
~dí-re
 be.PROG-VIS.PERF.2/3
 'So/then (our) dog was chasing after an animal.' [A2.6]

What is most interesting about the auxiliary copula *~di* is that it is so obviously cognate to the general copula *~(a)di*, found in nine other East Tukano languages, including Tukano (63), Tatuyo (64), Desano (65), and Tuyuka (66).¹⁶ The examples from these languages indicate the *~(a)di* copulas to be the functional equivalents of *hi/ihi* in Kotiria and Wa'ikhana, used with identity, existential, locative, and adjectival predicates.

14. Given its exclusive used in these constructions, I gloss it as 'be.PROG'.

15. Nominalizing morphemes agree with the subject of the clause and follow a third/nonthird paradigm, with gender distinctions for nonthird subjects. The *u/-ku* morphemes in (60)–(61) thus indicate 1SG masculine subjects, and *-ro* in (62) a 3SG subject.

16. In these examples, I have maintained each author's data presentation, but have translated non-English glosses.

Tukano [Ramirez 1997: 116, 126, 129]

- (63) a. *Peduru ÷sâ paki niîmi*
Peduru ÷sâ+paki dîi-bî
 Pedro 1PL.EXC+father COP-PRS.3MSG
 ‘Pedro is our father.’ (identity)
- b. *María ãyugó niîmo.*
Baria ãyú-go dîi-bõ
 Maria pretty-NOM.F.SG COP-PRES.VIS.3FSG
 ‘Maria is pretty.’ (adjectival)
- c. *yaa maká ãri yaá maka pi'to niîwi*
yaá+bâka ãdi+yaá+bâka+pi'to dîi-wi
 POSS+village DEM+POSS+village+near COP-PST.DIST.VIS.NON3
 ‘My village is close to this man’s village.’ (locative)

Tatuyo [Gomez-Imbert & Hugh-Jones 2000: 332]

- (64) a. *ka-~bàhó-ko k(a)-~ádi-yu-pa-o ka-~wábá-o*
 STAB-person-FEM STAB-COP-INDIR-REP-FEM STAB-young-FEM
 ‘(They say) there was a person, a young woman.’ (existential)
- b. *wài-ya-pi ~ádi-ki-~bi ~kîi*
 river-Pirá-LOC COP-NON.VIS-3SG.M 3SG.M
 ‘He is (must be) in the Piraparaná.’ (locative)

Desano [Silva 2012: 184, 186, 190]

- (65) a. *ã yoa dierose'e wa'ikirore nnnuro nire.*
yuu yuu-go-ta ~adi-a-bu
 1SG one-3SG.F-EMPH be-PERF-NON3.PERF
 ‘I am one/a female (Desano).’ (identity)
- b. *wari dihtaruge turoge ãriyürõ yhkugũ.*
wna-di dita-~du-ge tudo-ge
 be.big-NOM:IN lake-CLS:concave-LOC shore-LOC
~adi-~yu-do ykũ-gũ
 be-EV:QUOT/FOLK-NON3.PERF tree-CLS:trunk
 ‘On the shore of a big lake, there was a tree.’ (existential)
- c. *Mãri ãmãbego ãrĩmõ.*
Maria ~uba-be-go ~adi-~bo
 Maria be.tall-NEG-3SG.F be-3SG.F
 ‘Maria is short (not tall).’ (adjectival)

Tuyuka [Barnes 1984: 262; 2006: 140]

- (66) a. *Bogota-pi nĩ-ko*
 Bogota-LOC COP-ASSUMED.PRS.3SG.F
 ‘She’s in Bogota.’ (locative)
- b. *yĩ-ri-ga*
 ripen-NOM-CLS:3D
nĩ-bĩ-a-yu
 COP-COUNTEREXPECTATION-RECENT-APPARENT.PST.NON3
 ‘Apparently the fruit was ripe.’ (adjectival)

Note that the phonological V.CV shape of Wa’ikhana *ihi* is similar to the Desano and Tatuyo copulas $\sim(a)(di)$, and related $\sim(a)ri$ in Siriano, while Tukano, Tuyuka, Yuruti, Pisamira, Karapana, and Bará all have consonant-initial CV(V) $\sim di(i)$ forms, similar to Kotiria *hi*.¹⁷ However, these similarities do not suggest that the two distinct copulas used in Kotiria and Wa’ikhana derive from a common origin. Rather, the widespread occurrence of $\sim(a)d/ri$ forms in sister languages suggests that the Kotiria/Wa’ikhana auxiliary $\sim di$ is a relic of the historical East Tukano copula, synchronically functioning as an auxiliary in the progressive construction, and occurring in complementary distribution with an alternate, innovated (*i*)*hi* form functioning in all other contexts. Progressive constructions with the same syntactic structure are found in many sister languages, including Tuyuka, Tukano, and Desano, but in all these, the auxiliary used is ‘do’ rather than ‘be’. Kotiria also employs its ‘do’ verb as an auxiliary, but with causative or completive, rather than progressive semantics (see Stenzel 2013: 373–376). Thus, it would seem that within the KOT-WAI sub-branch, there were a series of linked changes, as the innovative (*i*)*hi* occupied the functional territory of the general copula $\sim(a)ri$, this form displaced ‘do’ as the auxiliary in the progressive construction.

The question then remains as where to this (*i*)*hi* copula came from, and I briefly consider two hypotheses. First, given the nature of intense language contact in the region, it is worth considering whether there is evidence that (*i*)*hi* has its origin in diffusion, either from a sister East Tukanoan language or from one of the Nadahup

17. Languages that do not have a cognate $\sim(a)d/ri$ form are Barasana and Makuna, which share a $\sim ya(a)$ copula, Retuará, whose basic copula form is $\sim iba$, and Kubeo, which has five distinct copulas, none of which are clearly cognate with any other copula in the family. Sources for the forms cited are (Silva 2012) for Desano; (Gomez-Imbert & Hugh-Jones 2000) for Tatuyo, Barasana, Karapana, Bará and Makuna; (Criswell & Brandrup 2000) for Siriano; (Welch & West 2000) for Tukano; (Kinch & Kinch 2000) for Yuruti; (González de Perez 2000) for Pisamira; (Strom 1992) for Retuará; (Chacon 2012) for Kubeo.

or Arawak languages with which Kotiria and Wa'ikhana speakers have had ongoing historical contact.

The available literature on genetically related sources, however, offers no evidence of similar *(i)hi* copular forms in any sister language, thus making direct internal borrowing of *(i)hi* an unlikely scenario. Looking at other regional sources we find, first of all, that the Nadahup languages Hup, Yuhup, and Dâw¹⁸ all have nearly identical $\sim di$ copula forms, which has led Epps to posit $\sim di$ as an areal feature and perhaps a rare case of diffusion of a phonological form of Tukanoan origin into Nadahup languages (Epps 2008: 386–87).¹⁹ This reinforces the analysis of Kotiria/Wa'ikhana auxiliary $\sim di$ as the older form, of genetic Tukanoan origin, but doesn't help much in the search for a possible Nadahup source for *(i)hi*. The only similar form we find in Hup is the 'factitive' prefix *hi-*, which generally functions to increase the valency of single-participant verbs and contributes a causative reading (Epps 2008: 504–7). Although comparable in form, given its very different syntactic function, there is little reason to suppose this *hi-* prefix to be an external source for Kotiria and Wa'ikhana copular *(i)hi*.

Turning to the regional Arawak languages, Tariana has a *ni* verb (which Aikhenvald glosses as 'do') and among its seven copular forms, one that is phonologically similar to the general $\sim(a)di$ Tukanoan copula: *alia* 'be/exist'. More significantly, however, Tariana also has a copula *hiku*, used to indicate 'similarity, appearance' (Aikhenvald 2003: 250–252, 494–495, 488–499, 606–608). Strikingly similar in both form and function to *(i)hi*, Tariana *hiku* seems to be a possible candidate for a 'borrowing' hypothesis. Speculating on a scenario in which *hiku* was the source of *(i)hi*, there would have to have been borrowing of both the form and its semantics involving predicates of appearance, with subsequent reanalysis expanding its restricted 'appearance' semantics to related notions of 'attributes', 'identity', and 'existence'. To arrive at the synchronic phonological *(i)hi* form, however, there would also have to have been phonological reduction on the right edge of *hiku*, which is *not* the pattern usually observed in Tukanoan languages, and particularly not in Kotiria. Left-edge phonological loss is the observable norm in Kotiria, being so widespread as to result in many homophonous roots, as well as an unusual set of monomoraic roots (see Stenzel 2013: 55–59). However, it is possible that rather than phonological erosion, the second syllable of *hiku*, given its similarity to the

18. For Yuhup, see Ospina (2002: 138) and for Dâw, V. Martins (1994: 154).

19. Epps, however, also points out that a similar form is found in Nadëb *ning* (Weir 1990: 326), a Nadahup language spoken outside of the Tukano-dominated Vaupés region, and suggests that "the areal pattern to which the Hup verb *ni-* corresponds is likely more widespread than just the Vaupés, and that some features of this unusual verb in Hup may in fact be independent of recent Tukanoan contact" (2008: 387).

pan-Tukanoan masculine suffix *-gu/ku* (Gomez-Imbert 2011: 1452) was reanalyzed as a separate morpheme, leaving only the initial syllable to be interpreted as the root *hi*. This would have been acceptable in Kotiria but less so in Wa'ikhana, which more faithfully maintains the Tukanoan bimoraic template for roots. Restoration of the template in this language, then, could have sparked epenthesis of an initial vowel harmonizing with the root vowel. It is interesting that we do find cases, shown in (67) below, of cognate lexemes that display a similar pattern: the CV forms in Kotiria correspond to V.CV forms in Wa'ikhana (in which the Vs are identical). While this may be mere coincidence, it might indicate a type of regressive vowel harmony that appears to occur particularly frequently in the context of the glottal fricative. Aikhenvald (2012: 166) in fact discusses a similar process of *progressive* “translaryngeal vowel harmony” in Tariana, a language that may have exerted a great deal of influence over both Wa'ikhana and Kotiria in the past.

(67)	KOT	WAI	
	<i>hi</i>	<i>ihi</i>	COP
	<i>-ha</i>	<i>-aha</i>	VISUAL.IMPERFECTIVE.1
	<i>-ha-ri</i>	<i>-aha-ri/-di</i>	IMPERFECTIVE.INTERROGATIVE
	<i>-ka</i>	<i>-aga</i>	ASSERTION.IMPERFECTIVE

Indeed, although Aikhenvald's analyses tend to draw attention to more recent processes involving unilateral influence of Tukanoan languages on Tariana, she also reminds us (e.g. in Aikhenvald 2002) that we should not assume such unidirectionality was necessarily the case throughout the history of language contact in the region. The Tariana are historical marriage partners of both the Kotiria and the Wa'ikhana (see Stenzel 2005), and we should therefore not discard the possibility that at some earlier stage of stable use of Tariana and equitable language contact relations between groups, the Tariana copula *hiku* diffused into Kotiria-Wa'ikhana, undergoing reanalysis and phonological adjustments of the type outlined above. Kotiria displays several innovative phonological and morphological features that have been analyzed as likely developed through long-term contact with speakers of Arawakan Tariana and Baniwa (Stenzel & Gomez-Imbert 2009). Thus, the possibility of (*i*)*hi* development from an Arawak source is not to be discarded.

The second hypothesis we consider is that (*i*)*hi* developed from an *internal* source. Copulas have been found to evolve from both lexical and grammatical sources, the most common being verbs and pronouns (see Pustet 2003: 54–61 for a more complete overview and additional references). Indeed, postural or ‘stance’ (sit-stand-lie) verbs are cited as common points of departure for copula genesis, with cases of ‘stance verb to copula’ development found in Uto-Aztecan, Indo-Pacific, Indo-European, Nilo-Saharan, Niger-Congo as well as Pama-Nyungan and other Australian languages (Pustet 2003: 54–55; Dixon 2010: 182; Heine & Guteva

2002: 278). It would therefore not be surprising to encounter examples of the process among Amazonian languages, and – lo and behold! – we find that the stance verb *duhi* ‘sit’ (exactly cognate in Kotiria and Wa’ikhana, see § 2.1 above) bears a remarkable resemblance to *(i)hi*, especially when we factor in the tendency for left-edge phonological erosion attested in these languages. We have seen that such erosion is more extreme in Kotiria, leading to loss of entire syllables. In Wa’ikhana, it more often the case that only the initial consonant erodes, leaving the root with a V.CV shape that preserves the bimoraic template.

Speculating on this ‘internal source’ scenario, we should recall (from § 2.1) that both movement and posture verbs are used in Kotiria and Wa’ikhana verb serializations, contributing aspectual or adverbial meaning. For example, in (22) and (48) above we saw that synchronically, the root *duku* ‘stand’ codes continuous aspect in serializations. Thinking about *duhi* as a source of *hi*, we can imagine that in the past, *duhi* (rather than *duku*) may have been the posture root of choice employed in serializations with ‘durative’ existential or locative semantics. ‘Sit’ verbs are a common source of both progressive/continuous markers and locational copulas following a pathway of the type: ‘sit’-‘remain’-‘stay’-‘live’-‘be’ (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 276–279). If serialized *duhi* underwent reanalyzed as an existential copula, it would have left a vacant ‘aspectual marker’ slot in serializations, later filled by the related posture verb ‘stand’. Also, as a serialized root, *duhi* could easily have undergone left-edge phonological erosion, a process observed with frequently serialized roots that take on grammatical functions, such as *wa’a* ‘go’, often reduced to *-a*, and *mum* ‘run’, reduced to *-m*, among others.

While such a series of steps is plausible, the search for concrete evidence indicating *duhi* as the source of the innovative *(i)hi* copula still continues. *Duhi* is rarely found in full form with copular meaning in these languages, but we know that cross-linguistically, it is not uncommon for full lexical stance verbs and their derived copular forms to co-occur synchronically (see Stenzel 2017: 275 for an example in Kotiria). This would be the case if serialized *duhi* developed into a copula while the independent posture verb remained unchanged. One possible indication that the notions of ‘sitting’ and ‘being’ are still semantically related for speakers on some level is found the ritualized greeting used at gatherings, such as ceremonies, assemblies, or workshop sessions. A person addressing the group will ask “Is everyone sitting?” meaning something like “Is everyone here / Is everyone ready?” and people respond “Sitting!” – whether or not they are actually physically sitting down – much as an English speaker might respond “Here!”. We thus have a highly plausible internal source candidate for the innovative *(i)hi*, though the original motivation for this innovation, alongside preservation and specialized use of the general East Tukanoan copula form, remains a question for future research.

4. Summary and concluding remarks

In this chapter I have shown that nonverbal predication in Kotiria and Wa'ikhana – nominal predicates indicating identity, existence, spatial and temporal location, as well as 'adjectival' nominalizations of qualities or attributes of an entity – generally occurs in sentences with the copular verbs *hi/ihi*. Adjectival predicates, however, do occasionally occur independently, and are viewed as cases of 'copula dropping', the parameters of which are still being investigated. Kotiria and Wa'ikhana copulas pattern morphosyntactically like stative verbs, taking the full range of inflection morphemes found with statives, and are the roots in derivations of varied types. I also discussed predicative alternatives to basic copular constructions, including position/posture verbs, predicates of possession (often employed to express adjectival notions), and of non-existence, as well as a second copula, *~di* – reflection of the historical East Tukano copula – used as an auxiliary in the progressive constructions. Both 'diffusion' and 'internal-development' hypotheses of the origin of the innovative *hi/ihi* copula forms in Kotiria and Wa'ikhana were also briefly considered. Although I have found no evidence for family-based diffusion, Arawak Tariana copula *hiku* appears to be a possible external source worthy of consideration. However, perhaps the most likely development scenario – one that has numerous crosslinguistic parallels – involves internal development of the innovative copular forms from reanalysis of the posture root *duhi* 'sit'. This hypothesis will be further explored, alongside investigation of whether other 'non-canonical' copulas found in sister Tukanoan languages may have developed along similar pathways.

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Abbreviations

ADD	additive	IMPERF	imperfective
AFFEC	affected	INC	inclusive
ALT	alternate	INDEF	indefinite
ANPH	anaphoric	INFER	inference
ASSERT	assertion	INST	instrumental
ATTRIB	attributive	INT	interrogative
AUG	augmentative	INTENS	intensifier
CLS	classifier	LOC	locative
COLL	collective	MASC	masculine
COM	comitative	NEG	negative
COMPL	completive	NOM	nominalizer
CONTR	contrastive	OBJ	object
COP	copula	PERF	perfective
DEIC	deictic	PL	plural
DEM	demonstrative	POSS	possessive
DESID	desiderative	PROG	progressive
DIM	diminutive	PROX	proximal
DIST	distal	QUANT:C	quant:count
DUB	dubitative	REF	referential
EMPATH	empathetic	REM	remote
EMPH	emphatic	SG	singular
EXC	exclusive	SUPP	supposition
FEM	feminine	SW-REF	switch-reference
FRUS	frustrative	VIS	visual
HSAY	hearsay		

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Between verb and noun

Exploration into the domain of nonverbal predication in Ecuadorian Secoya

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This article describes nonverbal predication in Ecuadorian Secoya, an under-described West Tukanoan language. The repertoire includes a particle copula with restricted verbal features, a locative-existential copula verb which fulfills an auxiliary function with verbal and nonverbal predicates, and two derived nominals with special possessive semantics. The latter occur in insubordinate copula constructions or are supported by copula verbs in auxiliary function. Other copula constructions draw on subordination patterns with dependent verbs and nominalizations as well.

Keywords: converb, insubordination, affiliation participle, attributive participle, Tukanoan

1. Introduction

The purpose of this article is to describe predicate nominals and other forms of nonverbal predication in Ecuadorian Secoya. Secoya is an endangered language that belongs to the Western branch of the Tukanoan language family and is spoken in Ecuador and Peru, comprising a number of mutually intelligible dialects (for a recent work on Peruvian Secoya see Vallejos 2013). The following account holds for the two major varieties of Ecuadorian Secoya. For ease of reference, however, the description will only be illustrated with data from the Upriver dialect which is spoken in and around the community San Pablo de Kantëtsiaya at the Aguarico river. The analysis is based on a corpus of about 40 hours of audio/video-recorded texts established in the course of a documentation project on Ecuadorian Secoya. This new empirical basis permits us to go well beyond the short description in Johnson and Levinsohn (1990: 81–83).

Nonverbal predication needs to be distinguished from verbs that display some nominal features for particular syntactic or semantic-pragmatic reasons, but nonetheless function as verbal predicates, as is the case with dependent verbs in clause chains and with verbs without direct evidentials. This grammatical background is presented in 2, before the major devices and structures in nonverbal predication are presented in 3. Section 4 summarizes the findings with some concluding remarks.

2. Verb inflection, insubordination, and nominalization

In Ecuadorian Secoya, as in many native South American languages (van Gijn et al. 2011; Campbell 2012: 278ff.; Aikhenvald 2012: 332), nominalization patterns are pervasive and encountered in various types of subordinated, dependent and insubordinate clauses – patterns that need to be taken into account for the proper understanding of derived nominal predicates and (complex) copula constructions. In addition, evidential marking is operative in verbal and in nonverbal predication and therefore also contributes to the complexity of the latter. In the remainder of this section I will therefore briefly describe the basics of verb inflection and nominalization in Ecuadorian Secoya before discussing nonverbal predication.

In several tense and aspect categories in Ecuadorian Secoya, there are two evidential sets of subject agreement suffixes for the main verb available. The use of a suffix from set I indicates that the speaker has directly witnessed the conveyed state of affairs, or that, at least, she has or had direct access to information that allows corresponding inferences (de Haan 2013). A suffix from the complementary set II, on the contrary, indicates the absence of direct evidence. The two evidential paradigms for the imperfective and the perfective aspect are displayed in Table 1. Note that there are two morphological subsets in the perfective, one of them reserved for a particular verb class. This *i*-verb class contains monosyllabic verb roots which surface with a stem final vowel *i* in some environments and without it in others ('stem truncation'), in the latter case attracting stress on the suffix(-initial) syllable.¹

1. The *i*-verbs form part of a derivational paradigm (see Johnson & Levinsohn 1990: 58f.) with sociative and non-sociative causatives (as such first defined by Michael et al. 2014 regarding Máihiki) and resemble middle verbs in several aspects (see Bruil 2014: 220ff. for a detailed discussion).

Table 1. Subject agreement suffixes of main verbs in the imperfective and perfective aspect

		a. Imperfective	b. Perfective	
			General (non- <i>i</i> -verbs)	<i>i</i> -verb class (stem truncation)
Set I	3SG.M	-hi	-pi	-hiʔi
	3SG.F	-ko	-o	-koʔi
	N3SG (1SG, 2SG, all PL)	-ji	-wi	-iʔi
Set II	2/3SG.M	-ki	-i	-ki
	2/3SG.F	-ko	-o	-ko
	N2/3SG (1SG, all PL)	-je	-re	-te

Interestingly, all of the subject agreement suffixes in set II resemble those of certain dependent verbs and of nouns: the gender suffixes *-ki*, *-ko* and *-i*, *-o* are present in dependent verbs marked for subject change by an additional suffix as well as in derived and underived nouns; a number-neutral (or non-individualizing) suffix *-je* occurs in participles, forming abstract nouns, action nouns and infinitive verb forms in isolation; and the stress-conditioned allomorphs *-re*, *-te* also occur in switch reference marking dependent verbs and are homophonous with the accusative case marker. Note further that the nominal resemblance of the set-II suffixes is also accompanied by a difference in the categorization of speech act participants, since only in set II individual addressees are categorized together with individual third persons.

Bruil (2014) describes the cognate evidential marking in closely related Ecuadorian Siona as having a clause-typing effect. In Ecuadorian Secoya, the two subject agreement suffix sets are similarly distributed: direct evidentials (set I) are found in declaratives, while their lack (set II) prevails in questions, a distribution that is modifiable to some degree. For instance, lack of firsthand information requires a set-II verb suffix and is typically interpreted as a question, but with an additional reportative morpheme (*~ja* [-nã]) the set-II inflected verb form with its reportative augment heads a declarative clause (1a vs. 1b).

(1)² a. *Jaoje saiko?*

~ha -o ~he sai -ko

MDIST -F -also go -IIIPFV.2/3SG.F

'Is she going (to the teacher's workshop), too?'

2. All Ecuadorian Secoya data are from the author's own fieldwork. The examples contain a first line in the practical orthography (italics) and a phonemic representation in the morphemic line. The palatal glide has a free affricative allomorph. Nasal morphemes are indicated by a tilde at their beginning. Nasalization harmony (Campbell 2012: 268) operates progressively and regressively within morphemes and across certain morphemes (both not indicated here) and is generally blocked by voiceless stops and fricatives except the glottal stop and /h/.

b. *Saikoña.*

sai	-ko	--ja	
go	- ₁₁ IPFV.2/3SG.F	-REP	

‘Yes, she is (going).’ [it is reported]

The morphological and categorial distinctions between the set-I and set-II verb inflection present in Ecuadorian Secoya and related languages has been discussed before. Idiatov and van der Auwera (2004, 2008) propose historical relationships among nominalizations and questions which are encoded by set-II suffixes, suggesting an upgrading of the nominalized predications to the status of independent utterances in several Tukanooan languages, including Secoya. The proposed historical process can be regarded as a case of insubordination (Evans 2007), e.g. the development of an originally dependent clause into an independent utterance and its corresponding independent use with a particular meaning derived by conventionalization. In her discussion of Ecuadorian Siona, Bruil similarly hypothesizes that the process of insubordination might be quite old and may have started in Proto-Tukanooan, arguing that nominalizers are found throughout the language family instead of regular subject agreement suffixes (2014: 310). For an earlier stage of Ecuadorian Siona, Bruil reconstructs a copula construction consisting of a nominalized verb and a copula as the source for the current ‘question construction’, with which she refers to an utterance with a main verb inflected by corresponding set-II suffixes according to the terminology used here. According to Bruil, this construction underwent insubordination as a consequence of the deletion of the copula (2014: 311). In our discussion of nonverbal predication in Ecuadorian Secoya we will also encounter copula constructions and cases of insubordination that include derived forms in the slot of dependent verbs in particular multiverb constructions.

In one of the different multiverb construction types used in Ecuadorian Secoya, the dependent verb in a subordinate clause is explicitly marked for switch reference. (2) contains such an initial dependent verb form after which the subject changes: from the person that had fallen into the river to the predator that did not let that person escape. The subject switch is indicated by suffix *--ra* following the subject agreement marker at the dependent verb.

(2) *sakëna tsiaya, oko yaipi i makare sani ...*

sai	-ki	--ra	sja	-ja	
go	-DEP.IPFV.SG.M	-DS	river	-CLS	
oko	jai	-pi	i	-i	~maka -re sa --ri
water	jaguar	-NOM 3	-M	DIM	-ACC take -SEQ

‘when he had fallen into the river, the river jaguar took him ...’

The subject agreement suffixes of such dependent verbs inflect for aspect: the imperfective encoding of the subject marker indicates simultaneous events and the perfective encoding designates sequential ones. The same subject agreement suffixes do also occur in the dependent verb type that is applied in what is known as converb constructions (Haspelmath 1995). Contrary to the dependent verb carrying additional suffix *-ra* for the change of subject in the following clause, the dependent verb in the converb construction is restricted to the imperfective aspect and does usually not change the subject. In (3), this is illustrated by the quotative verb form (*ka~hi*) which here expresses intentional meaning regarding the realization of a particular traditional painting design. The following finite verb is inflected with a set-I suffix in the experiential past³ that agrees with the 3PL subject shared with the preceding depending verb. The use of set-I inflection in the experiential past indicates that the speaker has her knowledge from direct experience of those painting practices.

(3) *Japi pii'a nēkañoa je'jesi'i kajē je'jea'wē'ē.*

~ha	-pi	~piʔa	~rika	-jo	--a	~heʔhe	-siʔi
MDIST	-NOM	bird	leg	CLS	-PL.INAN	paint_face	-FUT.INT:1SG
ka	--hi	~heʔhe	--aʔ	~wiʔi			
say	-DEP.IPFV.PL	paint_face	EXP.PAST	-IPFV.N3SG			

‘When they wanted to paint the bird (legs) figure, they painted it with this (symbol).’

In addition to the subject agreement suffixes in the converbs just described, there is a very similar morphological paradigm which occurs in deverbal nominalizations that can all be descriptively summarized as participles. The suffixes of converbs and participles are compared in Table 2. In contrast to the suffixes of the converb (a), the participle suffixes (b) are not subject agreement morphemes, but nominal suffixes that add to the referential (lexical) meaning of the derived participial noun, though this fact is only in the plural forms morphologically reflected. Participles do not employ the imperfective plural suffix of the converb (*--hi*), but rather nominal suffixes that distinguish between inanimate (nominal suffix *je*) and animate referents (combination of the gender suffix *-ko* or *-o* with the generic noun *waʔi* ‘animal, fish’ for game).

3. Johnson and Levinsohn (1990: 66) present this tense as ‘remote past’, but the term ‘experiential past’ captures better the fact that this past is not always remote, but always indicates a past situation that has ceased to exist at the moment of speaking and which cannot be inferred from other indications. For the set-I inflection it is necessary that the speaker witnessed what happened through her own senses “as the event happens” (Fleck 2007: 595).

Table 2. Subject agreement of converbs vs. nominalizing suffixes of participles

	a. Converb (always imperfective)		b. Nominalizing suffixes of participles ⁴		
	General (non- <i>i</i> -verbs)	<i>i</i> -verb class (full stem)	General (non- <i>i</i> -verbs)	<i>i</i> -verb class (full stem)	
SG.M	-ki	-i	-ki	-i	SG.M
SG.F	-ko	-o	-ko	-o	SG.F
PL	-~hi		-ko waʔi	-o waʔi	PL.AN
			-je		INAN

The meanings including active and passive readings of participles derive from the lexical semantics of the verb base, in combination with the presence or absence of temporal and aspectual stem extensions, such as the resultative (stem extension suffix *-si*) and contextual information. (4) provides an example that includes a resultative and a non-resultative participle, both referring to the same shaman who secretly witnessed the anacondas drowning his companions when they went ahead in the boat.

(4) *ñani yureta'a iti saisikë iti yaje ukukë ...*

~ja ~ri jure -taʔa ~i -ti sai -si -ki

see -SEQ NOW -CEX 3 -? go -RES -NMLZ.SG.M

~i -ti jahe ~uku -ki

3 -? yajé drinker -NMLZ.SG.M

'and the shaman who had gone (with them) saw (the anacondas drowning them)'

Converb constructions with participial nouns represent important sources for semantically specialized (in subordinate) copula constructions.

3. Predicative means in nonverbal predication

Speakers of Ecuadorian Secoya have a wide range of grammatical means for nonverbal predication at their disposal. The major inventory outlined here includes a particle copula and zero occurrences, some copula verbs, and participles that occur in subordinate copula constructions.

4. There are also several nouns that can be analyzed as lexicalized participles which carry noun classifiers rather than gender morphemes. These participles are not further regarded here, since the focus of this article is on predicates.

3.1 Particle copula *-a-*

The particle copula *-a-* binds directly to the predicative noun and encodes equation or proper inclusion (Payne 1997). Although it displays an inflectional paradigm (Table 3) that has some similarities with that of verbs, it cannot be analyzed a proper verb for its many morphosyntactic peculiarities.

Table 3. Inflectional paradigm of the particle copula *-a-*

a. Direct evidentials (set I)		b. Lack of direct evidentials (set II)	
2/3SG.M	-pi	2/3SG.M	-i
2/3SG.F	-∅	ANY	-∅
OTHER (Inanimates, 1SG, all PL)	-ʔi		

In the direct evidential paradigm (Table 3, (a), there are three categories of grammatical person, as is typical of verbs, but the morphology of the suffixes and their distribution is rather messy compared to that of lexical verbs. An immediately obvious distinctive feature is the zero morpheme in the feminine gender instead of the familiar suffix morphology *-o* or *-ko*. The masculine gender suffix contains the perfective suffix variant of regular verbs⁵ (cf. Table 1). In the absence of direct evidentials (Table 3, (b), the inflection of the copula is even more irregular. There are only two forms, one of which (*-i*) is fairly rare, while the zero morpheme is very generally applied.

3.1.1 Use of the particle copula with underived and derived nouns

The particle copula is used with underived and with derived nouns. A very frequent inflectional suffix of the particle copula in set I is *-ʔi*. First of all, it is applied with inanimates, as with the crop noun in (5).⁶

- (5) *Yokoaʔë.*
 joko -a -ʔi
 yoco -COP -_IOTHER
 'It is yoko (*Paullinia yoco*).'

5. The prevailing perfective morphology in copulas seems to be a more widespread pattern throughout the Tukanoan language family (pers. comm. Amalia Skilton).

6. Johnson and Levinsohn (1990: 81) report the use of a variant *-ʔi* that directly attaches to underived nouns for inanimates without displaying the particle copula, but such clear animacy-driven omission has not been confirmed by my data.

In (6), the same particle copula form occurs with a predicate referring to a good way of living, the details of which the speaker had outlined before. She refers to the previous description with the anaphoric form (*~ha~he* ‘that’) that is based on the medioidistal deictic root *~ha*. The predicate noun is derived from the intransitive verb stem *paʔi-* ‘locative be, exist’.

(6) *Jajɛ paaʔiyeaʔɛ waumaka.*

~ha ~he paʔi -je -a -ʔi wau ~maka
 MDIST -also be_LOC -NMLZ.INAN -COP -OTHER younger_sister DIM
 ‘That is the form to live, my child.’

(7) displays another case of the particle copula with set-I suffix *-ʔi*. The inflectional suffix here agrees with a subject that refers to the speaker. The inflected particle copula is bound to a participle that expresses affiliation and is discussed in Section 3.3.

(7) *ʔiti tsɛkapɛ akaʔɛ.*

~i -ti sɛka -pi a -ko -a -ʔi
 3 -? family -CLS AFFIL -NMLZ.SG.F -COP - OTHER
 ‘I’m part of that family.’

In (8), the same inflectional suffix *-ʔi* is used with a 1PL subject. The predicate nominal itself is marked as animate plural (nominal suffix *-ko* followed by *waʔi*). The gender suffix is preceded by the stem extension *~maʔ* for negation.

(8) *Daimaʔkowaʔiaʔɛ.*

dai ~maʔ -ko waʔi -a -ʔi
 come -NEG -NMLZ.SG.F PL.AN -COP -OTHER
 ‘We are not immigrants.’

With individual animates that are not coreferent with the speaker, the inflectional suffix changes, as illustrated in (9) where the speaker refers to her dogs. The example contains a sequence of two finite copula constructions, the first one containing the masculine subject-agreement suffix of set I (*-pi*), the second one the feminine zero morpheme.

(9) *Tɛʔi ɛmɛapi. Yeko nomioa.⁷*

teʔe -i ~imi -a -pi
 one -m man -COP -1/2/3SG.M
 je -ko ~romi -o -a -Ø
 other -NMLZ.SG.F woman-F -COP -1/2/3SG.F
 ‘One (of my two dogs) is male. The other is female.’

7. Note that the transition from the feminine suffix vowel *o* to the vowel of the particle copula typically leads to the realization of a glide: [owa].

(10) contains a set-II inflected copula followed by the ‘dubitative’ suffix (Johnson and Levinsohn 1990: 71) most common in information questions. In the absence of direct evidentials, the zero morpheme is almost always applied, including when the speaker refers to himself. The fact that it is here a man who is wondering what to do, is revealed by the masculine gender suffix *ki* at the predicate nominal which is a derived noun, a participle based on the verb root *~re-* ‘make’. Responsible for the future reading is the inchoative stem extension *~haʔ* which precedes the masculine gender suffix.

(10) *Me nejə'kəa'ni?*

~me	~re	~haʔ	-ki	-a	-Ø	--ʔri
how	make	-INCH	-NMLZ.SG.M	-COP	-IIANY	-DUB
	‘What am I going to do?’					

Though rare, examples from natural speech show that the reportative marker *--ja* (11) is also compatible with the particle copula. As elsewhere, the reportative marker is suffixed to a set-II inflected predicate, here the copula with the zero morpheme. In this particular case, the fact that a woman is referred to can only be contextually retrieved. The additional reportative marker indicates that the evidence the speaker has for the woman’s postulated nature is learned from somebody else. Note that while the particle copula occurs with an evidential suffix, it is restricted to present tense and requires auxiliaries for tense variation.

(11) *Watiaña.*

wati	-a	-Ø	--ja
ghost	-COP	-IIANY	-REP
	‘She is a ghost.’ [it is reported]		

The other set-II inflectional suffix, *-i* (see Table 3), is only rarely documented and seems to be an inflectional variant that is restricted to predicates with 2/3SG.M referents. It occurs with derived nouns, as in the elicited example in (12) where a resultative participle functions as the predicate, as indicated by the inflected particle copula.

(12) *Më ñekwë ai jə'josikəä?*

~miʔi	~jekwi	ai	hiʔho	-si	-ki	-a	-i
2SG	grandfather:M	much	be_tired	-RES	-NMLZ.SG.M	-COP	-II2/3SG.M
	‘Is your grandfather very tired?’ (elicited)						

3.1.2 Functions of the particle copula construction with participles

Participle constructions in which the derived nouns fulfil predicative functions in combination with the particle copula are very pervasive in Ecuadorian Secoya and

fulfil special functions to complement the finite verb constructions.⁸ Simple participles, i.e. those without additional stem extensions other than negation, convey a habitual or generic reading, depending on whether the verb root is dynamic or stative. In (13), for instance, the speaker is not concerned to learn about the language the person is speaking at a particular moment, but about his general language use.

(13) *Ke kokare kakëa?*

ke	koka	-re	ka -ki	-a	-Ø
what	speech	-ACC	say	-NMLZ.SG.M	-COP -IIANY

‘What language does he speak?’

Because of the habitual/generic meaning, participles with the particle copula are used in species descriptions and similar accounts of customs and habits. In (14), the speaker talks about a type of woodpecker that people like to have as pet, as it has a habit⁹ of living long and not easily getting sick and die. The subject agreement suffix *-ʔi* at the particle copula here corresponds to 3PL reference. The animate plural specification is provided at the participle by its derivational morpheme (female gender suffix *-ko* and *waʔi*) while the subject noun lacks any number indication. The negation is expressed by stem extension *~maʔ*.

(14) *Wea kōone juʔimaʔkowaʔiaʔë.*

wea	~kōone	~huʔi	~maʔ	-ko	waʔi	-a	-ʔi
type_of	woodpecker	die	-NEG	-NMLZ.SG.F	PLAN	-COP	-IOTHER

‘The w.k. woodpecker has the habit to not die.’

8. Participles also fulfil lexical functions and they do represent the functional equivalent of relative and some adverbial clauses. In (i), the sentence-final resultative participle (*kasikowaʔi*) based on verb stem *ka-* ‘say’ refers to the jaguars who had certain intentions, and those intentions (namely, to eat the tortoise) precede the participle in form of a complex nominal modifier.

(i) *Yoōni yuretaʔa yai kēkëaʔneña*

joʔo	~ri	jure	-taʔa	jai	kiki	~aʔ	-je	~ja
do	-SEQ	now	-CEX	jaguar	be_frightened	-EXP.PAST	-IIIPFV.N2/3SG-REP	

iore kooure qine kasikowaʔi.

~i	-o	-re	kou	-re	~ai	-je	ka -si -ko	waʔi
3	-F	-ACC	tortoise	-ACC	eat	-NMLZ.INAN	say -RES	-NMLZ.SG.F PLAN

‘Then the jaguars who wanted to eat the tortoise got frightened.’

9. The common Spanish translation for the simple-participle-plus-particle-copula construction is “*saber (hacer algo)*”.

Participles are also extendable by aspectual morphemes, such as by the resultative suffix *-si* in (15). Resultative participles on transitive verb bases can yield active or passive semantics, but as other participles they are not restricted to particular semantic roles. The resultative participle in (15) is derived from a transitive verb (stem *~s̥io-* ‘to light, to switch on’). It refers to a notebook computer and has a passive reading. The present perfect reading of the construction is the product of the resultative extension in combination with the inflected particle copula.

The suffix of the bound particle copula in (15) is a set-II zero morpheme which does not allow to unambiguously distinguish between feminine nouns with set-I and any noun with set-II suffixes, as there is a zero morpheme in both inflectional sets (see Table 3). In such cases contextual information and prosody are important for the correct identification of the intended illocutionary act, here a request for information.

- (15) *Ts̥osikoa?*
 ~s̥io -si -ko -a -Ø
 put.on -RES -NMLZ.SG.F -COP -_{II}ANY
 ‘Is it (switched) on?’

The resultative participle in (16) refers to seeds for handicraft that had been brought from some Kichwa people, as asserted by the particle copula with set-I suffix *-ʔi*.

- (16) *Oraë k̥ʔro dase’ea’ë.*
 oraë k̥ʔro da -seʔe -a -ʔi
 Kichwa place bring -RES.NMLZ.INAN -COP -_IOTHER
 ‘They have been brought from the place of the Kichwa.’

The particle copula as such lacks the capacity to denote other than present situations. With underived nouns, this copula construction is thus restricted to present tense. With participles, the particular tense readings rely on the aspectual marking of the latter. One way to encode a particular non-present tense situation in Ecuadorian Secoya is the combination of a dependent verb with an auxiliary resultative participle derived from a locative-existential verb (stem *paʔi-* ‘locative be, exist’) to which the inflected particle copula attaches (17a/b). Such multiverb constructions (a converb followed by a resultative participle in auxiliary function to which the inflected particle copula attaches) provide habitual past tense readings, i.e. habits that by the time of speaking have ceased to exist. Recall that in converb constructions, the inflectional suffix of the dependent verb providing the lexical information (*~uku-ki* in 17a and *pa-~hi* in 17b) is restricted to the imperfective aspect. The past reading derives from the resultative extension of the auxiliary participle. In (17a), this participle carries a derivational masculine suffix for an animate referent. The particle copula applies with its own inflectional suffix to this participle. In the auxiliary participle in (17b),

the resultative suffix (-*si*) and the inanimate nominalizer -*je* have fused into suffix -*seʔe* to which the inflected particle copula attaches. The inanimate derivational encoding of the participle corresponds to the sugar cane referents which represent the theme of the preceding converb. Different from the abstract meaning in isolation, auxiliary participles in predication have a concrete actual reference, but this is only to some degree recoverable from the morphology at the derived noun itself (inanimate versus animate plural suffix) and also depends on further (lexical) contextual information. The evidential category, finally, derives from the inflectional set at the particle copula. In Examples (17a/b), this suffix is from set I, but the encoding by means of set II suffixes is possible, of course, too.

- (17) a. *ʔrikë makapi ukukë paaʔisikëapi jaë.*

aʔri -ki ~maka -pi
 small -NMLZ.SG.M DIM -NOM

~uku -ki	paʔi	-si	-ki	-a	-pi	~ha	-i
----------	------	-----	-----	----	-----	-----	----

 drink -DEP.IPFV.SG.M be_LOC -RES -NMLZ.SG.M -COP -1/2/3SG.M MDIST -M
 ‘As a child he was drinking (ayahuasca).’

- b. *Ja iowaʔi paajë paaʔiseʔeaʔë, ja kaatëñoa.*

~ha ~i -o waʔi
 MDIST 3 -F PL.AN

pa	~hi	paʔi	-seʔe	-a	-ʔi
----	-----	------	-------	----	-----

 have -DEP.IPFV.PL be_LOC -RES.NMLZ.INAN -COP -1OTHER
 ~ha ~kati -jo ~a
 MDIST sugar_cane -CLS -PL.INAN
 ‘The sugar canes are those that they used to have.’

3.1.3 Irregularities

Occasionally, the particle copula itself (i.e. bound vowel *a* with its inflectional slot) does not surface at the predicative noun, while its subject agreement suffix does (unless it is a zero morpheme and remains invisible). In (18), the speaker is commenting to her grandchild, a toddler, about his beating habits. The nominalizing suffix of the participle (-*kʔi*) is directly followed by the inflectional suffix of the (covert) copula. The set-I inflection of the covert copula here is -*pi* (Table 3), homophonous with the case marker used with focal subjects and with instruments and sources. (19) is a parallel case with a predicative noun with feminine suffix. The copula vowel does not surface at the underived feminine noun (~*romio* ‘woman’) in predicative function, but its set-I suffix *ʔi* (Table 3) does (see also footnote 6).

(18) *Ai, a'si waikēpi. Yure yo'oji.*

ai aʔsi wai -ki (-a) -pi jure joʔo -hi
 EXCL hurt beat -NMLZ.SG.M cop -13SG.M now do -1IPFV.3SG.M
 'Ouch, you have the habit to beat. You are doing it now.'

(19) *Yë'ë kato jai tsiaya nomio'ë.*

jiʔi kato hai sja -ja ~romi -o (-a) -ʔi
 1SG IMPL large river -CLS woman -F COP -1OTHER
 'I am a woman from the large river (the Napo).'

Another irregularity concerning the particle copula is its potential replaceability by the feminine suffix *-o* in underived nouns that are usually not marked as feminine. The questions in (20a/b) are used rhetorically in a speech complaining about the lack of Secoya vocabulary for modern technical items. Both questions were uttered almost one after the other by the same speaker.

(20) a. ... *ike mamia'ni?*

~i ke ~mami -a -Ø --ʔri
 3 what name -COP -12/3SG.F -DUB
 '... (the tripod) what's its (Secoya) name?'

b. ... *ike mamio'ni?*

~i ke ~mami -o --ʔri
 3 what name -F -DUB
 '... (the video camera) what's its (Secoya) name?'

The predicative form in (20a) displays the noun *~mami* 'name' with the particle copula and 'dubitative' marker *--ʔri*.¹⁰ In (20b), in contrast, the feminine gender marker has replaced the particle copula. In the inflection of nouns, there are cases where the feminine inflection of certain nouns triggers an augmentative or other semantic reading. Here, however, semantics do not seem to be changed by the feminine suffix. In addition, one would expect a feminine suffix applied for specific non-predicative semantics still to be followed by the usual particle copula, here *~mami-o-a(...)*. That this is not the case here suggests that the gender marker may in fact exert a predicative function with inanimate and normally non-feminine nouns, a function that has already been observed by Johnson and Levinsohn

10. This marker is restricted to utterances with set-II inflected predicates. Interestingly, it is only attested with the particle copula inflected by a zero morpheme and not with the much rarer inflectional form *-i* (Table 3).

(1990: 82). However, the instability of the particle copula in some cases¹¹ and other irregularities¹² still require further investigation.

3.2 Locative-existential copula verb *paʔi-*

For location, there are several specialized postural verbs available in addition to a general intransitive verb *paʔi-* ‘locative be, exist’ with locative and existential semantics. This general verb represents a very frequent copula verb and denotes permanent as well as transient states. Note that non-adverbial constituents that denote the ground are flagged by the accusative marker *-re*. In (21), which includes a locative adverb, this is not necessary.

- (21) *Jaro kĕĕnawĕ paai paaʔiyĕ.*
 ~ha -ro ~kĭra -wi ~pai paʔi -ji
 MDIST -CLS sky -CLS people be_LOC -IPFV.N3SG
 ‘There are people in the sky over there.’

In (21), the locative-existential verb inflects with suffix *-ji* which here agrees with non-individuated animate subject referents other than the speech act participants. When the subject is inanimate, the inflectional suffix of this verb tends to be a

11. There are more indications for the existence of copula clauses with zero copulas in Ecuadorian Secoya. An example is provided in (iii) where the sequence of speech act pronoun and kin term in (a) has a predicative meaning according to some speakers, while the phrase with the bound pronoun in (b) receives a possessive interpretation. However, in view of a lack of uncontroversial data, the extent to which such zero copulas actually exist remains unclear and still needs further investigation.

- (iii) a. *mĕʔĕ jaʔkĕ*
 ~miʔi haʔki
 2SG father:M
 ‘You are (the) father’ (elicited)
- b. *mĕ jaʔkĕ*
 ~mi-haʔki
 2SG-father:M
 ‘your father’ (elicited)

12. The inflection of the copula particle generally agrees with the subject of the verb base from which participles are derived for predicative function. With respect to copula clauses with underived nouns, however, reference to the speaker seems to trigger the choice of inflectional suffix *-ʔi*, whether this referent provides the subject or not. Accordingly, a particle copula bound to the 1SG pronoun, as in (ii), will always contain suffix *-ʔi* (if it is a direct evidential).

- (ii) *Yĕʔĕaʔĕ irepa.*
 jiʔi -a -ʔi ~i -i -repa
 1SG -COP -OTHER 3 -M -INTS
 ‘I am the (mighty) one.’ (Or: the mighty one is me.)

masculine gender form, such as suffix *-hi* in (22), regardless of the referent's number and other semantic properties. Note, however, that inanimates do not always take masculine agreement. The distribution of gender in inflectional suffixes with inanimate subject referents of locative-existential and other verbs is still under investigation.

(22) *Jaiye paa'iji iño archivo nuevo.*

hai	-je	paʔi	-hi	i	--jo	archivo	nuevo
large	-NMLZ.INAN	be_LOC	-1IPFV.3sg.M	PROX	-CLS	file	new

'There are many new files here.'

The locative-existential verb serves as an auxiliary copula verb in contexts where neither the particle copula nor a zero copula alone are acceptable, because a non-present temporal-aspectual specification is required. In (23), the auxiliary copula verb in the perfective follows the predicate noun *ɕiwaʔo* 'child' and indicates that the speaker's childhood is a matter of the past.

(23) ... *guerra yo'oko paa'inë kato yë'ë jamaka tsiwa'ò paa'ë.*

guerra	joʔo	-ko	paʔi	--ri	kato
war	happen	-DEP.IPFV.SG.F	be_LOC	-when	IMPL

jiʔi	~ha	--maka	ɕiwaʔ -o paʔi	-iʔi
1SG	MDIST	-INDIV	CHILD -F be_LOC	-1PFV.N3SG

'... at the time of the war I was still a child.'

While the construction in (23) includes an underived noun immediately preceding the locative-existential verb in auxiliary copula function, in (24), the immediate pre-copula-verb position is instead filled by a converb which always contains an imperfective subject agreement suffix.

(24) *jaopi juijë paa'a'wë'ë,*

~ha	-o	-pi	hui	--hi	paʔi	--aʔ	-wiʔi
MDIST	-F	-NOM	blow	-DEP.IPFV.PL	be_LOC	-EXP.PAST	-1IPFV.N3SG

nasore, sešere ...

naso	-re	~sese	-re
woolly_monkey	-ACC	peccary	-ACC

'with this (blowgun) they shot woolly monkeys and peccaries ...'

The locative-existential copula verb in (24) contains the experiential past morpheme (*--aʔ*) with a set-I suffix that agrees with a 3PL subject (*-wiʔi*). This encodes that the speaker directly perceived the ceased past habits he talks about. Note that the content verb itself could be inflected for tense and evidentiality by carrying the appropriate suffixes (here forming *huʔ~aʔwiʔi*), but this would produce a perfective reading in the experiential past. The combination of lexical converb and auxiliary copula verb in the experiential past, on the other hand, yields the habitual reading.

Property-denoting non-active verbs cannot form dependent verbs in converb constructions, but they may be encoded as participles. Recall that in order to differentiate between converbs and participles it is necessary to consider the complete person paradigm of a given item in the subordinate clause, since there is no overt morphological distinction in case of masculine and feminine gender suffixes (see Table 2). (25) provides an example for a participle used in a converb construction. The participle with a masculine derivational suffix (*kɔʔa-ki*) encodes an evil person by character and the auxiliary locative-existential verb provides the temporal and evidential information. As the speaker only heard from others about this previously existing person, the copula verb in the experiential past is inflected with a suffix from set-II (*-ki*, 2/3SG.M) followed by the reportative suffix *--ja*.

(25) ... *te'i yekë koo'akë paa'a'këña paaire dawë nekë.*

<i>teʔe</i>	-i	je		-ki					
one	-M	other		-NMLZ.SG.M					
<i>kɔʔa</i>	-ki		<i>paʔi</i>	--aʔ	-ki			--ja	
be_bad	-NMLZ.SG.M	be_LOC	-EXP.PAST	-IIIPFV.2/3SG.M	-REP				
~pai	-re	dawi	~re	-ki					
people	-ACC	witchcraft	do	-NMLZ.SG.M					
‘... one of them was bad and bewitched people.’ [it is reported]									

The combination of the copula auxiliary verb with nouns or property-denoting participles in the ‘participle-converb construction’ represents thus a past-tense counterpart of the nominal predication of the (derived) noun with particle copula (Section 3.1).

Table 4 provides an overview about the three types of complex predicates described in this section. They all contain the locative-existential verb *paʔi-* in an auxiliary function. Structurally, they differ in their first constituent which provides the lexical content and includes either (a) an underived noun, (b) a participle, or (c) a dependent verb.

Table 4. Three types of complex predicate constructions with auxiliary copula verb *paʔi-* ‘locative be, exist’

	a. Copula verb construction	b. Participle-converb construction	c. Converb construction
Lexical content by:	Underived noun	Participle	Dependent verb
Grammatical function	auxiliary verb <i>paʔi-</i> ‘locative be, exist’		
	<i>inflectional categories at lexical content constituent:</i>		
	nominal		verbal
		<i>temporal stability:</i>	
	permanent		transient

The participle-converb construction (b) provides the encoding for a particular verb class and thus complements the common converb construction available for other verbs. It adopts the converb constructional frame (c), but structurally and semantically, the participle-converb construction (b) also shares features with the copula verb construction (a): Participles inflect differently for animate and inanimate plural referents, as do underived nouns. Participles used in converb constructions (b) tend to encode temporally more stable situations than dependent verbs in converb constructions do. The participle-converb construction falls therefore into the domain of nonverbal predication and provides, in fact, the frame for a number of lexemes with specific semantics, as illustrated with two participles in the following sections.

3.3 Affiliation participle *a-*

A general and frequent possessive verb in Ecuadorian Secoya is *pa-* ‘have’ which can be applied with all types of possessees. (26) illustrates its use with a kin ‘possessee’. The verb carries a set-I subject agreement suffix and the possessee in object function is marked for accusative case (*jiʔi joʔheo-re*).

(26) *Yure yě'ě yo'jeore paayě ...*

jure	jiʔi	joʔhe	-o -re	pa	-ji
now	1SG	younger.sibling	-F -ACC	have	-IIPFV.N3SG

‘Now (that) I’ve got my little sister ...’

There is also a set of participle forms (*aki, ako, akowaʔi, aje* ‘the one/s that belong to’ or ‘the one/s of’) that are presumably based on a verb stem *a-* and serve the expression of possessive relations. This affiliation participle heads a complex noun phrase which refers to the possessor of something/someone, establishing a lexically intrinsic relationship to the ‘possessee’, while no other referential considerations are lexically expressed (apart from the grammatically required semantic distinctions reflected in the derivational suffixes). The participle set is suggestive of a non-active verb ‘to belong to’ from which the participle is derived. However, the corresponding verb forms are actually not attested.

(27) provides two examples for the affiliation participle, both inflected accordingly to their human referents as singular feminine (27a) and animate plural (27b). Each participle follows a nominal component that specifies the particular class of entities to which the person or people belong (or which they ‘possess’ from a more active perspective).

- (27) a. *wě'e ako*
 wiʔi a -ko
 house AFFIL -NMLZ.SG.F
 'owner (f) of the house', 'the female person that belongs to the house'
- b. *iti tsio akowa'i*
 ~i -ti ʒio a -ko waʔi
 3 -? farm AFFIL -NMLZ.SG.F PL.AN
 'owners of the farm', 'those that belong to the farm'

An example for an inanimate referent is given in (28). The participle *aje* denotes a non- (or less) individualized part that belongs to the *Siekopāi* (autodenomination of the Ecuadorian Secoya nation), here referring to their culture as recognizable in customs and speech.

- (28) *Siekopāi ayere këaja'kowa'ia'ë.*

sieko	~pai	a	-je	-re
name_of_river	people	AFFIL	-NMLZ.INAN	-ACC
kia	~haʔ	-ko	waʔi	-a -ʔi
tell	-INCH	-NMLZ.SG.F	PL.AN	-COP -OTHER

'We are going to talk about the Secoya culture.'

