

**Máìjìkì Project
2012 Modules
and Text Sampler**

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Relative clauses in Máíhìkì

Lev Michael

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1 Introduction

Máíhìkì relative clause constructions consist of a nominal head followed by a nominalized clause that modifies the head. The nominalized clause consists of a verb that bears one of six nominalizing suffixes, as well as any non-relativized NPs and adverbial elements. Relativized arguments generally leave a gap in the position of the relative clause from which it was relativized, with the exception of arguments relativized from postpositional phrases and possessive phrases. In the former case, a resumptive pronoun obligatorily fills the original position of relativized argument, while in the latter case a resumptive pronoun is permitted, but is not obligatorily.

The nominalizing suffixes carry tense information about relative the clause and agree in animacy with the relativized NP; these suffixes are followed by classifiers that agree with the nominal head, and by plural number agreement, when appropriate. If the head of the relative clause is the animate object of the main clause, both the head and the nominalized verb typically bear accusative marking. We now consider these issues in greater detail.

2 Relative clauses and constituent order

Máíhìkì relative clauses are postnominal, as evident in (1) and (2), but not necessarily *immediately* post nominal, as evident in (1a). In elicitation, consultants indicate that in some cases, it is permissible or even preferable for another nominal element to intervene between the head and the modifying nominalized clause, while in others, it is not. At this point the generalizations regarding the relative placement of nominalized clauses to the heads they modify are unclear, and they likely depend in part on informational structural factors that would benefit from the study of texts. However, there is one generalization which appears to hold: if it is grammatical for the nominalized clause to be separated from its head, it is also grammatical for the nominalized clause to immediately follow the head; the converse does not hold.

- (1) a. yì [ákàrè]_{HEAD} ñíàjàchì [tìñàdáichìkìrè]_{RELCL}.
yì ak+ -re ñia -ja -chi tìñà -dái -chi
1.sg mestizo -ACC see -go.SER -1.FUT arrive -come -ATELIC.NOMZ.PAST
-kì -re
-CL:masc -ACC
'Yo voy a visitar a este mestizo que ha llegado (hace uno o dos días).'
(E.AMM.LDM.12jun2012)
- b. yì [ákàrè]_{HEAD} [tìñàdáichìkìrè]_{RELCL} ñíàjàchì.
c. yì ñíàjàchì [ákàrè]_{HEAD} [tìñàdáichìkìrè]_{RELCL}.
- (2) a. [yáíjòyì]_{HEAD} [júníjóchìkìrè]_{RELCL} táàyì.

yáájòyì júnájó -chi -kí -re táà -yì.
 dog die -ATELIC.NOMZ.PAST -CL:masc -ACC fall -1.FUT

‘Voy a enterrar el perro que ha muerto.’ (E.AMM.LDM.12jun2012)

b. *[yáájòyì]_{HEAD} táàyì [júnájóchiklIrè]_{RELCL}.

3 Relative clause suffixes

The verbs of relative clauses bear between one and four suffixes that of their presence to the fact that the verb in questions forms part of a relative clause, in the order given in (3). The leftmost of these suffixes, the nominalizer, occurs in all cases, while the latter three appear under specific circumstances described below.

(3) VERB STEM -NOMINALIZER -CLASSIFIER -PL -ACC

3.1 Nominalizers

Verbs in Máíhìkì relative clauses obligatorily bear one of six tensed nominalizers (two of which are null). These include three tensed animate nominalizers and three tensed inanimate nominalizers. We first examine the tense contrasts among the animate nominalizers and then turn to the tense contrast among the inanimate nominalizers. We then discuss the distribution of the animate and inanimate nominalizers. Finally, I justify treating this set of suffixes as nominalizers.

3.1.1 Tense distinctions among relative clause nominalizers

Máíhìkì tensed nominalizers make verbs capable of modifying the associated nominal head of the relative clause and indicate the tense of the relative clause, as indicated in Table 1, below. The sentences in (4)-(6) exemplify the three animate nominalizers, and in particular, the temporal interpretation of the relative clause associated with each of the nominalizers. Note that (6) and (7) are ambiguous, as these sentences can be interpreted either as a relative clause construction with a null present animate nominalizer, or as a temporal overlap clause-linking construction. A range of interpretations is provided for (7).