Finally, (29) is an illustration of the predicative potential the affiliation participle has. Theoretically, the feminine form *ako* is ambiguous between being an inflected imperfective verb form *ako* or a participle. The fact that corresponding finite verb forms for other persons are not attested suggests, however, that in (29), the form *ako* is indeed a participle, too. Though not accompanied by a copula, it functions here as predicate (for an example with the particle copula, on the other hand, see *ako-a-ʔi* in Example 7).

- (29) *Oko yai tsëkapë ako emu yai.*

oko	jai	sika	-pi	a	-ko	~emu	jai
water	jaguar	family	-CLS	AFFIL	-NMLZ.SG.F	howler.monkey	jaguar

'The howler monkey jaguar belongs to the family of aquatic jaguars.'

Like other participles and underived nouns, the affiliation participle can also be accompanied by the particle copula or the existential-locative copula verb *paʔi-* when additional semantic/pragmatic grammatical parameters need to be encoded. In (30), the predicate is headed by the copula verb in a participle-converb construction and marks negation by suffix *~maʔ* at the copula verb. The verb carries set-II inflection and the utterance is a question about a certain drawing. Note that the negation here is not meant to propose that the figure does not actually belong to the

other one, but that the negative marker rather emphasizes the speaker's ignorance on the conversational topic. Such question constructions are polite requests for confirmation or clarification and may be used to signal attention. They are common in speech when by expressing her unawareness, the speaker actually wants to keep the interlocutor further elaborating on the current discourse topic (Schwarz 2013).

(30) *Jare iko ako paa'ima'ko?*

~ha -re i -ko a -ko paʔi --maʔ -ko

MDIST -ACC PROX -F AFFIL -NMLZ.SG.F be_LOC -NEG -IIIPFV.SG

'Does it (a figure drawn closely attached to another) belong to this one?'

To sum up, the affiliation lexeme displays several characteristics of participles and occurs in corresponding constructions. For a predicative function the affiliation participle does not necessarily require the use of a (particle) copula (29), an indication of insubordination. The finite forms of the verb from which the participle must have been derived remain unattested. Responsible for this absence might be the fact that the derived nominalizations serve the expression of affiliation better than a finite verb, since such a semantic relationship to another referent is referentially more relevant when it includes some stability over time.¹³

3.4 Attributive participle *ki'i-*

Another participle with the forms *kiʔi*, *kiʔio*, *kiʔiowai*, *kiʔije* refers to someone or something with particular bodily properties, especially those features that are characteristic for a longer stretch of time. The attributive stem (*ki'i-*) has the appearance of a verb of the *i*-verb class, but parallel to the affiliation participle, its finite verb forms are not attested, only the participial forms. The attributive participle immediately follows a component denoting the particular attribute, which is most commonly encoded as noun. (31) contains the attributive participle following an ambiguous stem that could be either that of a verb ('to hurt') or a noun ('wound'). This example is the response a young man gave his friends when they asked him to join them for a match. Because of his injuries, he did not. The attributive marker carries a masculine gender suffix, as it refers to the young man having a wound, and the inflected particle copula attaches to the complex derived noun in order to express its predicative function.

13. A reviewer mentions that the cognate morphemes in Málhiki are classifiers (Farmer 2015). I hypothesize that classifiers can develop from affiliation participles when the lexical-referential function in noun phrases together with the 'possessee' is emphasized during grammaticalization at the expense of the possessive semantics.

(31) A: ‘Are you coming to play soccer with us?’

Paañë. A’si kě’ia’ë.

~pā	~ji	aʔsi	kíʔi	-i	-a	-ʔi
not.do	-IPFV.N3SG	wound/hurt	ATTR	-NMLZ.SG.M	-COP	-OTHER

B: ‘No. I’m injured.’

(32) provides an example of the attributive participle with a feminine gender marker. The combination *pāi kíʔio* has the particular lexical meaning of ‘someone pregnant’, lit. ‘a woman with a person (in her womb)’. The lexicalized participle is here employed in a complex converb construction in which the participle is followed by a dependent verb form of the lexically specific copula verb *deʔo-* ‘to turn into someone/something’ followed by the finite verb form of the previously described locative-existential copula verb *paʔi-*. The latter inflects in the experiential past, here with set-II subject agreement suffix and the reportative marker.

(32) ... *pāi kě’io de’oko paa’a’koña*

~pāi	kíʔi	-o				
be.pregnant -NMLZ.SG.F						
deʔo	-ko	paʔi	--aʔ	-ko	--ja	
turn_into -DEP.IPFV.SG.F be_LOC -EXP.PAST -IPFV.2/3SG.F -REP						
‘... and she became pregnant’ [it is reported]						

The attributive participle referring to an inanimate object is illustrated in (33). The derivational suffix of the participle is a feminine gender marker. The participle refers to a flute and its holes. The predicative function is marked by the particle copula which inflects with a set-II zero morpheme (the morphology is actually ambiguous regarding the inflection in set I or set II, and the set-II inflection is also inferred from contextual and prosodic cues) and forms a polar question concerning the presence of holes.

(33) *Kooje kě’ioa?*

k’ohe	kíʔi	-o	-a	-∅
hole ATTR -NMLZ.SG.F -COP -IIANY				
‘Does it have holes?’				

Example (34) finally presents fragments of larger sentences to illustrate the form of attributive participles with animate plural referents (34a) and non-individualized inanimates (34b) which require both different derivational suffixes at the participle. The attribute in (34a), *hai ~sio-pi--a* ‘large heads’ contains an inanimate plural marker for the body parts of the beasts. The attributive participle itself is marked

for animate plural. The attribute in (34b), on the other hand, is the stem of a noun (*doʔi* ‘value, price’) or verb (*doʔi-* ‘to be of value’) that has to do with social efforts and obligations. The participle is marked by suffix *-je* for non- (or less) individualized inanimates.

- (34) a. ... *jai sʊopëëa këʔiowaʔi*.

hai	~sio	-pi	~~a	kiʔi	-o	-waʔi
-----	------	-----	-----	------	----	-------

large head -CLS -PL.INAN ATTR -NMLZ.SG.F -PL.AN
 ‘... they (peccaries) have large heads.’

- b. ... *doʔi këʔiyere jaje weʔoyë*.

doʔi	kiʔi	-je	-re	~~ha	~~he	weʔjo	-ji
------	------	-----	-----	------	------	-------	-----

value ATTR -NMLZ.INAN -ACC -MDIST -also give.name -1IPFV.N3SG
 ‘... that’s what we call valuable things.’

There are some nominals that arguably contain the attributive stem *kiʔi-* although they occur with nominal classifiers rather than gender suffixes, animate plural suffixes or the inanimate nominalizer *-je*. Two examples for such lexicalized use of the attributive participle are given in (35). (35a) is the name of a river full of crocodiles at the Ecuadorian-Peruvian border and (35b) is used to refer to someone’s place by adding *kiʔro* ‘place’ to the person’s name. Note that for unknown reasons the final vowel of the attributive stem elided before the classifier in these specialized forms.

- (35) a. *Pëëë këʔya*

piʔi kiʔi-ja
 crocodile ATTR -CLS_RIVER
 ‘Lagartococha’ (lit. ‘river having crocodiles’)

- b. [X] *këʔro*

[X] *kiʔ-ro*
 [name] ATTR -CLS_PLACE
 ‘place (of someone called X)’

In sum, the attributive lexeme shows the common characteristics of participles. It always appears as the nominal head in a complex noun phrase and expresses that its referent is characterized by a certain attribute which cannot be taken for granted. For instance, the attributes last a while, but they are not permanent (being injured, being pregnant), or they include special, unpredictable properties (heads that are particularly large, objects that imply social obligations). The lexical semantics of this participle makes it a perfect tool for word formation and has resulted in nominal lexicalizations that are based on property descriptions. The participle is productively applied in a referential-attributive function, but is less relevant as a

predicative resource, for which verbs such as *pa-* ‘have’ (see 26) are also available.¹⁴ Nonetheless, it is possible to use the participle as nominal predicate, with (31–33) or without copulas (34a).

4. Concluding remarks

The objective of this first exploration into nonverbal predication in Ecuadorian Secoya was to present the major copula lexemes and copula constructions available to speakers of this Tukanoan language. This description is clearly far from exhaustive but hopefully indicates some topics and lines of interest for further investigation.

Available for the expression of equation and proper inclusion is first of all a particle copula *-a-*. Comparative Tukanoan studies will be important to resolve some of the particularities in its inflection and for understanding the occurrences of zero copulas and feminine gender markers in an apparent copula function.

Another important means in the nonverbal predication of Ecuadorian Secoya is found in the locative-existential copula verb *paʔi-*. Applied as the finite verb in a converb construction, it fulfills auxiliary functions whenever temporal and/or evidential considerations render the use of the non-verbal copulas insufficient. Ecuadorian Secoya thus belongs to the languages that basically encode equative and locational predicates differently (a ‘split’ language according to Stassen 1997), but in auxiliary function, the locative-existential copula verb extends into the equative-proper inclusion domain.

Two semantically specialized participles have further been discussed in the article – the affiliation participle with stem *a-* and the attributive participle with stem *kiʔi-*. Both are identifiable as participles due to their morphosyntactic characteristics and may exert predicative function without an additional copula element, an indication of insubordination. The lack of finite verb forms of the corresponding verbs that once must have served as derivational base are suggestive of both old age and a particular grammatical usefulness of the derived lexemes compared to the finite verbs.

Finally, it has been shown that for the analysis of nonverbal predication in Ecuadorian Secoya it is necessary to take a range of closely related though distinct

14. Cognates of this participle and/or the verb base are attested in various languages of the family. Compare, among others, the Desano verbalizer *-ki* that occurs on nouns to indicate a permanent state rather than a temporary possession (Miller 1999: 127), the stative verbs of possession *khua / kuʔo* ‘have’ in Kotiria and Wa’ikhana (Stenzel 2013: 203ff. and this volume), and the possessive verb *kiwa* ‘have’ in Kubeo, derived from the locative-existential verb *ki* and causative suffix *-wa* (Morse & Maxwell 1999: 59; Chacon this volume).

construction types into account in order to analyze the morphosyntactic status and function of copula lexemes and constructions. Future comparative studies on dependent verb morphology and evidentials are therefore likely to be another area to enhance the understanding of nonverbal predication in the Tukanooan language family.

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Glosses and abbreviations

1	first person	INT	intentional
2	second person	INTS	intensifier
3	third person	IPFV	imperfective
ACC	accusative (object, locative ground)	LOC	locative
AFFIL	affiliation	M	masculine
AN	animate	MDIST	mediodistal
ATTR	attributive	N	non-
CEX	counterexpectation	NMLZ	nominalizer
CLS	classifier	NOM	nominative (focal subject/ instrument/locative source)
COP	copula		
DEP	dependent	PFV	perfective
DIM	diminutive	PL	plural
DUB	dubitative	FUT	future
EXCL	exclamation	PROX	proximate
EXP	experiential	REP	reportative
F	feminine	RES	resultative
HORT	adhortative	SEQ	sequential
IMPL	implicational	SG	singular
INAN	inanimate	I	suffix of set I (direct evidentials)
INCH	inchoative	II	suffix of set II (lack of direct evidentials)

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Nonverbal predication in Movima

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Movima (isolate, lowland Bolivia) is a language with predicate-initial constituent order in the core clause. There is no copula in affirmative clauses. Unpossessed common nouns can function as main-clause predicates just as well as verbs. The difference between verbal and nonverbal predicates only becomes apparent in embedded (i.e. adverbial and complement) clauses: the predicate of an embedded clause is overtly morphologically marked, and the type of marking distinguishes verbal from nonverbal predicates. The same pattern occurs in negated clauses, which consist of embedded predicates preceded by a negative copula. The morphological marking of embedded predicates shows that not only verbs and nouns, but also demonstratives, locative adverbs, and even personal pronouns can function as predicates. Therefore, it is argued that there is no “pre-verbal” or “topic position” to express the syntactically privileged argument: in principle, any word that has the potential to function as a predicate has predicate status when forming the first constituent of the clause.

Keywords: flexible word classes, zero copula, pronominal predicates, clefts

1. Introduction

Movima is an unclassified, endangered native language of South-Western Amazonia, spoken by a few hundred elderly speakers in and around the town of Santa Ana del Yacuma, Bolivia. The data on which the present study is based were collected during approximately 18 months of fieldwork spread over 11 years, resulting in an annotated corpus of spontaneous discourse of over 30 hours.

A remarkable feature of Movima is its weak noun-verb distinction, especially on the syntactic level. While only transitive verbs, which are overtly morphologically marked, can head transitive clauses, intransitive clauses can be headed by verbs and nouns likewise, and there is no copula that would mark a nonverbal construction. The difference between verbal and nonverbal predicates only becomes apparent in embedded (i.e. adverbial, complement, and negated) clauses, whose

predicates are overtly derived through morphological marking, the type of marking depending on lexical class.

The morphological marking of embedded predicates furthermore shows that not only verbs and nouns, but also demonstratives, locative adverbs, and even personal pronouns can function as predicates. It turns out that, in contrast to claims made in previous publications (e.g. Haude 2009a), there is no “preverbal” or “topic position” in Movima: any word that has the potential to function as a predicate, even a pronoun, has predicate status when occurring in clause-initial position.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 provides an outline of Movima basic clause structure, describing clauses with intransitive and transitive verbal predicates. Section 3 illustrates the criteria employed to identify a predicate and to distinguish different kinds of predicates (verbal, nominal, other). Nominal predicates are introduced in Section 4, with subsections on morphologically unmarked nouns expressing categorization and property (4.1), and on the particular case of foot reduplication marking nouns as possessive predicates (4.2). Section 5 describes three other types of nonverbal predicates: demonstratives (5.1), locative adverbs (5.2), and the copula that heads negated clauses (5.3). Section 6 is dedicated to pronominal predicates, i.e., free personal pronouns that, when occurring in clause-initial position or alone, function as predicates. Sections 6.1 and 6.2 describe the properties that free pronouns share with other predicates, i.e. the ability to occur independently (6.1) or with an adverbial clause (6.2). The combination of a free pronoun with a bare noun or verb is presented in Sections 6.3.1 and 6.3.2, respectively; in Section 6.3.3 it is shown that the syntactic properties of the content word in this combination are the same as those of a relative clause, so that clauses with pronominal predicates have the structure of clefts. Section 7 concludes with a discussion of the major findings presented in this study.

2. Outline of Movima basic clause structure

The basic structure of Movima intransitive main clauses is schematized in (1). The predicate occupies the initial position. The argument, marked in square brackets, is expressed by a pronoun or a referential phrase (henceforth RP), the latter consisting minimally of a determiner and a content word. (The symbol “--” indicates “external” cliticization, which only applies to pronouns; see below.) The argument can remain unexpressed, which means that a predicate alone can form a grammatical clause.

(1) PREDICATE [(--)]ARGUMENT

In a transitive clause, depicted in (2), there is an additional argument, expressed by a constituent “internal” to the predicate phrase (indicated by the clitic symbol “=”; see below). Furthermore, the predicate of a transitive clause must be a verb that is overtly morphologically marked either as “direct” or as “inverse” (see below).

(2) PREDICATE_{DR/INV}=ARGUMENT [(-)ARGUMENT]

In addition to the core arguments, which are unmarked morphologically, a clause can contain an unlimited number of oblique-marked RPs, which can be considered adjuncts; furthermore, different kinds of particles (tense-aspect-mood, discourse particles etc.) can occur anywhere in the clause.

For ease of understanding the examples in the remainder of the paper, Tables 1 and 2 give an overview of the most common referential elements: articles and pronouns (the third set of referential elements contains the demonstratives, not represented here). Table 1 contains the so-called articles, which are the most common determiners. They always occur in combination with a content word, with which they form an RP. It is assumed that the final element /s/ that occurs on all these elements bears the determiner function (whose relevance will become apparent in 5.3 below); unlike an /s/ in coda position of other morphemes, this element tends to be reduced to [h].¹ The articles do not mark definiteness.

Table 1. Movima articles

	presential/generic	absential (AB)	past (PST)
human male (M)	<i>us</i>	<i>kus</i>	<i>us</i>
human female (F)	<i>(i)'nes</i>	<i>kinos</i>	<i>isnos</i>
non-human (N)	<i>as</i>	<i>kos</i>	<i>os</i>
plural/mass (PL)	<i>is</i>	<i>kis</i>	<i>is</i>

Table 2 lists the personal pronouns of third person. These resemble the articles quite closely, especially the absential bound forms. However, the final *s* of these is usually not aspirated, and their distributional properties differ from those of the articles. The free pronouns occur typically in clause-initial position (see Section 6), while the bound forms always appear as enclitics.

Table 2. Movima third-person pronouns

	free		bound (= / --)	
	presential	absential (AB)	presential	absential (AB)
human male (M)	<i>u'ko</i>	<i>usko</i>	<i>u'</i>	<i>us</i>
human female (F)	<i>i'ne</i>	<i>isne</i>	<i>(i)'ne</i>	<i>(i)sne</i>
non-human (N)	<i>a'ko</i>	<i>asko</i>	<i>a'</i>	<i>as</i>
plural/mass (PL)	<i>i'ko</i>	<i>isko</i>	<i>i'</i>	<i>is</i>

An intransitive clause is presented in (3). As can be seen, the predicate (here, a verb) occurs in initial position, and the argument is represented by an RP consisting

1. The final *s* also appears on demonstratives in determiner function (see Haude 2006: 141).

of an article and a noun. (The predicate is rendered in boldface and the external argument in square brackets.)²

- (3) *jo'yaj* [*us* *majni=Ø*]
 arrive ART.M offspring=1SG
 'My son arrived.' [CCT_120907_1 135]

When the argument of an intransitive clause is represented by a bound pronoun, this pronoun is attached to the predicate through "external cliticization", as in (4). External cliticization (represented by two hyphens) is characterized by the fact that when the host ends in a consonant, this consonant forms the syllable onset of a vowel-initial enclitic (cf. Haude 2006: 101–103). The stress and lengthening patterns of the host are not affected.

- (4) *jo'yaj--[us]* *neyru*
 arrive--3M.AB here
 'He arrived here.' [EAO_120906_3 007]

The argument of an intransitive clause is not obligatorily realized. The predicate alone can constitute a clause, as in (5) (particles, like *jayna* 'then, already' in this example, are frequent in this type of clause, but not grammatically required).

- (5) *jayna jo'yaj*
 DSC arrive
 'Then (he) arrived.' [LTC 020906_5 389]

Transitive clauses, as exemplified in (6), are headed by a verb that is overtly marked as bivalent (either "direct" or "inverse"). The two arguments are distinguished by their syntactic position, occupying structural positions internal and external, respectively, to the predicate phrase. The external argument shares all its formal and behavioural properties with the single argument of an intransitive clause outlined above (see Haude to appear a, for further details).

The internal argument, in contrast, is obligatorily realized (zero marks the first person singular). It is phonologically attached to the predicate through so-called

2. Tense, mood, and aspect, as well as the choice of the definite or indefinite article in the English translations correspond to the context from which the examples were taken, since these categories are not always overtly marked in Movima. In contrast, some categories that are overtly marked in Movima but not in English, like presence, absence and ceased existence of referents, or modal and evidential values indicated by particles, are usually not included in the English translations (not even in the "literal" ones, which are merely attempts to convey the structure of the Movima examples), since they are not pertinent to the present discussion and would render the translations unnecessarily complicated. The information in square brackets following the translation indicates the source of the Example (usually speaker, date, and number of annotation unit).

“internal cliticization”, a process that results in a prosodic word bearing penultimate stress (represented by an accent in (6)); if the host has an open penultimate syllable, this syllable loses its original lengthening. Internally cliticized elements furthermore require a preceding vowel, so that, when the host ends in a consonant, the vowel *a* is inserted as a linker, as illustrated in (6). Example (6) also demonstrates that unlike external cliticization, internal cliticization also involves determiners: the article of the RP representing the internal argument, *us Ernan*, is phonologically attached to the predicate. (Note that internal cliticization also encodes possessors on nouns, which are expressed by the same sets of referential elements.)

- (6) *jayna jay<a>moł-á=us Ernan [us pa.toron-a=y’hi]*
 DSC call<DR>-LV=ART.M Ernan ART.M landlord-LV=1PL
 ‘Then Ernan called our landlord.’ [EAO Cbba 196]

The following examples illustrate the encoding of the internal argument by a pronominal enclitic. In (7), the internal argument is represented by the bound pronoun =’ne ‘3F’, followed by the external enclitic --*k-a*’.³ In (8), the internal argument is represented by the bound pronoun =*us* ‘3M.AB’, while the external argument remains unexpressed. The expression of the external argument by a phonologically independent RP was illustrated in (6).

- (7) *jiwa-te-na=’ne--[k-a’] ney*
 come-CO-DR=3F--OBV-3N here
 ‘She brought it here.’ [EAO Gallina 012]
- (8) *jayna tikoy-na=us*
 DSC kill-DR=3M.AB
 ‘Then he killed (it).’ [EGA Cazando 022]

Table 3 sums up the formal properties that distinguish the internal from the external argument.

Table 3. Formal properties of argument encoding

Internal argument	External argument
Precedes the external argument	Follows the internal argument (if applicable, i.e. in transitive clauses)
Internal cliticization (=): stress shift, epenthetic /a/	External cliticization (--): resyllabification, no stress shift, no epenthetic /a/
Pronouns and articles are cliticized	Only pronouns are cliticized
Obligatory on transitive verbs	Not grammatically obligatory

3. When the internal argument is a third person or a first person plural exclusive, the external enclitic pronoun contains an initial element *k-*, which I analyze as a (redundant) obviative marker.

The examples above reveal an ergative alignment pattern: in the transitive clauses (6)–(8), the external argument, which corresponds to the single argument of an intransitive clause, represents the patient. However, this is only true for those transitive constructions whose verb is marked as *DIRECT*. When the verb is marked as *INVERSE*, the arguments pattern the opposite way, i.e. the external argument represents the agent and the internal argument the patient; see (9).

- (9) *joyte-kay-a=us* [os *diya:volo*]
 take-INV-LV=3M.AB ART.N.PST devil
 ‘The devil took him with him.’ [LYO_250808_2 246]

Thus, the expression of event participants in either the internal or the external syntactic position of a transitive predicate is not a means to encode semantic roles, since this is achieved by verbal marking. The assignment of argument positions is determined by the arguments’ (discourse) referential properties: the internal position is reserved for the event participant that ranks higher in a hierarchy of person (1>2>3), animacy (human > non-human animate > inanimate) and discourse status (prominent > less prominent), while the external position is occupied by the event participant that ranks lower on these hierarchies (see Haude 2014b for a more detailed account).⁴

3. Distinguishing verbal from nonverbal predicates: The marking of embedded predicates

The predicate position of a Movima clause can just as well be occupied by a noun, as shown in (10). There is no copula.

- (10) *tolkosya--[’ne]*
 girl--3F
 ‘She is a girl.’ [Dial. EA&AH 012]

Nouns and verbs are not easily distinguished in Movima (see Haude 2009b); for example, there is no morphological marking of categories like tense, aspect, or mood on verbs, or gender, number, or case on nouns. Consequently, it is not always possible to distinguish nominal from verbal predicates. For the present purpose, the most useful criterion is the form a predicate takes in a complement, adverbial or negated (subsumed here under the term “embedded”) clause. Embedded clauses

4. For this reason, and to avoid theoretically misleading terminology, the arguments have also been labelled “*PROX*” – for the internal – and “*OBV*” – for the external argument – in other publications (e.g. Haude 2010).

have the form of RPs, i.e., they contain minimally an article and a content word. They are obligatorily possessed (with some exceptions, see below), i.e. the content word obligatorily takes an internal enclitic. In the case of an intransitive predicate, the internal enclitic represents the single argument, shown in (11); in the case of a transitive predicate, the internal enclitic represents the internal argument, as in a main clause, shown in (12). (Like external arguments, embedded clauses will also be signalled by square brackets in the remainder of the paper.)

- (11) *bele:ka* [*n-os* *joyaj-wa=Ø*]
 happy OBL-ART.N arrive-NMZ.EVT=1SG
 ‘(She) was happy when I arrived (lit.: “... at my arriving”).’ [GCM Bacho 029]
- (12) *yey-na=Ø* [*as* *visitar-na:-wa=Ø* [*kus* *alkaka:ye=Ø*]]
 want-DR=1SG ART.N visit-DR-NMZ.EVT=1SG ART.M.AB relative=1SG
 ‘I want to visit (lit.: “... my visiting”) my relative.’ [EAO Visita 047]

Crucially, the embedded predicate is morphologically marked, and the type of marking depends on the type of predicate: verbs take the suffix *-wa*, as illustrated in (11) for an intransitive and in (12) for a transitive verbal clause. Nouns, in contrast, undergo reduplication, as shown in (13).⁵

- (13) *dottot--[isne]* [*n-os* *tolkos<ya~>ya=sne*]
 bad_person--3F.AB OBL-ART.N.PST girl<NMZ.ST~>=3F.AB
 ‘She was a bad person when she was (lit.: “at her being”) a girl.’
 [EAO Mala 002]

According to this criterion, words denoting property concepts, which are susceptible of belonging to a separate class of adjectives, can be analyzed as morphological nouns: they also undergo reduplication, as illustrated in (14) with the word *jayaw* ‘good’. While some property-denoting words show features that distinguish them from nouns (e.g. a possible alternative embedding derivation with a suffix *-te*, see (82) and (83) below, or distributional restrictions in compounds; see Haude 2006: 117–119 for a discussion of a possible class of adjectives), the differences are so subtle that property-denoting words are treated as nouns in this study.

- (14) *jayna* [*n-os* *ja<ya~>yaw-a=is*]
 DSC OBL-ART.N.PST good <NMZ.ST~>-LV=3PL.AB
 ‘Then, when they (were) good ...’ [MCA_280806_1 421]

5. This marking can be considered a nominalization (as reflected by the gloss ‘NMZ’ and by the “literal” English translations); a justification of this analysis (based on distributional and marking restrictions) would go beyond the scope of the present paper, however, which is why I use more general terms like “form”, “marking”, or “derivation” here.

Other words that can function as predicates, such as locative adverbs (15) and personal pronouns (16), take the suffix *-niwa*, a fossilized combination of a verbalizer *-ni* and the verbal embedding marker *-wa* (see Section 5).⁶ (RPs containing embedded demonstratives or personal pronouns, as in (16), are not possessed.)

- (15) [*n-os* *ney-niwa='ne*]
 OBL-ART.N.PST here-VBZ:NMZ=3F
 ‘when she was here (lit.: “at her being here”)’ [EAO Basket 001]
- (16) [*n-os* *usko-niwa*]
 OBL-ART.N.PST PRO.3M.AB-VBZ:NMZ
 ‘that it was him (lit.: “at being him”)’ [EAO Sueño 182]

Table 4 gives an overview of the three marking patterns of predicates in embedded clauses.

Table 4. Predicate markers in embedded clauses

Predicate type	Word class	Marker of embedded predicate	Gloss
Content word	Verb	<i>-wa</i> (+ possessor)	NMZ.EVT
	Noun	<RED~> (+ possessor)	NMZ.ST
Referential element	Demonstrative	<i>-niwa</i>	VBZ:NMZ
	Personal pronoun	<i>-niwa</i>	VBZ:NMZ
Other	E.g. locative adverb	<i>-niwa</i> (+ possessor)	VBZ:NMZ

Note that it is not resolved yet whether the distinction between suffixation of *wa* to verbs and reduplication of nouns is really due to lexical class. It might also be postulated that the markers themselves are meaningful (as indicated by the glosses), distinguishing between events and states (see Haude 2011 for a closer examination of this issue). Still, by turning a main-clause predicate into an embedded one, the form the predicate takes in the embedded clause is a good indicator of how it is best interpreted in the main clause: as a verbal or as a nonverbal predicate.

An analysis of nonverbal predication in Movima, therefore, has to be based on two central questions:

- a. How is a predicate derived when occurring in an embedded clause?
- b. Which word of the main clause is derived in the corresponding embedded clause?

Question (a) separates verbal from nonverbal predicates; question (b) identifies the predicate among several clausal elements.

6. This property also applies to some other nonverbal lexemes, e.g. *jankwa* ‘say/said thing’, not treated here.

4. Nominal predicates⁷

4.1 Equational clauses

A nominal predicate forms an equational clause (a term I am using here as a cover term for what is called identification, categorization and property in the introduction to this volume), which can be paraphrased as “X is N(oun)”, X being the entity encoded as the argument. In principle, only unpossessed, common nouns can function as nominal predicates. Just like in intransitive verbal clauses, the argument of the nominal predicate can be expressed as a phonologically independent RP, as in (17); as an externally cliticized pronoun, as in (18) (where the nominal predicate, *rulrul*, follows a sequence of verbal predicates with identical argument encoding; see also (10) above); and it can be omitted, as in (19). (For a property-denoting nominal predicate see *dottot* ‘bad (person)’ in (13).)

(17) *bo ja' jutpa [is manniwanra=is]*
 REAS just arrow ART.PL weapon=3PL.AB
 ‘Because their weapons (were) just arrows.’⁸ [HRR_120808 602]

(18) *jayna pol<ka>ba:ba--[as] łat, potmo--[as], jayna rulrul--[as]*
 DSC roll_around<MLT>--3N.AB EV get_up--3N.AB DSC jaguar--3N.AB
 ‘Then it rolled around, it got up, then it (was a) jaguar.’ [LYO_250808_2 231]

(19) *jayna paji jaysot, paji*
 DSC dolphin apparently dolphin
 ‘(they were) like dolphins, (they were) dolphins.’ [JGD_130907 122]

Possessed nouns do usually not occur as predicates. One of very few exceptions is illustrated in (20).

(20) *łat rey lavabał-a=as [os be~bet-kwa] jayna*
 EV MOD shade-LV=3N.AB ART.N.PST RED~skin-ABS DSC
 ‘The hide (was) its soul (lit.: “shade”), you see.’⁹ [HRR_120808-tigregente 232]

The possible occurrence of possessed nominal predicates is limited to cases where the argument is expressed by an RP, as in (20) above. Possessed nouns as stand-alone predicates, i.e. without an overt argument expression, are not attested. Furthermore,

7. The term “nominal predicate” is used here rather than the more traditional “predicate nominal” (e.g. Payne 1997) because it facilitates the distinction between different predicate types (“verbal”, “pronominal”, etc.).

8. The particle *bo* ‘because’ is often used sentence-initially and does not mark syntactic dependency.

9. The example stems from a mythological story about a person who transforms into a jaguar; therefore, the person is referred to by the ‘non-human’ pronoun *=as* here.

and more importantly, the argument of a possessed nominal predicate cannot be expressed by an externally encliticized pronoun, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (21a). The pronominal expression of this argument is only possible with a free personal pronoun in initial position, shown in (21b). However, this is a different construction, in which the pronoun, not the noun, functions as the predicate (indicated by boldface); this so-called “pronominal construction” is described in Section 6 below.

- (21) a. **pa:ko=us--[k-as]*
 dog=3M.AB--OBV-3N.AB
 (intended meaning: “It’s his dog.”) [elicited]
- b. *a’ko pa:ko=us*
 PRO.3N dog=3M.AB
 ‘It’s/That’s his dog.’ [elicited]

Similarly to possessed nouns, proper nouns never occur as predicates, and neither do nouns denoting unique entities, such as *yejcho* ‘moon’ and *tinno* ‘sun’. Thus, predicate nominals are restricted to the categorizing and property-ascribing function in Movima. Identification, in which the entity referred to by the argument is identical to the entity specified by the predicate nominal, is expressed with the pronominal construction (Section 6).

4.2 Reduplicated nouns as possessive predicates

There is a special form of monovalent nominal predicates, where the initial iambic foot of the noun – (C)VCV, (C)VC, or (C)V: – is reduplicated to create a possessive predicate. Consider the two cases of (C)VCV-reduplication in (22) (see Haude 2014a for more examples).¹⁰

- (22) *iti~itila:kwa jayna [is tolkosya], che [is itila:kwa] jayna*
 POSSPRED~man DSC ART.PL girl and ART.PL man DSC
kweya~kwe:ya jema’
 POSSPRED~woman also
 ‘The girls had husbands already and the men already had wives, too.’
 [HRR_120808-tigregente 365]

The reduplication is not a verbalization. Evidence from embedding shows that, like simple nouns, possessive predicates undergo infixing reduplication in embedded clauses, as illustrated in (23).

10. In the second clause in (22), the argument RP precedes the predicate, a construction that can arguably be analyzed as a left dislocation.

- (23) [*n-as maj~maj<ni~>ni='ne*]
 OBL-ART.N POSSPRED~offspring<NMZ.ST~>=3F
 ‘when she has children (lit.: “in her having children”)’ [ERM_150806 108]

5. Other nonverbal predicates

This section lists and describes several types of nonverbal elements that occur as predicates of intransitive clause. They are characterized by the fact that they belong to closed lexical classes and are, in embedded clauses, derived by the suffix *-niwa*, probably a fossilized combination of the verbalizing suffix *-ni* ‘PRC’ and the verbal embedding marker *-wa*. The canonical function of the suffix *-ni* is to mark inchoative aspect, as in (24). However, in many cases this function cannot be detected, e.g. on property-denoting words (see (57)), and it is lexicalized with a number of monovalent verbs, such as *ilo:ni* ‘walk’ or *alwa:ni* ‘talk’. When embedded, words ending in *-ni* are marked by the suffix *-wa* and never reduplicated (Haude 2006: 493–500), so that *-ni* can be considered a verbalizer.¹¹

- (24) *po~poy-kwa:-ni[--is], rulrul-ni*
 RED~BR.animal-ABS-PRC--3PL.AB jaguar-PRC
 ‘They transformed into animals, (they) transformed into jaguars.’
 [HRR_120808-tigregente 016]

The lexical bases discussed in this section never take the suffix *-ni* alone. A peculiarity of the suffix *-niwa* is that unlike the suffix *-wa*, the embedded predicate it derives is not automatically marked as possessed (see below) and that the syllable *-ni* is never lengthened in penultimate position. In any case, the predicates that take *-niwa* when embedded can be considered nonverbal because they cannot be combined directly with the verbal nominalizer *-wa*, but require an element that can be traced back to a verbalizer.

The predicates discussed here are demonstratives (5.1), three locative adverbs (5.2), and the negative copula *ka* (5.3).¹² While this section contributes to a more complete picture of what can be a predicate in Movima, it is not crucial to the understanding of Movima predication as a whole. In particular, this section is not essential for the understanding of Section 6.

11. However, nouns ending in *ni*, like *iwani-wamba-ni* ‘telephone’ (talk-INSTR:CL.ROUND-PRC) have not been tested for their behaviour as predicates of embedded clauses.

12. Other nonverbal predicates that are not nouns, e.g. the lexemes *jankwa* ‘said (thing)’, *jampa* ‘done (thing)’, and question words, have slightly different properties and are discussed elsewhere (Haude 2006: 352).

5.1 Demonstrative predicates

Movima has a large inventory of demonstratives (Haude 2006: Chapter 4.9), which can be divided into three subsets: (a) “SAP-oriented demonstratives”, which indicate proximity to either hearer or speaker; (b) “positional demonstratives”, which refer to entities that are in sight but not near either speaker or hearer, simultaneously indicating relative distance and position (standing, not-standing, elevated) or motion (approaching vs. retreating); and (c) “absential demonstratives”, which refer to absent entities, distinguishing between entities that are still in existence (‘AB’) and those that do not exist anymore or that are not located at the place where they used to be (‘PST’). In addition, like other third-person referential elements (see Tables 1 and 2 above), demonstratives indicate humanness, sex, and number.

The predicative use of demonstratives is most straightforward with the absential demonstratives (c), labelled “absential” and “past”, listed in Table 5 (see Haude 2006: 189–192).

Table 5. The absential demonstratives

	hum.male (M)	hum. female (F)	non-hum. (N)	plural/mass (PL)
absent (AB)	<i>kuro’</i>	<i>kino’</i>	<i>koro’</i>	<i>kiro’</i>
out of existence (PST)	<i>uso’</i>	<i>isno’</i>	<i>oso’</i>	<i>iso’</i>

Demonstrative predicates differ from nominal predicates in that they are referential elements, containing information about animacy, number, location etc. of the referent. Demonstrative predicates are always followed by an RP, whose article marks the same referential categories as the demonstrative. Demonstrative predicates form existential or locative clauses, as illustrated in (25) and (26), respectively.

- (25) *uso’* [us Buscha]
 DEM.M.PST ART.M Buscha
 ‘There was (the/a guy called) Buscha.’ [PMP_HRR_etal_210908 011]

- (26) *kino’* [*kinos kwe:ya*], *kiro’* [*kis o:ye di’*]
 DEM.F.AB ART.F.AB woman DEM.PL.AB ART.PL.AB two_person REL
itila:kwa] *nosdé*
 man over_there
 ‘There is a woman, there are two men (lit.: “two persons who [are] men”) over there.’ [EAO Cbba 256]

Embedded demonstrative predicates are illustrated in (27)–(29). Example (29) simultaneously shows that demonstratives, like other predicates, can occur on their own (see 5.3 below on the structure of negated clauses). Embedded demonstrative

predicates are never marked as possessed, perhaps because the possessor would be coreferential with the demonstrative.

- (27) *n-os* *oso'-niwa* [*os* *wa:ka*]
 OBL-ART.N.PST DEM.N.PST-VBZ:NMZ ART.N.PST COW
 'when there was cattle (lit.: "at there being cattle")' [GBM Ganado 033]
- (28) *n-as* *koro'-niwa* [*kos* *alpani-kay-a=n*]
 OBL-ART.N DEM.N.AB-VBZ:NMZ ART.N.AB help-INV-LV=2
 'when there is someone who helps you (lit.: "at there being [the one who] helps you")' [Erlan Rojas 418]
- (29) *jayna ka=[s* *kiro'-niwa]*
 DSC NEG=DET DEM.PL.AB-VBZ:NMZ
 'There are none left (lit.: "There is already not them being [there]").' [ERM_140806_1 0297]

The interpretation of a demonstrative predicate as expressing an existential or a locational predication is largely a matter of context. Example (30) contains an adverbial denoting a location (*n-as Kachwe:la*; see also *nosdé* in (26)), so that this clause may be considered locational. With the 'past' demonstrative, shown in (31), the locational reading tends to imply that the entity is not at its former place, not that it has ceased to exist.

- (30) *n-as* *Kachwe:la koro'* [*kos* *ra:diyo*]
 OBL-ART.N Cachuela DEM.N.AB ART.N.AB radio
 'In Cachuela there is a radio.' [EAO_120906_3 112]
- (31) *oso'* [*os* *loto:ba*] *ney*
 DEM.N.PST ART.N.PST jug here
 'There was a jug here.' [JGD_130907-06 244]

When the argument RP of a demonstrative predicate is marked as possessed, the construction is interpreted as a possessive predication, as in (32) and (33). Speakers state that this construction is synonymous with the reduplicative construction described in 4.2. Obviously, there is a syntactic difference: the reduplicated possessive nominal predicate has the possessor as its argument, while the demonstrative predicate has the possessed entity as its argument.

- (32) *koro'* [*kos* *chakpa=sne*]
 DEM.N.AB ART.N.AB walking_stick=3F.AB
 'She has a walking stick (lit.: "There is her walking stick").' [EAO Asilo 088]
- (33) *uso'* [*us* *alwaj-a='ne*]
 DEM.M.PST ART.M spouse-LV=3F
 'She had a husband (lit.: "There was her husband").' [NAO_FSG_300706_1 329]

Not surprisingly, these “possessive” clauses can also be interpreted as existential or locational, depending on the context. So, for instance, (34) can be understood as indicating that on a particular ranch, there are a number of animals, some of them possessed. Example (35) is even more straightforward in that the text is not about fish, but about the use of the remains of fish eggs for pottery.

- (34) *iso'* [is wa:ka=is], *iso'* [is kaw-ra
 DEM.PL.PST ART.PL COW=3PL.AB DEM.PL.PST ART.PL much-CL.NTR
di' chi:vo]
 REL goat
 ‘They had cattle, they had many goats.’ Or: ‘There was their cattle, there were many goats (lit.: “many [things] which [were] goats”).’ [ERM 140806-1 0422]
- (35) *kiro'* [kis ɪat rey, eney, jo:t-a=is bi:law]
 DEM.PL.AB ART.PL.AB EV MOD FILLER egg-LV=ART.PL fish
 ‘There are, er, eggs of fish (i.e. fish eggs).’ [Erlan Rojas 250]

5.2 Locative adverbs as predicates

Locative adverbs are a fossilized combination of a (former) demonstrative with the oblique prefix *n(V)-*. There are three such adverbs: *ney* ‘here’ (probably from **n-ay* OBL-DEM.N.PRX), *nosdé* (from **n-osdé* OBL-DEM.?) and *nokodé* (from **no-kodé* OBL-DEM.N.NSTD), the latter two both meaning ‘(over) there’. Like other adverbial elements, locative adverbs often cooccur with a lexical predicate, as illustrated in (36a). In that case it is the lexical predicate, and not the adverb, that appears as the derived predicate of an embedded clause, as shown in (36b).

- (36) a. *it joy-çet nosdé*
 IINTR go-R/R over_there
 ‘I go over there.’ [JGD_130907-13 191]
- b. [*n-os joy-wa=Ø nosdé*]
 OBL-ART.N.PST go-NMZ.EVT=1SG over_there
 ‘when I went over there’ [EGA_MGA_DMY_060906_1 119]

When a locative adverb functions as predicate, it can be combined with an RP, as in (37), or with a pronominal enclitic (which here, and in contrast to other intransitive clauses, takes the ‘obviative’ form preceded by a *k-*, normally only found in transitive 3>3 pronoun combinations), as in (38).

- (37) [is pa:ko] *nosdé ki'laj*
 ART.PL dog over_there far
 ‘The dogs (are) over there, far away.’ [HRR_200510_1 033]

- (38) *nosdé--[k-is]* *jayna*
 over_there--OBV-3PL.AB DSC
 ‘They (are) already over there.’ [EAO Alcanzar 005]

There are no clear examples of locative adverbs occurring as predicates by themselves. However, their behaviour in embedding and the fact that they can take a pronominal enclitic suffices to claim that they can function as predicates. In embedded clauses, the predicative locative adverb is marked with the element *-niwa*. Unlike embedded demonstrative or pronominal predicates (on the latter, see Section 6 below), these forms are possessed.

- (39) *jayna pakuk-na=Ø* [*os nosde-niwa='ne*]
 DSC understand-DR=1SG ART.N.PST over_there-VBZ:NMZ=3F
 ‘I already knew that she (was) over there (lit.: “I already knew her being there”).’
 [EAO In between 023]

- (40) [*n-as ney-niwa=us*] *chot jema' ji<wa:~>wa[--us]* *ney*
 OBL-ART.N here-VBZ:NMZ=3.AB HAB also come<MD~>--3M.AB here
 ‘When he (is) here (lit.: “At his being here”), he always comes here.’
 [ERM_140806_1 0554]

5.3 The negative copula

Negated main clauses consist of a negative copula followed by an embedded clause. They can be paraphrased as “X’s V-ing (or: X’s being N) does not exist”. Compare the affirmative and negative verbal clauses in (41a) and (41b), respectively.

- (41) a. *bo jema' chi:~chi* [*os rulrul*]
 REAS also MD~go_out ART.N.PST jaguar
 ‘Because the jaguar would come out, too.’ [Balvina 144]
- b. *jayna ka=[s chi-wa=os* *rulrul]*¹³
 DSC NEG=DET go_out-NMZ.EVT=ART.N.PST jaguar
 ‘The jaguar didn’t come out anymore (lit.: “The jaguar’s coming out was already not”).’ [PMP_HRR_etal_210908 277]

The element *ka* is considered here a copula expressing existential negation, and the =s attached to it is considered a determining element that forms an RP with the derived lexical predicate. Support for this analysis comes from the fact that, like the final *s* of a determiner but unlike a final *s* on other morphemes, the final *s* of

13. ‘Middle’ reduplication, like many other verbal morphemes (see Haude 2006: 363–364), is dropped before the addition of the suffix *-wa*; this is why *chi:chi* in (41a) becomes *chi-wa* in (41b).

the element *kas* is often pronounced as [h] (see Section 2, above Table 1). Negated clauses, therefore, are embedded, comparable to complement and adverbial clauses. Unlike these, they are not preceded by a full article, and therefore, do not contain temporal information. Apart from that, however, their structure is exactly the same. For instance, negated transitive predicates retain their argument structure, as shown in (42) (here, the argument of the transitive verb *yeyna* ‘want’ is an intransitive complement clause).

- (42) *ka*=[s *yey-na:-wa=Ø* [as *kayni:-wa=Ø*]]
 NEG=DET want-DR-NMZ.EVT=1SG ART.N die-NMZ.EVT=1SG
 ‘I don’t want to die (lit.: “My wanting my dying is not”).’
 [GCM_290806_5 121]

The copula *ka* differs from other predicates in that it is prosodically defective, consisting of one light syllable only. Like other main-clause predicates, however, it can occur alone, as in (43), and it can be followed by a bound pronoun, as in (44). Its vowel is then lengthened and combined with the dummy element -‘*i*’ (Haude 2006: 61–62), resulting in a full prosodic word.

- (43) *ka:-’i*
 NEG-D
 ‘No.’ ‘(There) isn’t/aren’t (any).’ [CVM_020906_1 190]
- (44) *jayna ka:-’i--[is]* *jayna*
 DSC not_exist-D--3PL.AB DSC
 ‘They aren’t (there) anymore.’ [MCA_280806_2 355]

This long form of the negative copula can also occur in embedded clauses, as illustrated in (45). (Note, however, that there are only two such occurrences in the corpus, and in both, the meaning seems to be conventionalized as “not to be in one’s normal state”.) The embedded form is not possessed.

- (45) *jayna [n-os da’ ka:-’i-niwa jayna]*
 DSC OBL-ART.N.PST DUR.NSTD NEG-D-VBZ:NMZ DSC
 ‘(when she was ill), when (she) couldn’t do anything anymore (lit.: “when she didn’t exist anymore”) ...’ [EAO Ay’ku II 009]

The element *ka*, therefore, is a special kind of predicate, resembling a particle in being prosodically defective and only rarely occurring independently. However, analyzing it as a predicate followed by a determining element is the only way to explain the embedded structure of the negated clause, which is not possible if *kas* is considered a particle (as done in Haude 2006: 316–319; 543–544).

6. Pronominal predicates

In previous publications on Movima morphosyntax (e.g. Haude 2009a), clause-initial personal pronouns (see Table 2 above) were analyzed as representing the external argument in a marked-topic position. This is illustrated by the bracketing and bold-face in (46).

- (46) [*usko*] *joro:kwa*
 PRO.3M.AB sleep
 ‘He slept.’ [EAO Cbba 096]

When the criteria of the present study are employed, however, it turns out that clause-initial pronouns are more adequately analyzed as predicates (comparable to the “deictic predicates” in Salish, Shank 2003). Being long forms in comparison with the corresponding pronominal enclitics (see Table 3), the free pronouns might even be considered a fusion of a referential expression (e.g. *us-* ‘3M.AB’ in *usko*) and a copular element, i.e. the ending *ko* shared by most third-person free pronouns. However, neither the feminine free pronouns (*i’ne*, *isne*) nor the free pronouns of first and second person take this ending; furthermore, the free pronouns occasionally also occur in non-initial position, as e.g. in (47), where there is no evidence that they function as predicates. While, therefore, it is possible that diachronically, there was an element *ko* (reminiscent, by the way, of the negative copula *ka*) functioning as a copula, the hypothesis that the free pronouns contain copular elements cannot be kept up synchronically.

- (47) *isko* *ona-ra-na=us* *usko*
 PRO.3PL.AB know-CL.NTR-DR=3M.AB PRO.3M.AB
 ‘Those were (the things) he knew, he (did).’ [ERM_150806 187]

The remainder of this section shows how free pronouns function as predicates when occurring alone (6.1) or in combination with an adverbial clause (6.2). They can also occur in combination with a bare noun (6.3.1) or verb (6.3.2), resulting in what I term “pronominal construction”; the status of the content word in this construction is briefly discussed in Section 6.3.3.

6.1 Personal pronouns as stand-alone predicates

Free personal pronouns can occur alone to express a full predication, as in (48).

- (48) *u’ko*
 PRO.3M
 ‘It’s him.’ [GCM_290806_4 149]

When a pronominal predicate occurs in an embedded clause, the pronoun is marked with the suffix *-niwa* ‘VBZ:NMZ’, as shown in (49) for an adverbial and in (50) for a negated clause. Note that, like embedded demonstrative predicates (Section 5.1), an embedded pronominal predicate is not marked as possessed – presumably because here as well, the possessor would be coreferential with the referent of the pronoun in this case.

- (49) [*n-asko tokbaycho-wa=∅ [n-os*
 OBL-PRO.3N.AB remember-NMZ.EVT=1SG OBL-ART.N.PST
usko-niwa]]
 PRO.3M.AB-VBZ:NMZ
 ‘Then I remembered that it was him (i.e God himself) (lit.: “At that was my remembering of [it] being him”).¹⁴ [EAO Sueño 182]
- (50) *ka=[s rey u’ko-niwa]*
 NEG=DET MOD PRO.3M-VBZ:NMZ
 ‘It’s not him (lit.: “being him is not”), you see.’ [GCM_290806_2 162]

6.2 Pronominal predicates with an adverbial clause

Pronominal predicates are also found in combination with adverbial clauses. Adverbial clauses cannot occur independently, they require a main clause (see e.g. (11), (13), and (30) above). The main-clause predicate can be a pronoun, as shown in (51). The pronominal predicate in this construction is always the “non-human” form (*a’ko* for nonpast, *asko* for past contexts; see Table 2 above), and the adverbial clause usually provides temporal information; the construction is used to describe key events in a narrative. The fact that a personal pronoun forms a sentence with an adverbial clause in the absence of any other potential syntactic head is thus evidence of its predicative status.

- (51) *jayna asko [no-kos joy-wa=us jayna]*
 DSC PRO.3N.AB OBL-ART.N.AB GO-NMZ.EVT=3M.AB DSC
 ‘Then was when he left (lit.: “That was in his going”).’ [EAO Alcanzar 022]

Free personal pronouns can also cooccur with other oblique-marked RPs, which, as mentioned above (5.1, 5.2), can express location, possession, or temporal information. The examples below illustrate this with a locative adverb (*nosdē*) in (52), with a free pronoun encoding a possessor (*n-i’ko*) in (53), and with a full RP (*n-i’neŋ ay’ku...*) again encoding a possessor in (54).

14. The construction *n-asko X-NMZ* “at that was X-ing” seen in (49), frequently employed to express unexpected events in a narrative, is not yet well understood.

- (52) *isko nosdé bo tija:rim[--is]*
 PRO.3PL.AB over_there REAS work-3PL.AB
 ‘They are over there because they work.’ [EAO Narasa:mes 057]
- (53) *bo jayna lat a’ko n-i’ko*
 REAS DSC EV PRO.3N OBL-PRO.3PL
 ‘Because now it is theirs (lit.: “... it is at them”).’ [ATL_230806 248]
- (54) *a’ko n-i’net ay’ku=Ø di’ bitok*
 PRO.3N OBL-PRO.3F:1 aunt=1SG REL old_person
 ‘It is my old aunt’s (lit.: “It is at my aunt’s, who [is] an old person”).’
 [EAO Buscar vivienda 006]

Unlike locative adverbs (e.g. *nosdé* in (52)), other adjuncts cannot constitute predicates by themselves; they need to be combined with another word functioning as predicate, e.g. a free pronoun. In embedded clauses, then, it is the main predicate that is morphologically marked. Consider the embedded clauses with a pronominal predicate, combined with a pronominal adjunct in (55) and with an RP in (56).

- (55) *ona-ra-na=Ø [as jayna isko-niwa n-inta]*
 know-CL.NTR-DR=1SG ART.N DSC PRO.3PL.AB-VBZ:NMZ OBL-PRO.1SG
 ‘I know that they are mine (lit.: “I know the they-being on me”).’
 [EAO Patrona 025]
- (56) *jayna rey ka=[s i’ko-niwa n-i’nes virjen]*
 DSC MOD NEG=DET PRO.3PL-VBZ:NMZ OBL-PRO.3F Virgin
 ‘They didn’t belong to the Virgin (lit.: “The they-being of the Virgin’s was not”).’
 [LTC_020906_4 129]

Like lexical predicates (verbs or nouns), pronominal predicates can also be combined with a full RP (i.e., a content word preceded by a determiner), as in (57) and (58). Structurally, this results in a typical Movima intransitive clause of the type illustrated in Section 2: a clause-initial predicate is followed by an RP. However, with pronominal predicates this construction is relatively rare, and it seems to have a restricted function (different from pronominal constructions with bare nouns, discussed in 6.3): in the combination pronoun – RP, the pronoun refers to the preceding context, and the RP expresses the reason for the situation described in the preceding context.

- (57) *a’ko [as to:mi di’ cho’es-ni]*
 PRO.3N ART.N water REL dirty-PRC
 ‘That’s (because of) the dirty water (lit.: “That’s the water, which [is] dirty”).’
 (Context: “We’ve all got diarrhea.”) [Agua sucia 004]

- (58) *a'ko* [as *bijaw-wa:nas*]
 PRO.3N ART.N old-INSTR:ABSTR
 'That's (because of) the old age.' (Context: "Our bones hurt.")
 [Cabildo_020907 011]

6.3 Pronominal predicates with a bare content word: The pronominal construction

6.3.1 *Pronominal predicates with a noun*

Clause-initial pronominal predicates frequently cooccur with bare nouns, as illustrated in (59). The result is an equational clause, propositionally equivalent to the use of a predicate-nominal construction (see Section 4.1), shown in (60).

- (59) *i'ko* *movi:maj*
 PRO.3PL Movima
 'They are Movima.' [NAO_FSG_300706_1 518]
- (60) *movi:maj --[i']*
 Movima--3PL
 'They are Movima.' [NAO_FSG_300706_1 561]

When the construction of the type in (59) occurs in an embedded clause, only the free pronoun is overtly marked as the embedded predicate. The noun remains unmodified. Compare the example in (61) with the negated clause headed by a nominal predicate in (62).

- (61) *ka=[s isko-niwa movi:maj]*
 NEG=DET PRO.3PL.AB-VBZ:NMZ Movima
 'They are not Movima (lit.: "It's not them being Movima").'
 [JGD_160808-Fundacion 192]
- (62) *ka=[s movi<ma~>maj-a=is askwa=a]*
 NEG=DET Movima<NMZ.ST~>LV=ART.PL inhabitant=3N
 'Its inhabitants are not Movima (lit.: "The being Movima of its inhabitants is not.")'.
 [JGD_160808 Fundacion 247]

The combination of a pronominal predicate with a noun can have a pragmatically marked effect, as in (63), where a contrast between the negated and the affirmative proposition is established. However, this effect cannot be observed everywhere. In fact, it seems that the construction with the clause-initial free pronoun (as in (63)) is preferred over that with a pronominal enclitic (as in (60)) for expressing equation, although a text count confirming this impression still needs to be carried out.

- (63) *ka=[s i'ko-niwa mowi:maj], i'ko ita:nak*
 NEG=DET PRO.3PL-VBZ:NMZ Movima PRO.3PL white
 'They (are) not Movima, they are white people.' [NAO_FSG_300706_1 542]

It was shown in Section 4.1 (see Example (21)) that possessed nouns usually do not function as main-clause predicates; in particular, they cannot cooccur with a bound pronoun expressing the argument. To express the identity of a referent with a possessed entity, a possessed noun is preceded by a free pronoun, as in (64). The same is true of proper nouns, illustrated in (65), and of nouns with a unique denotee, as in (66).

- (64) *asko lavabat-a=os Buscha*
 PRO.3N.AB shade-LV=ART.N.PST proper_name
 'That was Buscha's soul.' [HRR_120808-tigregente 597]
- (65) *ji:nanak u'ko Ernan jankwa=Ø*
 maybe PRO.M proper_name say=1SG
 'Perhaps it's Ernan, I said.' [EAO Cbba 171]
- (66) *asko rey yejcho*
 PRO.N.AB MOD moon
 'It was the moon, of course.' [HRR_2009_tape1_B 079]

The examples in (67) and (68) show how the pronominal construction appears in a complement and negated clause, respectively. Again, it is the free pronoun that is marked as the embedded predicate, while the noun remains underived (the reduplication in (67) indicates inalienable possession, which is marked in the same way in main clauses; see Haude 2006: 89).

- (67) *ona-ra-na=is [os rey asko-niwa*
 know-CL.NTR-DR=3PL.AB ART.N.PST MOD PRO.3N.AB-VBZ:NMZ
be~bet-<kwa~>kwa=os Buscha]
 RED~skin-<INAL~>ABS=ART.N.PST Buscha
 'They knew that that was Buscha's hide (lit.: "They knew it being Buscha's hide").'
 [HRR_120808-tigregente 668]
- (68) *ka=[s u'ko-niwa pa:pa='ne]*
 NEG=DET PRO.3M-VBZ:NMZ father_of=3F
 'He is not her father (lit.: "He being her father is not").'
 [EAO Neighbours 027]

6.3.2 *Pronominal predicates with a verb*

The pronominal construction also occurs with verbs. The following examples illustrate a pronominal predicate with an intransitive (69), a transitive direct (70), and a transitive inverse (71) verb. The pronoun in this construction always represents the participant that corresponds to the predicate's external argument.¹⁵

- (69) *usko joro:-kwa*
 PRO.3M.AB sleep-BDP
 'He slept.' [EAO Cbba 096]
- (70) *asko yey-na='ne*
 PRO.3N.AB want-DR=3F
 'She wanted that.' [EAO Abuelo 053]
- (71) *usko jiwa-ʔe:-kay=Ø*
 PRO.3M.AB come-CO-INV=1SG
 'He brought me.' [EAO_120906_3 258]

Pronominal predicates create a pragmatically marked structure, especially with transitive verbs (the effect on intransitive predicates – both nominal and verbal – seems to be less strong but still requires further investigation): the free pronoun typically takes up a referent that was introduced immediately before, but that was not a protagonist of the preceding discourse, and the content word asserts something about the referent. A detailed discussion of the pragmatic function of the pronominal construction can be found in Haude (to appear b).

The following examples show that in embedded clauses, the pronoun is overtly marked while the verb is not. Hence, also when a verb is involved, the predicate is the pronoun and not the verb. In analogy to (69)–(71) above, (72) illustrates the embedded construction with an intransitive, (73) with a transitive direct and (74) with a transitive inverse verb.

- (72) *kem<a:>ye=Ø [os a'ko-niwa ja' ji<wa:~>wa]*
 believe<DR>=1SG ART.N.PST PRO.3N-VBZ:NMZ just come<MD~>
 'I thought it (the hen) had just come (on its own).' [EAO Gallina 018]
- (73) *[n-as da' asko-niwa ew-na=n]*
 OBL-ART.N DUR.NSTD PRO.3N.AB-VBZ:NMZ hold-DR=2
 'when you are holding that one' [ERM_140806_2 466]
- (74) *[n-as rey i'ko-niwa rey ja' joy-ʔe:-kay=Ø]*
 OBL-ART.N MOD PRO.3PL-VBZ:NMZ MOD just go-CO-INV=1SG
 'when they just take me with them' [EAO Patrona 027]

15. Clause-initial free pronouns cross-referencing the internal argument exist as well. However, this constructions has different pragmatic and syntactic functions, and its structure still requires further analysis (see Haude 2012 and Haude to appear a).

6.3.3 On the status of the content word in the pronominal construction

Syntactic evidence shows that, despite the absence of overt marking, the content word in a pronominal construction is a subordinate predicate. This appears from the comparison with the formal characteristics of other constructions in which a content word is preceded by a referring expression: RPs, where the content word is preceded by a determiner, and headed relative clauses, where the content word is preceded by an RP.¹⁶ I will restrict the comparison to headed relative clauses (on RPs, see Haude to appear a, c).

Headed relative clauses follow the RP they modify (inserted in square brackets) and are introduced by the particle *di'*. Relativization is restricted to the external argument, which is “gapped” in the relative clause. Example (75a) illustrates this with a direct-marked transitive verb, indicating that the relativized RP refers to the patient; the corresponding basic transitive pattern with the same verb, *tikoyna*, can be observed in (75b). (Further examples of relative clauses are provided in (26), (34) and (54) with nominal predicates and in (57) with an intransitive verb.)

- (75) a. [*is chot wa:ka*] *di' tikoy-na=us nonok=Ø*
 ART.PL HAB COW=3PL.AB REL kill-DR=3M.AB grandparent=1SG
 ‘the cows that my grandfather used to killed¹⁷ [EAO Dichiyeye 006]
- b. *bo tikoy-na=is [kos rulrul]*
 REAS kill-DR=3PL.AB ART.N.AB jaguar
 ‘Because they killed the jaguar.’ [HRR_120808-tigregente 629]

Both relative clauses and the pronominal construction allow for access of the internal argument only by means of a detransitivizing operation. This operation consists in the insertion of the particle *kwey* (or *kaw* in the speech of some, as in (78)), which blocks the internal argument slot. The former internal argument becomes the single argument of the now intransitive clause, and the former external argument is demoted to adjunct status, i.e., marked as oblique if expressed at all. Consider (76) for a headed relative clause.

- (76) *kino' [kinos kwe:ya [di' kwey vel-na n-isko]]*
 DEM.F.AB ART.F.AB woman REL DETR watch-DR OBL-PRO.3PL.AB
 ‘There is a woman who looks after them.’ [EAO Asilo 021]

16. Somewhat arbitrarily, in this paper I use the term “subordination” for these constructions, in order to reserve the term “embedding” for those constructions that involve morphological marking of the predicate, i.e. complement, adverbial, and negated clauses.

17. TAM particles, like here *chot* ‘habitual’, often occur inside an RP, although their scope is over the entire clause.

The following examples illustrate the detransitivizing operation with a pronominal predicate, (77) representing a main, (78) an embedded (complement) clause. The verb is given in boldface to illustrate its status as an embedded predicate.

- (77) *jayna usko kwey jay<a:>moł n-os aviyo:ne:ta*
 DSC PRO.3M.AB DETR call<DR> OBL-ART.N.PST plane
 ‘He was (the one who) called the plane.’ [EAO_240807_vibora 144]
- (78) *bo [as i’ko-niwa kaw vat<a:>pa n-is alle=i]*
 REAS ART.N PRO.3PL-VBZ:NMZ DETR teach<DR> OBL-ART.PL friend=3PL
 ‘so that they may be (the ones who) teach their friends (lit.: “for the they-being [the ones who] ...”)’ [Erlan Rojas 231]

A further common property of the content word in a headed relative clause and in the pronominal construction is the way in which it is negated: the subordinate predicate is preceded by a particle *loy* and undergoes “partial nominalization” (i.e. only involving morphological marking of intransitives, and no possessive marking; Haude 2006: 473–474). Consider a relative clause and a pronominal construction in (79) and (80), respectively, each involving an intransitive verb.¹⁸

- (79) *jayna ben-e:te [kis tolkosya] di’ loy iwani:-wa*
 DSC draw-AGT ART.PL.AB girl REL NEG.SUB speak-NMZ.EVT
 ‘The girls who don’t speak already write.’ [CCT_120907_2 124]
- (80) *kula’wa=s sit-lo:to (...) u’ko loy iwani:-wa*
 DEM.APPR.M=DET sew-BR.ear PRO.3M NEG.SUB speak-NMZ.EVT
 ‘There comes the deaf (boy). (...) He doesn’t speak.’ [CCT_120907_2 102-104]

Hence, a verb that follows a referring expression (a full RP or a pronominal predicate – or a determiner, as shown in Haude to appear and Haude to appear c) can be interpreted as a relative clause whose head is constituted by the preceding referring expression. The pronominal construction, then, can be paraphrased with “X (is) N / (is) the one who Vs”. In fact, the pronominal construction has the syntactic structure of a cleft: it is an equational clause containing a pronominal main-clause predicate and a subordinate predicate (the relative clause), which specifies the referent of the pronoun. (Note, however, that the prosodic and pragmatic properties of the pronominal construction differ from those of a cleft; see Haude to appear b.)

Neither the pronominal construction nor headed relative clauses make a structural difference between a verbal and a nonverbal content word; in contrast to main-clause predicates, not even possessed nouns differ from the other lexical

18. Embedded clauses are negated with *loy* as well; see Haude to appear b.

classes. Nouns functioning as predicates of a relative clause could be observed in (26) and (34) above. Moreover, nouns can also be combined with the detransitivizing particle *kaw* in these constructions.¹⁹ In that case, they refer not to the noun's denotee, but to the possessor. Consider the pronominal construction with a possessed noun in (81a) and the construction with *kwey* in (81b). (The corpus contains no example of a relative clause with a nominal predicate and *kaw*; for an example of a "detransitivized" RP, see Haude to appear b.)

- (81) a. *a'ko asna=ʼne*
 PRO.3N home=3F
 'This is her home.' [CVM_020906_1 400]
- b. *i'ne kwey asna ney*
 PRO.3F DETR home here
 'She is the owner of this house/the one who lives here.'
 [EAO Agua sucia 020]

Furthermore, nouns are also negated with *loy* when functioning as subordinate predicates, as shown in (82) and (83), respectively. (The corpus only contains examples of potential adjectives, nominalized with *-te*, and none of a reduplicated nonverbal predicate in these constructions.)

- (82) [*is (...) motloto-wanra:-ni di' ja' rey la:ta, di'*
 ART.PL earring-INSTR:CL.NTR-PRC REL just MOD tin REL
loy rey oro:-te
 NEG.SUB MOD gold-NMZ.ADJ
 'earrings that are just (of) tin, that are not (of) gold' [EAO Aros II 055]
- (83) *asko loy jayaw-te n-as da'*
 PRO.N.AB NEG.SUB nice-NMZ.ADJ OBL-ART.N DUR.NSTD
dewaj-na-wa=n
 see-DR-NMZ.EVT=2
 'That's not nice when we see (that)'. [ERM_140806_1 0994]

Thus, both in headed relative clauses and in the pronominal construction, nouns can be considered subordinate nominal predicates, and there is no syntactic difference between verbs and nouns in these environments.

19. This is why the term 'valency decreasing' may be more appropriate than 'detransitivizing': valency is a category that also applies to nouns, while transitivity is a purely verbal category; on the other hand, the operation involves only the syntactic properties of the lexical element, not its semantic valency.

7. Conclusion

The main outcome of this study is that in Movima, the predicate is always the first syntactic constituent of a clause. It can be a verb, a noun, or some other element (demonstrative, personal pronoun, locative adverb, copula), provided it can appear as the derived predicate of an embedded clause. Possessed and proper nouns do usually not occur in this position, so that predicate nominals basically express categorization and property.

The diagnostic for identifying a predicate is the form the word takes in embedded (complement, adverbial and negated) clauses: the element that is overtly derived in these constructions is the predicate. The way in which it is derived identifies it either as a verb (suffix *-wa*), as a noun (reduplication), or as a member of a third, closed word class (suffix *-niwa*).

By identifying predicates through their marking patterns in embedded clauses, it turns out that Movima has no syntactic argument slot preceding the predicate. That is, there is no clause-initial “marked-topic position”. Rather, the construction in which a free pronoun precedes a content word is a complex construction consisting of a pronominal main-clause predicate followed by a syntactically subordinate element (verb, noun, or adverbial clause). This “pronominal construction” is the only construction that can form an identificational clause with possessed or proper nouns, which do not (or only exceptionally) occur in main-clause predicate position.

Thus, the clause-initial position is a marker of predicativity in Movima: any element that can be the overtly derived predicate of an embedded clause (i.e. a noun, verb, or pronoun) is a main-clause predicate if placed in clause-initial position; nouns or verbs occurring after this position are subordinate predicates with a relative clause status. A content word, therefore, loses its main-clause predicate status as soon as it is preceded by a personal pronoun (or, for that matter, by any referring unit representing its external argument: an RP in the case of a headed relative clause, and a determiner in the case of an RP, a construction not discussed here; see Haude to appear c).

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Symbols and abbreviations

=	internal cliticization	INTR	intransitive
--	external cliticization	INV	inverse
~	reduplication	LV	linking vowel
< >	infixation	MD	middle voice
1, 2, 3	first, second, third person	MLT	multiple event
A	agent-like argument of a transitive predicate	MOD	modal
AB	absential	MOV	moving
ABS	absolute state	N	neuter
ABSTR	abstract	NEG	negator
ADJ	adjective	NMZ	nominalizer
AGT	agentive	NSTD	nonstanding
APPL	applicative	NTR	neutral
ART	article	OBL	oblique
BDP	bodily process	OBV	obviative
CAUS	causative	P	patient-like argument of a transitive predicate
CAUS.INV	causative-inverse	PL	plural
CL	classifier	POSSPRED	possessive predication
D	dummy	PRC	process
DEM	demonstrative	PRO	free personal pronoun
DET	determiner	PST	past
DETR	detransitivizer	REAS	reason
DR	direct	RED	reduplication
DR2	“direct 2”	REL	relativizer
DSC	discontinuous	R/R	reflexive/reciprocal
DUR	durative	S	single argument of intransitive predicate
EV	evidential	SAP	speech-act participant
EVT	event	SG	singular
F	feminine	ST	state
HAB	habitual	SUB	of subordination
INAL	inalienable	VBZ	verbalizer
INSTR	instrumental		

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Nonverbal predication in Ninam (northern Brazil)

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Although complex verbal morphology characterizes the languages in the Yanomami family, nonverbal predication is used when no verb or only a copula is present. Nonverbal predicates are distinguished from nonverbal clauses, which do not include a copula. The nonverbal predicates in Ninam fulfill the following four functions: existence, equation, possession, and location. Attributive constructions in nonverbal clauses that were presumed to be predicate adjectives are more appropriately categorized as adjectival verbs. The possibility of flexible word classes (Hengeveld et al. 2004; Haspelmath 2007) is evaluated in light of nonverbal clauses and the existence of derived attributive modifiers. The author concludes that Ninam has a fixed rather than flexible parts-of-speech system with verbs and nouns as the main word classes with semantic adjectives forming a subclass of verbs.

Keywords: Yanomami, adjectival verbs, attributivizer, copula

1. Introduction

This paper focuses on nonverbal predication in Xiriana, the northern dialect of Ninam.¹ Its speakers are located in Roraima, Brazil, and across the border in southern Venezuela. Ninam is the subgroup of the Yanomami language family with the smallest number of speakers. The number of Ninam speakers (both northern and southern dialects) represents less than 6% of the total estimated 19,047 Yanomami living in Brazil.² For the purposes of this paper, the term “Ninam” refers to the

1. Migliazza 1972 and Gomez 1990 include preliminary descriptions of various aspects of the Ninam language.

2. These population estimates are based on the 2011 FUNASA (Brazilian National Health Foundation) Census.

Xiriana dialect spoken in the community of Ericó.³ The paper comprises four major sections: (1) a brief introduction to the basic sentence structure of Ninam and the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs, (2) an examination of the structural subtypes of nonverbal predication in Ninam and the functional categories of nonverbal predicates, (3) a discussion about whether adjectives constitute a distinct word class, and (4) some concluding observations about nonverbal predication in Ninam.

1.1 Basic sentence structure

Like other major Yanomami languages (see Ramirez (1994) and Borgman (1990)), Ninam has a basic SOV sentence structure and ergative case marking on nouns, as in Example (1), nominal classifiers, inalienable possession, and complex verbal morphology. Though word order is typically verb final, locative phrases may occur either in sentence-final or -initial position, as shown in example sentences (2) and (3). Furthermore, a direct object NP may occur sentence-finally, as in (3). The functions of the variable placement of these constituents are a topic for future research.

- (1) S O V
iri=thai-nə *f̄arimi* *f̄ina f̄ai-re-ma*
child=DIMIN-ERG capuchin.monkey tail pull-PERF-PAS
'The/a child pulled the tail of the/a capuchin monkey.'⁴
- (2) *tihi* *f̄a=taa-re-kin* *ma=i* *kasi=ha*
jaguar 1SG =see-PERF-TAM water=CL.liquid lip=LOC
'I saw the jaguar near the river.'
- (3) *raham~ham* *f̄a=taa-re-kin* *tihi*
far.away.from.here~RED 1SG=see-PERF-TAM jaguar
'Far away from here I saw a jaguar.'

3. The data on which this analysis is based were collected in 2010–2011 in northern Brazil among speakers of the northern dialect of Ninam, known as Xiriana, as part of a Brazilian language documentation project (Projeto Documentação de Línguas e Culturas Indígenas Brasileiras UNESCO/ FUNAI/ MUSEU DO ÍNDIO-Projeto 914BRA4010). Additional data, collected in 1985–1986, is from my doctoral dissertation research.

4. The definite or indefinite article (*the* child vs. *a* child, etc.) may appear in the English translations throughout the examples in this paper; however, this is not meant to reflect such a distinction in Ninam.

1.2 Verb classes

Verbs are categorized as basically transitive and intransitive, according to the internal structure of the clause in which they occur. Transitive verbs are characterized by the presence of a direct object and the ergative marker *-na* on the subject. Clauses with intransitive verbs lack a direct object and ergative marking on the subject. The category of intransitive verbs may be further divided into subclasses, such as active intransitive, positional, and stative verbs. Ramirez (1994) proposes seven subclasses of verbs in Yanomami; however, a detailed presentation of all verb subclasses in Ninam is outside the scope of this paper. One subclass of intransitive verbs, however, is important to the focus of this paper, and members of this subclass are commonly referred to as adjectival verbs (Dryer 2007: 170), in which “adjectival meanings are expressed primarily by verbs” (Schachter & Shopen 2007: 16). Arguments in favor of such a category of verbs within the Yanomami family have been presented for Yanomami by Ramirez (1994) and for Yanomama by Perri-Ferreira (2014), who refers to them as “adjectival verbs.” Ramirez calls them “stative verbs” (one of his seven verb subclasses) and distinguishes them by the fact that the dynamic suffix *-i* is never directly attached to the verb root (224). This category of adjectival verbs is described within the present discussion on non-verbal predication in Section 2.2.3. The hypothesis that the Ninam language does not appear to have a distinct class of adjectives is examined in Section 3.

Transitive and intransitive verbs are marked by verbal suffixes that indicate tense, aspect and/or mood, as well as spatial orientation, direction, and other information. The number of different suffixes is extensive, and the co-occurrence restrictions among the suffixes and the various types of verbs are complex. For example, in his description of the Yanomami language, Ramirez (1994) provides 24 columns on a table that lists the sequential order of possible verbal suffixes (240). However, he states that “although the combinations are extremely numerous, the language avoids affixing more than 8 or 9 morphemes at a time” (236).⁵ A complete inventory of the verbal suffixes in Ninam has yet to be done.

Some suffixes are limited to specific verb classes, such as the present stative suffix *-a*, in Example (4) that occurs only on positional verbs, such as *ro-* ‘sit.’

- (4) *arasi ro-a wii=tihi=ha*
 macaw sit-PRES. STAT tree=CL.tree=LOC
 ‘A macaw sits in the tree.’

5. The original text is “Les combinaison son extrêmement nombreuses, a langue évitant néanmoins de suffixer de 8 ou 9 morphèmes à la fois”; the English translation is my own.

Moreover, while some verbal suffixes, such as the past *-ma*, have only one allomorph, as in examples (5), (6), and (7), regardless of their class as transitive or intransitive verbs, other suffixes, such as the perfective, have phonologically determined allomorphs: the perfective *-re*, on the verb root *kəɾə* ‘break’ in Example (5), corresponds to the suffix *-ri*, on the verb root *aʃohi* ‘leave’ in Example (7).

- (5) *kama ʃə-nə wii=ʃa=tihi poko kəɾə-ra-re-ma*
 PRO.NON2 1SG-ERG tree=1SG=CL.WOOD arm break-RES-PERF-PAS
 ‘I broke the tree branch.’
- (6) *Piʃmō itho-ra-ʃo-ma*
 Pixmon get.up- RES-REFL-PAS
 ‘Pixmon got up.’
- (7) *ʃaimi posto=ham aʃohi-ri-ma pi=mah-ki-nə*
 Jaime outpost=DIR leave-PERF-PAS INAL.POSS=foot-PL-INSTR
 ‘Jaime left for the outpost on foot.’

2. Nonverbal predication

Dryer (2007: 224–225) describes three types of clauses with nonverbal predicates (adjective, nominal, and locative), which may occur with a copula, and he distinguishes them from nonverbal clauses, which do not have a copula. Ninam has nonverbal clauses, and it also has a verb *kii* ‘be,’ that may or may not be considered a copula, depending on how “copula” is defined. With respect to other Yanomami languages, Donald Borgman (1990) refers to the cognate verb *ku* in Sanuma as a copula: “Existence clauses are distinguished from identification clauses by the presence in the former of the copula ‘to be’ in all tenses” (22). Ramirez (1994) describes *ku* ‘to be’ in Yanomami as an auxiliary verb (350). In this paper I will consider *kii* as a copula that is used in nonverbal predicates, contrasting them with nonverbal clauses, which lack the copula. The copula occurs with the TAM suffixes that would be expected of a stative verb. I will look first at nonverbal predicates with the copula *kii* ‘be’ and then describe the nonverbal clauses.

2.1 Nonverbal predicates with a copula

The copula *kii* occurs in nonverbal predicates that are structurally predicate nominals and predicate locatives, but not predicate adjectives. The reason for this will become obvious in the discussion of nonverbal clauses in Section 2.2, where predicate adjective constructions will be shown to be verbal constructions. The nuclei

of the predicate nominals and predicate locatives are noun phrases and locative phrases, respectively. The functions of the predicate nominals may be existential, as in examples (8) or equative, as in Example (9). The predicate nominal may also combine two functions as the existential/possessive in Example (10) and equative/possessive in (11).

- (8) *Pijmō-ta hiri-re=thəha wiripo=fī=ki-o-ma*
 Pixmon-REL dance- PERF=when moon=CL.luminous=be-V-PAS
 ‘When Pixmon danced there was moonlight.’
- (9) *thiwə=pik thiip ʔai ki-o-i*
 woman=3PL.ANIM breast truly be-V-DYN
 ‘Only women have breasts.’ [lit. ‘women truly are breast’]
- (10) *Ana ʔfarekep pi=irip=e=pik kii-a*
 Ana two INAL.POSS=child=3SG.POSS=PL.ANIM be-PRES.STAT
 ‘The two children are Ana’s’ or ‘Ana has two children.’ [lit. ‘Ana’s two children are’]
- (11) *hehej Soweoto e=nāhī kii-a-mi*
 this Sueldo 3SG.POSS=CL.bow be-PRES.STAT-NEG
 ‘This is not Sueldo’s bow.’

The noun classifier *nāhī* ‘CL.bow’ in (11) acts as a pronoun, replacing the full form *fakaw nāhī* ‘bow=CL.bow’, and as such may occur with the possessive clitic *e*. This is a common characteristic of noun classifiers in Ninam.

Quantification with numerals, of which there are only three in Ninam: *mōrī* ‘one’, *ʔfarekep* ‘two’, and *mīhētrāī* ‘three (or more)’, requires the use of the copula, as shown in examples (10), (12), and (13). An important difference between numerals and other quantifiers, which are described in Section 2.2.3, is that numerals precede the noun that they modify; whereas, the quantifiers *yāmi* ‘few’ and *ʔfarami* ‘many/much’, follow the noun and act as nuclei of adjectival predicate constructions.

- (12) *Soweoto mīhētrāī fakaw=e=nāhī-k kii-ra-a*
 Sueldo three arrow=3SG.POSS=CL.bow-PL be-RES-PRES.STAT
 ‘Sueldo has three bows.’ [lit. ‘Sueldo’s three bows are’]
- (13) *hiʔfiha mīhētrāī irit=pik kii-a*
 here three child=PL.ANIM be-PRES.STAT
 ‘Here there are three children.’ [lit. ‘here three children are’]

The functions of the predicate nominals are not always clear cut when examined out of context. Example (14) is ambiguous since it may be interpreted as having either an equative or an existential function, depending upon whether the possessive NP, *pi=irip=e* ‘someone’s child’, refers to possession by a third person who is not Marino

(14a) or whether Marino is the possessor (14b). In the first case, the two NPs are interpreted as a sequence of separate NPs rather than as a juxtaposition of two that forms a single NP, which in Ninam typically indicates possession of the second NP by the first, which may be a proper noun.

- (14) a. [Marino]^{NP} [pi=irip=e]^{NP} *kii-a-mi*
 Marino INAL.POSS=child=3SG.POSS be-PRES. STAT-NEG
 ‘Marino is not his/her child.’ [lit. ‘Marino is not someone’s child’]
- b. [Marino pi=irip=e]^{NP} *kii-a-mi*
 Marino INAL.POSS=child=3SG.POSS be-PRES. STAT-NEG
 ‘Marino has no child.’ [lit. ‘Marino’s child is not’]

Nonverbal predicates that are structurally predicate locatives include a locative phrase, marked by the locative clitic =*ha*, as the nucleus of the predicate. The location of the locative phrase is variable; it may occur in final position in the sentence (15), in medial position (16), or sentence-initially (17), which is expected in a sentence that is a WH-question and has an interrogative word, such as *haperi*.

- (15) *wārō namhīs kii-a pi=mahihī=ha*
 man nail be-PRES. STAT INAL.POSS=foot-LOC
 ‘Man has a (toe/finger) nail on his foot.’ [lit. ‘man’s nail is on one’s foot’]
- (16) *ɸaraka ma=ĩ=ha kii-a*
 fish water=CL.liquid=LOC be-PRES. STAT
 ‘(The/some) fish are in the water.’
- (17) *haperi=ha Tário kii-a*
 which=LOC Dário be-PRES. STAT
 ‘Where is Dário?’

2.2 Nonverbal clauses

Nonverbal clauses are distinguished by the absence of a copula. Nonverbal clauses in Ninam appear to include three structural subtypes of nonverbal predication: predicate nominal, predicate locative, and predicate adjective types. The nuclei of these predicate types are noun phrases, locative phrases, and adjectival phrases, respectively. The examples will show that the predicate nominal and predicate locative constructions are predicates in truly nonverbal clauses; however, the predicate adjective constructions are actually verbal since their nuclei can occur with verbal suffixes and exhibit other verbal behavior, confirming their categorization as adjectival verbs. The predicate nominal and predicate locative constructions lack any verbal inflections on their nuclei and, consequently, express only present

or habitual temporality. I will argue that Ninam does not have a separate category of adjectives, but rather that these morphemes form a subclass of stative verbs and fulfill attributive functions.

In accordance with the expected verb-final basic sentence structure in Ninam, the predicate nuclei of nonverbal clauses occur in sentence-final position, as illustrated in Example (18). In terms of their functional categorization, these subtypes may express equation, existence, possession, and location. The function of attribution is expressed by verbal predicates with adjectival verbs.

- (18) S V
hei nāhī
 this CL.bow
 ‘It’s this bow’ or ‘This is a bow.’ (depending on the context)

2.2.1 *Predicate nominal*

The predicate nominal construction is the type of nonverbal predicate in Ninam that has a noun (or pronoun) as the nucleus of the nonverbal clause. Words are categorized as “nouns” on the basis of their occurrence with nominal suffixes, such as number, genitive, and ergative markers, and clitics, such as classifiers and possessives, as well as having the traditional semantic equative, existential, and possessive functions.

Simple nominal nonverbal clauses are illustrated by examples (18) and (19), which both have an equative function, and Example (20), which conveys possession.

- (19) *ninam pata he xīī*
 people large.old.important head CL.luminous
 ‘Old people have white hair.’ [lit. ‘old people are luminous head’]
- (20) *aho kānāw*
 2SG.POSS canoe
 ‘It’s your canoe.’

Example (21) illustrates a predicate nominal with an anaphoric (zero) subject, fulfilling an existential function, while Example (22) is a WH-question and fulfills an equative function.

- (21) *remrem=moji=piik*
 tadpole=CL=PL.ANIM
 ‘There are tadpoles.’ or ‘They are tadpoles.’
- (22) *hehej karit nāhī?*
 this what CL.bow
 ‘This bow is (made of) what?’ or ‘What is this bow (made of)?’

As Example (20) illustrates, nominal nonverbal clauses may also fulfill a possessive function, and such nominal predicates are varied and complex in structure due to the complexity of the expression of possession in Ninam (Gomez 2016). In Examples (23), (24) and (25), possession is expressed by a pro-clitic, a genitive suffix, and a possessive personal pronoun, respectively. No verb or copula is required in any of these predicates. In fact, nominal nonverbal clauses may include any of the various structures that are used to express possession. Although it contains a possessive NP, Example (25) fulfills an equative function.

- (23) *Katiri e=yānō*
 Catiri 3SG.POSS=house
 ‘It’s Catiri’s house.’
- (24) *kama=ʃamak kānāwā-pi*
 PRO.NON2=1PL canoe-GEN.DL/PL
 ‘It’s our canoe.’
- (25) *haperi aho nāhī ?*
 which 2SG.POSS CL.bow
 ‘Which is your bow?’

An important feature of possession in Ninam is the expression of inalienable possession, which predictably includes body parts and kinship terms. Examples (26) through (32) illustrate the range of possessive NP structures, and all of these noun phrases may also be interpreted as nominal nonverbal clauses expressing possession. Possession of body parts is expressed by a possessive pronoun (26) or by simple juxtaposition when the possessor is a common noun as in (27) and (28) or a proper noun (29).

- (26) *ipa na-ki*
 1SG.POSS tooth-PL
 ‘They are my teeth.’
- (27) *warə namhis*
 white-lipped.peccary claw
 ‘It’s a white-lipped peccary claw.’
- (28) *ʃarimi fina*
 capuchin.monkey tail
 ‘It’s a capuchin monkey tail.’
- (29) *Mizael mahkosi*
 Mizael leg
 ‘It’s Mizael’s leg.’

In the case of kinship terms, the structures are more complex and may require the simultaneous occurrence of both possessive or inalienable pronouns and genitive suffixes, as in (30) and (32), or a genitive suffix alone may suffice, as in Example (31). The co-occurrence of the various morphemes is grammatically conditioned by both the kin term and the type of possessor.

- (30) *fino pi=irip=e*
 Dino INAL.POSS=child=3SG.POSS
 ‘It’s Dino’s child.’
- (31) *nape-ʃə*
 mãe-GEN.1SG
 ‘She’s my mother.’
- (32) *aho ʃiʃa-ho*
 2SG.POSS daughter-in-law-GEN.2SG
 ‘She’s your daughter-in-law.’

2.2.2 *Predicate locative*

The second type of nonverbal clause in Ninam is the predicate locative construction. It fulfills the locative function but also an existential function. Its nucleus is a locative phrase, which is characterized by a noun that is accompanied by a locative (=ha) or a directional (=ham) clitic, as in (34) or by the presence of a locative or directional adverb, such as *rahami* ‘far away’ in (33).

- (33) *Katiri e=yānō rahami*
 Catiri SG.POSS=house far.away
 ‘Catiri’s house is far away.’
- (34) *ninam hērēkō pi=hīkā-ki=ham*
 people breath INAL.POSS=nose-PL=DIR
 ‘People breathe through their noses.’ [lit. ‘people’s breath (is) through their noses’]

2.2.3 *Predicate adjective*

The third and final nonverbal predicate type is the predicate adjective construction. Because predicate adjectives do not occur with the copula and because many of the examples lack verbal inflection and refer to present or habitual time, as in examples (35) and (36), they at first appear to fit the category of nonverbal clauses, along with the nominal and locative predicate constructions. In both examples, the function of the presumed predicate adjectives is attributive, describing the shape of the moon *wiripo* in (35) and the color of the leaf *hena* in (36).

- (35) *wiripo horotho*
moon be.round
'The moon is round.'
- (36) *ĩ.ĩhĩ hena parahi*
that CL.leaf be.green
'That leaf is green.'

Furthermore, presumed predicate adjectives may be accompanied by adverbial modifiers that occur in typical verbal predicates. These adverbials include intensifiers, such as *kāhāthā* 'very' and *hiparo* 'very' in examples (37) and (38).

- (37) *ʃa=iwtiti kāhāthā*
1SG=be.weak very
'I am very weak.'
- (38) *ʃa=simosi nini hiparo*
1SG=belly be.painful very
'My belly is very painful.'

The presumed category of predicate adjectives also includes quantifiers, like *yāmi* 'few' and *ʃarami* 'many/much,' which are shown in examples (39), (40) and (41).

- (39) *ʃama=pa=pik yāmi*
tapir=X=PL.ANIM few
'The tapirs are few.'
- (40) *iriko=iha pik yāmĩ wāithaha*
Ericó=LOC PL.ANIM few now
'Few people are in the village now.'
- (41) *irit=pik ʃarami*
child=PL.ANIM many
'The children are many.'
- (42) *hiʃaha wakifi ʃarami hiparo ʃaro ʃa mamō-ʃi hāthāthā-i*
here smoke much very because 1SG eye-COM burn-DYN
'Because there is so much smoke here, my eyes are burning.' [lit. 'because here smoke is very much, with my eyes are burning']

The quantifiers occur in sentence-final position in (39) and (41), as expected in predicate constructions. The temporal and locative adverbs, like *wāithaha* 'now,' may occur sentence-finally as in (40) or in sentence-initial position, as *hiʃaha* 'here' in (42). Both a quantifier and an intensifier occur in Example (42), where the intensifier *hiparo* 'very' modifies the quantifier *ʃarami* 'many/much,' which is the nucleus of

the predicate construction. This last example illustrates the occurrence of presumed predicate adjective constructions in subordinate clauses in complex sentences.

Because most of the presumed predicate adjectives presented in this section refer to states in the present time or as habitual states, they lack verbal suffixes, and in this way are unlike typical verbs. However, examples (43) and (44) show that presumed predicate adjectives, as exemplified by *waati* ‘be cold’ and *totihi* ‘be good,’ do, in fact, behave more like typical verbs in the past tense. In these cases, they occur with typical verbal TAM suffixes, including a sentence-final question marker in Example (44).

(43) *watori-n ffa waati-ŷo-ma*
 wind-ERG 1SG be.cold-INGR-PAS
 ‘The wind made me cold.’

(44) *wa totihi-ra-ŷo-m-o*
 2SG be.good-RES-INGR-PAS-Q
 ‘Did you get better?’

3. Status of adjectives as a distinct word class

Dryer states that the term “adjective” is either defined semantically or “used as a label for a word class in a particular language defined by grammatical characteristics which distinguish it from other words in that language.” (Dryer 2007: 168) He points out, however, “In many languages, semantic adjectives are grammatically verbs...because they share properties with other verbs, but nevertheless form a distinct subclass of verbs because they differ from other verbs in other respects.” (Dryer 2007: 169) The examples presented in Section 2.2 support such a hypothesis for adjectives as a subclass of verbs in Ninam. They take verbal morphology in (43) and (44) and are grammatically like typical verbs, such as *fai* ‘pull’ in Example (1) or *taa* ‘see’ in (2), when they function as predicates and incorporate preposed subject pronouns, like *ffa* ‘1SG’ in examples (2) and (3).

There is additional evidence for the lack of a distinct word class of adjectives in a comparison of examples (45) and (46). In (45) *tiiito* ‘be new’ is the nucleus of a presumed predicate adjective, but as is typical of adjectival verbs, it is unmarked in the present tense. In Example (46), however, *tiiito* ‘be new’ is marked by the attributivizing suffix *-i* to create an attributive modifier (= adjective) of the preceding noun *tharosi* ‘shallow basket,’ thus, producing the noun phrase *tharosi tiiitoi* ‘new shallow basket,’ which is the subject of the sentence whose predicate is the existential *kii*.

- (45) *hehei wii* *tiiito*
 this carrying.basket be.new
 ‘This carrying basket is new.’
- (46) *tharo=si* *tiiito-i* *si=kii-a*
 shallow.basket=CL.basket be.new-ATTR CL.basket=be-PRES. STAT
 ‘It is a new shallow basket.’ [lit. ‘new shallow basket is’]

As examples (47) and (48) further illustrate, this same process holds for predicate adjectives without a copula. The presumed predicate adjective *piti* ‘be full’ is the nucleus of a presumed nonverbal clause in both (47a) and (47b); however, *rewi* ‘be large’ in (47b) acts as a modifier of the noun *hesi* ‘gourd container,’ and this is marked by the addition of the attributivizing suffix *-i* (to indicate the lexeme’s grammatical role as a nominal modifier within the noun phrase *hesi rewii* ‘large gourd container’). The repetition of the noun *hesi* ‘gourd container’ makes the distinction clear.

- (47) a. *hei hesi* *piti*
 this gourd.container be.full
 ‘This gourd container is full.’
- b. *hesi* *rewi-i* *hesi* *piti*
 gourd.container be.large-ATTR gourd.container be.full
 ‘The large gourd container is full.’

Example (48) illustrates the same clausal structure as (47b) with slightly different semantic content. In this case, the nucleus of the presumed nonverbal clause is the presumed predicate adjective *roke* ‘be empty,’ and *sīrīpī* ‘be small’ is marked as the modifier of *hesi* ‘gourd container’ by the addition of the attributivizing suffix *-i*.

- (48) *hesi* *sīrīpī-i* *hesi* *roke*
 gourd.container be.small-ATTR gourd.container be.empty
 ‘The small gourd container is empty.’

An interesting observation about the predicate constructions in (46), (47b) and (48) is that in all cases the noun nucleus or its surrogate (the nominal classifier *si* in (46)) is repeated before the predicate. This merits further examination with additional field data.

It is clear from the examples in this section that semantic adjectives in Ninam are dependent on morphology (the suffix *-i*) to be able to function attributively. This fact and the other characteristics that they share with verbs supports their classification as a subclass of verbs.

4. Concluding remarks

Nonverbal predication in Ninam is characterized by both nonverbal clauses and nonverbal predicates (with a single copula, *kii-* ‘be’). The copula may occur in predicate nominal and predicate locative constructions, but not in predicate adjectives. The nonverbal predicates may fulfill existential, equative, possessive and locative functions (described in Section 2.1).

Nonverbal clauses (described in Section 2.2) include predicate nominal and predicate locative clause types that may express existential, equative, possessive, and locative functions. Unlike verbal predicates, the nuclei of nonverbal clauses are unmarked for tense, aspect, or mood. Presumed predicate adjectives, which fulfill an attributive function, are illustrated by numerous examples and found to be verbal predicates with adjectival verbs as nuclei. It is when the adjectival verbs occur in the present or habitual tense that they most resemble nonverbal clauses because they lack verbal suffixes. However, by examining additional constructions in the past tense, it becomes clear that adjectives in Ninam are better classified as a subclass of verbs.

It is by reexamining the nature of predicate adjective constructions and adjectival verbs that this paper has considered the possibility of “flexible parts-of-speech systems” for Ninam as suggested by Hengeveld, Rijkhoff, & Siewierska (2004). Basic word order at the clausal level and morphological markers are the strategies by which nouns and verbs have been identified as two primary parts of speech in Ninam. This paper has examined semantic adjectives as a potential third basic category.

Croft’s Universal-Typological Theory of Parts of Speech “distinguishes three functions that lexemes may express: predication, reference, and modification... [and] Croft divides the lexemes that may fulfil the three propositional act functions into three different *semantic classes*: objects, properties, and actions.” (van Lier 2009: 34) These *semantic classes*, however, do not translate into three distinct part-of-speech categories in Ninam. Much more relevant is Haspelmath’s suggestion that “[a] consequence of the non-existence of pre-established categories for typology is that comparison cannot be category-based, but must be substance-based, because substance (unlike categories) is universal.” (2007: 119) In Ninam nouns are identified as lexemes that co-occur with nominal suffixes and clitics, such as plural markers, nominal classifiers, and locative or directional markers, and they usually precede the verbal predicate. Verbs are marked by tense, aspect, or mood suffixes and characteristically occur in sentence-final position. It is possible for verbs to be nominalized by the addition of a nominalizing suffix *-wii*, which is attached to the stem after other verbal suffixes, with a resulting noun phrase *tihī nīā-ra-re-wii* ‘jaguar killing,’ structurally similar to a gerund in English. Likewise, nouns in Ninam can be verbalized by the addition of the suffix *-mō*, for example,

watori ‘wind’ becomes *watori-mō-i* and takes the (verbal) dynamic suffix *-i* to mean something like ‘(of the) wind it’s blowing.’ The change of word class in each case requires a morphological adjustment.

Likewise, this appears to be the case for semantic adjectives, which have the substance of Croft’s “properties,” but they require the addition of the attributivizing suffix *-i* when they express modification within a noun phrase. The categorization of semantic adjectives as a distinct (third) part-of-speech in Ninam does not reflect the facts of the language. As demonstrated in Section 3, they function as (a special subclass of) verbs that do not require verbal morphology in the present or habitual tense. By examining the various manifestations of nonverbal predication in Ninam, the verbal nature of semantic adjectives has become clear, so that placing them firmly within the category of verbs is the most coherent option. Ninam appears to resemble most closely the rigid parts-of-speech system 6 in figure 5 of Hengeveld, Rijkhoff and Siewierska (2004: 537). Further investigation of more complex syntactic structures in Ninam will be necessary to confirm this hypothesis.

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Abbreviations

1	first person	COM	comitative
2	second person	DIMIN	diminutive
3	third person	DIR	directional
ANIM	animate	DL	dual
ATTR	attributivizer	DYN	dynamic
CL	(nominal) classifier	ERG	ergative

GEN	genitive case	PRES.STAT	present tense of a stative verb
INAL.POSS	inalienable possessive	PRO	pronoun
INGR	ingressive	Q	question marker
INSTR	instrumental	RED	reduplicant
LOC	locative	REL	relativizer
NEG	negative	RES	resultative
NON2	non-second person (first or third person)	SG	singular
PAS	past tense	TAM	(as yet) unidentified tense, aspect, or mood marker
PERF	perfective	V	thematic vowel
PL	plural	X	(as yet) unidentified morpheme.
POSS	possessive		

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PART II

Exploring specific subtypes of nonverbal predicates

Locative, existential and possessive predication in the Chaco

Nivaçle (Mataguayan) and Pilagá (Guaykuruan)

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Nivaçle (Mataguayan) and Pilagá (Guaykuruan) languages, which geographically overlap in the Argentinian Chaco region of South America, present evidence challenging the often repeated claim that locative predications universally underlie possession predications (Lyons 1967; Jackendoff 1983; DeLancey 2000; Freeze 2001; Langacker 2009, among others). In both languages copular elements can link two Determined Phrases (DPs) to predicate location, possession or existence, i.e. the primary predicative element in such constructions is not a lexical verb. However, Nivaçle and Pilagá each use a single copular form for both non-verbal existential and possessive predication constructions, and a different copular form for non-verbal locative predication constructions. Subtypes of the various constructions, including negative forms, can be related to Heine's cognitive possession schemas. In Pilagá, all three negative constructions share the same copular elements, but there are arguably still more similarities between the negative possessive and negative existential constructions compared to the negative locative construction. If these shared features across the two languages are due to areal contact, the influence would have had to have happened at the Proto-Mataguayan and Proto-Guaykuruan languages stage.

Keywords: existential, possession, location, negation, Guaykuruan, Mataguayan

1. Introduction

The idea that “possession is location” has often been articulated in the cognitive semantics and grammaticalization literature. What is meant by this is that a LOCATIVE cognitive model is posited as somehow basic, perhaps to our human interaction with the world around us; and that the concept of POSSESSION is then assumed to be either identical to the LOCATIVE cognitive model, or to be conceptually – and

potentially historically – based on or derived from it. While not disputing that a locative metaphor and locative constructions often are extended to express possession in various languages, this paper presents data from Nivačle and Pilagá to argue that locative predications do not universally underlie possession predications. The paper presents data on locative, existential and possession constructions of the sort sometimes referred to as “non-verbal” predications (Hengeveld 1992: 26; Dryer 2007: 224–249). What is meant by this is that the primary predicative element is not a lexical verb, though a copula with verbal inflectional features may occur as part of the “non-verbal predicate” structure. We will see that Nivačle and Pilagá display greater affinity between their so-called non-verbal EXISTENTIAL and POSSESSIVE predication constructions than between their LOCATIVE and POSSESSIVE ones.¹ At the end of the paper we briefly address whether shared features across the two languages in these non-verbal predication constructions might, or might not, be due to areal contact.

The LOCATIVE cognitive model itself consists of a FIGURE positioned relative to some GROUND (Talmy 1972). The asymmetrical FIGURE-GROUND relationship comes from Gestalt psychology in which the terms co-define each other. The FIGURE is roughly what is perceived as “standing out” against a supporting field or object, i.e., against the GROUND (Rubin 1915). In linguistics, notions associated to the psychological concept of FIGURE include Trajector (Langacker 1987: 231) and the semantic role of THEME (DeLancey 2000), while the psychological concept of GROUND has been linked to Landmark (Langacker 1987: 231) and the semantic role of LOCATION (variously called Locative, LOC; DeLancey 2000). Other linguistic asymmetries have also been attributed to the figure-ground distinction (e.g. whole propositions have sometimes been claimed to stand in figure-ground relationships to each other; Croft & Cruse 2004: 56–58). As we are concerned in this paper with intra-clausal relationships, we will talk in terms of THEME and LOCATION, as well as other semantic role notions.

A sampling of statements either asserting or presupposing the “possession is location” view includes:

- i. “...in many, perhaps in all, languages existential and possessive constructions derive (both synchronically and diachronically) from locatives....” (Lyons 1967: 390)
- ii. “...it can be argued that so-called possessive expressions are to be regarded as a subclass of locatives (as they very obviously are, in terms of their grammatical structure, in certain languages).” (Lyons 1977: 474)

1. Note that we do not discuss all non-verbal predication constructions in the two languages, but only those concerned with predicating location, existence, and possession. For terminological simplicity we will use the term “copula” in this paper for both the ‘be located at’ and the ‘exist’ verbal elements, even though the latter need not join two elements in existential predications.

- iii. “Being alienably possessed plays the role of location; that is, “*y* has/possesses *x*” is the conceptual parallel to spatial “*x* is at *y*”. (Jackendoff 1983: 192)
- iv. “Though all possession is location, not all location is possession.” “The possessive is prototypically an existential with a [+human] location.” “The existential is universally locative.” (Freeze 2001: 941, 946)
- v. “Possessives and locatives share an abstract conceptual characterization ...” (Langacker 2009: 103).²

Additional supportive discussion is found in DeLancey (2000: 8; which includes an entire section entitled “Possessors as Locations”); Sørensen (2001); to some extent Stassen (2009: 11–15), *inter alia*.

In the seminal typological study on possessive, existential and locative predications, Clark (1978: 87) clearly expresses the view that “existential,” “locative,” and “possessive” predication constructions are all subcases of “locational constructions”. For example, she states that the English expressions *There is a book on the table*, *The book is on the table*, *Tom has a book*, and *The book is Tom’s* are all “locationals”. What functionally differentiates them, in her view, is the definiteness of the “non-locative” and the animacy of the “locative” element. Based on her 30-language survey, she concludes that if the non-locative (THEME) is indefinite, the reading is typically existential; while if the THEME is definite, the reading is locative. If the LOCATIVE is animate, the reading is typically possessive. Other scholars have reiterated these animacy and definiteness views.

However, there are both more modulated and alternative voices to the “possession is location” view as a universal statement. Seiler (1983: 4) states that possession is a “bio-cultural” concept, semantically involving “the relationship between a human being, his kinsmen, his body parts, his material belongings, his cultural and intellectual products. In a more extended view, it is the relationship between parts and whole of an organism”. Based on his broad knowledge of African languages, Heine (1997) proposes that possessive constructions may be derived (cognitively and historically) from various “source schemas” – only one of which is Location. The others he terms Action, Accompaniment, Goal, Topic, Source, Equation, and Genitive. In other words, in one language or another a morphosyntactic structure that expresses possession can be isomorphic to, or share significant features with, a functionally locative, topic, equational, etc. construction, and hence there are evidently *multiple* morphosyntactic sources for predication constructions that express possession. In a corpus study of Maa (Maasai) Payne (2009) observes that one verb root *tii* predicates the locative notion of ‘be at’, and a second distinct verb root *ata* predicates possessive ‘have’. Both roots extend to predicating existence of items, though *ata* ‘have’ is much more common in this function. Thus, there must

2. Langacker asserts, however, that possessives and locatives are not exactly identical.

(have) be(en) a conceptual association between possession and existence, as well as between location and existence; but there is little or no prima-facie evidence in the corpus data for a direct conceptual association between location and possession. With reference to non-verbal predicate constructions, Dryer (2007: 245) notes that a number of languages treat predicate possession clauses rather like existential clauses – and differently from locational clauses in those same languages.

The first goal of this paper is to describe Nivačle (Mataguayan)³ and Pilagá (Guaykuruan) non-verbal locative, existential, and possessive predication constructions. What motivates treating Nivačle and Pilagá in a single paper is that they overlap geographically within the Argentinian Chaco region and have had a long history of contact. We will suggest that some relevant structural features are, at first glance, quite similar across the two languages. This raises the question of whether those shared features are due to contact-induced convergence. We cannot fully answer that question in this paper, nor undertake the historical reconstruction work on the Mataguayan and Guaykuruan families (Table 1) that would be required to definitively answer the question. However, we will suggest in the conclusion that if certain shared features across the constructions are due to contact, the relevant convergence was likely between ancestors of the modern languages rather than directly due to contact or bilingualism between modern Nivačle and Pilagá.

Table 1. Mataguayan and Guaykuruan language families⁴

Mataguayan	Guaykuruan
Wichí	Kadiweu
Chorote	Southern Guaykuruan
Nivačle	Pilagá
Maká	Toba
	Mocoví
	Abipón [†]
	Eastern Guaykuruan
	Guachí ^{††}
	Payaguá [†]

3. The name *Mataguayan* was used to refer to the language family in various Jesuit documents dating from 1733 (Fabre 2014). This term is also used by Najlis (1984) and Nercesian (2014). Other names for the family include *Matacoan* (Loukotka 1968: 53; Greenberg 1987: 73; Campbell 2013); *Mataco-Mataguayan* (Tovar 1951: 400, 1961, 1964), *Mataco-Maka* (Kaufman 1990: 46). The term *Mataco* has become pejorative to the indigenous people in Bolivia and northern Argentina as it refers to an animal like an armadillo, indicating cowardliness.

4. Viegas Barros (1993–4) posits Guachí[†] (Wuachi) and Payaguá[†] as part of Guaykuruan, but this is not accepted by some scholars. Kaufman (1990) apparently accepts Wuachi but not Payaguá. Klein's (1985) survey of Argentine indigenous languages doesn't mention either of these. Campbell (2013: 276) says the connection between Guachí and Payaguá remains uncertain.

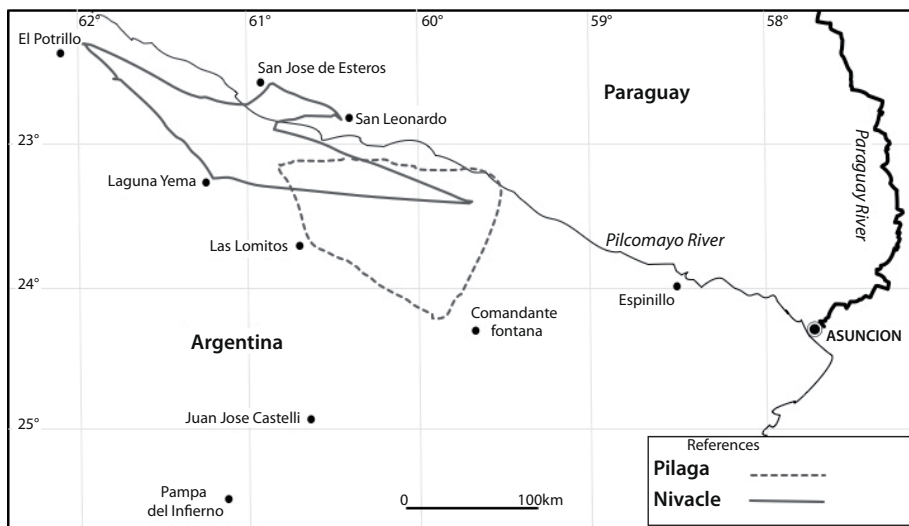


Figure 1. Nivaçle and Pilagá overlap in the Argentinian-Paraguayan Chaco region

Figure 1 indicates the regions from which Pilagá and Nivaçle data in this paper come. Pilagá is spoken only in Argentina and there is no known dialect variation. Nivaçle extends beyond the area marked in Figure 1, on both sides of the Argentina-Paraguay border (roughly marked by the Pilcomayo River). There has not been complete agreement about the number of subgroups that constitute the Nivaçle people, not only within the literature but also among the Nivaçle people. Klein and Stark (1977: 392) maintain that there are two groups: the inland or ‘bush’ Chulupí, and the ‘river’ Chulupí. In contrast, Stell (1989) maintains that there are five dialectal groups: *Chishamne lhavos* ‘people from upstream’ or ‘highlanders’, *Shicha’am lhavos* ‘people from downstream’ or ‘lowlanders’, *Yita’a lhavos* ‘people from the forest’, *Jotoy lhavos* ‘people from the feathergrass’, and *Tavashay lhavos* ‘people from inland’. Field research for this project has focused on the varieties spoken upstream and downstream the Pilcomayo River in the province of Formosa, Argentina, indicated in Figure 1. Occasionally we cite examples from other authors including Fabre’s work which reflects Paraguayan speakers. We have not found any significant differences between the patterns in Fabre’s data and ours relative to the issues under discussion here.

2. Nivačle preliminaries⁵

Nivačle has two distinct copular forms that roughly translate as ‘exist’ and ‘be located at’. The ‘be located at’ copula is used for *LOCATIONAL* predication, while the ‘exist’ copula is used for both *EXISTENTIAL* and *POSSESSION* predications. Given this, it would appear that Nivačle *POSSESSION* predication(s) developed from the *EXISTENTIAL* construction or vice-versa; and that *POSSESSION* did not develop from a *LOCATIONAL* construction. (Comparative Mataguayan data, which we will briefly address in the conclusion, gives further evidence that this is the case; see also Fabre 2015).

We first introduce some basic grammatical features of Nivačle. At the phrase and clause level, word order variation is apparent. In clauses with lexical verbs, subjects occur both before and after their verbs, but the verb generally precedes its object. Within a nominal phrase, Fabre (2016: 377–380) states that an animate possessee precedes the possessor noun; but an inanimate possessee tends to follow the possessor.

Distinctions between word classes in Nivačle could be described as “fuzzy”, meaning that many roots or stems can be used either for reference (i.e. a “nominal” function) or for making a predication (i.e. a “verb” function), without much if any derivational morphology on the root. What is much clearer are distinctions at the phrase level. The following are among the major features that differentiate what we will refer to as determiner phrases and predicate phrases.

Determiner phrase

In general, a “nominal phrase” must be initiated by a determiner (D) clitic and hence we refer to the resultant construction as a determiner phrase. Determiner phrases have the potential to refer to participants. Fabre (2016: 91–93) indicates that exceptions to the determiner requirement consist of incorporated nouns (rare), relator nouns (which must follow their predicates or verbs marked with locative

5. Throughout this paper we use practical orthography forms for Nivačle data. The Nivačle orthography is Spanish-based but phonemic in accord with the system in use in Northern Argentina. The Nivačle vowel phonemes /i, u, e, o, a, v, ɨ, ù, è, ó, à, b/ are represented as <i, u, e, o, a, ô, ii, uu, ee, oo, aa, ôô>. The glottalized vowels /ɨ, ù, è, ó, à, b/ may be phonetically longer than plain vowels but Gutierrez (2015) does not analyze them as contrastive for length. Consonant phonemes /p, p', t, t', k, k', ʔ, f, s, j, x, ts, ts', tʃ, tʃ', ʎ, kl, m, n, v [w~β~v], j/ are represented as <p, p', t, t', c ~ qu, c' ~ qu', ' f, s, sh, j, ts, ts', ch, ch', lh, êl, m, n, v, y>. The basic orthography was developed primarily by Catholic priest Father J. Seelwische. It is influenced by the Spanish orthography, e.g., the use of <qu> before /i e/, and the use of <c> before /a, o, u, ô /. The Comisión Lingüística Pueblo Nivačle changed Seelwische's “cl” to <êl> in order to differentiate this unit phoneme from the Spanish consonant cluster [kl]. See Gutierrez (2015) and <www.nivacle-lhcliish.org> for more discussion.

or applicative morphemes), vocatives, and citation forms. A determiner may also precede a (conjugated) verb form, effectively creating a nominal phrase which can function either as a referring phrase in itself, or as a complement or relative clause (Otero & Vidal 2016). Though the determiners are usually proclitics, in certain constructions a determiner is encliticized to a host.

A determiner is chosen based on visual interpretation of the referent, according to the following four parameters and illustrated in the immediately following examples:

D_1 = seen at the time of utterance

D_2 = seen prior to and not present at time of utterance; still in existence

D_3 = seen prior to and not present at time of utterance; *not* still in existence (e.g., dead or destroyed); also used for non-visual perception

D_4 = never seen

- (1) *na=ajòclò y-i-shi* *lha=aacjiyuc*
 D_1 =bird 3.CL₄.R-be.located-LOC₃ D_1 .F=tree
 ‘The bird is in the tree.’ (I see the bird and the tree)
- (2) *olhumashe ya-quej ja=Asunción*
 tomorrow 1.CL₄.R-go D_2 =Asunción
 ‘Tomorrow I will go to Asunción.’ (from Gutierrez 2010: 58; our glossing)
- (3) *lh-ca=lha-mìmi ca=yi-velh*
 F- D_3 =POS3-mother D_3 =POS1-relative
 ‘his/her deceased mother’ ‘my deceased male relative’
 (from Stell 1989: 364; our glossing)
- (4) *nam jayu lham pa=ele*
 come PROSP REP D_4 =priest
 ‘(I heard that) a new priest is going to come’
 (from Gutierrez 2010: 68; our glossing)

Determiners also distinguish masculine (unmarked) and feminine (prefixed) for singular entities and \pm human for plural entities. Note that the simplest forms of the determiners for each of D_1 through D_4 are the masculine singular variants.

Predicate phrase

A predicate phrase carries non-possessive person-marking affixes. Main clause predicate phrases do not carry determiners (though person-marked verbs can be preceded by determiners in complement and relative clauses). Items which translate as verbs, nouns (including possessed nouns), adjectives, etc. in other languages

can function as predicates in Nivačle. In fact, terms designating very concrete and time-stable entities, such as ‘tree’ or ‘dog’, that would pattern as typical nouns in many other languages, mean ‘It is a tree’ or ‘He/she/it is a dog’ when they occur without a determiner.

The person-marking affixes on predicates are selected from one of five conjugation classes (Fabre 2016). For some of the classes, affixes also differ for realis (R) versus irrealis (IRR) mode (and there is considerable allomorphy). Distribution of the conjugations displays some active/inactive sensitivity. The Fourth and Fifth conjugations allow marking of two participants. In the Fourth conjugation, the subject is indicated with a prefix. If the verb is ditransitive or carries an applicative, then the indirect/applied object can also be marked with a pronominal suffix.⁶ Though there is much idiosyncrasy, the five conjugations roughly vary with transitivity and semantic features of the predicate such as volition, dynamicity, property concept description, quantification, speech, psychological experience, position, reciprocity, causation, antipassivity, among other features (the reader is referred to Fabre 2016 for more detail). In examples, our glosses accord with Fabre’s verb classes. Thus, for example, 3.CL₁ means ‘third person, conjugation class 1’ while 3.CL₄.R indicates ‘third person, conjugation class 4, realis’. Basic allomorphs for the First and Fourth conjugations, the indirect/applied object suffixes, and the possessor prefixes, all of which will be relevant to this paper, are given in (5).

(5) First conjugation (CL ₁) prefixes	Fourth conjugation realis CL ₄ .R prefixes
1 <i>ya</i> ² -	1 <i>j</i> -
2 <i>a</i> ² -	2 <i>lh</i> -
3 \emptyset	3 <i>y</i> -
1INCL <i>cas-</i> (<i>catsi-</i>)	1INCL <i>sht-</i>
Indirect/applied object (o) suffixes	Possessor prefixes (POS)
1 <i>-ya</i>	1 <i>y(i)</i> -
2 <i>-’a</i>	2 <i>a</i> -
3 <i>-e</i>	3 <i>lh(a)- / t’a-</i>
1INCL <i>-elh</i> PL + <i>-ya</i>	1INCL <i>cas-</i> (<i>catsi-</i>)

The particular conjugation choice can mark the difference between otherwise homophonous lexemes. For example, the ‘negative existential’ (6) and ‘go’ (7) share the root forms /am/ and /ôm/,⁷ but the ‘negative existential’ conjugates according

6. In the Fifth conjugation the prefixes reflect a hierarchical system, which will not concern us in this paper. It should also be noted that verbs can be quite complex morphologically, beyond just the person-class-mode conjugations.

7. Some speakers clearly use both forms *am* ~ *ôm* and the variants appear to depend on vowel harmony issues. For instance, *am* invariably co-occurs with the determiner clitic =*pa*.

to the First conjugation, while ‘go’ conjugates according to the Fourth conjugation. The copular elements of concern in this paper pattern with the First (cf. Example (6) and §§ 4–5) and Fourth (cf. § 3) conjugations, though they may be somewhat irregular (cf. 8).

(6) ‘negative existential’, First conjugation

- a. *a’am=pa*
 2.CL₁-NEG.EXIST=D₄
 ‘You don’t exist.’ (from Fabre 2016: 174)
- b. *ôme Ø-am=pa*
 no 3.CL₁-NEG.EXIST=D₄
 ‘No, it doesn’t exist.’
- c. *Ø-ôm lha-pa=yi-vjatshiy-a*
 3.CL₁-NEG.EXIST F-D₄=1.POS-car-IRR
 ‘I don’t have a car.’ (Lit. ‘My car (never seen) doesn’t exist.’)

(7) ‘go/come’, Fourth conjugation

- a. *j-ôm-elh-ei* / *j-am-elh-ei*
 1.CL₄-R-go-PL-LOC₁
 ‘We arrived there.’
- b. *lh-n-am*
 2.CL₄-R-CISL-go
 ‘You arrived.’
- c. *y-ôm-ei*
 3.CL₄-R-go-LOC₁
 ‘It (fish) goes there.’

Fabre (2016: 189) gives the conjugation of what we present as the irregular verb *i ~ ôv ~ e* ‘be located at’ in the Fourth conjugation realis affirmative paradigm as:

(8) ‘be located at’, Fourth conjugation

- 1 *j-aôv*
 2 *lh-aôv*
 3 *y-i*
 IINC *shn-aôv*

With this brief introduction to some basic grammatical features, we now turn to non-verbal LOCATIVE, EXISTENTIAL, and POSSESSIVE predication constructions in Nivačle.

3. The Nivačle LOCATIVE predication construction

Nivačle has a number of lexical positional verbs. In this paper, however, we are concerned just with the irregular Fourth conjugation copula *i ~ ôv~ e* ‘be located at’, which is an integral part of what we call the LOCATIVE predication construction. We consider this construction in our discussion of “non-verbal” predication since *i ~ ôv~ e* is copular in nature, linking GROUND and FIGURE elements. The overall structure of this construction is schematized in (9), where the top line inside the box indicates form and the second line indicates associated meaning within the construction.

(9) Nivačle LOCATIVE predication construction

(DP)	4 TH CONJ- <i>i ~ e ~ ôv</i> -LOC	DP
FIGURE:THEME	FIGURE-BE.AT	GROUND:LOCATION

As indicated in (9), the GROUND (which here can be called a LOCATION) is expressed in a DP. The FIGURE (i.e., the THEME) is in a DP if it is not pronominal, plus is reflected in a Fourth conjugation pronominal prefix on the verb. If it is pronominal, it is expressed only via the pronominal prefix.

The ‘be located at’ copula must also carry one of many locative (LOC) suffixes, which further specify the GROUND on which the FIGURE is located. For instance, the LOC suffix *-ch’e* indicates location in a container or delimiting space that has three-dimensional depth like a river, a hole, or inside a bottle; while the LOC suffix *-shi* indicates location in a delimiting space that profiles lack of three-dimensional depth like surface ground (earth), a tree, etc. For this paper, we gloss these two particular suffixes as *-shi* ‘LOC.IN₁’ and *-ch’e* ‘LOC.IN₂’. Fabre (2016) describes many other LOC suffixes.⁸

Though in general word order is variable in Nivačle, in the LOCATIVE predication construction the FIGURE always precedes the ‘be at’ copula, and the GROUND always follows the copula. There is no obligatory marking of person (or possession) on either DP, though this is possible if the referent is possessed. Regardless of marking of possession on a DP, the force of the construction is to assert location of an item.

Examples of this construction follow, demonstrating various deictic, animacy, and spatial orientation options.

- (10) *na=ajôclô y-i-shi* *lha=aacjiyuc*
 D₁=bird 3.CL₄-R-BE.AT-LOC.IN₁ F.D₁=tree
 ‘The bird (visible) is in this/that tree (visible).’

8. Fabre’s semantic characterization of *-ch’e* and *-shi* is a bit different from ours.

In the ASSERTIVE EXISTENTIAL construction, the predicated entity or FIGURE always follows the ‘exist’ copula. The GROUND element may only occur before *caaj*, if expressed at all. In our data we find no marking of possession on the postverbal FIGURE DP.

- (18) *nô-que Ø-caaj na-va=yichatjulh yucuve-c*
 D₁-DEM 3.CL₁-EXIST D₁-PL=four bread-PL
 ‘There are four pieces of bread (visible) here (visible).’
- (19) *na=vat-tata-shi Ø-caaj na=t’asjaan*
 D₁=POS.INDF-COOK-LOC.IN₁ 3.CL₁-EXIST D₁=meat
 ‘There is meat (visible) in the pot (visible).’ [Lit. ‘There is meat in the cooking place.’]¹⁰

In an INTERROGATIVE EXISTENTIAL construction, the order is reversed. The FIGURE precedes *caaj*, while the GROUND follows *caaj*. In the following, note that the determiner element is encliticized to the question word:

- (20) *she-pa Ø-caaj na=vat-tatashi*
 what-D₄ 3.CL₁-EXIST D₁=POS.INDF-pot
 ‘What (never seen) is there in the pot (visible)?’

The NEGATIVE EXISTENTIAL construction takes a specifically ‘negative existential’ base *am* which also inflects according to the First conjugation.¹¹ The base *am* is nearly always encliticized by the D₄ determiner *pa* ‘never seen’. This determiner is not just a prosodic leftward “slop over” from the following FIGURE DP, as the FIGURE can have its own determiner (21).

- (21) *na=vat-tatashi Ø-am=pa ca=t’asja’an*
 D₁=POS.INDF-pot 3.CL₁-NEG.EXIST=D₄ D₃=meat
 ‘There is no meat (never seen/non-existent) in the pot (visible).’

10. The locative suffix *-shi* on ‘cook’ plays a lexical derivational function here, creating a noun.

11. Fabre (2016: 174) notes that *am* sometimes takes a suffixal version of the First conjugation affix, apparently possible when it has the meaning of ‘negative possession’ as opposed to ‘negative existence’.

5. Nivačle POSSESSIVE predication constructions

There are two positive non-verbal POSSESSIVE predication subtypes in Nivačle, and two negative counterparts.¹² All four of these use the positive and negative existential copulas described in § 4. To help anchor our discussion to the broader typological discussion of possession, we relate these to Heine's (1997) "schemas" as in (22) and (23); see also Fabre (2015).

- (22) TYPE I POSSESSIVE predication (Heine's Genitive schema, Fabre's "non-standard topic possessive")

(DP)	1 ST CONJ- <i>caaj / am</i>	POS-DP
GROUND:POSSESSOR	FIGURE-EXIST	POSSESSOR-FIGURE:POSSESSED

- (23) TYPE II POSSESSIVE predication (Heine's Goal schema, Fabre's "topical-locational hybrid possessive")

1 ST CONJ- <i>caaj/am-O.PRO-m</i>	(POS-)DP
FIGURE-EXIST-POSSESSOR-BEN	(POSSESSOR-)FIGURE:POSSESSED

In both POSSESSIVE predication constructions, the possessed entity (the FIGURE) necessarily follows the '(not) exist' verb. If the possessor is expressed by a DP in TYPE I, it may occur only before the 'exist' verb. Note that this is NOT the order pattern of the DP_{GROUND} in the LOCATIVE predication construction; compare (9) in § 3. Hence, the possessor in Nivačle predicative possession is not so easily amenable to simply being analyzed as a [+human] GROUND:LOCATION.

5.1 TYPE I POSSESSIVE predication construction (Heine's Genitive schema)

The TYPE I POSSESSIVE predication is built around the EXISTENTIAL predication. The primary difference between the EXISTENTIAL and the TYPE I POSSESSIVE predication is that the latter requires a possessor proclitic (POS) on the possessed item.

12. Fabre (2015) claims there are 14 strategies for predicating possession in Nivačle. He includes among this number constructions with lexical verbs and what we would consider to be discourse-topicality affects on order of the lexical possessor, and syntactic complexity of the possessee. We also find some variations in our data that his (2015) work does not cover, such as the negative version of (18) (i.e. negative possession not involving the benefactive applicative), though his (2016) grammar includes examples of it.

It is also this fact that makes the construction conform to what Heine (1997) calls a Genitive schema: if it were not for the “genitive” marking on the possessed item, there would be no sense of possession, but rather just of existence of the FIGURE against a GROUND.

- (24) *na=nu'u Ø-caaj pa=va=lha-lha-s*
 D₁=dog 3.CL₁-EXIST D₄-NONHUM.PL=3.POS-flea-PL
 ‘The dog (visible) has fleas (not seen).’ (Lit. ‘The dog its fleas exist.’)
- (25) *a-nô=que vat-uijat-shi Ø-caaj na=va=lh-tuvaije-s*
 F-D₁=DEM POS.INDF-cloth-LOC.IN₁ 3.CL₁-EXIST D₁-PL=3.POS-grease-PL
 ‘This shirt has stains (on it).’ (Lit. ‘This shirt its stains exist.’)

If the possessor is pronominal, an independent pronoun may occur (26). However, it need not occur since the possessor is marked on the possessed noun. The latter is seen in (27)–(28). Example (28) is rather complex, with a Third conjugation prefix *lha-* for 2nd person (not for 3rd) instead of the *a-* 2.POS prefix. The example demonstrates that the determiner *pa=* effectively creates a DP from what would otherwise be an independent predication.

- (26) *Yi-va'atsha Ø-caaj-ya-m*
 1-PRO 3.CL₁-EXIST-IO-BEN
 ‘I have it (the knife).’
- (27) *Ø-caaj ja-pi=napu' yi-ch'injo-vot*
 3.CL₁-EXIST D₂-HUM.PL=two 1.POS-younger.brother-PL
 ‘I have two younger brothers.’ (Lit. ‘My two younger brothers exist.’)
- (28) *Ø-caaj pa=lha-n-cashay-'esh*
 3.CL₁-EXIST D₄=2.CL₃.R-CIS-barter-INST
 ‘Do you have anything to sell?’ (Lit. ‘It exists your selling/that which you barter with’)

It should be pointed out that not everything which translates idiomatically into a possessive predication in English or Spanish is actually a possessive predication, i.e. with possessive force, in Nivačle. The following, for example, could be idiomatically translated into English and Spanish as ‘The food has salt’ / ‘La comida tiene sal.’ However, it is a Nivačle EXISTENTIAL predication.

- (29) *na=vat-ôc Ø-caaj ca=na'apcutaj*
 D₁=POS.INDEF-food 3.CL₁-EXIST D₃=salt
 ‘There is salt in the food.’

5.2 TYPE II POSSESSIVE predication construction (Heine's Goal schema)

The general structure of the TYPE II POSSESSIVE predication construction is sketched in (23) above. Like TYPE I, this construction is also built around the EXISTENTIAL construction, but it has the 'benefactive' applicative *-m* which effectively renders the existential copula. Hence, the 'exist' copula takes both a Fourth conjugation subject prefix and an applied object suffix (*o*) which expresses the person of the possessor. This is a type of External Possession construction (Payne & Barshi 1999). The presence of the 'benefactive' applicative is what renders this construction rather akin to Heine's Goal schema, wherein a possessor is expressed something like *Money is to me* for 'I have money'.

While TYPE I POSSESSIVE predication requires a possessive prefix (POS) on the possessed, TYPE II allows it optionally. Unlike the TYPE I construction, the TYPE II construction does not express the possessor in a DP. Example (30) shows this construction with a POS prefix on the possessed figure, while (31) shows the construction without a POS prefix.

- (30) \emptyset -*caaj-ya-m* *ja=yi-člesa* *lha-n-jut-yi-y*
 3.CL₁-EXIST-1.O-BEN D₂=1.POS-knife 2.CL₄-R-CIS-give-1.O-DIST
 'I have the knife you lent me.' (Lit. 'My knife you lent me exists for me.')
- (31) \emptyset -*caaj-'a-m* *lh-pa=vancansas* *lha-n-cashy-'esh*
 3.CL₁-EXIST-2.O-BEN F-D₄=mobile 2.CL₄-R-CIS-barter-INST
 'Do you have mobile phones to sell me?' (Lit. 'Mobile phones you barter with exist to you?')

Optionality of possessor marking on the possessed DP may show an intermediate stage between EXISTENTIAL and POSSESSIVE predication constructions; but this awaits further diachronic research. Also needing further research are the motivations for choosing between TYPE I and TYPE II POSSESSIVE predication constructions. However, we venture to suggest that lack of a lexical possessor in the TYPE II construction may have something to do with greater discourse topicality of the possessor; or possibly TYPE II is more concerned with simply profiling the fact of the relationship between an already-established possessor and the possessed, akin to Seiler's (1983) characterization of possession quoted in the introduction.

5.3 NEGATIVE POSSESSIVE predication construction

As with the positive possessive predication constructions, there are two negative counterpart constructions. Both are built around the NEGATIVE EXISTENTIAL *ôm/am* 'neg.exist, be lacking'. In other respects, the constructions are identical to the TYPE I Genitive and the TYPE II Goal schemas discussed in §§ 5.1–5.2. Consider

examples (32–34) for the negative Genitive schema, with and without clause-initial DP possessors.¹³

- (32) *nô-que=jpôyich Ø-am=pa lh-ashi-'a*
 D₁-DEM=house 3.CL₁-NEG.EXIST=D₄ 3.POS-mouth-IRR
 ‘That house (visible) doesn’t have a door.’
- (33) *Ø-ôm lha-pa=yi-tinshanja-'a*
 3.CL₁-NEG.EXIST F-D₄=1.POS-money-IRR
 ‘I don’t have any money.’
- (34) ... *lhayasha ca=ôm-a pa-pi=a-velhavôt-'elh*
 because D₃=NEG.EXIST-IRR D₄-PL.HUM=2POS-relative-PL
 ‘... because they did not have relatives...’

Example (35) illustrates the negative Goal schema, with the applied object suffix plus ‘benefactive’ on the negative existential copula.

- (35) *Ø-am-'a-m lh-pa=a'-bicicleta*
 3.CL₁-NEG.EXIST-2.O-BEN F-D₄=2.POS-bike
 ‘You don’t have a bike.’ (data from Fabre 2015: 25; our glossing)
- (36) *Ø-am-ya-m lh-pa ca=tn-ôjque-a*
 3.CL₁-NEG.EXIST-1.O-BEN F-D₄ D₃=INDEF.POS-jug-IRR
 ‘I don’t even have a jug.’ (data from Fabre 2015: 25; our glossing)

5.4 Bi-clausal BE.AT construction

Throughout § 5 we have seen that possessive predications are built around the existential copulas, and not around the ‘be at’ copula introduced in § 3. Like the EXISTENTIAL predication and unlike the LOCATIVE predication, the POSSESSIVE predications (especially TYPE I) do not require a LOC suffix on the verb or any kind of locative on the possessor.¹⁴ It is our contention that they therefore do not really support the “possession is location” proposal.

There is, however, a third construction that brings the existential and locative copulas together in predicating possession. This is a bi-clausal construction, at least

13. Example (32) is also unusual in not having a determiner before ‘its mouth’. Perhaps *=pa* on the negative existential satisfies the determiner requirement, or perhaps a negated non-referential mention is another situation where a determiner may be omitted (see the discussion of determiner Phrases in § 2).

14. Though conceivably some might propose that the ‘benefactive’ applicative is locative in its semantics.

in origin, that employs both the ‘be located at’ and ‘exist’ forms. Unlike the TYPE I and TYPE II POSSESSIVE predication constructions, the possessed DP apparently does not have the option of carrying a POS prefix.¹⁵

(37) Bi-clausal BE.AT-EXIST construction

<i>y-i-ei</i>	DP	1 ST CONJ- <i>caaj / am</i>	DP
BE.AT	GROUND:POSSESSOR	FIGURE-EXIST	FIGURE:POSSESSED

In elicitation context, the Spanish translations suggested by consultants for utterances framed in this construction read rather like existential predications. Even if the semantics are more existential than possessive, conceivably this construction could be the opening wedge for developing what Stassen (2009: 57–62, 2013) calls a “Topic Possessive” construction:

The Topic Possessive shares with the Locational and the Genitive Possessive the characteristic that the possessed NP is construed as the grammatical subject of the existential predicate. The distinguishing feature of the Topic Possessive lies in the encoding of the possessor NP, which is construed as the topic of the sentence. As such, the possessor NP indicates the “setting” or “background” of the sentence, that is, the discourse frame which restricts the truth value of the sentence that follows it. Its function can thus be paraphrased by English phrases such as *given X, with regard to X, speaking about X, as far as X is concerned*, and the like. (Stassen 2013)

In the Nivačle BE.AT-EXIST construction, clause-initial *yiei* ‘it is located’ might functionally correspond to an ‘as for X’ phrase, introducing as GROUND the LOCATIVE-CUM-POSSESSOR, where-at the THEME-CUM-POSSESSED FIGURE exists. To the extent this analysis is warranted, it would give credence to the idea that human beings are wont to view human locations as “possessors”. In the majority of our examples of this construction, however, the locations are inanimate.

(38) *y-i-ei* *na=yita'* Ø-*caaj* *ja-va=josinôjô*
 3.CL₄.R-BE.AT-LOC₁ D₁=mountain 3.CL₁-EXIST D₂-PL.NONHUM=wild.turkey
 ‘There are wild turkeys (previously seen) in the mountain (visible).’
 (Possibly: ‘As for the mountains, they have wild turkeys.’)

(39) *y-i-ei* *ja=jpôyich* Ø-*caaj* *ja-pi=nivačle*
 3.CL₄.R-BE.AT-LOC₁ D₂=house 3.CL₁-EXIST D₂-PL.HUM=person
 ‘There are people (previously seen) in the house (previously seen).’
 (Possibly: ‘As for the house, it has people.’)

15. Fabre (2015) does not list this among his predicative possession types.

- (40) *y-i-ei* *ja=jpôyich am=pa-pu-ca=nivačle'-a*
 3.CL₄.R-BE.AT-LOC₁ D₂=house NEG.EXIST=D₄-PL.HUM-DEM=person-IRR
 'There weren't people (never seen) in the house (previously seen).'
 (Possibly: 'As for the house, it didn't have people.')

6. Pilagá nonverbal predications¹⁶

We now turn to the Guaykuruan language Pilagá. Distinct copular verbs roughly translate as 'exist' versus two 'be located at' forms. As in Nivačle, 'exist' is used both in EXISTENTIAL and POSSESSIVE predication, while 'be at' copulas are not used for possession.

Pilagá has distinct sets of verbal person prefixes that function in a type of split-S subject-marking system (Vidal 2008). Vidal refers to these as Sets A (roughly 'performer/source', with or without volition) and B (roughly 'affected'). The 'performer/source' versus 'affected' semantics appear to be a secondary development from a spatial direction or trajectory system in which the A forms correspond to 'itive' and the B forms to 'ventive'. A separate third set of verb prefixes codes objects of transitive verbs; some transitive verbs have subjects in the A form and others in the B form (Vidal 2008: 413). The basic singular forms of the prefix sets, which display considerable allomorphy in the third person, are in (41).

- (41) Set A subject prefixes Set B subject prefixes
- | | |
|------------------------------------|------------|
| 1 <i>s-</i> | <i>n-</i> |
| 2 <i>aw- / o-</i> | <i>an-</i> |
| 3 <i>d-, t-, i-/yi-, h-, w-, Ø</i> | <i>n-</i> |
| Object prefixes | |
| 1 <i>yi- / ni-</i> | |
| 2 <i>an-</i> | |
| 3 <i>Ø</i> | |

Nominal phrases are initiated by a "specifying" element consisting of either a positional/deictic classifier (CLF), a demonstrative, or a combination of both (Vidal

16. As we have done for Nivačle, we use practical orthography forms for Pilagá data. Pilagá has four vowel phonemes /a, e, i, o/, represented as <a, e, i, o>. Consonant phonemes /p, t, k, q, ʔ, d, g, ʕ, s, x, h, tʃ, l, λ, m, n, ñ, j, w with allophones [w ~ β] / are represented as <p, t, c, q, 'd, g, ʕ, s, j, h, č, l, λ, m, n, ñ, y, w/β>. Note that <ʕ> represents a pharyngeal fricative. The practical Pilagá orthography was established by representatives and school teachers in 1997. Conventions generally follow a phoneme-based view except for [w] and [β] that are in complementary distribution, but each allophone was assigned a separate orthographic representation, i.e., <w> and <β>, respectively. See Vidal (2001) for more discussion.

1997, 2001). A classifier, demonstrative, gender, and/or plural morphemes may combine together into a complex DP-initial word, e.g.:

- (42) *ha-da-ča-lo* *yawo-*
 F-CLF:VERTICAL.EXTENSION-DEM-PL woman-PL.PAUCAL
 ‘those women standing’ (Vidal 2001: 123)

The deictic classifiers participate in a system of “nominal tense”; for example, the ITIVE or ‘going away’ classifier *so*’ can not only indicate an ‘absent’ referent, but also can help yield the meaning of ‘past tense’ to the predication. The VENTIVE classifier *na*’ indicates both ‘coming toward’ and ‘proximate/near’. The DISTAL classifier *ga*’ also indicates ‘absent’. (Note that we gloss these classifiers in various ways, depending on the context.)

Possessor prefixes marking person of the possessor occur on inalienable nouns. Lexical possessors follow the possessed noun. In clauses with lexical verbs, subjects precede their verbs, while objects follow them.

- (43) *so*’ *siyašawa* *y-anem* *ha-so*’ *nalo* *ha-ñi*’ *yawo*
 CLF:PAST man A.3-give F-CLF:PAST fruit F-CLF:NONEXT woman
 ‘The man gave the fruit to the woman.’

We now turn to Pilagá non-verbal LOCATIVE, EXISTENTIAL, and POSSESSIVE predication constructions. In Pilagá the negative counterparts of all share the same negative copula, so they are treated together in § 10 in order to more clearly show the similarities and differences among them.

7. The Pilagá AFFIRMATIVE LOCATIVE predication construction

At the highest level, the structure of the Pilagá AFFIRMATIVE LOCATIVE predication construction (44) is essentially identical to its Nivačle counterpart.

- (44) Pilagá AFFIRMATIVE LOCATIVE predication construction

(DP)	SUBJ- <i>eta</i> -LOC	DP
FIGURE:THEME	FIGURE-BE.AT	GROUND:LOCATION

In Pilagá there are two third person forms of ‘be at’, *weta* and *neta*:

- (45) *qalasasa* *da*’ *w-eta-ñ’a* *na*’ *alewa* ...
 but COMP A.3-BE.AT-LOC:DOWNWARD CLF:PROX land
 ‘But when it is on the ground ...’

- (46) *na' nikiyasaki n-eta-da-ñ'a kal'i di' alewa*
 CLF:PROX plates B.3-BE.LOC-PL-LOC:ON ADV CLF.EXT floor
 'The plates were on the floor.'
- (47) *so' biaoq l-t'a n-eta-we he'n biaoq*
 CLF:PAST forest POS.3-father B.3-BE.AT-LOC:WITHIN DEM forest
 'The father of the forest is within the forest.'
- (48) a. *so' Asien n-eta-lege so'*
 CLF:PAST Asien B.3-BE.AT-LOC:ON CLF:PAST
la-lo
 POS.3-CLF:domestic.animal
 'Asien appeared on his domestic animal (donkey),
- b. *n-eta-lege so' la-lo-asena*
 B.3-BE.AT-LOC:ON CLF:PAST POS.3-CLF:DOMESTIC.ANIMAL-donkey
wayodasa-ik.
 be.crippled-M
 'he was on his crippled donkey.'

As glossed above, *weta* and *neta* appear to be the Set A and Set B inflected variants of a single root *eta*, as the form (*w*)*eta* can inflect for other persons:

- (49) *Da' so-weta-ñ'a ñi'*
 COMP A.1-BE.AT-LOC:DOWNWARD CLF:NONEXT
n-adie-wo ...
 POS.INDF-way-DIR:ENCLOSED.SPACE
 'When I am in the entryway (door) ...'
- (50) *on-eta-n'ye na' y-adik*
 B.2-BE.AT-LOC:MIDDLE CLF:PROX POS.1-way
 'You are in my way.'

The examples above demonstrate that the Pilagá 'be at' copula must carry a directional/locative (LOC) suffix, just as in Nivaçle. This suffix does not just delimit the nature of the GROUND; rather it further specifies the relationship between the FIGURE and the GROUND.

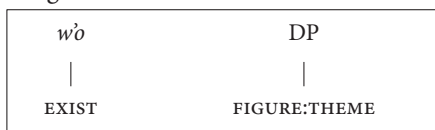
The locative copula (*w*)*eta/neta* is not used for negative locational predications. Instead denial of a location can be inferred from use of the negative existential (§ 10).¹⁷

17. Or it may be inferred from negation of a classifier, which we do not discuss here.

8. The Pilagá AFFIRMATIVE EXISTENTIAL construction

The Pilagá AFFIRMATIVE EXISTENTIAL construction is noteworthy for its apparent propensity to not include a “locational” GROUND. It is initiated by the (generally) non-inflecting base *wò* (variant *wò'e*), followed by a DP expressing the item whose existence is predicated. Though there may not be any GROUND to mutually co-define a FIGURE, we will nevertheless refer to the existing item as a FIGURE (or THEME). In nearly all cases, the FIGURE follows ‘exist’. The structure is sketched in (51), and typical examples follow.

(51) Pilagá EXISTENTIAL construction



- (52) *wò so' siyašawa*
 EXIST CLF:PAST person
 ‘There was a person.’

The EXISTENTIAL construction is a typical way of saying the equivalent of ‘Once there was a day...’ to initiate a story or section of a narrative:

- (53) *wò so' nlo' so' wasayaqal'ačiyi qataša*
 EXIST CLF:PAST day CLF:PAST fox CONJ
so' doqoto'
 CLF:PAST pigeon
 ‘There was a day when the fox and the pigeon (got together).’

- (54) *qanč'e wò na'=ena' siyak-pi l-asaša-ta-yi*
 CONJ EXIST CLF:PROX=CLF:PROX animal-PL A.3-laugh-PRG-PL
čegošonaē qataša he'n siñet napam yima na
 rat CONJ DEM pichi armadillo QNT CLF:PROX
t'a-e ledema.
 small-F hare
 ‘There were many animals laughing (at them): the rat and the pichi, the armadillo, all of them, (even) the little hare.’

Though *wò* is generally non-inflecting, the following example does show inflection both for third person and plural:

- (55) *ya-w'ò-te so' l-tašayasa-'g*
 A.3-EXIST-PL.DUAL CLF:PAST POS.3-talk-PL.3-DIR:IN.FRONT
 ‘They had a talk.’ / ‘There existed their talk.’

Some variation in order is possible in particular complex constructions. Consider the following where *w'ò* intervenes between the FIGURE whose existence is predicated and a clausal modifier of the FIGURE:

- (56) *qanč'e naa'n kote w'ò eda ye-to na siyašawa*
 CONJ ADV piraña EXIST COMP A.3-bite CLF:PROX person
 'so until now sometimes there is a piraña that bites a person.'

As noted, the structure in (51) above reflects the strong propensity of this construction not to include a ground. In one rare example in our corpus, a GROUND element occurs in a subordinate clause that could be construed as a type of relative-clause modifier to the FIGURE:

- (57) *segam'e w'ò da' onaša-ik da' čiyaqa-yi qataša*
 seems EXIST COMP be.good-M COMP emanate-DIR:INSIDE CONJ
w'ò da' sa-no'en
 EXIST COMP NEG-be.better
 'In his work there is the good and the bad.' (Lit. '(It) seems the good that emanates from the work exists and the bad exists.'

9. Pilagá AFFIRMATIVE POSSESSIVE predication constructions

As in Nivačle, both the positive and negative Pilagá POSSESSIVE predication constructions are built around the EXISTENTIAL constructions. Unlike Nivačle, there is just one AFFIRMATIVE POSSESSIVE predication structure. The possessed DP carries a possessor (POS) prefix, so the construction corresponds to Heine's (1997: 58) Genitive schema. That is, the construction literally reads 'X's Y exists'.¹⁸

- (58) Pilagá AFFIRMATIVE POSSESSIVE predication construction (Heine's Genitive schema)

(DP)	<i>w'ò</i>	POS-DP
GROUND:POSSESSOR	EXIST	POSSESSOR-FIGURE:POSSESSED

Though we have presented the DP_{POSSESSOR} first in the diagram in (58), the examples below show that the DP_{POSSESSOR} may occur at the beginning of the clause (59),

18. Some nouns in Pilagá cannot be possessed. How these nouns function relative to the POSSESSIVE predication construction awaits further research.

after the DP_{POSSESSED} (60), or may be omitted (61–62). Separate DPs are sometimes bracketed here for clarity.

- (59) [so' koñem] w'o [so' maeč'e la-wan-ašan-qa']
 CLF:PAST skunk EXIST CLF:PAST proper POS.3-hide-NMLZ-place
 da' n-awa-n na' owaqae
 CLF:VERT.EXTEND B.3-watch.over-NPROG CLF:PROX pig.species
 'The skunk has its proper (own) hiding place to catch the little pig.'
- (60) w'o [da' l-odiak] [so' qaño-le].
 EXIST CLF:VERT.EXTEND POS.3-beauty CLF:PAST young-F
 'The young woman was very pretty,' i.e. 'The young woman has her beauty.' (Lit. 'Her beauty exists the young woman.')
- (61) qataša w'o [da' maeč'e l-oiki-ašak] qane'
 CONJ EXIST CLF:VERT.EXTEND proper POS.3-curse-NMLZ REPORT
 sa-qa-i-set-ašat da' qa-i-la-'a
 NEG-INDEF-A.3-be.able-NMLZ CLF:VERT.EXTEND INDF-A.3-see-O.SG
 wač'e d-ananaša-ik.
 CONJ A.3-have.magic-M
 'But he is said to have a proper curse, a power that cannot be seen because it is magic.'
- (62) w'o da' l-wa
 EXIST CLF:VERT.EXTEND POS.3-spouse
 'She has a husband (I see him standing).'

To summarize, just as we saw for Nivačle, in Pilagá the non-verbal AFFIRMATIVE POSSESSIVE predication constructions have developed from the EXISTENTIAL predication construction (or vice-versa), and clearly not from the LOCATIVE one.

10. Pilagá negative constructions

In the negative domain there is a reduction in number of copular forms. The NEGATIVE LOCATIVE, NEGATIVE EXISTENTIAL, and NEGATIVE POSSESSIVE predication constructions all use the negative forms listed in (63). Unlike Nivačle there is no distinct negative 'not be located at' copula. There are several negative existential forms, varying for animacy and number (though agreement does not seem strict).

- (63) Negative existential forms
 a. qaga' / qaga'te 'NEG.EXIST.ANIMATE'
 b. qaya' / qaya'te 'NEG.EXIST.INANIMATE'
 c. qayawa 'NEG.EXIST.PL'

However, there are some differences across the three negative constructions. We presented schemas for the positive constructions earlier, and present all the negative ones here. First, in the NEGATIVE LOCATIVE, the ‘negative exist’ copula occurs first, followed by DP_{GROUND:LOCATION} and DP_{FIGURE:THEME}, which may vary in order relative to each other. This is indicated by the tilde ~ in (64). The DP_{GROUND} is obligatory.

(64) Pilagá NEGATIVE LOCATIVE predication construction

<i>qaga’/qaya’</i>	DP		DP
		~	
NEG.EXIST	FIGURE:THEME		GROUND:LOCATION

The following allows either the animate or inanimate negative existential as it refers to a technically inanimate bicycle, yet the word *pegaaki’i* is a compound literally meaning ‘like an horse’ (which of course is animate). The predication is locational in the sense that ‘my bicycle’ clearly exists but it is being asserted that it just is not in a particular location.

- (65) *qaya’/qaga’ ha-so’ yi-lo- pegaaki’i ñi’ emek*
 NEG.EXIST.INAN F-CLF:PAST POS.1-CLF:animal-bicycle CLF:NONEXT house
 ‘My bicycle was not in the house.’

The following has just the inanimate negative existential. The bird exists and was present in the past but is now gone, indicated by the classifier *so’* (Vidal 1997, 2001; see also 48 above).

- (66) *qaya’ so’ mayo ha-da’ epaq*
 NEG.EXIST.INAN CLF:PAST bird F-CLF:VERT.EXTEND tree
 ‘The bird is not in the tree.’ (I do not see the bird, the bird is not there).

In (63) we suggest that *qaga’* is a negative for animates and *qaya’* is a negative for inanimates. Since locations are typically inanimate we might expect that *qaga’* would not occur in the NEGATIVE LOCATIVE predication construction, but this turns out to be false. *Qaga’* ‘NEG.EXIST.ANIM’ can occur in the LOCATIVE predication to negate the existence of an animate being in a location; the DP locative complement is required, which is what differentiates this construction from the EXISTENTIAL predication. As in (67–68), the locative *lačaqqa* ‘his/her house’ may occur either at the end of the sentence or immediately after *qaga’*:

- (67) *qaga’ [na’ i-wa] [l-ačaqqa]*
 NEG.EXIST.ANIM CLF:PROX POS.1-spouse POS.3-house
 ‘My spouse is not in her house.’ (Lit. ‘My spouse does not exist at her house.’)

- (68) *qaga'* [l-ačaqɑ] [so' yi-wɑ]
 NEG.EXIST.ANIM POS.3-house CLF:PAST POS.1-spouse
 'My husband is not in his house.' (because he left)
 (Lit. 'My husband does not exist in his house.')

Like its affirmative counterpart, the NEGATIVE EXISTENTIAL predication construction (69) is also a one-place predicate.

- (69) Pilagá NEGATIVE EXISTENTIAL predication construction

<i>qaga'/qaya'</i>	DP
NEG.EXIST	FIGURE:THEME

- (70) *qaya' noŋop*
 NEG.EXIST water
 'There's no water.'
- (71) *qanač'e yem nač'e ñ-'emaŋa-ñe ha-so yawo*
 CONJ finish CONJ B.3-turn.around-CMPLET F-CLF:ABSENT woman
nač'e ek tae-'ta di' biaq nač'e qaga'
 CONJ go go-DIR:AWAY CLF:HORIZ.EXTEND forest CONJ NEG.EXIST.ANIM
 'Then the woman turned around and returned to the forest and disappeared
 (Lit. ... and doesn't exist).'
- (72) *qaga'te yawo-'*
 NEG.EXIST.ANIM woman-PL
 'There are/were no women.'
- (73) *da' yi-bi-ta di' wo'e da'*
 COMP A.3-burn-NMLZ CLF:HORIZ.EXTEND summer COMP
qayat'e noŋop ...
 NEG.EXIST.INAN water
 'In summer when there is no water ...'

The NEGATIVE POSSESSIVE predication construction is characterized by a POS prefix on the DP_{FIGURE:POSSESSED} and a dominantly post-verbal but optional DP_{GROUND:POSSESSOR} (74).

- (74) Pilagá NEGATIVE POSSESSIVE predication construction

<i>qaga'/qaya'</i>	POS-DP	(DP)
EXIST	POSSESSOR-FIGURE:POSSESSED	GROUND:POSSESSOR

Like its affirmative counterpart, the Pilagá NEGATIVE POSSESSIVE predication involves Heine's Genitive schema: 'X's Y does not exist' could be translated as 'X does not have Y'. The available examples of the NEGATIVE POSSESSIVE predication construction place the DP_{POSSESSOR} last:

- (75) *qaya'* [l-ačaqɑ] [dɑ' yi-wɑ]
 NEG.EXIST.INAN POS.3-house CLF:VERT.EXTEND POS.1-spouse
 'My husband does not have a house.' (Lit. 'His house does not exist my spouse.')
- (76) *qaya'* [l-ačaqɑ] [nɑ' yi-wɑ]
 NEG.EXIST.INAN POS.3-house CLF:PROX POS.1-spouse
 'My spouse does not have a house.' (Lit. 'Her house does not exist my spouse.')

In essence what is being negated in (75–76) is the existence of the inanimate 'my house'; this correlates with use of the inanimate negative existential *qaya'*. Compare these with the NEGATIVE LOCATIVES in (65–68) above and also observe that the 'negative existential' reading does not exist for (75–76). This is because the 'existential' meaning of *qaga'* is conventionally tied to 'negative existence for humans'.

Though all three negative constructions share the same copular elements, there are arguably still more similarities between the NEGATIVE POSSESSIVE and EXISTENTIAL predications compared to the NEGATIVE LOCATIVE predication. This can be seen by the ambiguity in (77). There is no locative complement and thus the locative reading cannot be obtained. Only the 'negative existential' and 'negative possessive' readings surface. Here either the spouse is contingently away from the house (77a), or permanently away from it since he/she is dead (77b). The positional classifier *di'* for horizontally extended referents in (77b) unambiguously indicates that the human referent is dead and consequently nonexistent. Conversely, in (77a) the spouse is classified by the deictic classifier *na'* which typically categorizes kinship terms or people close to the domain of the speaker (i.e., 'proximal'), as a semantic extension of the motion feature 'coming towards here' (Vidal 1997, 2001: 341).

- (77) a. *qaga'* *na'* *i-wa*
 NEG.EXIST.ANIM CLF:PROX POS.1-spouse
 Possession/Existence
 'I do not have a spouse.' / 'My spouse does not exist.' (Lit. 'My spouse does not exist.')
- b. *qaga'* *di'* *i-wa*
 NEG.EXIST.ANIM CLF:HORIZ.EXTEND POS.1-spouse
 Possession/Existence
 'I do not have a spouse' (because he/she is dead).' / 'My deceased spouse does not exist.'

In (78) a possessed DP follows the existential form. This might suggest a ‘possession’ predication interpretation, but the force of the predication seems equally ‘existential’.

- (78) *qayawa na' so-nqatadañi*
 NEG.EXIST.PL CLF:PROX POS.1-hunting.preys
 ‘There is nothing we hunt’ (= ‘There is nothing for us to hunt’.)
 (Lit. ‘Our hunting prey don’t exist.’)

In (79) there is no possessor prefix (*y-alik* is inflected like a verb), but otherwise the macro-structure of the clause parallels that of (78). Here the existential reading seems paramount.

- (79) *qaya'te y-alik*
 NEG.EXIST A.1-eat
 ‘There is nothing I eat.’ (= ‘There is nothing for me to eat.’)

To summarize, we may say that ‘negative existential’ (‘There is no X’), ‘negative possession’ (‘There is no X (for/of) Y’), and ‘negative location’ (‘X is not located at Y’) are all conventionalized meanings of the bases *qaga’/qaya’* since these forms are found in all three predication types. But there are subtle differences among the negative constructions, particularly between the LOCATIVE on the one hand and the EXISTENTIAL/POSSESSIVE on the other. Notably, there is some ambiguity between the ‘existential’ and ‘possessive’ readings of particular sentences; but not ambiguity with ‘locative’ readings. Again we conclude that despite use of the same negative copula in all three constructions, there must be greater conceptual affinity between the ‘existential’ and the ‘possession’ notions.

11. Conclusions and contact issues

We have argued that in both Nivačle and Pilagá, non-verbal POSSESSIVE predication constructions are built on the EXISTENTIAL predication construction. Both languages have LOCATIVE predication constructions, but these are not extended to express possession. Aside from the Nivačle TYPE II POSSESSIVE predication construction, a primary difference between the EXISTENTIAL and POSSESSION constructions is that the latter marks the possessor directly on the possessed DP (i.e. a DP-internal device), but there is no change in the basic nature of the copular (existential) element. The LOCATIVE predication construction has both a distinct copula and a locative suffix.

The findings presented here do not support the universality of a “possession-is-location” claim, contrary to what seems to be articulated by Lyons (1967, 1977),

Freeze (2001), and others. But they also clearly do not throw out the existence of a “possession-is-location” metaphor as operative in some languages. Indeed, the fact that the same negative copula occurs in Pilagá for negative location, negative possession, and negative existence supports a conceptual link between all three notions (as was argued by Clark 1978). The potential strength of a conceptual relationship between existence and possession has not been robustly explored in the literature, and it merits greater typological investigation as this is not the first study to comment on a link between existential and possession predications (again see Clark 1978 and Dryer 2007: 242–243).

Finally, we turn to some brief comments on potential contact issues between Pilagá and Nivačle. There appear to be a number of similarities between the languages in their non-verbal constructions investigated in this paper. The similarities are summarized in Tables 2 and 3. Both languages use distinct copulas for the AFFIRMATIVE LOCATIONAL predication construction on the one hand versus for the EXISTENCE/POSSESSION predication constructions on the other. In both, LOC suffixes are on the affirmative ‘be at’ copulas. Both have suppletive negative copulas. There are also order similarities across most of the corresponding constructions (Tables 2 and 3). The copular elements are indicated in bold.

Table 2. Nivačle and Pilagá LOCATIONAL predication constructions

	Nivačle			Pilagá		
AFFIRM	DP _{FIGURE}	BE.AT-LOC	DP _{GROUND}	DP _{FIGURE}	BE.AT-LOC	DP _{GROUND}
NEG	DP _{FIGURE}	NEG-BE.AT-LOC	DP _{GROUND}		NEG.EXIST	DP _{FIGURE} ~ DP _{GROUND}

Table 3. Nivačle and Pilagá EXISTENTIAL and POSSESSIVE predication constructions

	Nivačle			Pilagá		
EXIST	DP _{GROUND}	EXIST	DP _{FIGURE}		EXIST	DP _{FIGURE}
POSSN	(DP _{GROUND})	EXIST	POS-DP _{FIGURE TYPE I}	(DP _{GROUND})	EXIST	POS-DP _{FIGURE}
		EXIST-BEN	(POS-)DP _{FIGURE TYPE II}			
NEG EXIST	DP _{GROUND}	NEG.EXIST	DP _{FIGURE}		NEG.EXIST	DP _{FIGURE}
NEG	(DP _{GROUND})	NEG.EXIST	POS-DP _{FIGURE TYPE I}		NEG.EXIST	POS-DP _{FIGURE} DP _{GROUND}
POSSN		NEG.EXIST-BEN	(POS-)DP _{FIGURE TYPE II}			

To answer whether the shared features are due to contact, one must investigate whether Nivačle and Pilagá share something unique that the other members of their respective families do not. We cannot really explore the details of this question in this paper, but do note that the existing literature demonstrates that the non-verbal PREDICATE location, EXISTENTIAL, and POSSESSION structures of Nivačle and Pilagá are, for the most part, found in related languages in both families (Gerzenstein 1994; Nercesian 2011; Carol 2011; Fabre 2015).

On the whole the distinct sets of ‘be at’ versus ‘exist’ copular verbs are cognate across the languages within each individual family.

In at least the Mataguayan languages Nivačle, Maká, and Chorote, the ‘be at’ verb employed in the LOCATIVE predication constructions do not appear to be cognate with the ‘exist’ verb. (Wichí is the most divergent Mataguayan language, using one verb *i(hi)* for LOCATIVE, EXISTENTIAL and POSSESSIVE predications.) In Guaykuruan, we have nothing particular to say at the moment about whether the ‘be at’ (*w)eta* and ‘exist’ *w’o* have distinct etymologies.

Relative to the predicative possession schemas in the sense of Heine (1997), the Mataguayan language Maká exhibits Goal and Genitive schemas cognate to those in Nivačle.

Altogether, given such intra-family cognate constructions, the shared similarities across Nivačle and Pilagá in the constructions discussed in this paper are unlikely due to contact directly between those two languages. This does not rule out potential contact at higher nodes, nor widespread areal convergence influences.

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Abbreviations

1	first person	DEM	demonstrative
2	second person	DIR	directional
3	third person	DIST	distal
A	Set A pronominal prefixes	EXIST	existential verb
ADV	temporal adverb	F	feminine
ANTIP	antipassive	HORIZ.EXTEND	horizontally extended
ANIM	animate	HUM	human
B	Set B pronominal prefixes	INAN	inanimate
BEN	benefactive	INDF	indefinite
CIS	cislocative	INS	instrumental
CL	verb class	IRR	irrealis
CLF	classifier	LOC	locative suffix
CMPLT	completive	M	masculine
COMP	complementizer	NEG.EXIST	negative existential verb
CONJ	conjunction	NMLZ	nominalizer
D	determiner	NONEXT	non-extended

NONHUM	non-human	PRO	pronoun
NPRG	non-progressive	PRG	progressive
O	object	QNT	quantifier
PAST	past time interpretation	R	realis
PL	plural	REPORT	reportative
POS	possessor person prefix	VERT.EXTEND	vertically extended

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Possessive semantic relations and construction types in Kukama-Kukamiria

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This study examines the correlations between possessive semantic relations and construction types in Kukama-Kukamiria (Amazon of Peru). The language does not have lexical verbs such as ‘have’, ‘belong’, or a copula to predicate ownership. Yet possession can be inferred from other constructions, including: a predicate nominal construction with two juxtaposed NPs in which the possessor is encoded in the first NP, and the possessed in the second NP; an existential construction in which the possessor and possessed elements are expressed within an NP; and a combination of the existential and locative construction in which the possessor is expressed in the locative phrase, and the possessed in the NP. Heine (1997) predicts that the equative schema will encode physical possession; the existence schema, permanent and inalienable possession; whereas the location schema, physical and temporary possession. An examination of a text corpus reveals that Heine’s predictions are partially confirmed. Importantly, the equative construction encodes permanent ownership, which suggests that this is the most conventionalized linguistic expression of possession in Kukama-Kukamiria.

Keywords: nominal possession, ownership, existential constructions, Kukama-Kukamiria

This contribution deals with the linguistic expression of possession in Kukama-Kukamiria¹ and examines potential correlations between possessive semantic relations (Heine 1997; Stassen 2009; Barker 2011) and construction types. Kukama-Kukamiria, a language spoken in the Amazon of Peru, does not have lexical verbs such as ‘have’, ‘belong’, or a copula to predicate possession. Although the language does not have a dedicated possessive construction, possession can be inferred from several constructions, four of which are the focus of this paper. These are shown in (1)–(4):

1. Previously known as Kokama-Kokamilla.

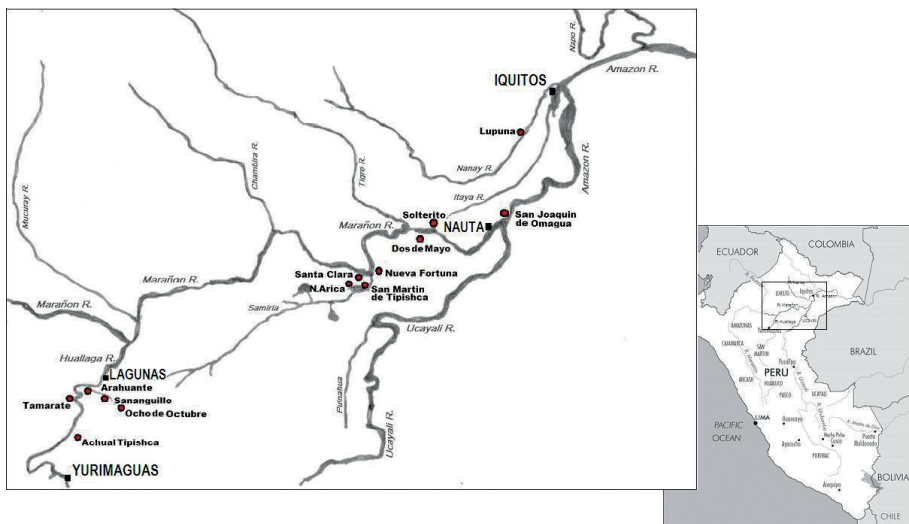
- (1) *ajan wayna mīmira-yara*
 this woman son.FEMALE.EGO-OWNER
 ‘This woman has a son’ (Lit. This woman is son-owner)
- (2) *emete-taka ajan wayna iki*
 exist-UNC this woman *chili*
 ‘This woman might have chili’ (Lit. This woman’s chili might exist)
- (3) *iwirati tsanuya_i tima emete ya_i tsuwi*
 forest rodent NEG exist 3SG.FS tail
 ‘The wild rat doesn’t have a tail’ (Lit. As for the wild rat, its tail doesn’t exist)
- (4) *ta yuwama=ka emete eran kaitsuma*
 1SG.MS daughter.law=LOC exist good yucca.beer
 ‘My daughter in law has good yucca beer’ (Lit. There is good yucca beer at my daughter in law)

The example in (1) is a predicate nominal construction that consists of two juxtaposed NPs; the possessor is encoded in the first NP, the possessum in the second NP. The second NP includes the clitic *-yara* ‘owner.’ This pattern is called here *EQUATIVE*. The example in (2) illustrates one subtype of existential construction, the *EXISTENTIAL GENITIVE*, in which the possessor and possessum are expressed within an NP. Importantly, the existence of the NP’s referent is being predicated by means of the existential verb *emete*. Example (3) is the *EXISTENTIAL TOPIC* construction in which a left-dislocated noun phrase is added to the front of the construction. The fronted NP encodes the possessor and controls the coreferent of the possessive pronoun; the possessum is expressed by the noun that follows the possessive pronoun. The example in (4) is a combination of existential and locative construction, called here *EXISTENTIAL LOCATIVE*. In this configuration, the new referent’s location is specified; the possessor is expressed in the locative phrase, the possessum in the NP.

The fact that possession can be inferred from coexisting constructions within a single language suggests that they might be used for different functions. Heine (1997) predicts that the location schema will encode physical and temporary possession; the existence schema will encode permanent and inalienable possession; whereas the equative schema will encode all but physical possession. An examination of the range of semantic possessive relations conveyed by the constructions in (1)–(4) in a text database reveals that Heine’s predictions are only partially confirmed.

1. The Kukama-Kukamirias

The Kukama-Kukamiria people live in the Peruvian Amazon along the upper Amazon River and several of its major tributaries, including the Huallaga, Marañón, Ucayali, Nanay, and Itaya rivers (See map 1). The estimated number of Kukama-Kukamirias living in about 120 small villages is 20,000. These villages are located in the Peruvian department of Loreto, specifically in the provinces of Maynas, Alto Amazonas, Requena, Maquia and Ucayali. A considerable number of Kukama-Kukamirias now reside in cities within Loreto, such as Iquitos and Yurimaguas, and midsize towns like Lagunas, Nauta, Requena, among others. During the rubber boom, towards the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, small groups of Kukama-Kukamirias migrated to Colombia and Brazil (Vallejos 2016a).



Map 1. Kukama-Kukamiria villages where data for this study was collected

1.1 Ownership among the Kukama-Kukamirias

Do possessive expressions reflect cultural practices? Aikhenvald and Dixon (2013: 46–47) report several cases that suggest that possessive constructions can reflect relationships within a society. The fact that the Kukama-Kukamiria language does not have a lexical verb or a dedicated linguistic expression to predicate possession might be then related to their traditional ideas of ownership.

It would be possible to say that, in the Kukama-Kukamiria villages, the majority of the population do not have a strong sense of individual, private ownership. While

families may own a house, a farm, a canoe, the land is owned by the community.² A prominent aspect of the life in the villages is the bond of social reciprocity. An instance of their cohesion is the reciprocal sharing of goods, especially fish, crops, meat, etc. Another common practice among the Kukama-Kukamirias is the *minga* ‘cooperative work.’ Community members work together in order to support one another in the construction of a house, the preparation of a new farm, the harvesting of crops, etc. They are largely self-sufficient in their agriculture and livestock provision. Their main economic activities are centered on fishing, agriculture, gathering and hunting. They have been traditionally dependent on fishing for subsistence, and, more recently, on small-scale commercial fishing for income needs.

The Kukama-Kukamirias share with many Amazonian groups the view that nature is inclusive. For them, human beings are merely a part of the greater whole, along with plants, animals, and spiritual beings. The Kukama-Kukamirias share the belief that their well-being – as individuals as well as a collective – depends on the maintenance of a harmonious relationship between the visible world and the invisible world. Within this view, each plant, animal, lake, etc. has its *yara*, “dueño,” the guardian spirit from whom one must ask permission before anything can be taken. This practice, they believe, has helped them avoid over-extraction and habitat destruction in the past (Vallejos 2016a).

In the last decades, however, these traditional practices have been changing as a result of several contributing factors. The Kukama-Kukamirias travel more regularly outside the communities, many have migrated to mid-size towns and cities, the presence of outsiders in some villages has intensified, and there are new roles in the communities (i.e., teachers, technicians). Consequently, more robust senses of ownership are emerging.

1.2 The language and the data

According to the parameters provided by UNESCO (Moseley 2010), the Kukama-Kukamiria language is severely endangered. At present, only about an estimated 1,500 individuals, most of which are older than 60, speak the language fluently. Based on linguistic and geographic criteria, the people identify themselves with two dialects: Kukamiria, which is primarily spoken in the upper Huallaga River, in the western side; and Kukama, which is spoken along the Marañon, Samiria, Ucayali, and Amazon Rivers, towards the east. From a linguistic perspective, only a few phonetic and lexical differences have been found between these two dialects.

2. An important percentage of Kukama-Kukamiria communities are still fighting to be legally recognized by the government.

Having said that, there are no problems of intelligibility at any level. In this paper, I use Kukama-Kukamiria to refer to both varieties.

The data for this study comes primarily from two corpora. The first is a text database containing 36 texts, including narratives, conversations, procedural texts, etc. The interviews to collect the data were conducted by community members who are bilingual in Kukama-Kukamiria and Spanish. The collected material was later translated, glossed, and annotated with the help of two consultants. The texts comprise about 4851 intonation units and 5000 clauses. The second corpus is a dictionary database which consists of about 5200 example sentences that illustrate 2199 headwords in a Kukama-Kukamiria / Spanish dictionary (Vallejos & Amías 2015). These two corpora are supplemented with data from elicitation.

2. Semantic possession relations and construction types

A basic assumption of this study is that possession is a universal phenomenon. Possession is inherently a complex concept and its linguistic expression can draw on other more basic linguistic structures (Heine 1997; Stassen 2009; Barker 2011; Nichols & Bickel 2011; Baron et al. 2001; among others). Yet studies on possession have identified the following cross-linguistic observations: (i) languages have a conventionalized means of encoding possession; (ii) there is not a universal linguistic structure to all possessive constructions; (iii) possessive constructions can also express concepts other than ownership; (iv) possessive concepts can be expressed by linguistic forms not generally associated with the domain possession; and, (v) there is not necessarily a one-to-one correspondence between possessive form and possessive meaning (Heine 2001: 312).

A first distinction drawn in the grammatical expression of possession is that between attributive and predicative constructions. Attributive constructions typically presuppose possession, whereas predicative constructions assert possession. On the formal side, attributive possession involves modifiers in nouns or noun phrases, whereas predicative constructions involve clauses. These two means are hence known as nominal and clausal constructions, respectively. The fact that the nominal and clausal constructions coexist in the languages of the world suggests that they are functionally distinct. For instance, Mithun (2001: 288–294) states that information structure factors can play a role in the choice of one construction over another. According to this author, the distinction underlying the choice between nominal and clausal constructions in Lakhota, Kathlamet, and Mohawk is not inalienability but affectedness. In these languages, the clausal construction is used when the possessor is considered the most significantly affected participant in an event or state. Although this study deals exclusively with predicative

constructions, information structure parameters are considered here to examine and explain the correlations between possessive relations and predicate construction types in Kukama-Kukamiria.

The meaning of a possessive construction in general involves three main elements: two entities and a relation between them. The head of the construction encoding the possessor (hereafter X) is referred to as “possessor,” and the head of the phrase encoding the possessee (hereafter Y) “possesum” (Heine 1997). In analyzing possessive constructions, some of the parameters that have been found to be relevant cross-linguistically are the semantic property of the possesum and the possessor, whether the possession is physical or metaphorical, and whether the possessive relation is temporary or permanent, among others. Consider the following examples:

- (5) a. *Pedro's wife*
 b. *Pedro's book*
 c. *Pedro's head*
 d. *Pedro's identity.*

The interpretations of (5a–d) differ in important ways. In (5a) the possessor is Pedro, the possessed is some woman, and the relation holding between Pedro and the woman is the marriage relation. In this case, the possessive relation is lexically contained in the relational noun *wife*. In (5b), the relationship between Pedro and *book* can be construed in different ways. Pedro could “own” the book because he wrote it, he bought it, he was temporarily assigned it in class, etc. The possessive relationship between Pedro and book is alienable as he can transfer the ownership of the book to someone else. In (5c), Pedro and *head* have an inalienable relationship because Pedro cannot transfer the ownership of his head to someone else. In (5d), *identity* is an abstract notion, a construal that cannot be literally possessed. The semantics of both the possesum and the possessor are relevant parameters in this study.

Heine (1997: 34–35) proposes seven semantic subtypes of possession: PHYSICAL POSSESSION comes about when the possessor is physically contiguous to the possesum. An example of this type of relationship would be *He has the recorder I brought from the lab*. TEMPORARY POSSESSION occurs when the possessor temporarily controls the possesum, as in *He has a good recorder that is owned by the lab*. In the PERMANENT POSSESSION subtype, the possessor owns the possesum, as in *He has a good recorder that I use on every fieldtrip*.

INALIENABLE POSSESSION is a kinship relation or body part relationship between the possessor and the possesum. For example, *He has big ears*. Heine also proposes less prototypical subtypes of possession, such as ABSTRACT POSSESSION in which the possesum is an intangible/invisible entity as in *He has reasons to feel confident*. INANIMATE INALIENABLE POSSESSION refers to part/whole relationships, as in *The tree has branches*. And finally INANIMATE ALIENABLE POSSESSION, as in

The tree has crowns on it. Out of all of these different subdomains of possession, Heine states that the prototypical possessive notion involves the following traits: a human possessor, a concrete possessum, a possessor having the right to use the possessum, spatial proximity between possessor and possessum, and no temporal limit on the possessive relation.

When exploring the linguistic expressions of these notional relationships, we are faced with human beings' "ability to conceive and portray the same situation in alternative ways" (Langacker 2001:3). Possession can be manifested in a language through different types of constructions according to the devices available to speakers to encode such concepts. Heine (1997) identifies eight event schemas – stereotypical descriptions of basic human beings' experiences – that are the sources of constructions to express possession, where conceptual content is tied to the particular way of construing it. By the diachronic process of grammaticalization, Heine claims that these schemas would account for the constructional patterns found in the languages of the world. These are summarized below.

Table 1. Source construction for the linguistic expression of possession (Heine 1997)

<i>Action schema</i>	X takes Y
<i>Companion Schema</i>	X is with Y
<i>Source Schema</i>	Y exists (away) from X
<i>Equation Schema</i>	Y is X's property
<i>Location Schema</i>	Y is at X's place
<i>Existence Schema</i>	X's Y exists
	Y exists to/for X
	As for X, Y (of X) exists

The last theoretical assumption considered in this article is the interplay between schemata and the different possessive notions. Heine (1997: 92–93) suggests weak correlations between possessive semantic relations and construction types. He predicts that the location schema will encode physical and temporary possession; the existence schema will encode permanent and inalienable possession; whereas the equative schema will encode all but physical possession. This is summarized below.

Table 2. Correlation between construction types and possessive relations adapted from Heine (1997)

Construction types	Possessive semantic relations
Locative schema	physical and temporary possession
Existential schema (genitive, loc, topic)	permanent & inalienable possession
Comitative schema	physical, temporary & alienable possession
Equative schema	all but physical possession

In the following sections, each construction type will be characterized in detail, followed by an examination of the potential correlations proposed by Heine 1997.

3. Possession in Kukama-Kukamiria

As indicated earlier, Kukama-Kukamiria does not display lexical verbs or a specialized copula to predicate ownership or any kind of possession; these notions are inferred from other construction types. But before we move on to characterize each of those predicate constructions, a brief note on nominal possession is in order.

In Kukama-Kukamiria, adnominal or phrasal possession is expressed by word order: the possessor precedes the possessum. The possessor can be expressed by a noun, as in $[N_{\text{POSSESSOR}} N_{\text{POSSESSUM}}]$ (6a), or a possessive pronoun preceding the possessed noun $[\text{PRO}_{\text{POSSESSOR}} N_{\text{POSSESSUM}}]$ (6b–c) (Vallejos 2016a: 190–191).

- (6) a. *mararina uka*
 Magdalena house
 ‘Magdalena’s house’
 b. *ra uka*
 3SG.MS house
 ‘His/her house’
 c. *rana uka*
 3PL.MS house
 ‘Their house’

Note that in nominal possessive constructions, the number of the pronoun is controlled by the entity to which the pronoun makes anaphoric reference. In the following sections we examine the formal properties and the possessive interpretations of four predicate constructions. For each example, the literal interpretation (Lit.) and the possession type [PT] is explicitly indicated.

3.1 Equative construction

This construction consists of two juxtaposed NPs with no linking element between. The morpheme *yara* appears within the second noun phrase: $[\text{POSSESSOR}]_{\text{NP}} [\text{POSSESSED-}yara]_{\text{NP}}$. In this configuration predication is achieved by word order: the first NP is the subject, the second, the predicate. These tokens are analyzed here as non-verbal predicate constructions in which *yara* indicates that the second NP is a property – that of possessor – of the first NP. This is illustrated in (7). The negative version of a construction with *yara* is presented in (7b), where the negative

particle *tima* precedes the possessum. To add tense information, the tense clitic is added after *-yara*, as shown in (7c).

- (7) a. *mijiri iara-yara*
Miguel canoe-owner
'Miguel has a canoe' (Lit. Miguel is canoe-owner') [PT: permanent]
- b. *wepe kuniati tima mena-yara*
one girl NEG husband-owner
'One girl doesn't have a husband' [PT: inalienable, social relationship] (Lit. One girl is not a husband-owner')
- c. *tana [tuyuka nua-n yara]=tsuriay*
1PL.EX.MS ground be.big-NZR owner=PAS
'We used to have a big territory' (Lit. We used to be the owners of a big territory) [PT: permanent, collective ownership]

However, constructions with *-yara* illustrate gradual change over time.³ The morpheme *yara* appears in several constructions that show different degrees in the grammaticalization continuum, which could be instances of "hybrid" strategies, as one strategy gradually evolves into another. The compound like behavior of N-*yara* in (7) appears to be remnants of its source, the Tupinamba form **jár-a* 'owner' (Jensen 1998: 507). In fact, examples in (8a–b) show that *yara* 'owner' still functions as a noun in today's Kukama-Kukamiria. In both examples the NP-*yara* operates as the subject NP of a typical verb, such as *umi* 'see' in (8a), and *yawachima* 'arrive' in (8b). The morpheme *yara* does not change the category of the noun it attaches to. For instance, in (8), no verbal morphology can be added after it.

- (8) a. *ra=yara umi=ura*
3SG.MS=owner see=3SG.MS.OBJ
'Its owner sees it'
- b. *raepe ikian uka-yara yawachima*
then DEM.MS house-owner arrive
'Then, this house owner arrives'

When we want to add tense information to this construction, tense clitics are added after (*-*)*yara*, which is exactly how tense works in any nominal predicate construction in Kukama-Kukamiria: [NP NP=_{tense}]. Note in (9b) that (*-*)*yara* appears unbounded from the preceding noun, but attached to the tense clitic.

3. In Faust (1972), *yara* is reported as an intransitivizer (1972:111). Cabral (1995:182) claims that *yara* is an auxiliary with 'desiderative' meaning, but no examples are offered.

- (9) a. *ikian niapitsara uka-yara=tsuriay*
 DEM.MS man house-owner=PAS
 ‘This man was the owner of the house’ (Lit. This man was the house owner)
 [PT: permanent ownership]
- b. *tana karetera yara=utsu, na rana kumitsa*
 1PL.EX.MS road owner=FUT QT 3PL.MS talk
 ‘We are going to have a road, they say’ (Lit. ‘We will be road owners’) [PT:
 permanent, collective/social ownership]
- c. *iminan=tsui=ka kukama=kana tima pitsa-yara=tsuriay*
 long.ago-ABL=LOC kukama=PL.MS NEG fish.net-owner=PAS
 ‘A long time ago, the Kukama-Kukamiria people used to not have fishnets’
 (Lit. From long time ago, the Kukama-Kukamirias were not fishnet own-
 ers) [PT: permanent]

In (10), however, *yara* could be characterized as a light verb or derivational element that generates verbs from nouns with the ‘own N’ meaning (cf. Vallejos 2016a). Here, the *yara*-derived elements operate as the main predicate of the clause and take the morphology typically associated with verbs, including the progressive (10a), and the completive (10b). Following this analysis, the pattern in (10a–b) would not be considered a non-verbal predicate *per se*, but an intransitive verbal construction with the configuration [NP V]. Note that, in these instances, it is difficult to paraphrase N *yara* as ‘N owner’ as it is describing an attribute rather than any type of possession or ownership.

- (10) a. *tsa mimira muta-yara-ri*
 1SG.FS SON.FEMALE.EGO bear-OWN-PROG
 ‘My son is growing bear’ (Lit. My son is bear-owning)
- b. *ajan kuniati mimira-yara-pa*
 DEM.FS young.girl SON.FEMALE.EGO-OWN-CPL
 ‘This young girl is totally pregnant’ (Lit. This girl is completely son-owned)

The last piece of evidence that suggests that *-yara* is undergoing grammaticalization from a noun to a derivational-like morpheme comes from nominalization processes. The subject of *yara*-constructions can be relativized by means of the absolutive nominalizer *n* (11a–b). In these instances, the nominalized portion operates as the modifier of a noun that denotes a certain attribute of it.

- (11) a. *yapichika ajam=inu tima yuwa-yara-n*
 catch DEM.FS=1PL.FS NEG bone-OWN-NZR
 ‘Catch these [fish] that do not have bones’
- b. *kunumi tima kuriki-yara-n ukaima-pa*
 young.boy NEG money-OWN-NZR arrive-CPL
 ‘The young boy who has no money disappeared’

Finally, in (12a–b), we have a predicate nominal construction in which the predicate is the nominalized version of the [N-*yara*] structure. This would be a typical case of a topic-comment structure, in which the N-*yara*-NZR adds information to an established referent.

- (12) a. *juria urkuru-yara-n*
 Julia basket-OWN-NZR
 ‘Julia is the one who has a basket’
- b. *ai miara tsu-yara-n*
 sloth monkey meat-OWN-NZR
 ‘The sloth is a meaty monkey’

Up to here we have seen then that constructions with *yara* illustrate an ongoing change that seems to have the potential to become one of the conventionalized strategies to predicate possession in Kukama-Kukamiria. The [N *yara*] compound-like construction is developing into a predicate-like element, as summarized in (13).

- (13) [N owner] → [N-owner] → [N-OWN → [V]

A possible force that triggers this change is semantics. Because in Kukama-Kukamiria adnominal possession is encoded by word order, (see ‘Magdalena’s house’ in (6a)), the lexical content of *yara* ‘owner’ in the [N-N] construction is at odds with the automatic possessum reading of the second element that arises from the adnominal construction. This would force *owner* to be reanalyzed as a derivational element or light verb, and eventually for the whole [N-*yara*] to acquire verb properties.

As for the types of possession expressed by the N-*yara* construction, in the databases for this study this strategy is used to convey several types of possession. It can indicate permanent possession, individual or collective ownership, inalienable possession, and social relationships. The only types of possession that have not been attested with this strategy is physical and temporal possession.

3.2 Existential constructions

Heine (1997) argues for three subtypes of existence schemata. The Genitive schema could be stated as [X’s Y exists], as in *That man’s canoe exists* (That man has a canoe). The Topic schema is schematically summarized as: [As for X, Y (of X) exists], as in *As for me, my older brother, he exists* (I have an older brother). The third is the Goal schema, [Y exists to/for X], as in *Money exists to me* (I have money). While the three types of schemas are attested in Kukama-Kukamiria, the first two are extremely productive and more frequent, compared to the third. The three existential constructions are built around the existential verb *emete*. Each of these patterns will be characterized below.

3.2.1 *Existential genitive*

In this construction, the possessor and the possessum are both expressed within a noun phrase, that is, possession is expressed via the adnominal strategy combined with the existential verb *emete*. Importantly, the existence of the noun phrase's referent is what is being predicated. This construction could be schematically summarized as: [*emete* [POSSESSOR POSSESSUM]_{NP}]. In the database for this study, there are plenty of examples of this construction. Once again, the possession type is indicated within square brackets.

In (14a), the possessor is encoded in the possessor pronoun *tsa*, while the possessum is the head noun of the NP 'vicious dog'. Tense markers, if they occur, are attached at the right side of the NP. In (14b) the possessor is the NP 'this woman' and the possessum 'chili'. Note in this example the encoding of modality as second position markers. In (14c), the possessor 'my husband' appears focalized by means of the marker =*pura*. In sum, this type of clause can bear the grammatical categories available in the language.

- (14) a. *emete tsa yawara uyari-n=tsuri*
 exist 1SG.FS yawara be.vicious-NZR=PAS
 'I used to have a vicious dog' (Lit. My vicious dog existed) [PT: ownership]
- b. *emete-taka ajan wayna iki*
 exist-UNC DEM.FS woman chili
 'This woman may have chili' (Lit. This woman's chili may exist) [PT: physical]
- c. *temente tsa mena=pura kuriki*
 NEG.exists 1SG.FS husband=FOC money
 'My husband doesn't have money' (Lit. My husband's money doesn't exist) [PT: ownership]

In terms of the semantics of examples in (14), each involves a prototypical animate possessor who has control over the possessum and/or is physically close to it. However, this construction can be also used with abstract possessives, as shown in (15a–b). To negate this construction the negative marker *tima* is employed right in front of *emete*, as shown in (15b). Note in (14c), however, that the sequence *tima emete* can be optionally collapsed into *temente*.

- (15) a. *emete tsa yaki tsachi-n*
 exist 1SG.FS head feel.pain-NZR
 'I have a headache' (Lit. My head's ache exists) [PT: abstract]
- b. *tima emete kikin ya chira*
 NEG exist own 3SG.FS name
 'He doesn't have his own name' (Lit. His own name doesn't exist) [PT: abstract]

When this existential construction occurs subordinated in a complex sentence, such as the conditional in (16), the existential verb occurs at the end, after the NP whose existence is being predicated.

- (16) *na kuriki emete-ra, rawa utsu*
 2SG money exist-COND EXH go
 ‘If you have money, go!’ (Lit. If your money exists, go!) [PT: ownership]

As demonstrated throughout examples (14) and (16), the existential construction can be used to express physical, temporary, and abstract possession.

3.2.2 Existential topic

Kukama-Kukamiria has an existential construction to highlight a pragmatically marked possessor as the topic of the sentence. The construction can be summarized as: [NP_i *emete* [POSSESSOR_i POSSESSUM]_{NP}] and its meaning is ‘As for X, Y (of X) exists.’ In this template, a left-dislocated noun phrase added to the front of the construction is coreferent with the possessor. This pattern follows Stassen’s (2009) argument structure characterization of topic possessive constructions. According to his predictions, the possessor is expressed as the topic and the possessum as the subject of the construction. Interestingly, this is one of the first patterns Kukama-Kukamiria speakers provide when asked to translate Spanish possessive constructions. In fact, there are abundant examples of this pattern in the dictionary database. However, this pattern is rather rare in texts.

Examples in (17) come from the dictionary database. In (17a), the noun phrase ‘the ribless carachama fish’ controls the coreference of the third singular possessor pronoun that follows *emete*. The same pattern is illustrated in (17b–c). As for the functional side, examples (17a–c) all express inalienable possession in the form of body part relationships.

- (17) a. *inia, yarana-kuara-ima emete ya, leche entera kai*
 fish rib-INE-without exist 3SG.FS milk idem resin
 ‘The ribless carachama fish has a resin similar to milk’ (Lit. As for the ribless carachama, its milk similar to resin exists) [PT: inalienable, body part/fluid]
- b. *iwirati tsanuya, tima emete ya, tsuwi*
 forest rat NEG exist 3SG.FS tail
 ‘The wild rat doesn’t have a tail’ (Lit. As for the wild rat, its tail doesn’t exist) [PT: inalienable, body part]
- c. *animaru=kana, emete inu, piruara tsa*
 animal=PL.MS exist 3PL.MS skin hair
 ‘Animals have skin hair’ (Lit. As for animals, their skin hair exists) [PT: inalienable, body part]

While examples in (18), below, illustrate the same construction, the semantics are quite different. They involve inanimate possessors, ‘yucca’ and ‘tamale’. Yet Example (18a) is not about the temporal or physical possession of ‘yucca’ but rather about a property of ‘Julia’: she is defined as one who doesn’t have a yucca farm. One consultant indicates that to express that at this very moment Julia doesn’t own yucca (i.e., she did not pick up yucca today) another construction would need to be used (see next section). Example (18b) comes from a story about several boys who leave their community. In the context, ‘having a tamale’ is what defines the ‘small cute one’ character.

- (18) a. *juria_i temente ra_i yawiri*
 Julia NEG.exist 3SG.MS yucca
 ‘Julia does not have yucca’ (Lit. ‘Julia, her yucca does not exist’) [PT: property]
- b. *ikia chura-n=kira_i emete ra_i juane*
 this be.small-NZR=DIM exist 3SG.MS tamale
 ‘This cute small one has his tamale’ (Lit. ‘As for this cute small one_i, his_i tamale exists’) [PT: property]

In this construction, the topic element does not need to be a full NP. As shown in (19), this syntactic slot can be filled by a long form pronoun, such as *uri*, which is used for pragmatically marked referents.⁴ This personal pronoun controls the coreference of the possessive pronoun that follows *emete*.

- (19) *uri_i emete ra_i rinupi=kira r=atura=kuara*
 3SG.MS exist 3SG.MS lemon=DIM 3SG.MS=packet=INE
 ‘He has his lemon in his packet’ (Lit. ‘As for him_i, his_i lemon exists in his packet’) [PT: physical]

As demonstrated in Vallejos (2009), information structure plays an important role in the form of the sentences in Kukama-Kukamiria. In the language, focused elements appear at the beginning of the clause. Accordingly, the existential topic construction can be further modified to focus the possessum. If the NP whose existence is being predicated is in focus, it shows up in front of the existential verb, but following the topic NP. Schematically: [NP_{TOPIC} [POSSESSOR N]_{FOCUS} *emete*]. This pattern is illustrated in (20).

- (20) a. *kupetsu, ai chunka pichka-nan tsupia emete*
 turtle 3SG.FS ten five-only eggs exist
 ‘The cupiso turtle has fifteen eggs’ (Lit. as for the cupiso, its fifteen eggs exist) [PT: property, inalienable]

4. Kukama-Kukamiria has three sets of pronouns whose distribution is triggered by pragmatics. Long form pronouns (e.g. *uri* ‘s/he’) are used to indicate pragmatically marked referents; short form pronouns (e.g. *ra* ‘s/he’) are used to keep track of the reference for pragmatically unmarked participants; and clitic pronouns (e.g. *r=* ‘s/he’) for active referents in fast speech (Vallejos 2009).

- b. *tsaka=pura=kana chita iya-n tsakami chitai emete*
 mullaca=FOC=PL.MS many fruit-NZR branch each exist
 ‘As for the mullaca plant, each branch has many fruits’ (Lit. As for the
 mullaca plant, lots of fruits exist in each branch) [PT: inanimate inalien-
 able, part/whole]

Note in (20b) that there is no need of a possessor pronoun as *chitai* ‘each of its’ al-
 ready entails it. In this topic-focus pattern, the focused element can also be encoded
 through long form pronouns, as shown in (21).

- (21) a. *ajan kurutsa awa=nu yatiman_i ai_i emete*
 DEM.FS grape people=PL.FS grow-NZR 3SG.FS exist
ya_i=tsu tsen
 3SG.FS=meat sweet
 ‘This wild grape that people grow has a sweet meat’ (Lit. As for the wild
 grape that people grow, for it exists its sweet meat) [PT: inanimate inal-
 ienable, part/whole]
- b. *ta kunia waina wayu-pa-n, uri ni maniapuka*
 1SG.M sister woman sterile-CPL-NZR, 3SG.MS NEG never
mimira emete
 SON.FEMALE.EGO exist
 ‘My sister is a sterile woman, she has never had a child’ (Lit. My sister is a
 sterile woman; as for her a child never existed) [PT: inalienable, kinship]

As a summary of this section it is possible to say that the existential construc-
 tion conveys inalienable possession (kinship), and inanimate inalienable possession
 (part/whole). For those cases that could be construed as physical possession, in
 their respective contexts the possessum is rather a relevant, crucial feature associ-
 ated with a particular entity.

3.2.3 Existential locative

The third existential construction contains a locative argument. Schematically: [LOC
emete NP]. In this construction, the possessor is expressed in the locative phrase,
 the possessum in the noun phrase following *emete*.

- (22) a. *awiri kuriki emete na=ka*
 how.much money exist 2SG=LOC
 ‘How much money do you have?’ (Lit. How much money exists on you?)
 [PT: physical]

However, I would argue that this construction is less conventionalized to express
 possession compared to the existential genitive and the existential topic con-
 structions described so far. In this configuration, if the locative argument makes

reference to an animate entity, both readings, possession and existence, become available. This is illustrated in (23a–c).

- (23) a. *ta yuwama=ka emete eran kaitsuma*
 1SG.MS daughter.in.law=LOC exist good yucca.beer
 a1. ‘My daughter in law has good yucca beer’
 a2. ‘There is good yucca beer at my daughter in law’
- b. *Maniri-ka emete tapira tsu*
 Miguel=LOC existe tapir carne
 b1. ‘Miguel has tapir meat’
 b2. ‘There is tapir meat at Miguel’s’ [PT: physical]
- c. *tsa ritama=kuara emete wepenan yumitawara*
 1SG.FS village=INE exist one teacher
 c1. ‘My community has only one teacher’ [PT: social relation]
 c2. ‘In my community there is only one teacher’

Note that in (23c) the locative argument ‘my village’ refers to an actual location. However, in the context, it can also be construed as ‘community’, that is, a collection of animate entities, yielding both loc and existential interpretations. These examples clearly show the functional connection between these two types of predication.

4. Summary and conclusions

Kukama-Kukamiria has four constructions to convey several types of possessive semantic relations. The first construction, called here equative, consists of the juxtaposition of two NPs with no copula or linking element to connect them. In this configuration predication is achieved by word order: NP_{SUBJECT} NP_{PREDICATE}. Although Kukama-Kukamiria does not employ a locative construction for possessive functions, it does use a combination of existence and location called here existential locative. More specifically, in addition to the equative construction, the language has at its disposal three types of existential constructions: existential genitive, existential topic, and existential locative. This is summarized below.

Table 3. Kukama-Kukamiria constructions from which possession is inferred

Schemas	Construction types
Equative	NP [POSSESSOR POSSESSED- <i>yara</i>] _{NP}
Existential genitive	<i>emete</i> [POSSESSOR POSSESSED] _{NP}
Existential topic	NP _i <i>emete</i> [POSSESSOR _i POSSESSUM] _{NP}
Location schema	[POSSESSOR] _{LOC} <i>emete</i> [POSSESSUM] _{NP}

The fact that possession can be inferred from coexisting constructions within a language could imply that they are functionally distinct. However, as predicted in the literature, in Kukama-Kukamiria there is not a one-to-one correspondence between possessive construction types and possessive meanings. From the examples offered throughout this paper: (i) some constructions express more than one function, and, (ii) multiple constructions express similar functions. As a result, there is a functional overlap of constructions, as represented in the Figure 1. Note that the types of possessive semantic relations are organized along the vertical axis from least prototypical (inanimate alienable and abstract) to most prototypical possession (permanent ownership).

As seen in Figure 1, the correlations between semantic relations and construction types suggested by Heine (1997) (see Table 3) were partially supported. Recall that, according to his predictions, the equative schema will encode all but physical possession; the existence schema will encode permanent and inalienable possession; and the location schema will encode physical and temporary possession. An examination of the range of semantic possessive relations encoded by each construction in the two databases reveals that Heine's predictions are only confirmed to a degree. As suggested by Heine, in Kukama-Kukamiria equatives convey several types of possession except physical. However, contrary to Heine's prediction, a subset of existential constructions – existential genitive – convey physical, temporary, and abstract possession.

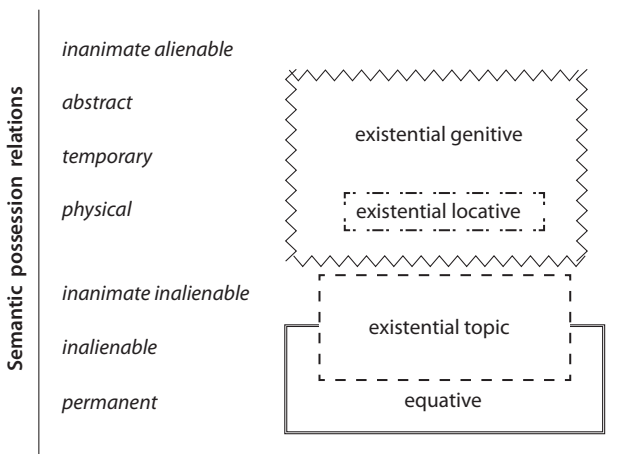


Figure 1. Mapping semantic possessive relations and construction types in Kukama-Kukamiria

The mapping between semantic relations and construction types in Kukama-Kukamiria (Figure 1) reveals some interesting patterns. First, no construction conveys the least prototypical type of possession relation, i.e., inanimate alienable. Second, the functional distribution of existential constructions covers a wider range of possessive functions than equative constructions. Third, among the existential constructions, the existential genitive construction is used to convey the least prototypical types of possession (abstract, temporary, and physical), whereas the existential topic function is used for inalienable (body part, part/whole) relationships. Fourth, the existential locative construction is the least conventionalized of all. It is only used to convey physical possession; however, in each example discussed here, both possessive and existential interpretations were readily available. Finally, the equative constructions cover the most prototypical type of possession (permanent ownership), which suggests that this is the most conventionalized linguistic expression of possession in Kukama-Kukamiria.

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Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	INS	instrument
AUG	augmentative	LOC	locative
CAU	causative	UNC	uncertainty modality
COM	comitative	NEG	negative particle
COND	conditional	NZR	nominalizer
CPL	completive	PAS	past
DAT	dative	PL.FS	plural female speaker
DEM.FS	demonstrative female speaker	PL.MS	plural male speaker
DEM.MS	demonstrative male speaker	PROG	progressive
DIM	diminutive	PUR	purpose
EXH	exhortative	Q	question marker
FOC	focus	QT	quotative
INE	inesive	REC	reciprocal

REI	reiterative	2SG	second singular
REL	relativizer	3SG.MS	third person singular male speaker
1SG.FS	first person singular female speaker	3SG.FS	third person singular female speaker
1SG.MS	first person singular male speaker	3PL.MS	third person plural male speaker
1PL.EX.MS	first person plural exclusive male speaker	3SG.MS.OBJ	third person singular male speaker object
1PL.EX.FS	first person plural exclusive female speaker		

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PART III

Diachronic pathways to and from nonverbal predication

Constructions with *has(a)* in Wampis

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This paper analyzes the development of a copular element *has(a)* ‘become’ in Wampis. *Has(a)* can occur as a fully inflected verb or as an invariant copula particle. Based on comparative evidence, it is argued that this morpheme has arisen from the phonetic reduction of a posture verb stem meaning ‘stand’, likely through the use of this verb in locative and existential predicates. The form and semantics of *has(a)*, as well as its use in different constructions associated with it are further analyzed taking into account both structural and functional characteristics. *Has(a)* is used for expressing the functions of proper inclusion and attribution, as well as for temporal and locative predicates. *Has(a)* can also serve to express translation and change in physical location, drawing on syntactic structures typically associated with verbs of movement in the language. The latter is an interesting development given the stative historical source of *has(a)*.

Keywords: Wampis, copular constructions, grammaticalization, posture verbs, semantic expansion

1. Introduction

This paper analyzes different aspects of the use of the morpheme *has(a)* ‘become’ in Wampis.¹ *Has(a)* has most probably arisen from the phonetic reduction of a posture verb meaning ‘stand’, and it is now used in different copular constructions in which it can occur as a fully inflected verb or as an invariant morpheme. A copular construction is understood here as a construction in which a copula (a fully inflected verb or a particle) serves as a function word that connects the subject of the copula with its complement. Constructions with *has(a)*, and their functions, constitute

1. This is the native spelling of the name which for years has been written <Huambisa> in Spanish and other foreign languages.

instances of non-verbal predication that have not been thoroughly examined in previous literature on Chicham (or so-called Jivaroan) languages.²

The structure of this paper is as follows: Section 2 provides a brief introduction to the Wampis language; Section 3 gives a definition of a copular construction in Wampis; in Section 4, the verb *has(a)* is introduced. Next, Section 5 discusses the historical source of *has(a)*. In Section 6, the meaning and form of *has(a)* as a copular verb is fully explored. This is followed in Section 7 by a description and discussion of the occurrence of the reduced form *has* in constructions where it is a particle. Further development of the functions of *has* are analyzed in Section 8. Finally, some concluding remarks are provided in Section 9.

2. Brief background of the Wampis language

Wampis [wam'pis] is spoken between the Eastern foothills of the Andes and the Amazon lowland forest of Northeast Peru. The language belongs to the Chicham family. Other members of the family include Awajun (Aguaruna), Achuar, Shiwiar and Shuar, spoken in a relatively continuous territory between Ecuador and Peru. The Wampis language has around 8,000 to 10,000 speakers who live in villages along the Santiago and Morona rivers, in the Peruvian administrative Departments of Amazonas and Loreto. Middle-aged people and younger generations of Wampis are usually bilingual (with different degrees of fluency) in Wampis and Spanish, and many are more or less able to understand other Chicham languages. Wampis children are usually monolingual in Wampis until they start going to primary school at around 5 or 6 years of age.

Wampis is a nominative-accusative, polysynthetic, cliticizing and agglutinating language. A preference for Subject-Object-Verb order is observed, though in general subject and object can be moved around in the clause according to certain pragmatic motivations. Wampis nominal and verbal morphology is very complex (both in terms of relative numbers of morphemes roots can carry as well as in morphophonological changes many of these morphemes trigger). In general, nominal and verbal roots are well-distinguished by the type of categories manifested by the morphology. Verbal morphology is relatively more complex and shows a number of different valence, aspectual, tense, mood and modality affecting affixes and clitics. Wampis possesses specialized copula and existential verbs (see next

2. The more appropriate term <Chicham> 'word, speech, language' is proposed by Katan Jua (2011) to name the family. I will adopt this term in the remainder of this article.

section for a brief description). A few full lexical verbs, like posture and motion verbs, can also function in attributive and existential predicates, and they are also used as auxiliaries.

3. Copular constructions in Wampis

A simple copular construction in Wampis is a construction with a copular element linking two nominative Noun Phrases (NP) or a nominative NP and an Attributive Modifier (either an Adjective or a Noun in attributive function). In Wampis, copular elements can be verbs, clitics and, at least in one case, a particle. Table 1 lists copular elements found in Wampis. Copular constructions in Wampis serve the expression of attribution, proper inclusion and equation (cf. T. Payne (1997)).³ Copular constructions differ from existential constructions in Wampis: existential constructions are intransitive constructions (i.e. they only codify one obligatory argument) that generally serve to convey the notions of location and possession,⁴ and use a different subset of verbs. An existential verb *a*, homophonous to the copula *a* listed in Table 1, is part of this subset of verbs – see Peña (2015a: 701 ff.) for a discussion of morphosyntactic and functional distinctions between the copula and the existential in Wampis; also cf. Overall (2007, this volume) for a similar distinction in the related language Awajun.

Table 1. Wampis copular elements

Morpheme	Meaning	Category
<i>a</i>	'be'	Verb
= <i>aita~ita</i> (1 and 2 person), = <i>aiti~iti</i> (3 person)	'be'	Clitics
<i>tipi</i>	'lie down'	Verb
<i>waha</i>	'stand'	Verb
<i>wi</i>	'go'	Verb
<i>nahana</i>	'make, elaborate'	Verb
<i>has(a)</i>	'become'	Verb and Particle

3. There are also a number of verbless constructions in Wampis, not described in this article, that serve the same functions of attribution, proper inclusion and equation (cf. Peña 2015a: 731 ff.).

4. The copula *a* and the copula clitics listed in Table 1 can be used to express possession only if their nominal complement receives a benefactive/possessive suffix *-nau*, as in *Oscar-nau=iti* Oscar-BEN=COP.3+DECL 'It is Oscar's' or 'It is for Oscar'.

As shown in Table 1, Wampis possesses a copula verb *a* and copula clitics. Posture verbs such as *tipi* ‘lie down’ and *waha* ‘stand’ are also used in copular constructions. The verbs *wi*, *nahana* and *has* have grammaticalized to convey the meaning of ‘become’, and can be treated as what have been termed “semi-copulas” in the broader literature (Hengeveld 1992). The particular interest of this paper lies on the analysis of *has(a)* within this system of copular constructions; Peña (2015a; 2015b) deals in greater detail with the form and functions of the other copular elements. Semi-copulas have received little attention in studies of languages of the Amazon (and generally of South America), and certainly there is little previous discussion for Chicham languages.

4. The verb *has(a)* in Wampis

In Wampis, there is no specialized verb whose original meaning is equivalent to the expression of ‘become’. The equivalent is obtained in copular constructions with the verbs *nahana* ‘make’, *wi* ‘go’ and *has(a)* ‘become’. Both *nahana* and *wi* are full verbs when they occur with their original lexical meaning: *nahana* is used transitively (1); and *wi* intransitively (2):⁵

- (1) *taratfi=na nahana-ra-ha-i*
 bag.type=ACC make-DISTR-1SG.SBJ-DECL
 ‘I made a bag.’
- (2) *wi=ka hīa=nama wi-a-ha-i*
 I=FOC house=LOC go-IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL
 ‘I am going to the house.’

In addition to their use as full verbs, both *nahana* ‘make’ and *wi* ‘go’ have been reanalyzed in some constructions to assume a copular function. Examples (3) and (4) illustrate their use as copulas. Structurally, in (3) *nahana* is not a transitive verb, as its complement *ampufa* ‘owl’ does not receive an accusative marker. In (4), *wi* does not mark its complement as an oblique, as it does in (2). Semantically, it is in this copular construction when these verbs express change of state.

5. Examples are given in a phonemic form using IPA symbols; details concerning phonetic realizations are explained in the prose when necessary. Wampis exhibits pervasive processes of vowel elision and palatalization, as well as a fair number of morphophonological changes, which sometimes make the actual pronunciation of surface forms quite different from their proposed underlying representations (cf. Peña (2015a) for details).

- (3) Subject Complement Copular Verb
 [Puhupata] [ampufa] nahana-ra-ma-ji
 Puhupata owl make-DISTR-REC.PT-3.PT+DECL
 ‘Puhupata turned into an owl.’
- (4) Subject Complement Copular Verb
 [ami=ka] [fiira iakama-u] wi-a-mi
 2=FOC good hunt-NMLZ go-IPFV-2SG.SBJ+DECL
 ‘You are becoming a good hunter.’

The case of *has(a)* is more interesting, as it has arisen from the phonetic reduction of a posture verb based on the root *waha* ‘stand’ (see Section 4). Examples (5)–(6) constitute typical examples of *has(a)* – note that in (6) the copula subject is omitted:

- (5) Subject Complement Copular Verb
 [au] [unuima-ra-u] has-ĩ
 DIST learn-DISTR-NMLZ become-PFV.3
 ‘She became a professional.’
- (6) Complement Copular Verb
 [tii sintfi] has-ha-i
 very strong become-1SG.SBJ-DECL
 ‘I have become powerful.’

Throughout this paper, it is observed that *has(a)* occurs in different constructions, either as an inflected verb or as an invariant morpheme, i.e. a particle. In the next sections, the diachronic development of *has(a)* (Section 5), its semantics and its morphosyntactic restrictions as a verb (Section 6) are analyzed.

5. On the diachrony of *has(a)* ‘become’

Has(a) most likely has arisen from the grammaticalization of the posture verb *waha* ‘stand’. There are various pieces of evidence to support this hypothesis.

First, it must be pointed out that it is cross-linguistically common for posture verbs to often serve as a source of auxiliaries and verbal copulas (Bybee et al. 1994; Payne 1997; Newman 2002). Accordingly, as a first step in the reanalysis of the posture verb *waha* ‘stand’ into a copula, we find that *waha* is used in existential predicates:

- (7) *numi waha-ina-wa-i*
 tree stand-PL-3SG.SBJ-DECL
 ‘There are trees.’

Secondly, *waha* is also used in locative predicates. Examples (8) and (9) illustrate this locative use:

- (8) [jaakata uunta=numa] waha-ma-yi
 town big=LOC stand-REC.PT-3.PT
 ‘He was in the big city.’
- (9) nita=ka [nain] waha-sa hija hii-a-ina-kauā
 3PL=FOC hill/LOC stand-ATT REDUP look-IPFV-PL-REDUP/3.SS
 ‘They were on the hill, observing, observing.’

It is proposed here that it is through its use in locative/existential predicates that *waha* ‘stand’ came to be used for other types of nonverbal predication, such as ‘become’. To explain this grammaticalization path (‘stand’ > ‘be’ > ‘become’), a third piece of important information is needed: in Wampis, the root *waha* can occur with two suffixes that create stems with subtle yet different meanings added to the root. These two suffixes are part of a subset of suffixes that are termed “Aktionsart” in Peña (2015a), following Overall’s analysis of the related language Awajun (Overall 2007). In the literature about other Chicham languages (Shuar, Awajun, Achuar-Shiwiari), these suffixes have been generally treated as marking, depending on the author, perfective or completive aspect (Turner 1958; Larson 1963; Turner 1992; Corbera Mori 1994; Fast et al. 1996; Overall 2007; Gnerre 2010). While there is some convincing evidence that they are used for perfective aspect especially in Awajun (cf. Larson 1963 and, especially, Overall 2007), for Wampis, it is debatable whether these suffixes mark aspect *per se*. Peña (2015a) describes an “aktionsart stem” as being required in certain morphosyntactic environments: with most past and future tenses, with certain clause types (such as imperative, jussive, hortative) as well with certain subordinating structures. In some of these environments there is a perfective meaning to which the aktionsart stem contributes. In addition, the intensive *-ka* adds an active meaning to the root (10); whereas the attenuative *-sa* adds a more stative sense to the root (11):⁶

Root+-Suffix	Gloss	Semantics
(10) <i>waha-ka</i>	‘stand up’	Participant goes to a position
(11) <i>waha-sa</i>	‘stand’ (be standing)	Participant is in a position

In Wampis, the stative stem in (11) has been reanalyzed for expressing change of state (i.e. inchoative ‘become’). Phonetic reduction of this form from *waha-sa* to *has(a)* may obscure the identity with its original source, but comparative evidence from other Chicham languages attests to the use of the stem *waha-sa* ‘stand-Attenuative’ with the sense of ‘become’. The following example is from Awajun:⁷

6. The attenuative suffix *-sa* creates stative stems with other prototypical verbs of position too, such as *ikima-sa* ‘sit’ and *tipi-sa* ‘lie down’.

7. I leave the cited author’s spelling convention as they appear in the original referenced works. Note that <j> represents a [h]. The morpheme analysis is mine.

- (12) <*uchi muun wajas*>
 utfi muunta waha-sa
 child big stand-ATT
 ‘the child became an adult’ (Larson 1985: 201)⁸

For Achuar-Shiwiari, Fast et al. (1996: 37) state: “The intransitive verbs *átin*, *pujústin* and *wajástin* can function more or less as auxiliary verbs in verbal phrases”⁹ (bolds in the original) and give the following example:

- (13) <*penker wajastín*>
 pínkíra waha-sa-tinu
 good stand-ATT-FUT.NMLZ¹⁰
 ‘to heal’

The next example is from Shuar. The form *ajas* shows a close resemblance in form and meaning to Wampis *has(a)* (< *waha-sa*):

- (14) <*yamai-sha nu núa-ka úntach ajas-#*,
 today-ADD that woman-FOC old become-3.ss
puj-a-wa-i>
 live-IPFV-3SG.SBJ -DECL
 ‘today, the same woman, [who has] become an elder, lives (here).’¹¹
 (Turner 1992: 105)

In sum, internal and comparative evidence point to the grammaticalization of the stative stem *waha-sa* ‘stand-Attenuative’ into (the phonetically reduced form) *has(a)* ‘become’ in Wampis. A likely grammaticalization path developed through the use of the posture verb in locative/existential predicates, from which it extended its uses to other nonverbal predicates with the sense of ‘become’.

8. The original in Spanish is: ‘el niño [...] creció’ (Larson 1985: 202).

9. The original in Spanish is: “Los verbos intransitivos *átin*, *pujústin* y *wajástin* pueden funcionar mas o menos como verbos auxiliares en frases verbales.”

10. The morpheme analysis is mine. Notice that <j> in *waja* represents /h/. Fast et al. (1996) give verb forms with the future nominalizer *-tinu* as a citation form. The same suffix exists in other Chicham languages, including Wampis, though its use for citation forms is less common.

11. The original in Spanish is: ‘Hoy, la misma mujer, vuelta una anciana, vive (aquí).’ The glosses are re-interpreted by myself. The symbol “#” in the first line is not explained in the original, but represents an elided vowel that constitutes part of a morpheme. My own interpretation is that the analysis of the underlying form would be <*aja-sã*> ‘become-ATT/3SG.ss’. At least historically, this analysis seems to be congruent with switch-reference marking in Chicham languages.

6. The form and meaning of *has(a)* in Wampis

6.1 *has(a)* as a verb

As has been stated, the hypothesis here is that the reduced form *has(a)* (< **waha-sa* ‘stand-Attenuative’) has been reanalyzed from a lexical posture verb stem to a change of state verb that possesses the semantics equivalent to ‘become’. Thus, the modern status of *has(a)* in Wampis is that of a copular verb. This section shows its functions as a copula.

As a lexical verb, it was observed previously that *waha* ‘stand’ is an intransitive posture verb. It takes one nominative argument as its subject and any other argument is expressed through an oblique, as in (15).

- (15) Subject Oblique Verb
 [*pamuka*] [*tikitfi* *tsukinta=numa*] *waha-sã...*
 leader other corner.garden=LOC stand-ATT/3.SS
 ‘The leader stood in the other corner...’

As was shown in Section 4, as an existential, *waha* ‘stand’ is also intransitive, requiring only one argument, instantiated as the grammatical subject.

- (16) *numi waha-ina-wa-i*
 tree *tsand-PL-3SG.SBJ-DECL*
 ‘There are trees.’

On the other hand, *has(a)* can connect two NPs, i.e. it occurs in a construction where copular verbs occur, as defined previously in Section 3. Thus, in (17) *has(a)* connects the NP subject *Puhupata* (a proper name), with the NP complement *ampufa* ‘owl’; and in (18), *has(a)* connects the NP subject *Eder* (a proper name) with the NP complement *waimaku Mikuta* ‘Mikut the visionary’.

- (17) Subject Complement Verb
 [*Puhupata*] [*ampufa*] *has-ma-ji*
 Puhupata owl be/become-REC.PT-3.PT+DECL
 ‘Puhupat became an owl.’ (i.e. Puhupat looks like an owl)
- (18) Subject Complement Verb
 [*Eder*] [*Mikuta* *waimaku*] *has-ma-ji*
 Eder Mikuta visionary become-REC.PT-3.PT+DECL
 ‘Eder became Mikut the visionary.’¹²

12. *Mikuta* is a mythological character in Chicham oral tradition.

The reduced form *has(a)* is not interchangeable with the stem *waha-sa* ‘stand-Attenuative’ in sentences like (17) or (18). For instance, a sentence like **Eder Mikuta waimaku waha-sa-ma-ji* is ungrammatical in Wampis because *waha* ‘stand’ is an intransitive verb.

Typically, *has(a)* as a copular verb denotes a state resulting from a previous situation. The copular subject is a NP (usually non-agentive) and the copular complement is a NP or an AdjP. Typical functions of copular constructions with *has(a)* include proper inclusion and attribution. Inasmuch as *has(a)* expresses a new or inchoative state, it has also acquired a sense similar to ‘becoming included in a set’, as in (19) or ‘coming to have a new attribution’ as in (20) and (21):

- (19) *wi=ka uunta has-ha-i*
 1SG=FOC big become-1SG.SBJ-DECL
 ‘As for me, I have become an adult.’ or ‘I am adult (already).’
- (20) *nutika jamai puhu-sa-nu wi-a-mau=nama maa*
 thus now live-ATT-1SG.SS go-IPFV-NON.SUBJ.NMLZ=LOC INTERJ
 [jaakata uunta has-ĩ] tu-sa-nu ta-hami
 town big become-PFV.3 say-SUB-1SG.SS say+IPFV-1SG>2SG
 ‘Thus, now while I go on living, [the community has grown], I tell you...’
- (21) *intsa saara has-ma-ji*
 river transparent become-REC.PT-3.PT+DECL
 ‘The river became transparent.’

In addition, temporal expressions are also predicated with *has(a)*:

- (22) *kintama-u afi kafi has-mia-ji*
 become.late-NMLZ everything night become-DIST.PT-PT.3
 ‘It had become late, everything had become dark.’
- (23) [i
 midnight become-JUSS INTERJ sunrise there well
 kanu-taĩ=a=nuĩ
 sleep-NMLZ=COP=THERE
 ‘[Let it be midnight], at sunrise, there one sleeps well.’

Finally, notice that other copula verbs differ from *has* semantically. For instance, unlike *has(a)*, the copula =*aita* does not imply any change of state (compare (24) with (19) above):

- (24) *wi=ka uunta=aita-ha-i*
 1SG=FOC big=COP-1SG.SBJ-DECL
 ‘As for me, I am an adult.’

6.2 Particularities and restrictions of *has(a)*

The grammaticalized form *has(a)* differs from typical Wampis verbs in several ways. This is not quite unexpected as copular verbs often show an idiosyncratic behavior in many languages. In the case of *has(a)*, much of its idiosyncratic behavior has to do with the opacity generated by historical changes, including phonological erosion. This section describes unusual patterns and restrictions related to the phonology, morphology and semantics of *has(a)*.

To understand the phonological unusualness of *has(a)*, we first need to understand that phonetic vowel elision is extremely pervasive in Wampis. Elision normally targets vowels in words that have more than two vowels;¹³ words with two vowels never delete any one of their vowels. However, *has(a)* usually deletes its second vowel. Thus it appears that *has(a)* is treated as a reduced form of *waha-sa* on the surface (minus the first syllable),¹⁴ as the full original form *waha-sa* will normally delete its third vowel (i.e. it will be pronounced [wa'has]). One of the few places where the underlying second /a/ surfaces in the data is when the verb carries a switch-reference suffix that closes the syllable. In the following example, the underlying nasality carried by the vowel (which marks 'third person same subject') surfaces as [n], thus the word is pronounced [ha'san].

- (25) *tʃui-ra-u* *hasan* *ha-u* *timaji*
 get.skinnier-DISTR-NMLZ hasa/3SG.SS die-NMLZ NARR
 'Getting skinny, he died.'

Moreover, in (26), the suffix *-nu* that marks 'first person, same subject' is carried by *hasa* (the word is also pronounced [ha'san]):

- (26) *nakunkuti hasa-nu* *wi-a-ha-i*
 happy become-11SG.SS go-IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL
 'Having become pleased, I am going.'

13. For the sake of brevity, the most basic rules of vowel elision can be stated as: "delete the last vowel to the right if it is in a CV syllable. Then delete the third vowel from the beginning of the word, and every other alternating vowel moving rightward from there." An example would be /tʃitʃarapatinuna/ 'to the orator' whose surface realization is [tʃitʃarpatʃun]. Similar elision phenomena are found in the related language Awajun (Payne 1989; Payne 1990; Corbera Mori 1994; Corbera Mori 1995; Overall 2007).

14. Synchronically, there is no systematic rule that explains the deletion of the first syllable of *waha* in Wampis. In rapid speech, sporadically speakers drop the first (or even the first two) syllable(s) of words.

In terms of morphology, *has(a)* cannot be nominalized with the action nominalizer suffix *-ta*, which derives a noun that refers to the action of the verb, and is frequently used by Wampis speakers to give citation forms of verbs in elicitation. This is further evidence that *has(a)* is not treated as a regular root. Compare:

- (27) *ikima-ta* sit-NMLZ 'to sit'
puhu-ta live-NMLZ 'to live' (also 'life')
waha-ta stand-NMLZ 'to stand'
 But cf. **ha-ta* or **hasa-ta* *become-NMLZ

However, *has(a)* can occur with other nominalizers, like the non-subject nominalizer *-mau*. The next example includes an instance of *has(a)* with this nominalizer. With the addition of a locative, the construction acquires an adverbial interpretation.

- (28) *tuma tuma-kawā kafi has-mau=nama hia-u*
 do.so do.so-REDUP/3SG.SS night become-NMLZ=LOC arrive-NMLZ
 'Doing thus, when it became night, [she] arrived.'

In addition, *has(a)* does not occur with imperfective stems. This is explained by the fact that suffixes like *-sa* 'attenuative' create stems that are used in some perfective contexts in Wampis, as described in Section 5. As a corollary, for imperfective senses of the inchoative notion of 'become', Wampis uses *wi* 'go' but not *has(a)*.

- (29) *wi uunta wi-a-ha-i*
 1SG big go-IPFV-1SG.SUBJ-DECL
 'I am getting big.'
 (30) cf. **wi uunta has-a-ha-i*

A final point to note in this section is that, semantically, *has(a)* does not imply physical transformation necessarily. This is better seen when compared with the verb *nahana* 'make' in its copular function. Unlike *has(a)*, *nahana* can predicate a physical transformation, taking two NPs as its subject and complement, respectively. Consider Example (31) from a text about a man who receives a vision, through dreams, of being a peccary:

- (31) *nu fuara paki has-ma-ji*
 that person peccary become-REC.PT-3.PT+DECL
 'That person became a peccary.'

As the story goes, the main character of the story from which (31) comes becomes obsessed with peccaries and starts living with a pack of them. The sentence in (31) describes how this person lives like a peccary but he continues to be in a human

form. By contrast, when the character finally transforms physically into a peccary, the verb *nahana* is used:

- (32) *tura paki nahana-ra-ma-ji nu fuara*
 then peccary make-DISTR-REC.PT-3.PT+DECL that person
 ‘Then that person turned into a peccary.’

Interestingly, the use of *nahana* versus *has(a)* is also related to the possibility of having a nominal versus an adjectival complement.¹⁵ Indeed, the verb *nahana* in the data apparently can only have a nominal complement, whereas *has(a)* can have a nominal or adjectival complement. This distribution can be seen, for instance, in the use of *has(a)* (as opposed to *nahana*) in relation to the semantic field of color terms and their semantically associated network.¹⁶ To the extent that changing colors does not typically transform an object, *has(a)* can predicate change of state with color terms. Hence, (33) or (34) make perfect semantic and syntactic sense in Wampis, but their counterparts with *nahana* in (35) do not:

- (33) *Puhupata janku has-ma-ji*
 Puhupata yellow become-REC.PT-3.PT+DECL
 ‘Puhupata became yellow.’ (i.e. because he has become sick)
- (34) *intsa saar has-ma-ji*
 river transparent become-REC.PT-3.PT+DECL
 ‘The river became transparent.’
- (35) **Puhupata janku nahana-ra-ma-ji*
 **intsa saar nahana-ra-ma-ji*

7. *Has* as a particle: NP/ADJP *has* V

The intermediate form *has(a)* has been further grammaticalized as a form *has* which occurs in several related constructions in the company of an inflected verb (either an auxiliary, an existential or a full lexical verb). In this construction, *has* stands between the complement and the other verb, acting as an aspectual particle that marks completed change of state with a semantic scope over the complement NP or AdjP. As an aspectual particle, *has* does not receive any kind of morphology and remains the same without regard to person, tense or other inflectional categories of

15. This observation was pointed out to me by an anonymous reviewer.

16. Color terms are adjectives in Wampis, cf. Peña (2015a) for a distinction between adjectives and nouns in this language.

Wampis. The copular complement is prototypically used in an attributive function. In the data collected, nothing can stand either between *has* and the following verb or between *has* and the complement.

- (36) *ii nunka maa-nai-tu-ka-tasa fira wi-tja-matai,*
 1PL earth kill-RECIP-APPL-INTENS-PURP/3.SS well go-NEG-1SG/3.DS
 [tfitfama=ka uunta has a-wa-i]
 problem=FOC big become exist-3SG.SBJ-DECL
 ‘The fight for our land (i.e. land rights) did not go well, the problem is big.’
- (37) *wi=ka nakunkuti has puha-ha-i*
 1SG=FOC happy become live+IPFV-1SG.SUBJ-DECL
 ‘I am happy.’ (i.e. ‘I keep being happy.’)¹⁷

As we see, the morpheme *has* remains the same in spite of the subject being different (a third person in (36) and a first person in (37)). Compare with the verbal use of *has(a)*, where it receives person and mood inflection:

- (38) *wi=ka nakunkuti has-ha-i*
 1SG=FOC happy become-1SG.SBJ-DECL
 ‘I have become happy.’

It is possible to analyze the construction [*NP/ADJP has V*] as a type of auxiliary construction, i.e. “a mono-clausal structure minimally consisting of a lexical verb element that contributes lexical content to the construction and an auxiliary verb element that contributes some grammatical or functional content to the construction” (Anderson 2006: 7). However, there are important distinctions between the construction [*NP/ADJP has V*] and typical auxiliary verb constructions in Wampis. First, auxiliatation with posture verbs in Wampis is actually very productive. Notice that the order of the elements in that case is [*VMAIN VAUX*],¹⁸ where the auxiliary verb is the posture verb. Consider the next examples:

- (39) *kana-ku-mi tipi-sa-ai-pa*
 sleep+IPFV-SIM-2SG.SS lie.down-ATT-APPR-PROHIB
 ‘Don’t be sleeping.’

17. This sentence has two meanings. The root *puhu* ‘live’ functions as an auxiliary with durative sense, in which case it carries the meaning given in (37) above. In the literal (original) sense of *puhu* ‘live’, the sentence means ‘I live happy(ly).’ In addition, notice that sentence (37) means ‘I am happy/I keep being happy’, but it does not mean ‘I keep becoming happy’; rather it means that the subject already became happy and remains in that state for a duration of time (expressed by *puha* ‘live’+IPFV).

18. By *VMAIN* it is meant “semantically main verb”.

- (40) *nana-kā puha-ma-ji Najapi*
 fly-INTENS/3SG.SS live+IPFV-REC.PT-3.PT+DECL Nayap
 ‘Nayap¹⁹ was/kept flying.’

Both posture verbs in (39)–(40) act as auxiliaries that add a continuous sense to the action of the semantically main verb. In addition, notice that in the examples above the semantically main verbs *kana* or *nana* can receive inflection, unlike *has* in (36) or (37) above.

Secondly, another source of auxiliiation in Wampis is a construction involving a copula verb plus its complement. In this construction, the semantic head is actually a nominalized complement of the copula. This has given rise to complex nominalized past tense constructions such as the one shown in (41).

- (41) *mina apatfi-ru=ka [auhumatu-inu a-ja-ji] ...*
 my grandfather-1SG=FOC inform-NMLZ COP-REM.PT-3.PT
 ‘My grandfather used to tell...’ (lit. ‘was an informer/teller’)

As we can see, neither prototypical auxiliary constructions with a posture verb or complement structures with a copula correspond exactly to the construction [*NP/Adj P has V*]; that is, in [*NP/Adj P has V*] *has* is neither inflected or nominalized, nor there is a subordinating marking received by *has*.

A related construction with *has* plus a copula cliticized by a demonstrative is illustrated in the following examples. In (42), the character of the story is ordered to carry a head-trophy and feels afraid of it because the head has been skinned and therefore she is observing the skull with its teeth. The translation of this by Wampis speakers was that the head-trophy “was all teeth”:²⁰

- (42) [*nai=ka has a=nu*] *fiira ifa-mai-inu*
 tooth=FOC become COP=that very be.afraid-POT-NMLZ
 ‘What was all teeth (i.e. the head) was very frightening.’

The construction shown in (42), in which a demonstrative cliticizes to a copula, constitutes a frequent strategy to obtain relative clauses. In this way, a structural grammatical nominalization (Shibatani 2009) introduces a lexical noun, a nominalized verb or an adjective in attributive or equative function. At the discourse level, this structural device serves the purpose of identifiability and referentiality. Example (43) is an instance where the copula-plus-encliticized demonstrative structure has a lexical noun (*fuara* ‘person’) as a complement:

19. Name of a mythological character.

20. In Spanish, the translation given by my Wampis teachers is “era puro diente”.

- (43) *tfitfa-ma-ji* [*nu fuara a=nu*]
 speak-REC.PT-3.PT+DECL that person COP=that
 ‘She spoke, that person.’

The next examples have nominalized forms as complements of the relativized copula:

- (44) [*nu itsā uku-ka-mau a=nu*] = *na nika-aw-ara-u*
 that Etsa leave-INTENS-NMLZ COP=DEM=ACC know-HIAF-PL-NMLZ
 ‘they knew what was left by Etsa.’ (i.e. the knowledge left by the Etsa, a cultural hero)
- (45) *uunta* [*tfai=haī māa-nai-ka-u a=nu*] = *na*
 old.man bear=COM kill-RECIP-INTENS-NMLZ COP=that=ACC
 ‘[My father used to tell me about...] an ancestor that fought a bear.’²¹

By contrast, when *has* occurs in the construction with a cliticized copula described in the preceding lines, *has* never occurs inflected or nominalized and its scope is over the copula complement (see (42) above). Thus, the more specialized function of *has* in this construction is to mark a completive aspect.

A possible analysis related to the occurrence of *has* in the construction [*NP has V*] is that *has* may have acquired a derivational function as some sort of adjectivalizer. However, the evidence at hand suggests that the use of *has* does not involve “true” derivation. Consider the following example:

- (46) *tantan hakinu has puha-u timaji*
 belly AUG become live+IPFV-NMLZ NARR
 ‘[Having eating much she...] was pot-bellied.’

In (46), a character becomes “pot-bellied” after eating a lot. The concept of ‘pot-bellied’ is derived by adding the augmentative *hakinu* to *tantan* ‘belly’.²² By contrast, rather than being used as some sort of derivational device, *has* denotes the change of state (becoming pot-bellied) as being completed; i.e. the function of *has* is an aspectual one.

21. Notice that the combination *māa-nai* ‘kill-RECIP’ yields the conventional meaning of ‘fight’, and not what would be the literal translation ‘kill each other’.

22. *Hakinu* is historically composed of the base *hak* and the agentive nominalizer *-inu*. The reader may notice the resemblance of *hak* with *has*. In fact, *hak* is also grammaticalized from the root *waha* ‘stand’. It comes from the active stem *waha-ka* ‘stand up’ seen in Section 5, Example (10). This morpheme is less frequent in my data and more research is needed to fully assess its functions in the language as well as its distribution with regard to *has*. *Hak*, in combination with the agentive nominalizer *-inu*, has arisen as an augmentative derivational morpheme in Wampis, e.g. *winī* ‘his/her mouth’ → *winī hakinu* ‘big-mouthed’, *muntsu* ‘breast’ → *muntsu hakinu* ‘busty’.

8. Further developments of *has*

8.1 The construction NP NP/AdjP *has*

In the previous section, it was established that *has*, as an invariant form, takes part in larger structures characterized by the presence of an auxiliary or copular verb. In addition to that, *has* also occurs alone as a particle forming non-verbal predications in the stricter sense of a predication without a verb. Examples (47) and (48) constitute instances of this type of non-verbal predication. Further, they prove that *has* is truly a particle here, as it does not change or inflect regardless of person or tense/aspect of the clause: in (47), the subject is a third person, whereas in (48) the subject is a first person. Notice that *waki_hipita* is a complex form which possesses the conventional meaning of ‘skinny’. Thus, a potential analysis of *waki* as subject and *hipita* as complement of *has* is ruled out (the status of *waki_hipita* as a complex form is evident in (53) below, where the subject is a 1SG person).

(47) *kame nī waki_hipita has*
truly 3SG stomach_flat become
‘Truly, he was skinny.’

(48) *wi=ka waki_hipita has*
1SG=FOC stomach_flat become
‘As for me, I am skinny.’

Compare with previous examples like (38), repeated below in (49). In this example, *has* is used as a verb, receiving inflection – in this case it indexes person and carries a declarative mood suffix.

(49) *wi=ka nakunkuti has-ha-i*
1SG=FOC happy become-1SG.SBJ-DECL
‘As for me, I am happy.’

Other inflection, such as switch-reference, are not marked either with *has* as particle:

(50) *wakani has tuki mää-tasā mina-u timaji*
soul become INTERJ kill-PURP/3.SS come+IPFV-NMLZ NARR
‘Having become a soul, umm, he was coming to kill...’²³

Again, compare with examples where *has(a)* is treated as a verb, such as (51), where it receives switch-reference suffixes:

23. To ‘become a soul’ is a translation given by Wampis speakers. Culturally, when a person killed another person (or had the desire to avenge a relative who had been killed), that person was regarded to be in an “altered” state. This is what is meant as ‘become a soul.’ The example is consistent with the use of *has*, which, as was observed, does not involve physical transformation necessarily.

- (51) *nakunkuti hasa-nu wi-a-ha-i*
 happy become-1SG.SS go-IPFV-1SG.SBJ-DECL
 ‘Having become pleased, I am going away.’

Notice that *has*, in constructions where it is used as a particle (and where there is no other verb in the clause), can receive present or past interpretation depending on the context. However, future interpretation is apparently incompatible with these constructions. In elicitation, speakers needed to use *has(a)* as a verb in order to render future tense. Thus (52) is ungrammatical with a future interpretation, but (53) with a fully inflected verb *has(a)* is grammatical:

- (52) *wi=ka waki_hipita has*
 1SG=FOC stomach_flat become
 ‘As for me, I am skinny.’ (but cf. *‘I will be/become skinny.’)
- (53) *wi=ka waki_hipita has-tata-ha-i*
 1SG=FOC stomach_flat become-DEF.FUT-1SG.SBJ-DECL
 ‘As for me, I will become skinny.’

It was stated in the introduction that instances of *has(a)* (as a verb) and *has* (as a particle) had not been analyzed in detail in the literature on Chicham languages. Furthermore, copula particles have not been reported before for Chicham languages (Turner 1958; Turner 1992; Corbera Mori 1994; Fast et al. 1996; Overall 2007). The above discussion proves that a further step in the grammaticalization of *has* is its use as a particle in Wampis.

8.2 Temporal and locational uses of *has*

Wampis also uses the particle *has* in clauses that express a change in location and time. This can be understood as a metaphorical extension of the primary semantics of *has(a)*, which involves change of state. Example (54) illustrates a change in time:

- (54) *tikitfi kinta-tin has...*
 other day-TIME become
 ‘Another day arrived...’

The next sentences constitute examples of change of location marked by *has*:

- (55) *turafa utfi=ka tukî paki=hain=ka ihusa kanu wi-a*
 but child=FOC always peccary=COM=FOC close.by sleep go-IPFV
tura [atakfa imai has=fa] tukî nuni-san...
 and again far.there become=ADD always do.that-SUB/3SS
 ‘but that young-man always went to sleep close to the peccary, and [when the peccary went far over there] again too, he (the young-man) always did that (i.e. he followed too)...’

- (56) *imai imai mitfá nunka has papi*
 far.there far.there cold/GEN earth become document
 ‘The document came to the far away land of cold (i.e. Lima, capital of Peru).’

In both examples above, the meaning of *has* can be interpreted as ‘become at place.’ Notice that the location argument with *has* in examples like (56) above is not marked with a locative marker,²⁴ unlike verbs of movement (57) or posture (58):

- (57) *aha=nama wi-a-mi=ka?*
 garden=LOC go-IPFV-2SG.SBJ=Q
 ‘Are you going to the garden?’
- (58) *tsukin=numa waha-sa-ma-ji*
 corner.garden=LOC stand-ATT-REC.PT-3.PT+DECL
 ‘He stood in the corner of the garden.’

There are yet other examples with the particle *has* in Wampis where the location is marked with a locative marker as it occurs with motion and posture verbs such as the ones in (57) and (58). In these instances, one may argue that the clause has a more active (movement) interpretation rather than a stative interpretation. Semantically, such interpretation can be paraphrased as ‘Agent *moves* towards location’. For instance, in a sentence like (59), the location/goal (waã ‘hole’) is marked with a locative postposition and the starting point (‘tree’) with the ablative.

- (59) *numi=numa=ia jakuma pih waã=numa has mah*
 tree=LOC=ABL howler.monkey IDEO:jump hole=LOC become INTERJ
 ‘From the tree the howler monkey quickly went into the cave...mah!’

In Example (59), it is also very interesting the interaction between the ideophone *pih*, that conveys the idea of jumping quickly, with the particle *has*. However, note that the interpretation of change of location can be conveyed by *has* alone, as in (55)–(56) above, or as in (60), which was translated as ‘he appeared in the middle of the fire’.

- (60) *híá waiti ihus puha-u [hii=numa has]*
 house/GEN door nearby live+IPFV-NMLZ fire=LOC become
 ‘he was near the door, (then) [he appeared in the middle of the fireplace].’

Structurally, instances of *has* such as the ones shown in (59) and (60) are treated exactly as a verb of motion: there is an intransitive subject (a nominative NP in

24. Notice that *nunka* ‘earth’ in (56) belongs in a subset of nouns that can receive an autosegmental locative morpheme (a high pitch) in its last vowel. However, that is not the case here: *nunka* is pronounced [núŋka] in the example above and not [nuŋká].

(59) and an omitted third person in (60)) and the location is clearly marked as an oblique with a locative postposition. What is interesting is that, judging by the form and meaning of the morpheme involved, this seems to be a further development of *has* ‘become’ rather than an older development from the stative stem of the posture verb stem *waha-sa* ‘stand-Attenuative (~be standing)’. However, an extension of the form *concrete action (stand) > abstract action (become) > concrete action (movement)* seems atypical in grammaticalization theory, as it is not expected that a desemantized form acquires more contentful meaning (Givón 1975; Heine et al. 1991; Haspelmath 1998). An alternative hypothesis could be that *has* is extending its functions to that of a directional marker, but because it is not fully grammaticalized in that function yet, it is drawing on the structure of a motion verb. While the proposed semantic interpretation is arguably very fine, the fact that *has* also occurs in the syntactic structure of a motion verb is intriguing given its stative origin.

9. Conclusions

This paper has reported on different constructions associated with the morpheme *has(a)*, which serves as an expression of inchoative ‘become’. In terms of its historical development, the most likely source of *has(a)* is the stative stem of the verb ‘stand’: *waha-sa* ‘stand-Attenuative’. Figure 1 summarizes the development of *waha* into *has(a)*.

Form	<i>waha-sa</i>	→	<i>waha-sa</i>	→	<i>has(a)</i> (Verb)	→	<i>has</i> (Particle)
Semantics	Posture	→	Existential	→	Become at state	→	Become at state
			Locational		Become at time		Become at time
							Become at place
							Move to place (?)

Figure 1. Possible development of *has* ‘become’ from *waha-sa* ‘stand-Attenuative’

As can be seen, the source of the verbal copula *has(a)* and particle *has* comes from the extension of a positional/postural verb through its use in existential/locational predicates. While the source *waha-sa* ‘stand-Attenuative’ has retained its original postural meaning, *has(a)* got a new, more abstract meaning, to the extent that nowadays *has(a)* ‘become’ is no longer interchangeable with *waha-sa*.

In addition, this paper has reported the existence of a copula particle, *has*, which for comparative purposes is interesting since no copula particle had been reported previously for Chicham languages. Further developments of this particle, specifically its apparent use as a motion verb, raise questions about the directionality of grammatical change that need to be more thoroughly explored in Wampis.

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Abbreviations

ACC	Accusative	INTERJ	Interjection
ADD	Additive	JUSS	Jussive
APP	Applicative	LOC	Locative
APPR	Apprehensive	NARR	Narrative
ATT	Attenuative	NMLZ	Nominalizer
AUG	Augmentative	NEG	Negative
COM	Comitative	PL	Plural
COP	Copula	POT	Potential
DECL	Declarative	PURP	Purpose
DEF	Definite	PROHIB	Prohibitive
DIST	Distal/Distant	PT	Past
DISTR	Distributive Action	Q	Question
DS	Different Subject	REC	Recent
FOC	Focus	RECIP	Reciprocal
FUT	Future	REDUP	Reduplicative
GEN	Genitive	REM	Remote
HIAF	High Affectedness (of Patient or Location)	SBJ	Subject
IDEO	Ideophone	SG	Singular
IMM	Immediate	SIM	Simultaneous
INTENS	Intensive	SS	Same Subject
IPFV	Imperfective		

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Evidence for the development of action nominals in Awetí towards ergatively-marked predicates

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Non-verbal predicates without any copula occur at a high frequency in Awetí discourse. Especially numerous are action nominals as heads of action nominal constructions (ANCs) with the structure of possessive NPs. There is evidence that in this Tupian language action nominals of a specific type have lost their pragmatic markedness and undergone a reanalysis as nuclei of main clause predicates. This tendency of a reanalysis of nominalizations has been observed in a variety of South American language families. As monoclausal constructions, ANCs have properties and possibilities which are absent in clauses with finite verbs. One of them is their consistent ergative person-marking and ordering of constituents, compared to Awetí finite verbs with their asymmetrical indexing pattern, and a constituent order in clauses with finite verbs which is motivated by discourse-pragmatic principles. Another is the possibility of a change in perspective in 3rd person arguments marked by an 'antipassive' on an action nominal, while 3rd person reference on finite verbs is determined by a person-animacy hierarchy.

Keywords: Tupian, nominalization, reanalysis, antipassive, corpus study

1 Introduction

The following study discusses the hypothesis of a reanalysis as main clause predicates of a specific type of nominalizations in Awetí discourse, in order to account for their high frequency of occurrence in any text genre and discourse context and for the broad range of verbal properties they display.

The analysis is entirely corpus-based. The field data consists of different types of narratives (myths, historical and autobiographical narratives) as well as descriptions and explanations of cultural techniques and traditions. Most of it was

collected and annotated between 2000 and 2006 during the DoBeS Awetí Language Documentation Project, hosted at the Free University of Berlin in cooperation with the Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi in Belém/ Brazil and financed by the Volkswagen Foundation. The annotated data amounts to approximately 18.5 hours. For the corpus underlying this study six female and nine male speakers were interviewed. The data was annotated in close collaboration with five younger Awetí field assistants, of whom two were bilingual teachers of the village school. This study does not include a quantitative analysis, since the use of one kind of construction over the other in different parts of the texts may additionally depend on other factors, such as genre conventions, information structure, verb semantics, etc., so that an overall number without a qualitative analysis may not be very meaningful.¹

Awetí, spoken by about 200 individuals² in two villages in the Upper Xingu cultural area within the confinements of the Parque Indígena do Xingu in Mato Grosso, Brazil, has got typological features of a typical Tupian language: it is agglutinating, both prefixing and suffixing, mostly head-final and head-marking, and the indexing of transitive verbs occurs according to a person-animacy hierarchy. Instead of a class of adjectives it has descriptive verbs.³ Term arguments in the 3rd person need not be overtly expressed. Oblique arguments and adjuncts are marked by postpositions. Unlike languages from the Tupi-Guaranian branch, to which it is closely related, Awetí has no morphological case-marking on term arguments.⁴ The constituent order in the verb phrase, moreover, seems to depend on discourse-pragmatic criteria, although there is some weak evidence from elicited data for a default SVO order. Awetí non-verbal clauses do not have a copula. The indexing of verbs, as will be shown further down, presents a “split-ergative” system, in that it is ergative except for the 1st person singular.

The text will be structured as follows: In Section 2 an overview will be given on general features of Awetí non-verbal predicative clauses and of the nominalizations that can form such predicates. Section 3 will present characteristics of clauses with finite verbal predicates. In Section 4 morphological and syntactic properties

1. A quantitative analysis of Awetí predicates in a comparative corpus study was carried out for 453 clause units, corresponding to about 20 minutes of oral discourse, taken from two different text genres (see Haig et al. 2011). Of those 453 clause units, only 72 of 206 in one of the texts and 119 of 247 in the other had finite verbal predicates. About the same number of main clauses had nominal predicates formed with *-tu*.

2. The numbers are from an IPEAX census carried out in 2011, cf. <<http://pib.socioambiental.org/pt/povo/aweti>>.

3. Cf. Gabas (2006).

4. For a genetic classification of the Awetí language see Drude (2011b).

of ANCs, as encountered in the corpus, will be described. The properties of action nominals functioning as predicates in main clauses will be given in Section 5. Section 6 will summarize the differences to verbal predicates and present arguments in favor of the hypothesis that action nominals of this kind should be considered full equivalents to finite verbal predicates. A general scenario of a reanalysis of this specific type of action nominal as an alternative, ergatively-marked verbal predicate will be discussed in a concluding Section 7.

2. Predicate nominal clauses

In Awetí, clauses headed by non-verbal predicates can be divided into attributive, equative and locative ones.⁵ Relevant here are equative clauses with predicates consisting of certain types of nominalizations. Most of these are action nominalizations formed with the suffix *-tu*. Nominalizations can be formed from active and/or stative verbs. The different types of nominalizations that can be found in Awetí are listed in Table 1:

Table 1. Overview of nominalizations in Awetí

Affix (verb type)	Type of nominalization
<i>-tu</i> (<i>-u</i> ~ <i>-ku</i> ~ <i>-pu</i>) (active)	Action nominal (main, complement, adjunct clause); object/result nominal
<i>-(y)tu</i> (stative)	Nominalization of bearer of quality
<i>-at</i> (active)	Agentive nominalization (headless relative clause)
<i>-at</i> (stative)	Nominalization of bearer of quality ⁶
<i>-ap</i> (all)	Instrumental/ locative nominalization; action nominal (relative, adjunct clause); object nominal
<i>mi-</i> (active transitive)	Patient nominalization; action nominal (relative clause)
<i>-aw</i> (active)	'Gerund'; subordinate action nominal

A non-verbal clause, due to the absence of a copula, may minimally consist of a noun and a clause-final particle. It may additionally contain a TAM particle in second

5. See Reiter (2012: 249ff) for more detailed information.

6. Only stative verb roots and nouns can be combined with the suffixes *-(y)tu* and *-at* to form 'nominalizations of bearer of quality'. According to Drude's analysis (2009: 7), the two suffixes are functionally equivalent, but the *-at* variant only occurs when the form also has a suffix of verbal aspect. In my corpus, however, there is a counterexample to this claim (cf. Reiter 2012: 186, example (161)).

position,⁷ as in (1), or an adverbial expression, preferentially at the beginning of the clause, as shown in (2):

- (1) *En tut ne, uja.*
 2PRO FUT PART PART
 ‘You will be (i.e. survive), you see.’
- (2) *Mote wian an ‘ukakyr-yka a’yn.*
 long.time still NEG rooster-NEG PART
 ‘For a long time there had not been any rooster(s).’

Note that in (2) the noun in predicate function is combined with verbal negation, the clitic particle *an* and the suffix-(y)ka, indicating that the scope of negation extends over the whole proposition.⁸ Nominal negation, by contrast, is expressed by the suffix-*e’ym*, as in (3):

- (3) *N=er-e’ym kitā ‘ukakyt. Arukakyt ‘ytoto n=et a’yn.*
 3=name-NEG TOP rooster rooster real 3=name PART
 ‘That’s not its name, *ukakyt* (rooster). *Arukakyt* is its real name.’
 (lit.: ‘That’s its non-name, *‘ukakyt*. The real *arukakyt* is its name.’)

Example (3) also illustrates that the order of subject and predicate noun in predicate nominal clauses may be changed by topicalization. In (3) the predicate noun is promoted into first position by a topicalizing particle *kitā*, an element that always occurs in second position following the topicalized constituent. The second clause in (3) shows the default ordering of two nouns in a non-verbal clause, with the subject being followed by the predicate.

The Awetí nominalizations listed in Table 1, too, may be used referentially and predicatively. They differ, however, with regard to their combinability with nominal and verbal morphology. A general overview is given in Table 2.

In addition to the general combinatorial restrictions of the different nominalized forms with regard to nominal and verbal morphology, they also show differing behavior depending on their specific usage. This is the case with action nominals and will be explored in more detail in Section 4 and 5.

7. The second position in an Awetí clause is occupied by one or more particles, such as topicalizers, evidentials, TAM and several others. Other particles occur in clause-final position.

8. That nouns in predicative function are treated like stative verbs and receive verbal morphology (prefixes, negation and aspect) is a feature Awetí shares with the closely related language Mawé and with Tupi-Guaranian languages (Meira 2006). Meira (2006: 190), in his own analysis, opts for a classification as “stative words”, in order to avoid the categorization of these elements as either ‘verb’ or ‘noun’. This ‘interface’ situation may also have facilitated the formation process of clause-like ANCs.

Table 2. Combinability of nominalizations with nominal and verbal morphology⁹

Nominal	<i>-tu</i>	<i>-(y)tu</i>	<i>-at</i> (AV)	<i>-ap</i>	<i>mi-</i>	<i>-aw</i>
NPST	–	X	X	X	X	–
REL	–	X	–	X	X	–
NEG	X	X	X	X	X	X
PL	–	X	X	–	–	–
ATT	–	X	X	–	–	–
Verbal	<i>-tu</i>	<i>-(y)tu</i>	<i>-at</i> (AV)	<i>-ap</i>	<i>mi-</i>	<i>-aw</i>
VAL	X	–	–	–	–	–
INCORP	X	–	–	–	X	–
ASP	X	X	X	X	X	X
ANTI	X	not applicable	–	X	–	X
RED	X	X	X	X	X	X

Nominal properties that distinguish all other nominalizations from action nominals formed with *-tu* and *-aw* are that the former are combinable with nominal tense and with a marker indicating alienable possession, while the latter two are not. Examples for a combination of the *mi-* and *-ap* nominalization with nominal past are given in (4a) and (b).¹⁰ An example of the nominalization with *mi-* with a marker *e-* of alienable possession is given in (4b):

- (4) a. *Eu'wyp ipomologawut mā a'yn ne.*
 e-u'wyp i=po-mologe-ap-put mā a'yn ne
 2SG-arrow 1SG=pull.out.VT-NOM-NPST here PART PART
 'Your arrow which I pulled out is here.'
- b. *Jatān ete pira'yt atu-za e-mi-'ū-zoko-put.*
 DEM POSP fish grandfather-PL REL-NOMpat-eat.VT-IMPf-NPST
 'Around here was the fish which our grandparents used to eat.'

All of the nominalizations discussed here can be negated by a nominal suffix *-e'ym*; however, the position of the suffix is not the same as in the other cases for the nominalization with *-yту* and for action nominals formed with *-aw* and *-tu*. In both action nominals of these more verb-like types the marker of negation precedes the nominalizer, following any other suffix, while in the types formed with *-ap* and

9. Nominalizations of 'bearer of quality' formed with *-at* are very rare in the corpus so that it is not possible to make any claim for their combinatorial restrictions.

10. A suffix of "nominal past" in Tupian languages indicates that a noun referent "no longer serves its intended function" (Jensen 1998: 510) or has ceased to exist. In action nominals the suffix indicates past action.

mi- the negation marker is the final suffix as in ordinary nouns. An example of the negation of a nominalization with *-(y)tu* is given in (5), where the negation follows the “stative word”:¹¹

- (5) *Kiraj-kiraj-e'ym-ytu-zan* (w)ezotsu kitā pirāyt 'u-zoko-tu
 RED-tasty.ST-NNEG-NOM-ATT only TOP fish eat.VT-IMPF-NOM
wian ogywan.
 still boy.in.reclusion
 ‘The boy in (puberty) reclusion still only eats fish which is not tasty at all.’
 (lit.: ‘Only in the function of one which is not tasty at all is the fish the boy in reclusion is still in the habit of eating.’)

In (6) the negation is illustrated on a form with *-tu* in a main clause:

- (6) *Nā=temoto-tur-e'ym-pu* ti kitā me, Awakapipytang
 3=surrender.VI-OPT-NNEG-NOM EVID DEM PART NPROF
'e-ju-tu wo w=epe me.
 call.VI-IMPF-NOM POSP 3COREF=POSP PART
 ‘He did not want to surrender, this one, when they were calling him Awakapipytang.’

Nominal morphology restricted to the nominalization of ‘bearer of quality’ and to agentive nominalization with *-at* are plural suffixes and *-(z)an* suffixes of attributive case.¹² For the latter an example is given in (5); the former is illustrated in (7):

- (7) *T=a'yr¹³-ytu-za* wan t-emiat watu o=ut-aw a'yn.
 3= child-,NOM-PL but 3=fish.ST much 3COREF= come.VT-NOM PART
 ‘But those who do have children have a lot of fish to come.’
 (lit.: ‘But (for) those with children the coming of fish is a lot.’)

The action nominal with *-tu* combines with a broad range of verbal features which are only partially combinable with the other forms. The affixation of valency-changing morphology is restricted to this form. An example of the valency-increasing simple causative prefix *mo-* with this form is shown in (8):

- (8) *I=mo-m'ye-tu* 'en a'yn.
 1SG=CAUS-wake.up.VI-NOM 2SG.PRO PART
 ‘You woke me up.’

11. Cf. footnote 10.

12. The so-called ‘attributive’ case in Tupian languages has been described as either indicating “the role or function of a noun [referent], [...] the end product of a process [...] or a change of state” (Jensen 1998: 507).

13. Cf. footnote 10.

Incorporation of alienably and inalienably possessible objects only works with this form-*tu* and with the nominalization formed with *mi-*. Examples are given in (9a) and (b):

- (9) a. *Nā=por-e-’inī-zỹ-tu* *ti nā me.*
 3=ANTI-REL-hammock-fasten.VT -NOM EVID 3PRO PART
 ‘He fastened her hammock.’
 (lit.: ‘He hammock-fastened her.’)
- b. *Kitā ’é, mi-njyt-kỹj-mut,* *nā ti kitā kitā tsu*
 DEM PART NOMPAT-sister-kill.VT-NPST, 3PRO EVID TOP DEM like
t=ekozoko-at ti me.
 3=be.VI-NOMAG EVID PART
 ‘That one, (the) one whose sister had been killed, he was someone who was like that.’

All types of nominalization, however, can show reduplication and be combined with verbal aspect. An example for reduplication in nominalizations with *-(y)tu* is given in (5) above.

The ‘antipassive’ prefix *po(r)-*, which does not occur with finite verbs, can be combined with nominalizations of transitive verbs and even be found in nominalized forms with a clearly nominal reading, such as the instrument nominalization in (10):¹⁴

- (10) *w=e-po-kyts-ap*
 3COREF=REL-ANTI-saw.VT-NOMINSTR
 ‘his (own) saw’ (‘his instrument to saw with’)

While the nominalization of stative verbs formed with the suffix *-(y)tu* combines with nominal rather than with verbal morphology, the opposite is true for action nominals formed with *-tu*. At the same time the use of these action nominals as main clause predicates is very productive in Awetí discourse. This suggests that they should be classified as verbs rather than as nouns, an idea that will be further explored in Section 6.

14. This may be a case of extension by analogy. In order to be able to mark a possessor on the form, expressing the A argument of the nominalized verb and referring to the agent, i.e. the user of the instrument, an ‘antipassive’ must be inserted. A form without the ‘antipassive’ prefix would emphasize the patient, as in *t=e-kyz-ap* (3=REL-wash.VT-NOMINSTR) ‘something (with which) to wash him/her’.

3. Verbal clauses

The data of the Awetí corpus does not indicate any basic constituent order for verbal clauses.¹⁵ S, O and finite V do not have fixed positions relative to each other. All six combinations are possible, even though certain patterns can be observed to occur more frequently than others. Grammatical as well as pragmatic factors influence the variant constituent order. It can further be observed that in Awetí discourse arguments, especially subject NPs or pronouns, are often omitted. The person reference system obligatorily indexes one participant on the verb, which in the case of two participants is the one ranking higher in the person-animacy hierarchy.

Table 3. Person reference on active and stative verbs

Person/ Function	Active verbs			Stative verbs
	A	P	S _A	S _P
1SG	a(t)-	i(t)-	a(j)-	i(t)-
2SG	e(t)-	e(j)-	e(j)-	e(j)-
1PL.INCL	ti(t)-	kaj-	kaj-	kaj-
1PL.EXCL	ozoj(t)-	ozo-	ozo-	ozo-
2PL	pej(t)-	e'i-	e'i-	e'i-
3 (SG/PL)	wej(t)-	–	o-, w-	i-, t-
3COREF	–		–	–

As shown in Table 3, the person reference system on Awetí verbs is asymmetrical, but mostly displays an ergative-absolutive pattern: one set of prefixes is used to index the subject of intransitive active (S_A) and stative (S_P) clauses or the object of a transitive clause (P), and a distinct set of prefixes indexes the subject of a transitive clause (A).¹⁶ Only the person prefixes for the 1st person singular and the 3rd person deviate from this pattern. In the 3rd person there is a different prefix for S_A, S_P and A, and for P there is no marking at all. The pattern for the 1st person singular can be analyzed as reflecting an active system in that the marking of S_A and A, identical preceding consonant-initial and similar preceding vowel-initial verb stems, is opposed to the marking of P and S_P.

The table also shows that on Awetí transitive verbs only one argument, either A or P, can be marked. The marking is determined by principles of a person animacy

15. See Reiter (2012: 252ff.) for a quantitative analysis and discussion of different patterns of constituent order encountered in the corpus.

16. For a detailed account of the syntactic behavior of free and clitic pronouns see Reiter (2012: 107ff.).

hierarchy, “i.e. a 1st person participant is marked before a 2nd person participant and both are marked before a 3rd person participant, independent of whether these function as subject or object of the clause.” (Reiter 2012: 117). If there are two 3rd person participants, only A can be marked, leading to a gap in the P paradigm of active verbs. In addition, the 3rd person prefix is unmarked for number. Plurality can be overtly expressed by a 3rd person pronoun *tsā/ ta’i* (‘they’) or by a suffix *-za* on nouns referring to humans.¹⁷

4. Action nominal constructions (ANCs)

Action nominals, according to Comrie’s (1976: 178) definition are “nouns derived from verbs (verbal nouns) with the general meaning of an action or a process, capable of inflecting or taking prepositions or postpositions in the same way as non-derived nouns, and showing reasonable productivity.” They constitute the heads of ANCs, their dependents referring to the participants in the action or processes expressed by the action nominal. ANCs always have a “parasitic” syntactic structure¹⁸, i.e. their marking also serves other functions in the language, in the case of Awetí the marking of elements in a possessive NP.

ANCs in Awetí are always formed with an active verb stem which can be transitive and – with the exception of the *mi-* construction of patient nominalization – intransitive. They can occur in various syntactic environments as modifiers of NPs and VPs and complements of postpositions. The action nominals which are most productive in Awetí are formed with the suffix *-tu* or one of its allomorphs. In this usage, ANCs can be either arguments of finite verbs in matrix clauses, corresponding in function to subordinate clauses, or – as will be argued in this study – they form main clauses by themselves as alternative constructions to main clauses headed by finite verbs.

Depending on their respective usage, ANCs in Awetí present nominal and verbal features to differing degrees and at different frequencies. In the following discussion, the possessors of action nominals, depending on their respective function in a corresponding finite clause, will be referred to as S, A and P arguments. They represent the alternative morphosyntactic patterns by which the notional arguments of the nominalized verb stems are expressed in the nominalized clauses.¹⁹

17. The marking of plurality of participants in Awetí is generally restricted to humans or entities with human characteristics (cf. Example (7) above).

18. Cf. Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2003: 725, 747).

19. Cf. Gildea (1998: 32).

4.1 Morphological form

Nominalizations in Awetí have the general structure of a possessive NP:

- (11) ((NP, Pro=)) ((REL-)) (NOMpat-) verb stem (-NOM)²⁰

A verb stem needs to be affixed by a nominalizer, either a suffix or the prefix *mi-*, thus forming the possessed NP. The non-obligatory possessor NP or clitic pronoun immediately precedes the possessed NP.

In Awetí, nouns can be divided into three classes according to possession.²¹ This is illustrated in (12):

- (12) a. *ta'wat* non-possessible noun
'jaguar'
- b. *w= aty kypy'yt* inalienable possession
3COREF= wife sister (double possessive construction)
'his wife's sister'
- c. *it=e-'yzapat* alienable possession
1SG=REL-bow
'my bow'

A first distinction is drawn between possessible and non-possessible nouns. A further distinction divides the possessible nouns into alienably and inalienably possessible ones. The distinction is morphologically marked by a relational prefix *e-*, as shown in (12c). All three possessive constructions can also be found with nominalizations:

- (13) a. *mi-mi'ing-e'ym* patient nominalization
NOMpat-tell.VT-NNEG (no possession)²²
'something untold' ('(that) which is not told')
- b. *nā=ti'ing-ku* action nominal
3PRO=speak.VI-NOM (inalienable possession)
'his/her language/ tongue, 'his/her speaking'
- c. *kat emikȳjmut* patient nominalization
kat e-mi-kȳj-put (alienable possession)
spirit REL-NOMpat-kill.VT-NPST
'(one) who had been killed by a spirit'

20. Simple brackets mark an obligatory nominalizing affix. Double brackets indicate optional elements.

21. Cf. Reiter (2012: 106–107).

22. Another example for a non-possessible noun is (5) above.

As outlined in (11), action nominals are either immediately preceded by an NP or by a clitic pronoun. These are summarized in the second column of Table 4. Column three further lists free personal pronouns in Awetí which are clearly etymologically related.

Table 4. Clitic pronouns in nominalizations and free pronouns

Person/ Function	Clitic pronouns	Free pronouns
	Possessor	S, A, P
1SG	i(t)=, (i)j=	atit (♂) ito (♀)
2SG	e(j)=	‘en
1PL.INCL	kaj=	kajã
1PL.EXCL	ozo=	ozoza
2PL	e’i=	‘é’ipe
3 (SG/PL)	n(ã)= / tsã= (♂) i=, t= / ta’i= (♀)	nã / tsã (♂) ĩ / ta’i (♀)
3COREF	o-, w- ²³	–

The verb roots in action nominals may further be combined with nominal and verbal morphology to differing extents, as was summarized in Table 2 above and will be presented in more detail below for action nominals formed with *-tu* in their different usages.

4.2 Argument structure of ANCs

With regard to the order of constituents it can be stated that in comparison to finite verb phrases with their pragmatic ordering, ANCs have an ergative-absolutive alignment pattern in that the P argument in an unmarked transitive ANC occupies the same position preceding the action nominal as the only argument in an intransitive ANC. This is illustrated in (14a) with a simple possessive and (b) with a double possessive structure:

- (14) a. *nã=’y’u-tu* ‘his drinking’
3=drink.VI-NOM
S
- b. *e=ty ij=a’ò-tu* ‘your mother’s scolding of me’
2SG=mother 1SG=scold.VT-NOM
A P

23. The dependent action nominal represented by the gerund form can be combined with a coreference prefix *o-*.

4.3 Use of ANCs inside the NP

In the following the use of different types of ANCs inside the NP will be described.

ANCs of a specific type can function as modifiers of NPs and be analyzed as relative clauses.²⁹ In these cases the nominalizations, which usually follow the noun in the matrix clause they modify, are formed with *-ap* for subject relativization and *mi-* for object relativization, as in (4a) and (b), repeated here for convenience:

- (4) a. *Eu'wyp [ipomologawut] mā a'yn ne.*
 e-u'wyp i=po-mo-loge-ap-put mā a'yn ne
 2SG-ARROW 1SG=ANTI-CAUS-get.out.VI-NOM-NPST here PART PART
 'Your arrow which I pulled out is here.'
- b. *Jatān ete pira'yt [atu-za e-mi-'ũ -zoko -put]*
 DEM POSP fish grandfather-PL REL-NOMPAT-eat.VT-IMPV-NPST
 [ne].
 PART
 'Around here was the fish which our grandparents used to eat.'

In (4a) the action nominal is formed from the transitive verb stem *mologe* ('pull out'), the nominalizer *-ap* and the nominal past suffix *-put*. The possessor in the ANC is the 1st person clitic pronoun *i=*. The ANC modifies the NP *eu'wyp* ('your arrow'), which constitutes the subject in a non-verbal matrix clause.

The intermediate status of action nominals between verb and noun is morphologically more transparent in Example (4b). The transitive verb root *'ũ* ('eat') is suffixed by a marker *-zoko* of imperfective verbal aspect which is followed by a suffix *-put* that marks nominal past. Immediately attached to the left of the nominalizing prefix *mi-* is a relational prefix *e-*, indicating that the referent of the nominalization is alienably possessible. The possessor NP is given by *atuza* ('grandparents'), positioned to the left of the action nominal. The matrix clause is a non-verbal locative clause formed from the NP *pira'yt* ('fish') and a PP *jatān ete* ('around here').

When ANCs form complements of postpositions, the PPs take on the function of adjunct clauses:

- (16) *Mu'jē ti kitā [ukakyt t'ing-ku] ti, [ywy'apelang*
 already EVID DEM rooster speak.VI-NOM POSP red.of.sky
ut-(t)u] ti me, o-ut ti a'yn.
 come.VI-NOM POSP PART, 3-COME.VI EVID PART
 'When the rooster had already crowed and the sun had risen, he came.'

29. Cf. Reiter (2012: 271ff.).

In (16) there are two PPs formed with the intransitive action nominals *ti'ingku* ('singing') and *utu* ('coming'). Each has got a possessor NP attached to its left, and each ANC is the object of a locative postposition *ti*, giving the adjunct clause a temporal interpretation. The matrix clause is formed by the finite intransitive verb *ut* ('come') without an overtly expressed subject argument. That the PP with the ANC has the status of a subordinate clause can further be deduced from the presence of the particle *me* which marks a clause-boundary.

ANCs of the 'gerund' type function as adjunct clauses to other clauses. The 'gerund' nominalization is formed with the suffix *-aw* attached to the verb stem and receives the same possessive proclitics as other nominalized forms. It is a dependent form, sharing the subject with the main clause predicate. This can be illustrated in (17):

- (17) *Namuput* [*w=epyk-aw*] *Enumania to-tu*, *o-to*
 after.that 3COREF-take.revenge.VI-GER NPROP go.VI-NOM 3-go.VI
 [*tsā=mo-pap-aw*].
 3PL=CAUS-finish.VI-GER
 'After that the Enumania went to take revenge, he/ they went to finish them off.'

In (17) the main clause predicates are the finite verb *oto* and the action nominal *totu*, forms of the motion verb *to* ('go'). Semantically not very complex or 'light' motion verbs like *to* ('go') or *ut* ('come') most typically occur in constructions with adjunct clauses encoded by a gerund.³⁰ The gerund forms in (17) are marked with a coreferential clitic pronoun *o* (*w* before vowels) in the case of the intransitive verb root *epyk* ('take revenge'), and in the case of the transitive stem *mopap* ('finish someone off') with a 3rd person possessor clitic *tsā=* indicating the object. Both verbs in the gerund, as stated by Drude (2011b: 73) are semantically complex and provide the content information of the event(s) referred to by the construction.

ANCs formed from the *-tu* nominalization can further have the function of complements in main clauses. In this function they occur especially in sentences where the object referent semantically corresponds to a stimulus, while the subject referent has the role of an experiencer. This is illustrated by the following two examples with action nominals formed from intransitive and transitive verb roots, respectively:

- (18) a. *Mu'jē a'yt tepe itā* [*n=ap kuje -tu*]
 already EMOT FRUST TOP 3=wing fall.VI-NOM
ti-tup a'ıza.
 1PL:INCL-see.VT EMOT
 'We have already seen his wings falling.'
 (lit.: 'It is already that we have seen his wing's falling.')

30. Cf. Drude (2011b: 96).

- b. *At-atyka=’ytoto [e=ty ij= aò-tu] me.*
 1SG -resent.VT=INTENS 2SG=mother 1SG= scold.VT-NOM PART
 ‘I resent a lot your mother’s scolding of me.’

In (18a) the possessor NP *n’ap* (‘his wing(s)’) of the ANC corresponds to the S argument of the intransitive verb *kuje* (‘fall’). The structure of (18b) was already discussed in (14b). An oblique argument or an adjunct, such as *’yp ywo* (‘with a stick’) in (19), can additionally be expressed in this kind of construction, usually immediately following the action nominal, thus keeping up its unity as one syntactic element:

- (19) “*T-aty=’ytoto [atu ij=jupã-jupã-tu ’yp ywo,]*”
 3-hurt.ST=INTENS granddad 1SG=RED-beat-NOM stick POSP
 A P
nã=’e-tu ti a’yn.
 3=say-NOM EVID PART
 “‘That Granddad repeatedly beat me with a stick hurt a lot,’ he said.”
 “‘Granddad’s repeated beating (of) me with a stick hurt a lot,” he said.”

A feature which occurs considerably more often in this and the type of ANC to be described in Section 5 than in the preceding types is the possibility to reverse the order of the two ‘arguments’ by the ‘antipassive’ prefix *po(r)-*. An example for this type of ANC was given in (15).

5. ANCs as main clause predicates

From the complement-like type described in in the preceding section a further, clause-like type of action nominal formed with *-tu* can be distinguished. The action nominal in this case can formally be described as serving as the nucleus of a predicate nominal clause. But instead of having a more nominal/ stative meaning, it appears to code main clause events, which makes it more similar to finite verbal predicates. In addition to the combinability with a broad range of verbal morphology already described in Section 2, by which it differs from other nominalizations, the ANC also syntactically deviates from the ones described in the preceding section in that it permits second position particles which may disrupt its unity as one syntactic element. This is illustrated in (20):

- (20) *[Itutu tut itemani’yp kyty] a’yn.*
 It=ut-tu tut it=e-mani’yp kyty a’yn.
 1SG=return.VI-NOM FUT 1SG= REL-manioc.sprout for PART
 ‘I will return for my manioc-sprouts.’

- (23) a. [E=kyty zotsu tepe akyj e=tutyt po-mi'ing-ku
 2SG=to indeed FRUST TOP 2SG=uncle ANTI-promise.VT-NOM
 R³² A
 w=emiamujū] a'yn ne, uja.
 3COREF=grandchild PART PART DEM
 T
 'To you indeed in vain it was that your uncle promised his granddaughter,
 you see.'
- b. [E=kyty zotsu tepe akyj w=emiamujū mi'ing-ku
 2SG=to indeed FRUST TOP 3COREF=grandchild promise.VT-NOM
 R T
 e=tutyt] a'yn.
 2SG=uncle PART
 A
 'To you indeed in vain it was that (t)his granddaughter was promised by
 your uncle.'
- c. Uja an a'yn.
 DEM NEG PART
 'This one (his granddaughter) (did) not.'
- d. An zanu māpyte o-ur-yka uja e=njyt
 NEG again directly/all 3-come.VI-NEG DEM 2SG=sister
 e=tsoa a'yn ne, uja.
 2SG=towards PART PART DEM
 'She didn't come directly to you, this sister (i.e. wife) of yours, you know.'

In the 'minimal pair' of a complex ANC in (23a) and (b), formed from the ditransitive action nominal *mi'ingku* ('promise'), the oblique argument *ekyty* ('to you') is topicalized. However, the ANC in (23a) is formed with an 'antipassive', while the almost identical ANC in (23b) is not. At the same time, what used to be a 'demoted' P argument *wemiamujū* ('his granddaughter') on the right periphery in (23a) is moved into possessor position in (23b). Since both subjects, *uja* ('this one') and *uja enjyt* ('this sister of yours'), in the following two clauses (23c) and (d) refer to the same participant as *wemiamujū*, the change of order from (23a) to (b) can be analyzed as a pragmatic strategy to give more discourse prominence to the P argument in a direct possessor position.

32. Cf. Malchukov, Haspelmath & Comrie (2007) on the assignment of semantic roles in ditransitive constructions.

6. Development of ANCs in main clause function towards verbal function

In this section arguments will be presented for the hypothesis that action nominals formed with the suffix *-tu* when occurring as predicates in main clauses are equivalent in function to finite verbal predicates.

A first indicator of an ongoing process of reanalysis as an alternative expression and of their innovative status is that in narrative discourse clause-like ANCs often occur immediately adjacent to semantically equivalent clauses with finite verbs. Examples are (17) above and (24):

- (24) *Nanype 'yto o-tomo'at tsān a'yn. [Tsā-tomo'at-(t)u]*
 there then 3-celebrate.VI 3PL PART. 3PL= celebrate.VI-NOM
nanype me.
 there PART
 'There they were celebrating then. They were celebrating there.'

That clauses with finite verbal predicates and with action nominals of this type must be treated as fully equivalent, can further be deduced from the fact that the ANCs can have the same number and type of complements as finite clauses. This is illustrated in (25) for the transitive verb (*e*)zoto ('take away') and in (26) for intransitive *y'u* ('drink'):

- (25) a. *E-ti'yt wej-zoto w-aty me.*
 2SG-nephew 3-take.away.VT 3COREF-wife PART
 A P
 'Your nephew took his wife (with him).'
- b. *[I=por-ezoto-tu kitā nā] me*
 1SG=ANTI-take.away.VT-NOM TOP 3PRO PART
 A P
 'I took her away (with me).'
- (26) a. *O-'y'u ti nān=ete a'yn.*
 3-drink.VI EVID 3=POSP PART
 'She drank it.'
- b. *[Nā='y'u-tu ti 'y été] me.*
 3=drink.VI-NOM EVID water POSP PART
 'He drank water.'

As can be seen in (26b), there is 'complement inheritance', in that the intransitive action nominal has the same possibility of expressing the oblique argument with a PP headed by *ete* ('with') as the finite verb form in (26a).

Another indicator for the clause-like behavior of this type of ANC is that the A-P order of the double possessor construction – maintained in the types described

in Section 4.3 in constructions without an antipassive – may be disrupted. This could be shown in (23b), where the A argument *etutyt* ('your uncle') follows the action nominal *mi'ingku* ('promise') instead of being positioned immediately to the left of the P (T) argument *wemiamujū* ('his grandchild') in direct possessor position.

Crucial evidence, however, for the analysis of these ANCs as equivalents in function to finite verbal clauses is the occurrence of second position particles within the boundaries of the construction. Examples are (20), (21), (23a), (23b), the latter two each with a sequence of three second position particles, (25b) and (26b). A further Example (27) shows the hybrid status of the ANCs as clauses:

- (27) *Nā=tsu-e'ym utepe [pira'yt tene 'u-zoko-tu nā], an utepe*
 3=like-NNEG- IRR fish simply eat.VT-IMPF-NOM 3PRO, NEG IRR
wej-mo-kyr'azā-ka a'yn.
 3-CAUS-be.fat.VI-NEG PART
 'It wouldn't be like that if he simply had the habit to eat fish, he wouldn't put
 on weight.'
 (lit.: 'Not like that would be his simply habitually eating fish, it wouldn't make
 him fat.')

In (27) there are two second position particles *utepe* and *tene* which, however, occur in two different second positions within the clause, one after the clause-initial adverb, interpreting the ANC as a nominal predicate forming one syntactic unit, the other within the ANC itself, now analyzed as a clause consisting of subject, verb, object and a second position discourse particle. Contexts like the one in (27) may have originally triggered the reanalysis of the action nominal as a finite verbal predicate, as will be further outlined in Section 7.

To conclude this section, the main parallels and differences between verbs and action nominals as main clause predicates will be summarized.

Table 5. Verbal and nominalized predicates in main clauses

	Finite verb	Action nominal
order of constituents	pragmatically motivated	ergative-absolutive: S, P ≠ A
person prefixes/ pronominal clitics	indexing according to animacy hierarchy; ergative (except 1SG, 3); no agreement with P in 3rd person	pronominal clitics; marking according to animacy hierarchy; ergative; but: finite structure preferred to mark 1st and 2nd person
SG/PL differentiation	not in 3rd person	consistent
TAM morphology	combinable	combinable
sentence particles	combinable	combinable
negation	<i>an -(y)ka</i> (verbal)	<i>-e'ym</i> (nominal); different position than other nominalizations

As shown in Table 5, the two types of clauses differ syntactically in that finite clauses have a mostly pragmatically motivated order of constituents, while the order in ANCs is more fixed, showing an ergative-absolutive pattern. Another clear difference between the two types of predicates, equally following from the ‘possessive’ origin of the ANC, is that a finite verb shows indexing by person prefixes; whereas, an action nominal carries a pronominal proclitic or is immediately preceded by a nominal argument in the former possessor position. In both cases, however, the marking on transitive verb forms occurs according to the person animacy hierarchy. In the case of the finite verb the prefix must be taken from the A or P paradigm respectively, depending on the position of the referent in the hierarchy, and a clitic pronoun in the 1st or 2nd person must be used with an ‘antipassive’ prefix in cases where the A referent occupies a higher position.

What can be seen as a functional/structural advantage offered by the pronominal clitics on action nominals, as compared to the verbal paradigm outlined in Table 3, is the marking of a plural not only in the 1st and 2nd but additionally in the 3rd person.³³

As was shown in Sections 2 and 5, the action nominals of the predicative type with *-tu* can be combined with the same TAM-morphology and discourse particles as a finite verbal predicate. Clausal negation on this type of action nominal is not expressed by the two elements used in declarative sentences with a finite verb but by the suffix *-e’ym*, which is also used with arguments and adjuncts. As illustrated by (14), however, the negative suffix does not follow the nominalizer at the end of the form but is inserted immediately to the left of the nominalizer, following the verbal morphology. This signals that the scope of the negation only extends to the verb and not to the ANC as a whole, i.e. that the activity referred to by the verb rather than the event as a whole is negated.

7. Discussion

As outlined in the preceding sections, the action nominalizations formed with the suffix *-tu* in one of their uses differ considerably from the other ANCs. Formally equative non-verbal predicates, they present a considerable number of verbal properties and in current language use are equivalent in function to finite verbs. Such a functional shift from a referential to a main-clause predicative use is largely confirmed by Queixalós and Gildea (2010: 15), who state that in several South American families (including Cariban and Tupian) such “ergatively-organized

33. This can be observed in Example (24), where in the finite verbal clause an additional 3rd person plural pronoun *tsá* must be added in order to mark plurality of the S participant indexed on the verb.

nominalizations become the nucleus of a main clause predicate,” by passing through a process of reanalysis.

The different uses of the nominalizations described in Section 4 and 5 could thus be analyzed as representing different stages of an ongoing process of change, which can all be found in the synchronic structure of the language. Since there are no historical records of the Awetí language, however, it does not seem appropriate to create a full scenario of grammaticalization, speculating on where the process may originally have started.

A marking point for the development of more clause-like usages of ANC's must have consisted in those constructions that take adjuncts or oblique arguments the lexical verb subcategorizes for. Whether the combinability with verbal morphology was a preceding or following change, cannot be determined, but the insertion of second position particles into ANC's seems to have developed at a later stage and is only possible with the clausal type described in Section 5. Example (27) above can be interpreted as representing a transitional stage where the ANC is analyzed as an independent clause and at the same time as a non-verbal predicate.

Moreover, the creation of the ‘antipassive’ prefix *po(r)*- plays a crucial role in the development of the action nominalization with *-tu* towards a full alternative to final verbal predicates.³⁴ This prefix seems to have started out as a pragmatic and/ or semantic device to shift the relative discourse prominence of 3rd person participants in action nominalizations of transitive verb stems from patient to agent, preferably in contexts where the participant referred to by the A argument is animate and the second participant is not. With 1st or 2nd person arguments, however, this prefix has taken on a morphosyntactic function. In these cases the ‘antipassive’ is used to reflect the person- animacy hierarchy which organizes the marking of participants on finite verb forms.

There is evidence that this usage is a recent innovation, since the ‘antipassive’ occurs far more frequently with 3rd person than with 1st and 2nd person participants. In the latter cases a finite verbal predicate continues to be the preferred structure. From the *-tu* nominalizations the ‘antipassive’ has expanded in use towards other nominalizations of active verbs, except for *mi*- nominalizations which logically exclude the discourse prominence of agentive participants. This may additionally have been facilitated by the fact that nominalizations formed with *-at*, *-ap* and *mi*- also occur much more often as predicates in non-verbal clauses than as subjects, objects or complements of postpositions, as was observed by Drude (2011a: 9).

34. According to Campos Castro and Fagundes Camargos (2014), the cognate antipassive prefix *puru*- in Tenetehára seems to have developed from the lexical item *puru* (“people”) which is used in object incorporations to decrease the valency of transitive verbs. In Awetí *mo’at* (‘person’) occurs more often than other lexical words as incorporated object, but synchronically no direct relation between this item and the ‘antipassive’ prefix can be established.

and other speakers than the ones who participated in the DoBeS Awetí Language Documentation Project and who were chosen by the speech community for being competent story-tellers or experts in a specific cultural tradition. It will be especially necessary to record data of less careful speech and everyday discourse in order to compare structures in a broader variety of discourse genres which, in addition, have been uttered in a more natural kind of setting. In this context it would be considerably helpful for the linguistic work, if the recordings were made by members of the speech-community so that any effect brought about by the presence of an outside observer can be reduced. Such a broader variety of data, then, could also be analyzed with respect to quantity of occurrence of action nominals and finite verbs as predicates in main clauses.

Cross-linguistic research will have to be intensified, too. On the one hand, Awetí is surrounded by languages belonging to different families, so that language contact may not be excluded as a trigger for the development presented here. On the other hand, it is closely related to languages of the Tupi-Guaranian branch of the family where – in absence of a diachronic dimension – similar tendencies or different changes in corresponding structures may shed more light on the development outlined here.

Abbreviations

ANC	action nominal construction	NP	noun phrase
ANTI	antipassive	NPROP	proper name
ASP	verbal aspect	NPST	nominal past
ATT	attributive case	OPT	optative
AV	active verb	PART	discourse particle
CAUS	causative	POSP	postposition
COM	comitative	PP	postpositional phrase
COREF	coreference	PRO	pronoun
DEM	demonstrative	R	recipient
EMOT	particle expressing emotional involvement of speaker	RED	reduplication
EVID	evidential particle	REL	relational prefix (alienable possession)
IMPF	imperfective	REPORT	reportative
INCORP	incorporation	ST	stative verb
INTENS	intensifier	SUB	subordinator
IRR	irrealis	T	theme
NEG	verbal negation	TOP	topicalizer
NNEG	nominal negation	VI	intransitive verb
NOM	nominalizer (action)	VT	transitive verb
NOMPAT	patient nominalization		

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Reconstructing the copulas and nonverbal predicate constructions in Cariban

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This paper represents a first effort to characterize the different kinds of nonverbal predicate constructions in the Cariban family, to identify the functions served by copulas, and then to reconstruct the various attested copular forms to a limited number of source forms in Proto-Cariban. Given limitations of space, it is not possible to illustrate all of the cognate nonverbal predicate constructions attested in all of the languages, so the comparative look at the constructions is more programmatic, offering illustrations of the alternatives attested so far in the literature as a way to orient future field studies of nonverbal predication in Cariban languages. In contrast, the reconstruction of the copulas is as detailed as possible given the forms available in the current descriptive literature.

Keywords: nonverbal predicate constructions, Cariban, Proto-Cariban

1. Introduction

As laid out in recent survey articles (cf. Meira 2005; Gildea 2012), the Cariban family is spoken in Brazil, Venezuela, Guyana, Suriname, French Guyana and Colombia, most by fewer than 4000 speakers, but a handful by 10,000 or more speakers. While multiple internal classifications of the Cariban family have been published (cf. Gildea 2012 for a survey), none is entirely based on reliable data plus widely accepted methodology, so there is still no definitive internal classification of the family; since subgroups of the family are not an important part of the story in this paper, I do not further discuss classification here.¹ Section 2 gives a very brief description of the different nonverbal predication patterns, emphasizing the importance in Cariban grammar of the difference between nominal versus adverbial

1. Although cf. phylogenetic work in progress by Sérgio Meira, Joshua Birchall, and Natalia Chousou-Polydory.

predication. This section is primarily descriptive and does not explicitly reconstruct any Proto-Cariban nonverbal predicate constructions. Section 3 compares copular paradigms across the family, explicitly reconstructing both the 2–3 distinct sources for copulas and the clear historical origins of some TAM suffixes in one of these copular roots. Section 4 offers interim conclusions and suggests directions for future research.

2. Syntax of nonverbal predicates in the Cariban family

I organize this survey of constructions according to the grammar of the constructions, but the central question I ask about each construction is which of the nonverbal predicate functions it serves. Those functions have been defined differently in various typologies, but for convenience, I adopt Payne's (1997) functions, as illustrated in Example (1).

(1) Illustrating the six functions of nonverbal predicates

<i>FUNCTION</i>	<i>ENGLISH EXAMPLE</i>	<i>FORMAL STRUCTURE</i>
EQUATIVE (identification)	<i>He is my father.</i>	NP _{SUBJ} COP NP _{DEF}
PROPER INCLUSION	<i>He is a man.</i>	NP _{SUBJ} COP NP _{INDEF}
Predicate ATTRIBUTIVE	<i>He is hungry.</i>	NP COP ADJP
Predicate LOCATIVE	<i>He is in his house.</i>	NP COP ADV/PP
EXISTENTIAL	<i>There is salt (on the table)</i>	THERE COP NP (PP/ADV)
POSSESSIVE (predicate)	<i>He has some salt.</i>	NP _{PSR} HAVE NP _{PSD}

Across the Cariban family, there are two widespread types of nonverbal predicate constructions: the **JUXTAPOSITION CONSTRUCTIONS** (§ 2.1) simply juxtapose a predicate with its subject noun (usually in that order, although the order subject predicate is also well-attested), whereas the **COPULAR CONSTRUCTIONS** (§ 2.2) require a copula that indexes person, number, and/or animacy of the subject.² In addition to these two, the **EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTION** (§ 2.3) generally utilizes the subject and the copula, usually with a “dummy” locative element. Finally, there are a number of widespread **AUXILIARY CONSTRUCTIONS**, where the copula is required in specific constructions that express various TAM distinctions (§ 2.4).

2. These constructions are both described in a bit more detail in Meira & Gildea (2009: 109–14).

2.1 The juxtaposition construction: NP predicates with no copula

The basic form of the juxtaposition construction is simple: two nouns (or NPs) are juxtaposed, one the subject and the other the predicate. Depending on the language, the order is more frequently Subject Predicate, as in Makushi (1–2, from Abbott 1991), Tiriyo (3–4, from Meira 1999: 544), and Apalaí (Koehn & Koehn 1986: 36) or Predicate Subject, as in Tiriyo (5–6), Akawaio (7–8, from Gildea 2005), Panare (Gildea 1993: 52), and Hixkaryana (Derbyshire 1985: 31). In most languages, it is possible to find examples of both orders (cf. the Tiriyo examples in both orders given here).

The functions served by this construction depend on the meanings of the predicate nouns: when the predicate identifies the subject as being a unique individual, it is the EQUATIVE function (2, 4, 5); when it places the subject in a category, it is the PROPER INCLUSION function (3, 6); when it is a property noun, nominalized adverb, or nominalized PP, it is the ATTRIBUTIVE function (indicating more permanent properties; 1, 7); and when a nominalized proprietive form,³ it is the POSSESSIVE function (also with a more permanent reading; 8).

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|---------|
| | SUBJ | | PRED | |
| (1) | <i>it-un</i> | <i>saʔne</i> | <i>enkaruʔna-n</i> | MAKUSHI |
| | 3-father | PITY | blind-NZR | |
| | '...his father was blind.' | | | |
| | (Meira & Gildea 2009: 111) | | | |
| | SUBJ | [| PRED |] |
| (2) | <i>mi:kiri</i> | <i>teseurino</i> | <i>tusawa</i> | MAKUSHI |
| | that.AN | third.one | chief | |
| | 'That one was the third chief.' | | | |
| | (Meira & Gildea 2009: 111) | | | |
| | SUBJ | | PRED | |
| (3) | <i>pahko</i> | <i>píj'ai</i> | | TIRIYO |
| | 1:father | shaman | | |
| | 'My father is a shaman.' | | | |
| | (Meira 1999: 544) | | | |
| | SUBJ | | PRED | |
| (4) | <i>j-eka</i> | <i>Ranpi</i> | | TIRIYO |
| | 1-name:PSD | Ranpi | | |
| | 'My name is Ranpi.' | | | |
| | (Meira 1999: 544) | | | |

3. This is also called the 'having' adverbial form, cf. Meira 1999: 359–63 for Tiriyo and Tavares 2005: 392 for Wayana. It is discussed in a bit more detail in § 2.2.

- | | | | |
|-----|--|----------------|---------|
| | PRED | SUBJ | |
| (5) | <i>pihko</i> | <i>mëe</i> | TIRIYÓ |
| | 1:older.brother | 3AN.PROX | |
| | ‘This is my older brother.’ | | |
| | PRED | SUBJ | |
| (6) | <i>ëkërëpukë</i> | <i>mëërë</i> | TIRIYÓ |
| | tayra | 3AN.MED | |
| | ‘That is a tayra.’ | | |
| | PRED | SUBJ | |
| (7) | <i>yuwang</i> | <i>kirö-rö</i> | AKAWAIO |
| | hungry | 3ANIM-EMPH | |
| | ‘He’s hungry (always).’ | | |
| | PRED | SUBJ | |
| (8) | <i>tï-mire-’ke-nang</i> | <i>kirö-rö</i> | AKAWAIO |
| | ADV-child-PROP-NZR | 3ANIM-EMPH | |
| | ‘He has a child (part of his identity)’ | | |
| | (lit. ‘He is a childed one’) | | |

In several languages, this is described as a construction that only takes a nominal predicate, so I consider the basic instantiation of this construction to be with a nominal predicate. However, in Tiriýó is is not uncommon to find an adverbial (9) or locative (10) predicate merely juxtaposed to its subject.

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|--------|
| | SUBJ | PRED | |
| (9) | <i>ji-nmuku</i> | <i>mono=me</i> | TIRIYÓ |
| | 1-son:PSD | big.one=ATTR | |
| | ‘My son is big’ | | |
| | SUBJ | PRED | |
| (10) | <i>i-pata</i> | <i>Suurinan=po</i> | TIRIYÓ |
| | 3-village:PSD | Surinam=LOC | |
| | ‘His/her village is in Suriname.’ | | |

Such juxtaposition of subject NP with adverbial or locative predicates is also possible in Arara (Alves 2014), Ikpéng (Pacheco 2014), Ye’kwana (Cáceres 2014), Wayana (Tavares 2005: 422 indicates that the copula in a copular clause is “optional”), and Apalaí (Koehn & Koehn 1986: 36 indicate that “The verb [specifically the copula – sg] may be deleted when it is recoverable from the preceding discourse.”). For Kari’ña, Sapién (this volume) shows that adverbial and postpositional juxtaposition predicates are attested in texts, but “corrected” in elicitation. As such, the list of languages that require a nominal predicate in the juxtaposition construction consists of only Akawaio (Gildea 2005), Hixkaryana (Derbyshire 1985), Panare (Gildea 1989; Payne & Payne 2013) and Pemón (Álvarez 2005a–b). We turn now to the copular

construction, which differs both in the presence of an inflected copular verb and (at least in some languages) in restricting the grammatical category of the predicate to an adverbial word or phrase.

2.2 Copular constructions: Adverbial predicates (PP or Adverb)

The form of the copular construction is more complex, given that the order of the copula can vary vis-à-vis the subject and predicate, making six logically possible orders instead of only two. However, in practice, the copula apparently never occurs first – a few grammars explicitly rule out initial copulas and I have encountered no examples in other Cariban languages. Similarly, in most languages I did not find the order Subject Predicate Copula, leaving three common orders: Subject Copula Predicate, Predicate Copula Subject, and Predicate Subject Copula. Multiple orders are typically found in the same language and in discourse, it is most common for the subject of the copula to be absent, leaving only the predicate copula order.

The lexical category of the predicate is most commonly either an adverb or postpositional phrase, but the suffix/postposition *me/pe* ‘ATTRIBUTIVE/DENOMINALIZER’⁴ seems to function very much like the Finno-Ugric ESSIVE (Derbyshire 1985: 17; Meira pc), so even though a noun bearing this morpheme now belongs to the ADVERB part of speech (or is now within a PP, in those languages where the form is still a postposition), it is still able to refer both to specific individuals and to categories. Meira and Gildea (2009: 111) call this morpheme “ATTRIBUTIVIZER or ESSIVE”, the former derived from the semantic value it sometimes carries, creating an adverb that expresses an attribute associated with the noun that bears it. Derbyshire (1985: 17) glosses this morpheme as ‘DENOMINALIZER’ in Hixkaryana because it often appears to have no semantic value, but merely serves to allow a noun to occur as the complement of a copula. Hoff (1968: 198) also discusses the frequent lack of semantic value to *me* in Kari’ña (Carib of Suriname), specifically when it serves as the complement of a copula.⁵

4. The form of this morpheme is given as *me/pe* because some languages present a reflex of **me* and others a reflex of **pe*; this is not a regular correspondence and no explanation has yet been proposed to condition these alternants.

5. In addition to marking the predicate of an independent equative/proper inclusion clause, this postposition/suffix marks Creissels’ (2014: 609) Functive role, as well as his (p. 624) Transformative (complement of ‘become’) and his (p. 628) Manner (prototypically deriving an adverb from an adjective, in Cariban from a property noun, e.g. ‘hungry one’ → ‘hungrily’). It is well beyond the scope of this paper to dig into the full range of functions of the modern reflexes of **pe/*me* across the modern languages, but surely this would be a fruitful topic for further research – in my first impressionistic review, the range of functions of **pe/*me* may very well be distinct from the ranges identified in Creissels’ initial survey.

With regard to our typology of nonverbal predicates, all six functions are attested in the copular construction (cf. § 2.3 for the existential function): with a nominal predicate bearing the *me/pe* 'ATTRIBUTIVE' morpheme, one can identify both equative (11) and proper inclusion (12–14) predicates. To form an attributive predicate, the predicate nucleus can either be a lexical property adverb (16) or an attributivized property noun (15, 17). Locative predicates can take a nucleus of either a locative adverb or a postpositional phrase (18–19).

- (11) [PRED]_{pp} S-COP
u-güibini be y-eji-Ø AKAWAIO
 1-father ATTR 3-be-NONPAST
 '(He) is my father'
- (12) [PRED]_{pp} S.COP
toro ek pe mang AKAWAIO
 wild.bean plant ATTR 3.be.IMMED
 '(This) is a wild bean plant.'
- (13) [PRED]_{pp} S-COP SUBJ
toto me n-eh-fakoni amnehca haka, kurumu HIXKARYANA
 person ATTR 3S-COP-PST long.ago then buzzard
 'The buzzard used to be a man at that time, long ago.'
- (14) SUBJ=S-COP [PRED]_{pp}
pahko=n-ai pijai me TIRIYÓ
 1:father=3-COP shaman_ATTR
 'My father is a shaman.'
- (15) [PRED]_{pp} S-COP SUBJ
yuwang be y-eji-'pi kirö-rö AKAWAIO
 hungry ATTR 3-be-PAST 3.ANIM-EMPH
 'He was hungry.'
- (16) [SUBJ COP] PRED_{ADV}
tiwin wei to? wani-?pi emi?ne MAKUSHI
 one day 3COL COP-PST hungry
 'One day they were hungry.'
- (17) [PRED]_{pp} [[SUBJ] COP]
kusan pe i-pu?pai si?po wani-?pi MAKUSHI
 length ATTR 3-head hair COP-PST
 'His head hair was very long.'
- (18) [SUBJ] S.COP [PRED]_{pp}
(u)-zubara-i mang pada bo AKAWAIO
 1-cutlass-PSD 3.be.IMMED home LOC
 'My cutlass is at home'

- (19) SUBJ=S-COP [PRED]_{pp}
tēpu=n-ai tuna=hkao TIRIYÓ
 stone=3-COP river=AQ.IN
 ‘The stone is in(side) the river.’

Across the Cariban family, possessive predicates are described in less detail. Most languages document the existence of a cognate derived adverb form that takes a circumfix, **t-N-ke* ‘having’ or ‘PROPRIETIVE’. When this derived adverb is the predicate of a copular clause, the construction translates as a simple possessive clause meaning ‘subject has/owns N’, as seen in (20–21). However, in texts and casual conversation, it is common to encounter constructions of the *mihi est* type, in which the possessed item is the subject of the copula, with the possessor expressed in a locative phrase meaning ‘by’ or ‘close to’ (22–23).

- (20) [PRED]_{ADV} S-COP
t-zubara-i-ge Ø-eji-aik AKAWAIO
 ADV-cutlass-PSD-PROP 1-be-NONPAST
 ‘I have a cutlass.’

- (21) [PRED]_{ADV} COP SUBJ
i-woway-ke efi-li uro IKPÉNG
 1-sadness-DENOM be-PAST 1SG
 ‘I became sad’ (lit. ‘I had sadness’)

- (22) SUBJ S.COP [PRED]_{pp}
tuna mang (u-)biyöu AKAWAIO
 water 3.be.IMMED 1- by
 ‘I have some water (with me).’
 (lit. ‘Some water is by/with me.’)

- (23) [PRED]_{pp} =S-COP SUBJ
manko wenje=n-ai j-ehke TIRIYÓ
 1:mother close=3S-COP 1-hammock
 ‘My mother has my hammock.’
 (lit. ‘My hammock is close to my mother.’)

Recall from § 2.2 that only some languages allow juxtaposition constructions to take adverbial predicates. In a similar way, only some languages allow nominal predicates to occur directly in the copular construction. Only adverbial predicates occur with the copula in at least Pemón and Cariña of Venezuela (Álvarez 2005), Akawaio (Gildea 2005), Panare (Payne & Payne 2013: 306), in all attested examples of Ikpéng (Pacheco 2014), and in elicitation in Ye’kwana (Cáceres 2014). However, nominal predicates are attested occurring directly with the copula in Arara (Ferreira Alves 2014), Tiriyo (Meira 1999: 547), Wayana (Tavares 2005: 422), Hixkaryana (Meira

& Gildea 2009: 113), Makushi (Meira & Gildea 2009: 113), Kari'ña of Suriname (Sapién this volume), and in some text examples in Ye'kwana (Cáceres 2014). If, as hypothesized in Meira & Gildea (2009: 127), the original copular construction allowed only adverbial predicates, then a substantial number of languages has relaxed this restriction, now allowing nominal predicates as well. Sapién (this volume) provides a case-study of the very recent relaxation of this restriction in Kari'ña of Suriname.

2.3 Existential constructions

Existential constructions have not been described for most Cariban languages, but most of those that have contain a subject and a copula; rather than the typical adverbial predicate that occurs with the copula, the predicate seems to consist of a generic existential particle, which, in at least one case, appears to be derived historically from a locative adverb. The order of elements is variable, with the only constant that the copula is never first. In Tiriyo, the copula is possible (25), but not required (24). In Panare, the existential particle is always the first element, usually followed by a copula (26), but not always (27). The existential particles attested so far do not appear to be cognate: Tiriyo *tëërë* (24–25), Panare *mo* (26), *mono*, *moma* (27), Akawaio *moro* (28–29), and Wayana *-hpe* (30). Note that there is a locative adverb *moro* in Wayana (31) that appears to be identical to the Akawaio existential particle.

- | | | | | | |
|------|---|----------------------|---------------------|---------------|--------|
| | [| SUBJ |] | EXIST | |
| (24) | <i>tïwëërë=ken</i> | <i>i-ponoh-to</i> | <i>tëërë</i> | | TIRIYO |
| | other=CONT | 3-tell-CIRC.NZR | EXIST | | |
| | ‘There is something else to tell.’ | | | | |
| | (Meira 1999: 544) | | | | |
| | SUBJ=S-COP | | EXIST | | TIRIYO |
| (25) | <i>i-tipi=n-ai</i> | | <i>tëërë=nkëërë</i> | | |
| | 3-CONTINUATION=3S _A -COP | | EXIST=STILL | | |
| | ‘There is still a continuation (to the story).’ | | | | |
| | (Meira 1999: 546) | | | | |
| | EXIST | S-COP | | SUBJ | |
| (26) | <i>mo</i> | <i>y-u-chi-n</i> | | <i>wache’</i> | PANARE |
| | EXIST | 3-INTR- be-NONSPEC.I | | annoto | |
| | ‘There will be annoto’ | | | | |
| | (Payne & Payne 2013: 308) | | | | |

interpretation of a clause, this example shows that an existential reading can also occur in its absence.

- (33) [PRED] [PRED S-COP] [PRED]
tí:na-ke, *kura-no* *n-ai,* *i:nan* *me,* TIRIYÓ
 ADV-flute-PROP beautiful-NZR 3.COP 3-flute ATTR
 (tail-head link) PRED
icə-npə *pəe* *tɪwəɾən*
 this-PST from other
 ‘There were flutes (in the show), it was beautiful, like flutes, and then there was another (type of flute).’
 Lit: ‘(It was) flutes-POSSESSED, (it) was beautiful, (it was) like flutes, (and) from this (there was) another.’

As a last note about existentials, in both Tiriyo and in Panare, the negative existential is formed by using a distinct negative existential particle, rather than by simply using the standard existential particle with a negative copula.

- (34) *Chika’ Ejpī* *mën* *wache* PANARE
 no EXIST.NEG2 COP:INAN annoto
 ‘No. There is no annoto.’
- (35) *kana wa=ken* TIRIYÓ
 fish 3NEG=CONT
 ‘There are no fish.’

2.4 Other constructions that use the copula (in more of an auxiliary function)

There are multiple constructions across the family that use the copula as an auxiliary. In nearly all languages, the negative and desiderative constructions require a copular auxiliary (for the negative, cf. Gildea 2012: 472; there is still no comparative treatment of the Cariban desiderative, but it is well-described in the grammars of Apalaí [Koehn & Koehn 1986: 81], Waiwai [Hawkins 1998: 96, 105, 120], Tiriyo [Meira 1999: 575], Wayana [Tavares 2005: 450], and exemplified for Hixkaryana [Derbyshire 1985: 39] and Kari’ña [Sapién this volume]). In seven languages, the progressive construction either allows or requires a copular auxiliary (summarized in Gildea 1998: 205–217). In at least four languages, compound tenses indicating immediacy or the pluperfect are formed with copular auxiliaries (cf. various examples scattered through Gildea 1998: 165–182). Finally, in Kuikúro, a non-inflecting vestige of the copula is a part of the “deictic-Copula Complex”, which undoubtedly derives historically from the copula in an auxiliary or cleft function and which remains a frequent element of main clauses in Kuikúro texts (Franchetto

2010: 130–131). Due to issues of space, I do not illustrate all of these patterns here, but the interested reader can find illustrative examples in the references above.

3. Morphology of copulas in the Cariban family

In this section, I shift from broad generalizations about syntax to detailed comparison and explicit reconstruction of the paradigms reported for the copula in all Cariban languages for which I have data. As is often the case cross-linguistically, the copular paradigms are messy: some show irregular person prefixes, others irregular TAM suffixes, and several also show suppletive copular roots, combining modern reflexes of roots that reconstruct with the forms **eti* ‘COP2’ and **a/*ap* ‘COP1’. However, in a couple of languages, reflexes of these same roots are clearly separated into two synchronic copular paradigms – in these cases, the paradigm based on **eti* ‘COP2’ tends to be complete and morphologically regular, whereas the paradigm based on **a/*ap* ‘COP1’ lacks most TAM distinctions (no language has more than three), often takes irregular forms of the inflections it does take, and sometimes has an irregular second person prefix. Clearly, the copular root in **a/*ap* ‘COP1’ must be older, a conclusion reinforced by the fact that in most languages, a subset of the TAM suffixes are identical to inflected forms of **a*, generally preceded by a palatal glide *j* (written *y* in most Cariban orthographies).

In this section, I compare and reconstruct individual inflections of the specific roots: in § 3.1, the root **a/*ap* ‘COP1’ in three inflections, plus in one nonfinite form; in § 3.2, the root **eti* ‘COP2’ as an ordinary intransitive verb, with no special irregularities nor absent forms; in § 3.3, I mention, but do not reconstruct, other forms that have appeared as suppletive roots in individual copular paradigms; and in § 3.4 I seek out possible reflexes of former copulas in other morphology. Because these sections explicitly compare the morphophonology of cognate forms, here I convert the orthography of the sources to a more readily comparable unified orthography based on the IPA. Given the wide variability seen in copular forms, wherever possible I have collected compilations of the entire copular paradigms (summarized in the Appendix), which often contain substantial irregularity that can best be appreciated on a language by language basis. The phonological reconstructions require no major additions to the conventions proposed originally in Meira & Franchetto (2005), as further refined in Meira, Gildea & Hoff (2010) and Gildea, Hoff, & Meira (2010).⁶

6. Gildea, Hoff and Meira (2010) argue that the phonetic value of Meira and Franchetto’s proto-phoneme **ô* is most likely to be a mid back unrounded vowel; in this article, I utilize a more phonetically transparent representation of this proto-phoneme, **ə*.

3.1 Reconstructing three inflections with **a/*ap* ‘COP1’

In four languages (Kari’nja, Panare, Makushi, and Akawaio) there are two distinct copular verbs, which are morphologically independent from each other: **eti* ‘COP2’, with a completely regular paradigm,⁷ and the other based on **a* ‘COP1’, which has a very limited paradigm. In another nine languages (Apalaí, Arara, Hixkaryana, Ikpéng, Katxuyana, Tiriyó, Waimiri, Wayana, and Ye’kwana), the two roots are combined into a single suppletive paradigm, generally reserving one root for an entire tense-aspect inflection, but in two languages (Hixkaryana and Ikpéng) sometimes also selecting a different root for different persons of subject within a given inflection. In some cases (Makushi, Akawaio, Ikpéng), these old copulas have become so irregular that it appears they are better analyzed as synchronic particles rather than being recognizable as inflecting verbs. I go, in order, through the cognate sets for the **NONPAST CERTAIN* copula (Table 1) and the **NONPAST UNCERTAIN* copula (Table 2), following which I separate out an apparently cognate suppletive third person nonpast copular form (Table 3), sometimes attested as an alternative to one of the two inflected third person nonpast forms and sometimes added as a third alternative, in contrast to them both. Finally, I go through the cognate past continuous inflection (Table 4).

The cognates for the inflected nonpast copula can be seen in Tables 1 and 2, with the root morpheme in bold type and irregular prefixes and suffixes underlined. In both tables, the root itself is consistently the single vowel **a* ‘COP1’, followed in the singular forms by a modern reflex of either the suffix **-te* ‘CERTAIN’ (Table 1) or the suffix **-nə* ‘UNCERTAIN’ (Table 2).⁸ In the plural forms, the modal suffixes are separated from the root by a collective number suffix, usually an irregular reflex of **-tə* ‘COLL’.⁹ Note that in most languages, the form of the modal suffix that follows the collective is quite different from the one in the singular: for **NONPAST CERTAIN*, many of these could be irregular modern reflexes of the same **-te*, but for the **NONPAST UNCERTAIN*, the suffix that follows the collective appears to be suppletive, perhaps reflecting irregular modern reflexes of an independently attested form, **-wi* (cf. Gildea 1998: 98).

7. Except in Makushi, which has innovated a suppletive root *wani* ‘be’ in several tense-aspects.

8. See promising work in progress by Berend Hoff, who reconstructs the Kari’nja reflexes of these two morphemes as markers of, respectively, DIRECT + IMMEDIATE evidence versus INDIRECT or NON IMMEDIATE evidence.

9. See work in progress by Sérgio Meira, in which he posits two different verbal collective suffixes, one that contains a palatal element (which motivates the irregular palatal elements in several languages).

Table 1. Cognates for the *a copula in the *-te ‘NONPAST CERTAIN’ inflection

	Kar	Apa	Katx	Wai	Tir	Way	
1	<i>w-a-Ø</i>	<i>Ø-a-se</i>	<i>w-a-si</i>	<i>w-a-si</i>	<i>w-a-e</i>	<i>w-a-e</i>	
1+2	<i>kit-a-Ø</i>	<i>sit-a-se</i>	<i>kit-a-si</i>	<i>t-a-si</i>	<i>kit-a-e</i>	<i>kut-a-e</i>	
1+2PL	<i>kjt-a-to-ŋ</i>	<i>sit-a-to-se</i>	<i>kit-a-tfi-tfi</i>		<i>kit-a-ti(i)</i>	<i>kut-a-tə-e</i>	
2	<i>man-a-Ø</i>	<i>m-a-se</i>	<i>man-a-si</i>	<i>m-a-si</i>	<i>man-a-e</i>	<i>man-a-e</i>	
2PL	<i>man-do-ŋ</i>	<i>m-a-to-se</i>	<i>man-a-tfi-tfi</i>		<i>man-a-ti(i)</i>	<i>man-a-tə-e</i>	
3	<i>n-a-Ø</i>		<i>n-a-si</i>	<i>n-a-si</i>	–	–	
3PL	<i>man-do-ŋ</i>	<i>mā toto</i>		<i>n-a-xe</i>			

		Pan ^a	Hixk	Ye’k	Waim	Ikp	Mak	Yuk
1	<i>w-a-h</i>	<i>w-a-si-n</i>	–	<i>w-a</i>	<i>w-ja</i>	–	<i>w-a-i</i>	= <i>ja</i>
1+2	<i>mah</i>	–	–	<i>k-a</i>		<i>kur-am-tfi</i>		= <i>mak</i>
1+2PL	<i>mah</i>		–	<i>k-a-ato</i>				
2	<i>m-a-h</i>	<i>m-a-si-n</i>	<i>man-a-ha</i>	<i>m-a</i>	<i>m-ja</i>	–	–	= <i>mak</i>
2PL	<i>m-a-h</i>		<i>man-a-tf-he</i>	<i>m-a-ato</i>				
3	<i>mah</i>	<i>n-a-si-n</i>	<i>n-a-ha</i>	<i>n-a</i>	<i>n-a</i>			= <i>mak</i>
3PL	<i>mah</i>		<i>n-a-tf-he</i>					

a The Panare form *a-si* appears only when followed by the inanimate relativizer *-(mə)n*, cf. Example (40)

Table 2. Cognates for the *a copula in the *-nə ‘NONPAST UNCERTAIN’ inflection

	Kar	Apa	Katx	Wai	Ye’k	Tir	
1	<i>w-a-ŋ</i>	<i>h-a-(no)</i>	<i>w-a-ni</i>	<i>w-a-j</i>	<i>w-a-nə</i>	<i>w-a-n(e)</i>	
1+2	<i>kit-a-nonŋ</i>	<i>sit-a-h</i>	<i>kit-a-ni</i>	<i>t-a-xe</i>	<i>k-a-nə</i>	<i>kit-a-n(e)</i>	
1+2PL	<i>kit-a-to-ŋ</i>	<i>sit-a-to-hu</i>	<i>kit-a-tfi-wi</i>	<i>t-a-tu</i>	<i>k-a-to</i>	<i>kit-a-ti(i)</i>	
2	<i>m-a-ŋ</i>	<i>hm-a-(no)</i>	<i>man-a-Ø</i>	<i>m-a-j</i>	<i>m-a-nə</i>	<i>man-a-n(e)</i>	
2PL	<i>m-a-ndonŋ</i>	<i>m-a-to-hu</i>	<i>man-a-tfi-wi</i>	<i>m-a-tu</i>	<i>m-a-to</i>	<i>man-a-ti(i)</i>	
3	<i>n-a-ŋ</i>	<i>hn-a-e</i>	<i>n-a-ji</i>	<i>n-a-j(i)</i>	<i>n-a-i</i>	<i>n-a-i</i>	
3PL	<i>n-a-ndo-ŋ</i>			<i>n-a-tu</i>			

	Way	Pan	Hixk	Waim	Mak	Aka	Yuk
1	<i>w-a</i>	<i>w-a-h</i>	* <i>eti</i>				
1+2	<i>kut-a</i>	<i>mah</i>	* <i>eti</i>				
1+2PL	<i>kut-a-tə-w</i>	<i>mah</i>	* <i>eti</i>				
2	<i>m-a-n</i>	<i>m-a-n</i>	<i>man-a-je</i>	<i>m-je?</i>	<i>m-a-n</i>		= <i>m</i>
2PL	<i>man-a-tə-wə</i>	<i>mah</i>	<i>man-a-tfo-wi</i>				
3		<i>n-a-h</i>	<i>n-a-je</i>	<i>n-ε?</i>	<i>n-a-i</i>	<i>n-a-i</i>	= <i>n</i>
3PL			<i>n-a-tfo-wi</i>				

Focusing in on the *NONPAST CERTAIN reflexes in Table 1, note that several languages lack a third person form: in Wayana and Tiriyó, this is due to a more general restriction, in that this inflection no longer occurs at all with third person subjects; in Apalaí and Makushi, this is because the third person form in this particular inflection is not a modern reflex of **n-a-te* ‘3-COP1-NONPAST.CERTAIN’, but rather of **mana* ‘3.PRES.COP’, which is reconstructed independently in Table 3. As a final note on Table 1, I point out that it is not automatic to classify the Ikpéng reflex *kur-am-tfi* as a reflex of **kit-a-te* ‘1+2-COP1-NONPAST.UNCERTAIN’, given the anomalous segment *m* following the expected root *a*.¹⁰

For nearly all languages in Table 2, the third person uncertain suffix is not a reflex of the expected **nó*, but rather appears to reconstruct as **-je* ‘3.UNCERTAIN’. Hixkaryana has the same allomorph with its second person form, which could represent either conservation of an older pattern, in which **-je* occurred with more than just the third person uncertain copula, or extension of the allomorph from third to second person. Similarly, the second and third person forms of the Waimiri question copula could be a reflex of this same proto-morpheme – it will be most interesting to see if the same form is found for other persons in Waimiri, and what the allomorphy of the collective forms will be.

Table 3. Cognates for **mana* ‘3.NPST.COP’

	Kar	Apa	Katx	Wai	Way	Ikp	Mak	Aka
3	<u>maŋ</u>	<u>mana</u>	<u>mana</u>		<i>man(e)</i>	(<u>man</u>)	<u>man</u>	<u>man</u>

In Table 3, we see seven languages in which an anomalous – but pretty clearly cognate – third person form occurs: *mana* ~ *man(e)* ~ *maŋ*. In two languages (Kari’nja and Katxuyana), this form occurs alongside the two regular third person forms, creating a three-way contrast uniquely for the third person nonpast copula.¹¹ In Apalaí, it takes the place of **n-a-te* in the nonpast certain paradigm and in Wayana it takes the place of **n-a-ye* in the nonpast uncertain paradigm. In Makushi and Akawaio, it is a third person nonpast copula indicating both immediacy and certainty, and in Ikpéng, it is a predicate particle, semantic value unknown, which often occurs with certain verbal inflections (such as the progressive) and in the position normally occupied by the copula in nonverbal predicates.

10. This suggests, rather, a reflex of Proto-Carib **ap*, cf the forms in Tables 4–5.

11. cf. Hoff’s work in progress for an exposition of the three-way meaning contrast in Kari’nja (Carib of Suriname).

Table 4. Cognates for the **a/*ap* copula in the **-kə(-ne/-mi)* ‘PAST CONTINUOUS’ inflection

	Kar	Apa	Wai	Waim	Ikp
1	<i>w-a-koy</i>	<i>Ø-a-kene</i>	<i>w-ja-ki</i>	<i>wi-x-a-knʲe</i>	<i>*eti</i>
1+2	<i>kit-a-koy</i>	<i>s-a-kene</i>			(<i>kur-am-aŋte</i>)
1+2PL	<i>kit-a-to-koy</i>	<i>s-a-to-kene</i>			
2	<i>m-a-koy</i>	<i>m-a-kene</i>	<i>m-ja-ki</i>		<i>*eti</i>
2PL	<i>m-a-to-koy</i>	<i>m-a-to-kene</i>			
3	<i>kin-a-koy</i>	<i>kin-a-ko</i>	<i>n-a-ki</i>	<i>Ø-x-a-knʲe</i>	<i>n-a-ki</i>
3PL	<i>kin-a-to-koy</i>	<i>toh kin-a-ko</i>		<i>Ø-x-a-t-kene</i>	

	Katx	Hixk	Tir	Pan
1	<i>w-ah-kimi</i>	<i>w-ah-ko</i>	<i>w-ah-kən(ə)</i>	
1+2	<i>kit-ah-kimi</i>	<i>t-ah-ko</i>	<i>kit-ah-kən(ə)</i>	
1+2PL	<i>kit-ah-txi-kimi</i>	<i>t-ah-tfo-ko</i>	<i>kit-ah-to-kən(ə)</i>	
2	<i>m-ah-kimi</i>	<i>m-ah-ko</i>	<i>m-ah-kən(ə)</i>	
2PL	<i>m-ah-txi-kimi</i>	<i>m-ah-tfo-ko</i>	<i>m-ah-to-kən(ə)</i>	
3	<i>Ø-ah-kimi</i>	<i>n-ah-ko</i>	<i>kin-ah-kə</i>	<i>n-ah-kə</i>
3PL		<i>n-ah-tfo-ko</i>		

In Table 4 we turn to the eight languages for which there is a clear cognate of either **a* or **ap* in a cognate past continuous inflection. The simple root **a* occurs in the first four columns, with different reflexes of the root **ap* occurring in the remaining columns.¹² Note that the change **p > h* is expected in the forms in in Table 4 for Katxuyana and Hixkaryana, where **p > h* is a more general change (cf. Meira & Franchetto 2005: 136) and in Tiriyó and Panare, *h* is the expected reflex of any obstruent that becomes syllable final and debucalizes preceding another obstruent (cf. Meira & Franchetto 2005: 133; Gildea 2012: 449). However, no unconditioned sound change of **p > m* has been attested in Ikpéng, so the hypothesis that **ap > am* ‘COP1’ in Ikpéng will not be sustainable unless such evidence is forthcoming in future comparative research. Note also that only the first syllable of the suffix, **-kə*, reconstructs to all eight languages – the final nasal syllable is not attested in four languages, and is not transparently cognate in the others: *-mi*, *-ne*, *-n(ə)*, and *-ŋ*.¹³

12. The **p* is reconstructed based on the nonfinite form in Wayana and the distant past form in Arara, cf. Table 5.

13. Meira (2015) hypothesizes that these “extra” syllables are more recent arrivals, originating in former postverbal particles.

Table 5. Possible modern reflexes of the **a/*ap* copula in other tense-aspects and subordinate forms

	Waim		Ara	Ikp
	REC.PST.CONT	IM.FUT	DIST.PST	PST.CONT
1	<i>w-ja-ni</i>	<i>w-ja-pa</i>	<i>w-ap-tam</i>	
1+2			<i>kud-ap-tam</i>	<i>kur-am-aŋte</i>
1+2PL			<i>kud-ap-ti-dam</i>	
2	<i>m-ja-ni</i>	<i>m-ja-pa</i>	<i>mod-ap-tam</i>	
2PL				
3	<i>n-a-jani / n-a-ni</i>	<i>n-a-pa</i>	\emptyset - <i>ap-tam</i>	
3PL			\emptyset - <i>ap-ti-dam</i>	

	Katx	Tir	Way
	CONDITIONAL	CONDITIONAL	CONDITIONAL
1	<i>w-ah-tawi</i>		
1+2	<i>ki-w-ah-tawi</i>		
1+2PL	<i>a-w-ah-tawi-'ne</i>		
2	<i>a-w-ah-tawi</i>		
2PL	<i>a-w-ah-tawi-'ne</i>		
3	<i>ah-tawi</i>	<i>ah-taw(i)</i>	<i>ap-taw</i>
3PL	<i>ah-tawi-'ne</i>		

Finally, Table 5 shows the remaining copular forms that plausibly contain a modern reflex of **a* or **ap* 'COP1'. In Waimiri-Atroari *w-ja-ni* 'I was', the form is a good match with the expected nonpast uncertain paradigm, however (i) the semantics are a poor fit and (ii) there are two distinct attested Waimiri-Atroari nonpast uncertain forms (in Table 2), which appear to contain reflexes of the irregular third person nonpast uncertain suffix, **-je*. The Waimiri-Atroari immediate future forms, plus the Arara distant past and the Ikpéng past continuous forms, all seem to contain the expected root, but in combination with morphology that is unattested in the other languages, and thus presumably innovative. In Katxuyana, Tiriyo, and Wayana, the nonfinite conditional form (so far unattested in the rest of the family or, as in Waiwai, attested only with a reflex of **eti* 'COP2') is clearly cognate: **ap-tawi*.

There is no lexical verb reported in any modern Cariban language that resembles this root, either in root form or in irregular person or TAM inflection, so there is no basis for a reconstruction of this root as anything other than a copula.¹⁴

14. It is the case that in spontaneous speech in some languages (at least Panare and Katxuyana), I have seen this copula take as its complement an unmarked ideophone or stretch of quoted

3.2 Reconstructing *eti ‘dwell’ > ‘COP2’

In every Cariban language for which we have copular paradigms, there are several inflections that are clearly modern reflexes of a second copular root, *eti ‘COP2’. In most languages of the family, *t palatalizes and/or lenites before *i (Meira & Franchetto 2005: 142), > s//tʃ. As seen in Table 6, in some allomorphs, modern reflexes of *eti can be bisyllabic, like *efi*, *etʃi*, *efe*. Other allomorphs can become monosyllabic in three distinct ways: the most common is via syllable reduction (Gildea 1995), reducing the final syllable to a glottal, or eliminating it altogether, to produce forms like *it*, *eʔ*, *eh*, and *i* (found in multiple cells of Table 6). Also common is weakening of the intervocalic stop until it disappears altogether, leaving a monosyllabic root with a diphthong, *ei* (found especially in Kari’nja, Tiriyo and Ye’kwana). The third strategy, so far attested only in Makushi, Panare, and Yawarana (Cáceres pc, not represented in the table), is to drop the initial vowel, leaving behind the root allomorph *si/tʃi*.

Table 6. Various allomorphs of *eti ‘COP2’

	*w-eti-ri NZD	*w-eti-i/-wi ‘PST’	*w-eti-ja-te NPST.CRTN	*m-eti-tə-i PST.COLL	*eti-kə IMPERATIVE
Apa	w-efi-ri	efi-ne	Ø-efi-a-se	m-efi-to-u	efi-ko
Ara	itʃi-li				it-ko
Ikp	etʃi-li			Ø-i-ti-t	
Katx	w-etʃi-ri	w-etʃi-wi	w-eʔ-ya-si	m-eʔ-tʃi-wi	etʃ-ko
Hixk	w-efe-ri	w-efe-je	w-eh-ja-ha	m-eh-tʃo-wni	eh-ko
Wai	c-efi-ri	n-efi-Ø			es-ko
Way	w-efi-Ø	w-efi-i	m-eh-a		ei-kə
Tir	w-ei-Ø	w-ei-Ø	w-ee-ja-e	m-eh-ti(i)	eh-kə
Kar	w-ei-ri	w-ei-i	w-ei-ya	w-eh-to-i	eh-ko
Ye’k	w-ei-tʃi		w-ei-ja		
Waim					kw-eʔ-ki
Pan	u-chi-n	w-etʃi-i	w-eʔ-yah		eʔ-kə
Mak		ʃi-i			eʔ-ki
Yuk	=ye		=me	=ne	

In some languages (Panare, Kari’nja, Akawaio, Kuikuro, and perhaps Pemón, for which we lack full paradigms) this root forms its own regular paradigm, with no suppletion or missing inflections; in all the rest of the languages, this root is missing

speech – in this use, it appears to also be a speech verb. I have not investigated whether this use is productive, nor whether the other copula shares this behavior. An anonymous reviewer suggests that this function is compatible with an original lexical meaning of ‘do’: ‘do’ > ‘become’ > ‘be’ > auxiliary.

certain inflectional forms, which are instead supplied by suppletion of an inflected form of **a* / **ap* ‘COP1’. The degree of suppletion varies by language (see Appendix): in some (e.g. Katxuyana, Tiriyo), the only missing inflection for **eti* ‘COP2’ is the (distant) past imperfective, with both roots occurring in contrast in the two nonpast inflections; in others (e.g. Wayana, Ye’kwana), **eti* ‘COP1’ is not found in any of the inflectional forms filled by **a* / **ap* ‘COP2’; and in still others (e.g. Hixkaryana, Ikpéng), the same TAM inflection might have different roots for different persons (e.g., in the Hixkaryana nonpast inflections, second and third person forms use a reflex of **eti* ‘COP2’ while first person singular and inclusive forms use a reflex of **a* / **ap* ‘COP1’).

Although this root certainly should reconstruct to Proto-Cariban as a copula that is used with locative predicates, in looking at the meanings of the nominalized forms in two languages, Panare and Kari’nja, Meira and Gildea (2009) suggest that it might be reconstructible as a lexical verb meaning ‘dwell / live’.¹⁵ This reconstruction would be consistent with the synchronic observation articulated most trenchantly by Álvarez (1998, 2005, 2015) that what I have been calling the “copular” verbs are, in Hixkaryana, Pemón, and Kari’nja of Venezuela, merely intransitive verbs that take an adverbial complement. Given a syntactic definition of “copula” that entails the ability to take a nominal predicate, thereby “coupling” two nouns, Álvarez correctly points out that, at least in these languages, the modern reflexes of neither **a* nor **eti* can be properly considered a copula. If the etymology of **eti* is as a locative intransitive verb ‘dwell / live’, then the syntactic requirement for the complement of **eti* to be an adverbial phrase would be unsurprising, merely a conservation of the grammar associated with the original meaning.

This summarizes our reconstruction of Proto-Cariban copular roots based solely on attested copular paradigms in modern Caribbean languages. In the next section, I examine other constructions where we find evidence of archaic copulas.

3.3 Looking for more cognates: Relic zones

In this section, after first reviewing likely sources for innovative copulas, I briefly review construction types that are likely to conserve older copular forms, then point out the presence of modern reflexes of the Proto-Cariban root **a* ‘COP1’ in various of these environments in modern Caribbean languages. The sources of innovative copulas are most clearly pronouns, posture/positional verbs, evaluative verbs, and

15. In more recent conversations, Meira (pc) is less confident in this reconstruction. cf. also Sapién’s (this volume) suggestion that that the source meaning of **eti* should be dynamic rather than stative, so as to explain the inchoative reading of modern reflexes of **eti* in those inflections that compete with inflections of the ‘true’ copula, her label for modern reflexes of **a*.

change of state verbs that result in a state of being; secondarily, a possible source is also verbs of obtaining. I briefly discuss each in turn.

As described in Gildea (1993), pronouns can become copulas via reanalysis of a left- or right-dislocation construction. This is attested in the literature as the source of copulas in Chinese and Arabic, and it is the source of the Panare nonverbal copulas *kěj*, *něj*, and *měn* (called ‘specifiers’ in Payne & Payne 2013: 304); a similar process may be starting in Akawaio (Gildea 2005) and Ye’kwana (Cáceres 2014).

	X,	SUBJ	PRED	SUBJ	COP	PRED	PRED	SUBJ,	X	PRED	COP	SUBJ			
(36)	NP,	PRO	NP	NP	COP	NP	~	NP	PRO,	NP	NP	COP	NP		
	<i>John</i> ,	<i>he</i>	<i>chief</i>	>	<i>john</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>chief</i>	~	<i>chief</i>	<i>he</i> ,	<i>John</i>	>	<i>chief</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>john</i>

The second major source of innovative copulas is postural verbs like ‘sit’ or ‘stand’, or locational verbs like ‘dwell’ or ‘live’, which come to be required as the verbal elements of locative predicates. As they become semantically bleached, losing their concrete meanings, they arrive at the lack of additional meaning that characterizes “true” copulas for Dik 1987 (cf also Dryer 2007)). Over time, these bleached locative copulas expand their syntactic collocations to become what Givón (2015: 113–115) calls “predicative copulas”, i.e. those that occur with nominal and adjectival predicates. Once this happens, the innovative copulas can replace older copulas in these more basic nonverbal predicate constructions. We can see the early stages of this process in the Spanish copula *estar* ‘be’: Latin *stāre* ‘stand’ occurred only with locative predicates, but the copula *estar* ‘be’ now occurs also with adjectival predicates. Such a locative verb is the source I postulate for the Cariban copula **eti* ‘COP2’ (cf. § 3.2).

An anonymous reviewer points out that process verbs like ‘grow’ and ‘make’, which have as a result a state of being, evolve into inchoative copular verbs (‘become’) and then on into ordinary stative copulas (cf. Indo-European **b^heuH*). Such an inchoative verb is the source that Sapién (this volume) posits for the Cariban copula **eti* ‘cop2’.

Finally, although there are no obvious applications to the Cariban situation, the same anonymous reviewer points out that evaluative verbs, such as ‘be true’, have become copulas in Gyalrongic (Tibeto-Burman) languages and possibly in Indo-European. Similarly without obvious application is the path, seen in Romance languages, by which verbs of acquisition like Latin *tendere* ‘grasp’, can become bleached into general verbs of possession, like Spanish *tener* ‘have’, from which there is a clear pathway to existential uses, like Portuguese *ter* ‘have, exist’. I do not have attested examples of the further development from existential to locative (although certainly both possession and existential predicates have locative functions), and from there to the other nonverbal predicate functions, but if an existential were to become the unmarked locative copula, it would then be on the same potential pathway to a more general copula as we would see in the posture verbs.

With so many potential candidates available to assume the copular function, it is not difficult to imagine situations in which more archaic copulas would seem to disappear altogether from modern languages. In discussing the history of copulas in the Bantu language family, Givón 2015 (a revised version of the original 1974 article) argues that it is possible to reconstruct the copula **ni* to Proto-Bantu even though it is not attested as a simple copula in the Eastern Branch of Bantu. Givón asserts (p. 108) that “Two of the most reliable *relic zones* for dead or dying copulas are cleft-focus clauses and WH-questions,” the latter a type of focus construction that is often historically derived from clefts. By searching in these constructions in languages where the copula had not previously been identified, he is able to find surviving reflexes of Proto-Bantu **ni*, and thereby to reconstruct it to Proto-Bantu. However, new copulas require more time to penetrate into the more grammaticalized uses to which the former copulas were put, and so alongside the presence of the new copulas in basic nonverbal predication, we can often see relics of the old copulas in “more grammaticalized” functions. To Givón’s cleft and focus constructions, I add verbal auxiliaries and (as a subsequent development) verbal tense-aspect-mood inflections.

In several modern Cariban languages, it is not trivial to identify modern reflexes of **a* ‘COP1’, and in one language (Kuikuro), even the reflex of **eti* ‘COP2’ is so reduced as to be elusive. In the remainder of this section, I identify the environments where relic reflexes of **a* ‘COP1’ are encountered.

Obviously, the most common location in which we can find reflexes of **a* ‘COP1’ is in suppletive forms found in the paradigm of the younger, more fully utilized copula **eti* ‘COP2’ (cf. Appendix 1 for language-by-language paradigms).

A second extremely common location where **a* ‘COP1’ can be seen is in modern inflectional morphology on verbs. It is a staple of the grammaticalization literature that verbal inflections readily come from auxiliaries, and given that copulas are among the most common verbs to be recruited into auxiliary functions,¹⁶ it would not be unexpected to find reflexes of old inflected copulas occurring as verbal inflections. As shown in Table 7, even in some of the languages (like Akawaio) that lack obvious reflexes of **a* ‘COP1’ in copular function, there are verbal inflections that are clearly reflexes of the inflected forms of **a* ‘COP1’ (as seen in Tables 1, 2, and 4), in most cases with a formative segment *-j-* (usually analyzed as the initial segment of the suffixes) occurring between the root and the reflexes of **a* ‘COP1’. Correspondingly, the absence of verbal suffixes deriving from **eti* ‘COP2’ would constitute an additional argument that it is a relative newcomer in the copular function, at least in comparison to **a* ‘COP1’.

16. Indeed, Dik (1987) considers the copula to be already an auxiliary even when it is the main (and only) verb, the one that turns a nonverbal predication into a verbal clause (cf. also Dryer 2007).

Table 7. Cognate verbal inflections based on the **a* copula plus a preceding *-j-* formative

	Kar	Apa	Katx	Hixk	Ye'k
NPST-CRTN SG	<i>-ja</i>	<i>-ase</i>	<i>-ja-si</i>	<i>-ja-ha</i>	<i>-a</i>
PL	<i>-ja-to-ŋ</i>	<i>-a-to-se</i>	<i>-ja-tfi-tfi</i>	<i>-ja-tf-he</i>	<i>-a-ato</i>
NPST-UNCRTN SG	<i>-jaŋ</i>	<i>-ano</i>	<i>-ja-ni</i>	<i>-ja-no</i>	<i>-a-nə</i>
PL	<i>-ja-to-ŋ</i>		<i>-ja-tfi-wi</i>	<i>-ja-tfo-wi</i>	<i>-a-ato</i>
PST.CONT SG	<i>-jakonj</i>		<i>-jakimi</i>	<i>-jako</i>	<i>-akene</i>
PL	<i>-ja-to-konj</i>		<i>-ja-tf-kimi</i>	<i>-ja-tfo-ko</i>	<i>-a-'kene</i>
OTHER SG	<i>-jainje</i>	<i>-asene</i>	<i>-jakini</i>	<i>-jaknano</i>	
PL	<i>-ja-to-inje</i>	<i>-a-to-sene</i>	<i>-ja-tf-kini</i>	<i>-ja-tf-kenano</i>	

	Tir	Way	Pan	Waim	Ikp	Aka
NPST-CRTN SG	<i>-ja-e</i>	<i>-ja(h)e</i>	<i>-jah</i>	<i>-ja</i>	<i>(-t / -tfi)</i>	<i>-jaik</i>
PL	<i>-ja-ti(i)</i>	<i>-ja-tə-(h)e</i>			<i>(-ti-t)</i>	<i>-ja-da-ik</i>
NPST-UNCRTN SG	<i>-ja-n(ə)</i>	<i>-ja</i>		<i>-jani</i>		<i>-jan</i>
PL	<i>-ja-ti(i)</i>	<i>-ja-tə-u</i>				<i>-ja-də-w</i>
PST.CONT SG	<i>-jakə(mi)</i>		<i>-jahkə</i>	<i>-jaki</i>		
PL	<i>-ja-tə-kə(mi)</i>					
OTHER SG				<i>-japa</i>		
PL						

In several languages, vestiges of specific former **a* ‘COP1’ inflections survive as modern auxiliaries or otherwise mysterious “predicate particles”. In Makushi (Abbott 1991: 113–116), the forms *wai* ‘1SG’ (as in 37) and *man* ‘3’ serve as auxiliaries that add immediacy to the predicate, whereas the form *nai* ‘3.QUES’ adds both immediacy and interrogative mood to the predicate. In Akawaio (Gildea 2005), only *mang* ‘3.be.PRES’ (as in 38) and *nai* ‘3.be.PRES.INTER’ survive, both also used to indicate immediacy. These forms each come from different tables in § 3.1, *wai* from the first person nonpast certain form (Table 1), *nai* from the third person nonpast uncertain form (Table 2), and *man/mang* from the suppletive third person nonpast form (Table 3) that invades the paradigms of either the certain or the uncertain forms, depending on the specific language.

- (37) *entamo'ka-sa' wai*
 eat-CMPLT 1.BE
 ‘I have eaten (today).’

- (38) *pasta abdool ya nya mari'ma-'pi mang*
 Pastor Abdul Erg 1+3 marry-Past 3.be.Pres
 ‘Pastor Abdool married us’

In Ikpéng, Pacheco (2001: 132) gives various examples containing the particle *man* ‘PARTICLE’, a very likely reflex of the suppletive third person form in Table 3. Synchronically, Pacheco cannot identify a meaning for this particle, but in his

examples, it occurs in the expected environments for a former copula, taking as its scope both nonverbal predicates and verbal predicates that come, etymologically, from deverbal nouns or adverbs. Example (39) illustrates this particle with a negative verbal predicate (a construction in which most modern Cariban languages require a copula, cf. § 3.4); the parenthetical modal flavor of “certainly” in the translation is consistent with the uses of the cognate *man/mang* forms in Makushi and Akawaio.

- (39) *imenełogon tšimna man tšimna Ø-aktatke-bra*
 today 1+3 PART 1+3 1+3A3O-eat-NEG
 ‘Today we (exclusive) (certainly) did not eat (any more of) it!’

Another place that Givón advises one to seek out archaic copulas is in relative clauses (> cleft constructions > focus constructions). His advice is reinforced by Heine & Reh’s (1985: 165–9) multiple examples of copular roots bound into cleft and focus particles, and Harris and Campbell’s (1995: 157) examples of Celtic relative clauses > focus constructions, which contain a form of the copula found nowhere else in the modern languages.¹⁷ In the descriptions of modern Cariban languages, finite relative clauses are rarely attested; as such, it is not surprising that clefts based on such relative clauses are also not described. However, there are a few languages (surveyed in Meira 2006) where innovative finite relative clauses are attested, and in two of them, unexpected morphological patterns are found.

In Panare (Gildea 1989; Payne & Payne 2013: Chapter 20) relativizing suffixes have been innovated, which occur at the end of both the AUX (Payne & Payne’s 2013 term for the modern reflexes of **a* ‘COP1’) and any verb inflected with *yaj* [-jah] ‘PAST’ (also a reflex of **a*, cf. Table 7). However, as seen in Table 8, the morphological patterns associated with the relativizers are asymmetrical in two ways. Beginning with the final three columns of Table 8, with inflected verbs (but not AUX), two inanimate relativizers are in alternation based on person of subject of the relative clause: *-sin* ‘INAN.REL’ is found with first and second person subjects and *-n* ‘INAN.REL’ with third person subjects; turning to AUX, given in the first four columns, *-sin* is attested for all persons. The second asymmetry is limited to AUX: as seen in the first two columns of Table 8, there is a partial distinction between main and interrogative forms of AUX, but as seen in the third column, the relativized form of AUX appears to be based on the main (declarative) verb form for first and second person, but the interrogative form for third person.

17. Note that Harris and Campbell do not mention whether this relative/focus clause copula is archaic; based only on the logic of this section, I hypothesize that it is archaic relative to the copula found in ordinary nonverbal predicates in modern Celtic languages.

Table 8. Main and relativized reflexes of *a ‘COP1’ in Panare

AUX				PAST TENSE		
Main declarative	Main Interrogative	Relativized	Reconstructed	Main Declarative	Relativized	Reconstructed
1 <i>w-ah</i>	<i>w-ah</i>	<i>w-aa-sin</i>	* <i>w-a-te (+-n)</i>	<i>w-Σ-yah</i>	<i>w-Σ-yaa-sin</i>	* <i>w-Σ-j-a-te (+-n)</i>
2 <i>m-ah</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>m-aa-sin</i>	* <i>m-a-te (+-n)</i>	<i>m-Σ-yah</i>	<i>m-Σ-yaa-sin</i>	* <i>m-Σ-j-a-te (+-n)</i>
			* <i>m-a-nə</i>			
3 –	<i>n-ah</i>	<i>n-aa-sin</i>	* <i>n-a-te (+-n)</i>	<i>n-Σ-yah</i>		* <i>n-Σ-j-a-te</i>
<i>m-ah</i>		–	* <i>m-a-te</i>		<i>n-Σ-ya n</i>	* <i>n-Σ-j-a-nə (+-n)</i>

From the comparative perspective now available, we can identify the origins of these asymmetries in Panare relative clauses. First, the anomalous relativizer *-sin* ‘REL.INAN’ reveals that the final glottal fricative of various forms of AUX and the past tense suffix is a word-final reduction of the syllable *si*, itself a reflex of the suffix **-te* ‘CERTAIN’ (reconstructed in Table 1). When followed by the inanimate relativizer *-n* ‘REL.INAN’, this syllable was not word final and thus did not reduce; in the modern language, this is the only nonreducing environment for this suffix, so the unreduced syllable has been analyzed (at least by we linguists) as part of the suffix *sin*. The question would then arise as to why the full syllable appears in verbal relative clauses only when the subject is first or second person, but not even the glottal vestige of it occurs when the subject is third person. As it happens, a related asymmetry in the use of the nonpast certain suffixes is attested in Tiriyó, Wayana, and Akawaio, where the nonpast certain and nonpast uncertain inflections are in contrast only for first and second person subjects; with third person subjects, the nonpast certain inflection is lost, leaving a reflex of the nonpast uncertain suffix as the only form. If the nonpast certain suffix were not possible with third person subjects in Panare, then it would not be surprising that there is no reflex of **-te* in Panare relative clauses with third person subjects – the third person subject relative clause inflection would be a modern reflex of only the suffix *-ya* ‘PAST.3SUBJ’ (< **-ja-nə* ‘NPST.UNCRTN’) preceding the relativizer.¹⁸ While relative clauses apparently froze this older pattern, in main clauses and in relative clauses with first and

18. I have not worked out the details of the phonological changes that lead to the loss of the final nasal syllable in Panare, but there are multiple cases of lost nasals in Panare and a similar loss has happened in Wayana and Apalaí. That we could reconstruct a second source of the past tense suffix without a reflex of **-te* would then provide an explanation not only for the curious allomorphy of the two inanimate relativizers, but it could also explain the troubling absence of the final glottal in the relativized forms *ya-něj* ‘PAST-REL.ANIM’ and *-ya-n* ‘PAST-REL.INAN’ (cf. also Payne & Payne (2013: 425, note 2)).

second person subjects, the contrast would have been lost, leaving *-yah* (< **j-a-te*) as the single suffix.

Turning to the different patterns seen with AUX as a main verb, the rich paradigms of Proto-Cariban nonpast inflections (cf. Tables 1–2) have dwindled to four words in Panare, distributed into the affirmative and interrogative functions, but no longer creating inflectional paradigms characteristic of verbs. First person *w ah* ‘1-AUX’ is found in both main declarative and interrogative functions, second person *m-ah* ‘2-AUX’ is the main declarative form for both second and third person subjects, and *n-ah* ‘3-AUX’ is the third person main interrogative form. The fourth form, *man* ‘2.AUX.INTERROGATIVE’ is the sole remaining reflex of the nonpast uncertain forms (cf. Table 2); as the sole remnant of its paradigm, *man* is not synchronically analyzable as part of a paradigm, but only as an invariant, more particle-like form (similar to the particles already mentioned in Makushi, Akawaio, and Ikpéng). In contrast, the relativized form of AUX is consistently *aa-sin*, which is doubly anomalous when the third person prefix *n-* ‘3’ co-occurs with a reflex of **a-te* ‘COP-NONPAST.CERTAIN’: the Main Declarative third person form of AUX does not take the expected prefix *n-* ‘3’, but rather is an extension of the second-person form, *maj*, so the regular prefix *n-* ‘3’ is unexpected; also, since main verbs do not allow *-sin* in relative clauses with third person subjects, it is surprising that the suffix occurs with aux in relative clauses with third person subjects.¹⁹

This concludes my exposition of noncopular uses of morphemes that arguably reconstruct to Proto-Cariban copular roots. In the final section, I turn to a first reconstruction of the innovations that have taken place in nonverbal predicate constructions in the Cariban family.

4. A first approximation of the story of copular innovation in Cariban

In this section, I tell two logically independent stories: The first is the story of the competition between the two copular roots, in which the archaic copula **a* ‘COP1’ gets systematically replaced by the newer copula **eti* ‘COP2’. The second is the story of how two etymologically distinct nonverbal predicate constructions have begun to merge into a single construction, to the point that in Arara, Ferreira Alves (2014) describes a single nonverbal predicate construction for which the absence of a copula does nothing more than point to a gnomic or simple present predicate and the

19. I have no explanation for how or why these two anomalies should exist, so I expolit the problem as clearly as possible in the hopes that the data be useful for future studies of suppletion and paradigm restructuring. As indicated by an anonymous reviewer, the word “analogy” should play a role in any such explanations.

presence of a copula does nothing more than offer a mechanism for introducing other tense-aspect-mood distinctions to nonverbal predicates.

Turning first to the two distinct copular roots, both **a* ‘COP1’ and **eti* ‘COP2’ must have been present in Proto-Cariban, as both are found synchronically in nearly every branch of the family.²⁰ The arguments for considering **a* to be the older copula are articulated in Section 3:

- **a* is morphologically irregular compared to **eti*: it takes reconstructible irregular person prefixes (such as **man-* ‘2’), reconstructible irregular TAM suffixes (such as **-je* ‘NPST.UNCRTN’ uniquely with third person subjects), and a reconstructible suppletive form **mana* (Table 3) for third person nonpast.
- **a* is morphologically defective compared to **eti* in that it only occurs with three or four of the inflectional TAM suffixes available in each language whereas **eti* generally takes the full suite of inflections (except where a modern reflex of **a* occupies a particular slot of the paradigm as a suppletive form), including the imperative and all the nonfinite forms.
- reflexes of **a*, but not of **eti*, are found in multiple “copular graveyards”, constructions that conserve archaic copulas. The most impressive of these is the three inflectional suffixes that can go on any verb, which consist of the formative *-j* plus the three reconstructible inflections of **a*: the nonpast certain, the nonpast uncertain, and the past continuous. These verbal suffixes are sufficiently widespread in the family (cf. Gildea 1998: 98, 101–3) that they plausibly reconstruct to Proto-Cariban. However old these suffixes are, the function of **a* as a copula, and then a copular auxiliary, must be substantially older.
- The relative youth of **eti* is seen not only in its relative regularity, productivity, and absence in “copula graveyard” constructions, but also in the possible retention of a plausible etymological meaning, ‘dwell’, in nominalized forms in two languages.

Although **a* is a very old copular form and **eti* a relatively more recent copular form, the distributions of the modern reflexes suggest that both were already copulas at the time of Proto-Cariban. If this is true, then the small minority of modern languages (Panare, Kari’ña) that maintain both roots as separate forms would be conservative, whereas the majority would have innovated in collapsing the two into a single suppletive paradigm.

20. As seen in the Appendix, even in Kuikuro (Franchetto pc) we see reflexes of **eti* ‘COP2’ as a fully inflected verb; there is also a locative verb *a* ‘be.located’, which could be a reflex of **a* ‘COP1’. It is possible, but seems less likely, that the copular suffix *-i* ‘COP’ (Franchetto 2014) is a reflex of **eti*.

Turning to the syntax of nonverbal predicate constructions, my hypothesis is largely unchanged from the one articulated in Meira & Gildea (2009): we must reconstruct the two nonverbal predicate constructions that are found in every language of the family and then explain how these two evolve into the range of attested modern constructions. For nominal predicates (which include equative, proper inclusion, and permanent property predicates), I hypothesize that Proto-Cariban utilized exclusively juxtaposition constructions; for adverbial predicates (locative, existential, possessive, and temporary property predicates), I hypothesize that Proto-Cariban utilized exclusively copular constructions. This reconstruction of the syntax is consistent with the reconstruction of the etymology of **eti* as an intransitive locative verb ‘dwell / live’ (cf. Section 3.2), and it allows the majority of the modern attested patterns to exist simply by continuing unchanged from Proto-Cariban.

These hypotheses entail that the other attested modern constructions – juxtaposition constructions with adverbial predicates and copular constructions with nominal predicates – be innovative. Independent evidence for their innovative status is that the distribution of these two constructions is more variable in the modern languages. For example, Ye’kwana freely allows juxtaposition constructions with adverbial predicates, but does not freely allow copular constructions with nominal predicates; conversely, Kari’nja of Suriname has recently innovated a copular construction with nominal predicates, but does not freely allow adverbial predicates in juxtaposition constructions.²¹ As such, we require independent explanations of the processes by which each were created.

It is almost trivial to derive juxtaposition constructions with adverbial predicates, simply by means of elision of an obvious copula. Languages with attested “optional elision” of at least the third person present tense copula in discourse include Carib of Suriname / Kari’nja (Hoff 1968; Sapién this volume), Wayana (Tavares 2005), Apalaí (Koehn & Koehn 1986), and Ye’kwana (Cáceres 2014).²² With the copula elided, the surface form of the construction would be identical with the juxtaposition construction, including the assumption of a nonpast/gnomic tense-aspect reading. It would not be surprising to see a subsequent generalization of this third-person elided copula construction to other persons (as attested synchronically in at least Tiriyo and Arara).

21. Note also that, despite the claim in the descriptive grammars of Hixkaryana (Derbyshire 1985) and Makushi (Abbott 1991) that such constructions are not possible, in texts Meira and Gildea (2009: 113) were able to find examples of copular constructions with nominal predicates in both languages.

22. Note that both Sapién (for Kari’nja) and Cáceres (for Ye’kwana) point out that such examples are always “corrected” in elicitation.

Despite the many attested and reconstructed cases of such a change, (cf. § 3.3), it is less trivial to understand the introduction of nominal predicates into copular constructions. One incentive that could be imagined is that the juxtaposition construction does not provide speakers with a means to express the full range of tense-aspect values that a copular construction would offer. However, given the option of putting a nominal predicate in a postpositional phrase headed by the (in this context, semantically empty) postposition **pe/*me* 'ATTRIBUTIVE / ESSIVE', there was already a mechanism available to speakers for expressing equative and proper inclusion predicates with a copula. As such, it would appear that the motives for expanding the copular construction to include nominal predicates must have been more local, perhaps even stylistic.

Sapién's (this volume) exposition of the innovative fronted nominal predicate construction in Kari'nja provides an excellent example of such a local process of change. The source is a left-dislocation construction, in which a fronted nominal is understood to be coreferential with the elided predicate of the copular construction that follows: 'my father, he is'. From here, the dislocated predicate noun is re-integrated into the main clause intonation contour, becoming merely a (fronted) focused predicate: 'my father he is'. This is significant because it remains the only construction in the modern language in which a copula may take a nominal predicate.²³ From this modest beginning, one could imagine younger speakers generalizing that nominal predicates occur more widely with copulas, leading to the modern patterns attested in Tiriyo and Arara.

Given both innovations at once – the free elision of copulas in the present tense with adverbial predicates plus the free occurrence of the copula with nominal predicates – it would not be automatic to determine the semantic difference between a clause with and without a nonpast copula. In fact, etymologically, the absence of the copula with adverbial predicates would just be a contraction of the sentence with a copula. As such, it is not surprising that in grammars of Tiriyo, Meira (1999) and Carlin (2004) are not able to identify clear patterns, in either meaning or function, between nonverbal predicates with and without the nonpast copula. Such a lack of clear functional difference would create a situation ripe for further simplification, which we see in Arara: the nonpast copulas apparently no longer exist in the language, leaving the meaning of simple nonpast / gnomic nonverbal predicates to be expressed solely by the absence of a copula, regardless of whether the predicate is nominal or adverbial (Ferreira Alves 2014 and pc).

23. Note that, as Sapién also shows, this construction is only found with modern reflexes of **a* 'COP1', providing further evidence that it remains synchronically distinct from modern reflexes of **eti* 'COP2'.

In a few languages, there have been additional innovations, such as the advent of pronominal copulas in the juxtaposition construction in Panare (Gildea 1993), the insertion of the root *wani* 'COP' (possibly from Proto-Cariban **w-a-nə* '1-COP1-NPST.UNCRTN?') into the copular paradigms in Makushi, and the innovation in the Pemón Group of the continuative copula/auxiliary *ko'mami* 'stay, continue, keep' from the Proto-Cariban intransitive verb **kokmami* 'pass the night'.

Throughout the family, there are no attested cases of even marginal uses of posture verbs as locative copulas, a gap that is somewhat surprising given the typological frequency of such verbs becoming copulas, including in neighboring languages of the Amazon, such as Matses (Panoan; Fleck 2003), Apinajé (Northern Jê; Oliveira 2005), and Sikuani (Guahiboan; Queixalós 1992), as well as other languages documented in this volume.

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Abbreviations

1	first person	COL	collective
1+2	first person inclusive	COLL	collective
1+3	first person exclusive	CONT	continuative
2	second person	COP	copula
A	transitive subject index	CRTN	certain
ADJ	adjective	DBT	doubt
ADJP	adjective phrase	DEF	definite
ADV	adverb	DENOM	denominalizer
AFFIRM	affirmative	DESID	desiderative
AN	animate	DIST	distant
ANIM	animate	EMPH	emphatic
AQ	liquid (ground for locative)	ERG	ergative
ATTR	attributive	EXIST	existential
AUX	auxiliary	FUT	future
AZR	adverbializer	GNO	gnomic
CIRC.NZR	circumstantial nominalizer	IM	immediate
CMPLT	completive	IMMED	immediate

IMPER	imperative	PP	pre/postpositional phrase
IMPRF	imperfective	PRED	predicate
INAN	inanimate	PRES	present
INDEF	indefinite	PRF	perfective
INTERROG	interrogative	PROP	proprietary adverbializer
INTR	intransitive verb class marker	PROX	proximate
ITER	iterative	PSD	possessed
LOC	locative	PSR	possessor
MED	medial	PST	past
MOT	motion	PURP	purpose
NEG	negative	QUES	question
NONSPEC.I	nonspecific aspect intransitive verbs	REC	recent
NP	noun phrase	REFL	reflexive
NPST	nonpast	REL	relativizer
NZR	nominalizer	S	intransitive subject index
O	transitive object index	S _A	verb class marker
PART	particle	SG	singular
PERM	permanent	SUBJ	subject
PL	plural	TAM	tense-aspect-modality
		UNCRTN	uncertain

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Appendix. Copular paradigms in selected Cariban languages

Sources for each table

A1-A3	Kari'nja	Sapién (this volume)
A4-A6	Panare	Payne & Payne (2013)
A7-A9	Katxuyana	author's field notes
A10-A12	Tiriyó	Meira (1999)
A13-A15	Ye'kwana	Cáceres (2011)
A16-A18	Hixkaryana	Derbyshire (1985)
A19–21	Apalaí	Koehn & Koehn (1986)
A22–24	Wayana	Tavares (2005)
A25–27	Waimiri-Atroari	Neves Lacerda (1991); Bruno (2003)
A28	Ikpéng	Pacheco (2001)
A29	Makushi	Abbott (1991)
A30–31	Kuikúro	Franchetto (personal communication)
A32–33	Arara	Ferreira Alves (in progress)

Table A1. The defective copula *a in Kari'nja

	PRES-CRTN	PRES-UNCRTN	SIMPLE PAST
1	<i>w-a</i>	<i>w-a-ng</i>	<i>w-a-kong</i>
1+2	<i>kyt-a</i>	<i>kyt-a-nong</i>	<i>kyt-a-kong</i>
1+2PL	<i>kyt-a-to-ng</i>	<i>kyt-a-to-ng</i>	<i>kyt-a-to-kong</i>
2	<i>man-a</i>	<i>m-a-ng</i>	<i>m-a-kong</i>
2PL	<i>man-do-ng</i>	<i>man-do-ng</i>	<i>m-a-to-kong</i>
3	<i>n-a ~ mang</i>	<i>n-a-ng</i>	<i>kyn-a-kong</i>
3PL	<i>man-do-ng</i>	<i>nan-do-ng</i>	<i>kyn-a-to-kong</i>

Table A2. Kari'nja verbal suffixes with the *a copula plus a formative -j-

	PRES-CRTN	PRES-UNCRTN	SIMPLE PAST	PRES.CONT
SG.SUFFIX	<i>-ja</i>	<i>-ja-ng</i>	<i>-ja-kong</i>	<i>-ja-inje</i>
PL.SUFFIX	<i>-ja-to-ng</i>	<i>-ja-to-ng</i>	<i>-ja-to-kong</i>	<i>-ja-to-inje</i>

Table A3. The verbal copula e'i in Kari'nja

	PRES-CRTN	PRES-UNCRTN	SIMPLE PAST	PRES.CONT	REC.PST
1	<i>w-ei-ja</i>	<i>w-ei-ja-ng</i>	<i>w-ei-jako-ng</i>	<i>w-ei-ja-inje</i>	<i>w-e'-i</i>
1+2	<i>kyt-ei-ja</i>	<i>kyt-ei-ja-ng</i>	<i>kyt-ei-jako-ng</i>	<i>kyt-ei-ja-inje</i>	<i>kyt-e'-i</i>
1+2PL	<i>w-ei-ja-tong</i>	<i>kyt-ei-ja-to-ng</i>	<i>kyt-ei-jako-tong</i>	<i>kyt-ei-ja-to-inje</i>	<i>kyt-e'-tong</i>
2	<i>m-ei-ja</i>	<i>m-ei-ja-ng</i>	<i>m-ei-jako-ng</i>	<i>m-ei-ja-inje</i>	<i>m-e'-i</i>
2PL	<i>m-ei-ja-tong</i>	<i>m-ei-ja-to-ng</i>	<i>m-ei-jako-tong</i>	<i>kyt-ei-ja-to-inje</i>	<i>m-e'-tong</i>
3	<i>n-ei-ja</i>	<i>kyn-ei-ja-ng</i>	<i>kyn-ei-jako-ng</i>	<i>kyn-ei-ja-inje</i>	<i>n-e'-i</i>
3PL	<i>n-ei-ja-tong</i>	<i>kyn-ei-ja-to-ng</i>	<i>kyn-ei-jako-tong</i>	<i>kyt-ei-ja-to-inje</i>	<i>kyn-e'-tong</i>

Table A4. The irregular verb ah 'AUX' in Panare

	PAST	PAST.QUESTION	DIST.PST
1	<i>w-ah</i>	<i>w-ah</i>	
1+2	<i>mah</i>	<i>mah</i>	
1+2PL	<i>mah</i>	<i>mah</i>	
2	<i>m-ah</i>	<i>m-a-n</i>	
2PL	<i>m-ah</i>	<i>mah</i>	
3	<i>mah</i>	<i>n-ah</i>	<i>n-ah-kə</i>
3PL	<i>mah</i>		

Table A5. Panare verbal suffixes with the *a copula plus a formative -j-

	PAST	DIST.PST
SUFFIX	<i>-yah</i>	<i>-yah-kə</i>

Table A6. The copula *e'/tʃi* in Panare

	PRESENT	PAST	DIST.PST	MED.PST
1	<i>w-tʃi-n</i>	<i>w-e'-yah</i>	<i>w-e'-yakë</i>	<i>w-etʃi-i</i>
2	<i>o-tʃi-n</i>	<i>m-e'-yah</i>	<i>m-e'-yakë</i>	<i>m-etʃi-i</i>
3	<i>yu-tʃi-n</i>	<i>n-e'-yah</i>	<i>n-e'-yakë</i>	<i>n-etʃi-i</i>

Table A7. The components of the Katxuyana copular paradigm containing a reflex of **a/*ap*

	NPST-CRTN	NPST-UNCRTN	DIST.PST.IMPRF	ADV 'if/when'
1	<i>w-a-si</i>	<i>w-a-ni</i>	<i>w-ah-kimi</i>	<i>w-ah-tawi</i>
1+2	<i>kit-a-si</i>	<i>kit-a-ni</i>	<i>kit-ah-kimi</i>	<i>ki-w-ah-tawi</i>
1+2PL	<i>kit-a-txi-txi</i>	<i>kit-a-txi-wi</i>	<i>kit-ah-txi-kimi</i>	<i>a-w-ah-tawi-'ne</i>
2	<i>man-a-si</i>	<i>man-a-Ø</i>	<i>m-ah-kimi</i>	<i>a-w-ah-tawi</i>
2PL	<i>man-a-txi-txi</i>	<i>man-a-txi-wi</i>	<i>m-ah-txi-kimi</i>	<i>a-w-ah-tawi-'ne</i>
3	<i>mana / n-a-si</i>	<i>n-a-yi</i>	<i>Ø-ah-kimi</i>	<i>y-ah-tawi</i>

Table A8. Katxuyana verbal suffixes with the **a* copula plus a formative **-j-*

	NPST-CRTN	NPST-UNCRTN	DIST.PST.IMPRF	MED.PST.IMPRF
SG.SUFFIX	<i>-ya-si</i>	<i>-ya-ni</i>	<i>-ya-kimi</i>	<i>-ya-kinii</i>
PL.SUFFIX	<i>-ya-txi-txi</i>	<i>-ya-txi-wi</i>	<i>-ya-tx-kimi</i>	<i>-ya-tx-kinii</i>

Table A9. Components of the Katxuyana copular paradigm containing a reflex of **eti*

	NPST-CRTN	NPST-UNCRTN	MED.PST.IMPRF	REC.PST
1	<i>w-e'-ya-si</i>	<i>w-e'-ya-ni</i>	<i>w-e'-yakini</i>	<i>w-etxi-wi</i>
1+2	<i>kitx-e'-ya-si</i>	<i>kitx-e'-ya-ni</i>	<i>kitx-e'-yakini</i>	<i>kit-etxi-wi</i>
1+2PL	<i>kitx-e'-txi-txi</i>	<i>kitx-e'-ya-txi-wi</i>	<i>kitx-e'-ya-txi-kinii</i>	<i>kit-e'-txi-wi</i>
2	<i>m-e'-ya-si</i>	<i>m-e'-ya-ni</i>	<i>m-e'-yakini</i>	<i>m-etxi-wi</i>
2PL	<i>m-e'-ya-txi-txi</i>	<i>m-e'-ya-txi-wi</i>	<i>m-e'-ya-txi-kinii</i>	<i>m-e'-txi-wi</i>
3	<i>n-e'-ya-si</i>	<i>n-e'-ya-ni</i>	<i>kin-e'-yakini</i>	<i>n-etxi-wi</i>

Table A10. The components of the Tiriyo copular paradigm containing a reflex of **a/*ap*

	PRES-GNO-CERT	PRES-GNO-DBT	PAST.IMPRF	'if/when'
1	<i>w-a-e</i>	<i>w-a-n(e)</i>	<i>w-ah-kën(ë)</i>	
1+2	<i>kit-a-e</i>	<i>kit-a-n(e)</i>	<i>kit-ah-kën(ë)</i>	
1+2PL	<i>kit-a-ti(i)</i>	<i>kit-a-ti(i)</i>	<i>kit-ah-to-kën(ë)</i>	
2	<i>man-a-e</i>	<i>man-a-n(e)</i>	<i>m-ah-kën(ë)</i>	
3		<i>n-ai</i>	<i>kin-ah-kë</i>	<i>ah-taw</i>
2PL	<i>man-a-ti(i)</i>	<i>man-a-ti(i)</i>	<i>m-ah-to-kën(ë)</i>	

Table A11. Tiriyo verbal suffixes with the *a copula plus a formative -j-

	PRES.IMPRF-CRTN	PRES.IMPRF-DBT	FUT.PRF-CRTN	PST.IMPRF
SG.SUFFIX	-ja-e	-ja-n(ë)	-ja-kë(mi)	-ja-kën(e)
PL.SUFFIX	-ja-ti(i)	-ja-ti(i)	-ja-tö-kö(mi)	-ja-tö-kën(e)

Table A12. Components of the Tiriyo copular paradigm containing a reflex of *eti

	PRES.IMPRF-CRTN	PRES.IMPRF-DBT	FUT.PRF	PST.PRF
1	w-ee-ja-e	w-ee-ja-n(ë)	w-ee-jakë(mi)	w-ei-ne
1+2	k-ee-ja-e	k-ee-ja-n(ë)	k-ee-jakë(mi)	k-ei-ne
1+2PL	k-ee-ja-ti(i)	k-ee-ja-ti(i)	k-ee-ja-të-kë(mi)	k-eh-të-ne
2	m-ee-ja-e	m-ee-ja-n(ë)	m-ee-jakë(mi)	m-ei-ne
2PL	m-ee-ja-ti(i)	m-ee-ja-ti(i)	m-ee-ja-të-kë(mi)	m-eh-të-ne
3		n-ee-ja-n(ë)	n-ee-jakë(mi)	kïn-ei

Table A13. Components of the Ye'kwana copular paradigm with a reflex of *a/*ap

	NPST	INTERROG	REC.PST.IMPRF	DIST.PST.IMPRF	PERMANENT
1	w-a	w-a-nö	w-a'ha-anö	w-a'ha-akene	w-öö-nene
1+2	k-a	k-a-nö	k-a'ha-anö	k-a'ha-akene	k-öö-nene
1+2PL	k-a-ato	k-a-to	k-a'ha-ato	k-a'ha-a-'kene	k-öö-ne-tö-ne
2	m-a	m-a-nö	m-a'ha-anö	m-a'ha-akene	m-öö-nene
2PL	m-a-ato	m-a-to	w-a'ha-ato	m-a'ha-a-'kene	m-öö-ne-tö-ne
3	n-a	n-a-i	n-a'ha-anö	kün-a'ha-akö	w-e-nene

Table A14. Ye'kwana verbal suffixes with the *a copula plus a formative -j-

	NPST	REC.PST.IMPRF	PST.IMPRF
SG.SUFFIX	-a	-a-nö	-a-kene
PL.SUFFIX	-a-ato	-a-to	-a-'kene

Table A15. The components of the Ye'kwana paradigm containing a reflex of *eti

	PERMISSIVE	HYPOTHETICAL	DIST.PST.PRF	REC.PST.PRF
1	w-ei-ya	w-ei-chü	w-ei-yakene	w-ei-ya
1+2	k-ei-ya	k-ei-chü	k-ei-yakene	k-ei-ya
1+2PL	k-ei-ya-ato	k-ei-chö-dü	k-ei-ya-'kene	k-ei-ya-ato
2	m-ei-ya	m-ei-chü	m-ei-yakene	m-ei-ya
2PL	m-ei-ya-ato	m-ei-chö-dü	m-ei-ya-'kene	m-ei-ya-ato
3	n-ei-ya	Ø-ei-chü	kün-ei-yakö	n-ei-ya

Table A16. The Hixkaryana copular paradigms containing a reflex of **a/*ap*

	NPST-UNCRTN	NPST-CRTN	IMM.PST
1	<i>w-eh-xano</i>	<i>w-eh-xaha</i>	<i>w-ah-ko</i>
1+2	<i>t-eh-xano</i>	<i>t-eh-xaha</i>	<i>t-ah-ko</i>
1+2PL	<i>t-eh-xa-txo-wi</i>	<i>t-eh-xa-tx-he</i>	<i>t-ah-txo-ko</i>
2	<i>man-a-ye</i>	<i>man-a-ha</i>	<i>m-ah-ko</i>
2PL	<i>man-a-txo-wi</i>	<i>man-a-tx-he</i>	<i>m-ah-txo-ko</i>
3	<i>n-a-ye</i>	<i>n-a-ha</i>	<i>n-ah-ko</i>
3PL	<i>n-a-txo-wi</i>	<i>n-a-tx-he</i>	<i>n-ah-txo-ko</i>

Table A17. Hixkaryana verbal suffixes with the **a* copula plus a formative *-j-*

	NPST	NPST.UNCRTN	REC.PST.CMPLT	REC.PST.CONT
SG.SUFFIX	<i>-ya-ha</i>	<i>-ya-no</i>	<i>-ya-ko</i>	<i>-ya-knano</i>
PL.SUFFIX	<i>-ya-tx-he</i>	<i>-ta-txo-wi</i>	<i>-ya-txo-ko</i>	<i>-ya-tx-kenano</i>

Table A18. Hixkaryana copular paradigms containing a reflex of **eti*

	REC.PST.CMPLT	REC.PST.CONT	DIST.PST.CMPLT	DIST.PST.CONT
1	<i>w-eh-xako</i>	<i>w-eh-xaknano</i>	<i>w-exe-ye</i>	<i>w-eh-xakoni</i>
1+2	<i>t-eh-xako</i>	<i>t-eh-xaknano</i>	<i>t-exe-ye</i>	<i>t-eh-xakoni</i>
1+2PL	<i>t-eh-xa-txo-ko</i>	<i>t-eh-xa-tx-kenano</i>	<i>t-eh-txo-wni</i>	<i>t-eh-xa-tx-koni</i>
2	<i>m-eh-xako</i>	<i>m-eh-xaknano</i>	<i>m-exe-ye</i>	<i>m-eh-xakoni</i>
2PL	<i>m-eh-xa-txo-ko</i>	<i>m-eh-xa-tx-kenano</i>	<i>m-eh-txo-wni</i>	<i>m-eh-xa-tx-koni</i>
3	<i>n-eh-xako</i>	<i>n-eh-xaknano</i>	<i>n-exe-ye</i>	<i>n-eh-xakoni</i>
3PL	<i>n-eh-xa-txo-ko</i>	<i>n-eh-xa-tx-kenano</i>	<i>n-eh-txo-wni</i>	<i>n-eh-xa-tx-koni</i>

Table A19. The Apalaí copular paradigms with a reflex of **a*

	NPST-CRTN	NPST-UNCRTN	IMM.PST
1	<i>a-se</i>	<i>ha(no)</i>	\emptyset -a-kene
1+2	<i>sit-a-se</i>	<i>sit-a-h</i>	<i>s-a-kene</i>
1+2PL	<i>sit-a-to-se</i>	<i>sit-a-to-hu</i>	<i>s-a-to-kene</i>
2	<i>m-a-se</i>	<i>hma(no)</i>	<i>m-a-kene</i>
2PL	<i>m-a-to-se</i>	<i>m-a-to-hu</i>	<i>m-a-to-kene</i>
3	<i>mana</i>	<i>hn-a-e</i>	<i>kin-a-ko</i>
3PL	<i>mã toto</i>	<i>toh nae</i>	<i>toh kin-a-ko</i>

Table A20. Apalaí verbal suffixes apparently from the **a* copula (without the formative **-j-*)

	REC.PST.CMPLT	REC.PST.CONT	REC.PST.CONT
SG.SUFFIX	<i>-a-se</i>	<i>-a-sene</i>	<i>mon-Σ-a-no</i>
PL.SUFFIX	<i>-a-to-se</i>	<i>-a-to-sene</i>	<i>toh mon-Σ-a-no</i>

Table A21. The Apalaí copular paradigms with a reflex of *eti

	REC.PST.CMPL	REC.PST.CONT	DIST.PST.CONT	DIST.PST.CMPL	HISTORIC
1	Ø-exi-no	Ø-exi-ase	Ø-exi-asene	Ø-exi-ne	Ø-exi-as
1+2	s-exi-no	s-exi-ase	s-exi-asene	s-exi-ne	s-exi-ase
1+2PL	s-exi-to-u	s-exi-a-to-se	s-exi-a-to-sene	s-exi-to-ne	s-exi-a-to-se
2	m-exi-no	m-exi-ase	m-exi-asene	m-exi-ne	m-exi-ase
2PL	m-exi-to-u	m-exi-a-to-se	m-exi-a-to-sene	m-exi-to-ne	m-exi-a-to-se
3	n-exi-no	n-exi-ase ~ mon-exi-ano	n-exi-asene	kin-exi-ne	n-exi-ase ~ mon-exi-ano

Table A22. The Wayana paradigms with a reflex of *a / *ap (plus eha and ehe)

	NPST.AFFIRM	NPAST.QUES	IF/WHEN	REC.PST	REM.PST	HAB.PST.AFFIRM
1	w-a-i	w-a		w-eha	w-eha-ken(e)	w-ehe-mëhneja
1+2	kut-a-i	kut-a		h-eha	h-eha-ken(e)	
1+2PL	kut-a-të-i ~ kut-a-të-w	kut-a-të-w(ë)		h-eha-tëw(ë)	h-eha-të-ken(e)	
2	man-a-i	man		m-eha	m-eha-ken(e)	
2PL	man-a-të-i ~ man-a-të-w	man-a-të-w(ë)		m-eha-tëw(ë)	m-eha-të-ken(e)	
3		man(e)	ap-taw	n-eha	kun-eha-k(ë)	mën-ehe-mëhnaya

Table A23. Wayana verbal suffixes apparently from the *a copula plus the formative *-j-

	NPST.AFFIRM	NPST.QUES
SG.SUFFIX	-ja-(h)e	-ja
PL.SUFFIX	-ja-të-(h)e	-ja-të-u

Table A24. Some Wayana inflections with a reflex of *eti

	PERM	OTHER FORMS
1	w-esi-i	ei-kë IMPER
1+2		mën-ei-tan PERMISSIVE/ADMONITIVE
1+2PL		h-ei-të-i HORTATIVE
2		ei-he HAB.PAST / PURP.MOT
2PL		ï-w-ei-top 1-S _A -be-CIRC.NZR
3	n-esi-Ø	të-w-esi-i 3REFL-S _A -be-NZR

Table A25. The Waimiri-Atroari paradigms with a modern reflex of *a

	PRES	INTERROG	REC.PST.CONT	REM.PST.CONT	IM.FUT
1	w-ya		w-ya-ni	w-ya-ki	w-ya-pa
2	m-ya	m-ye?	m-ya-ni	m-ya-ki	m-ya-pa
3	n-a	n-ε?	n-a-yani / n-a-ni	n-a-ki	n-a-pa

Table A26. Waimiri-Atroari verbal suffixes with a modern reflex of *a plus *j-

	PRES	REC.PST.CONT	REM.PST.CONT	IM.FUT
SG.SUFFIX	-ya	-ya-ni	-ya-ki	-ya-pa

Table A27. Some Waimiri-Atroari paradigms with a reflex of *eti

	IM.PST	REC.PST	REM.PST	PROX.FUT	DIST.FUT
1	w-e-pya	w-e-pyani	w-e-npa	w-i-tʃe	w-i-tʃape
2	m-e-pya	m-e-pyani	m-e-npa	m-i-tʃe	m-i-tʃape
3	n-e-pya	n-e-pyani	n-e-npa	n-i-tʃe	n-i-tʃape

Table A28. The suppletive copular paradigm in Ikpéng: *eti merged with *a/*ap

	NPST	REC.PST	DIST.PST	AFFIRMATION PARTICLE
1	Ø- <i>etxi</i>	<i>etxi-li</i>	<i>it-angte</i>	
1+2	<i>kur-am-txi</i>	<i>kur-am-li</i>	<i>kur-am-angte</i>	
2	<i>m-etxi</i>	<i>etxi-li</i>	<i>m-it-angte</i>	
3	<i>etxi</i>	<i>imro</i>	<i>n-a-ki</i>	<i>man</i>

Table A29. The Makushi suppletive copular paradigm: *eti plus *a in wani?

	IMMEDIATE	PRESENT	PAST	PERFECT	NONFINITE FORMS
1	<i>wai</i>	<i>wani</i>	Ø- <i>wani-ʔi</i>	Ø- <i>eʔ-saʔ</i>	<i>si-ʔi</i> ‘COP-PAST.NZN’
1+2		<i>eʔ-ni</i>	–	<i>eʔ-ni-saʔ</i>	<i>si-ʔsan</i> ‘COP-PERFECT.COLL’
2		<i>a-wani</i>	<i>a-wani-ʔi</i>	<i>aw-eʔ-saʔ</i>	<i>eʔ-pai</i> ‘COP-DESID’
2PL		<i>a-wani-kon</i>	<i>a-wani-ʔi-kon</i>	<i>aw-eʔ-saʔ-kon</i>	
3	<i>man, nai</i>	<i>a-wani</i>	<i>a-wani-ʔi</i>	<i>aw-eʔ-saʔ</i>	<i>eʔ-piti-ʔi</i> COP-ITER-PAST.NZR’
3PL		<i>toʔ wani</i>	<i>toʔ wani-ʔi</i>	<i>toʔ eʔ-saʔ</i>	

Table A30. The defective copula a ‘stay’ (locative) in Kuikuro

	CONTINUOUS	PUNCTUAL	FUTURE	PERFECTIVE
3	<i>a-tsagü</i>	<i>a-nügü</i>	<i>a-nümingo</i>	<i>a-tühügü</i>

Table A31. Some inflections of the copula *eti in Kuikuro

	CONTINUOUS	PUNCTUAL	FUTURE	PERFECTIVE
1	<i>u-i-tsagü</i>	<i>u-i-nhügü</i>	<i>u-i-nhümingo</i>	<i>u-i-tsühügü</i>
1+2	<i>kuk-tsagü</i>			
2	<i>e-i-tsagü</i>			
3	<i>i-i-tsagü</i>			

Table A32. The one Arara paradigm with a reflex of *ap

	PAST
1	<i>w-ap-tam</i>
1+2	<i>kut-ap-tam</i>
1+2PL	<i>kud-ap-ty-dam</i>
2	<i>mod-ap-tam</i>
2PL	
3	<i>Ø-ap-tam</i>
3PL	<i>Ø-ap-ty-dam</i>

Table A33. Some Arara inflections with reflexes of *eti

	IM.PST	MED.PST	IMPRF	OTHER FORMS	
1	<i>w-itfi-ly</i>	<i>w-i-tangte</i>	<i>w-i-nangry</i>	<i>Ø-it-ko</i>	IMPERATIVE
1+2	<i>kut-itfi-ly</i>	<i>kut-i-tangte</i>	<i>kut-i-nangry</i>	<i>Ø-i-ty-ko</i>	IMPER.PL
1+2PL	<i>kut-itfi-ly-ngmo</i>	<i>kut-i-tang-ty-t</i>	<i>kut-i-nangry-ngmo</i>	<i>n-itfi-a</i>	PERMISSIVE
2	<i>m-itfi-ly</i>	<i>m-i-tangte</i>	<i>m-i-nangry</i>	<i>kut-i-ty-n</i>	HORTATIVE
2PL		<i>m-i-tang-ty-t</i>	<i>m-i-nangry-ngmo</i>		
3	<i>Ø-itfi-ly</i>	<i>mon-i-tang</i>	<i>Ø-i-nangry</i>		
3PL	<i>Ø-itfi-ly-ngmo</i>	<i>mon-i-tang-tom</i>	<i>Ø-i-nangry-ngmo</i>		

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This volume explores typological variation within nonverbal predication in Amazonian languages. Using abundant data, generally from original and extensive fieldwork on under-described languages, it presents a far more detailed picture of nonverbal predication constructions than previously published grammatical descriptions. On the one hand, it addresses the fact that current typologies of nonverbal predication are less developed than those of verbal predication; on the other, it provides a wealth of new data and analyses of Amazonian languages, which are still poorly represented in existing typologies. Several contributions offer historical insights, either reconstructing the sources of innovative nonverbal predicate constructions, or describing diachronic pathways by which constructions used for nonverbal predication spread to other functions in the grammar. The introduction provides a modern typological overview, and also proposes a new diachronic typology to explain how distinct types of nonverbal predication arise.

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