Table 1: Máíhìkì Relative Clause Nominalizers

	ANIMATE	INANIMATE
PAST	-chi	-se
PRESENT	-∅	-∅
FUTURE	-ja	-jai

(4) ímì ñámìnà tĩñàdáchìkì máká sààchì

ímì ñamina tĩñà -dáchì -chi -kí máká sàà -chi
 man yesterday arrive -come -NOMZ.ANIM.PAST -CL:masc forest go.fut -3masc.FUT

‘El hombre que llegó ayer va a ir al monte.’ (E.AMM.LDM.15jun2012)

(5) ímì dájjàgì máká sààchì.

imi dáí -ja -gí máká sáà -chi
 man come -NOMZ.ANIM.FUT -CL:masc forest go -3masc.FUT
 ‘Él hombre que va a venir va ir al monte.’ (E.AMM.LDM.15jun2012)

(6) *ímì dáíkì máká sáàchì.*

imi dáí -∅ -kí máká sáà -chi
 man come -NOMZ.ANIM.PRES -CL:masc forest go -3masc.FUT
 ‘Él hombre que está llegando va ir al monte.’ (E.AMM.LDM.15jun2012)

(7) *yì ákìrè ñiàbì tìñàdákìrè.*

yì akí -re ñia -bì tìñà -dá -∅ -kí -rè
 1.sg mestizo -ACC see -1.past arrive -come -NOMZ.ANIM.PRES -CL:masc -ACC
 ‘He visto el mestizo que está llegando.’ (E.AMM.LDM.13jun2012)
 ‘He visto el mestizo cuando está llegando.’ (E.AMM.LDM.13jun2012)
 ‘Yo he visto que el mestizo ha llegado.’ (E.LTN.LDM.18jun2012)
 ‘Yo he visto el mestizo que ha llegado.’ (E.LTN.LDM.18jun2012)

The tense distinctions among the inanimate nominalizers is illustrated in (8) - (9).

(8) *balde bátásèbì ókó méájí*

balde bátá -se -bì oko méá -jì
 bucket crack -RESULT.NOMZ.PAST -CL:container water leak -TAM
 ‘El balde roto está goteando agua.’ (E.AMM.LDM.16jun2012)

(9) *balde bátájàbì ókó méájí*

balde bátá -jai -bì oko méá -jì
 bucket crack -RESULT.NOMZ.FUT -CL:container water leak -TAM
 ‘El balde que va a romperse está goteando agua.’ (E.AMM.LDM.16jun2012)

3.1.2 Distribution of animate and non-animate nominalizers

We now describe the distribution of animate and non-animate nominalizers. Briefly, animate nominalizers are restricted to clauses in which the argument that has been relativized is animate (generally, a human or animal). The verb may either be transitive or intransitive in nature, and the relativized argument may be either a subject or object.¹ Inanimate nominalizers appear in clauses in which an inanimate argument has been relativized; the verb may be transitive or intransitive in nature, and the relativized argument may be either a subject, object, or oblique.

The alternation between the animate and inanimate nominalizers is evident in (10) and (11). In the former sentence, the relativized argument – a subject – is the animate NP *ñiàbì* ‘child’, and I see that the verb of the relative clause bears the animate nominalizer *-chi*. The latter sentence is essentially identical, except that the relativized argument is now an inanimate NP, *tótòdèdè* ‘plate’, and the verb of the relative clause now bears the inanimate nominalizer *-se*.

(10) *Yì ñiàbì ñítù tóméchìkìrè.*

¹For present purposes I am employing the terms ‘subject’ and ‘object’ rather naively. Whether inanimates can actually be subjects in Májìkì is a topic of ongoing research by Stephanie Farmer.

yì ñia -bì ñitu tómé -chi -kì -re
 1sg.PRO see -1sg.PAST child fall -NOMZ.ANIM.PAST -CL:masc -ACC
 ‘He visto el niño que ha caído.’ (E.LMM.LDM.08aug2012)

(11) *Yì ñiàbì tótòdèò tómésèdèò.*

yì ñia -bì totodeo tómé -se -deo
 1sg.PRO see -1sg.PAST plate fall -NOMZ.INAN.PAST -CL:plate
 ‘He visto el plato que ha caído.’ (E.LMM.LDM.08aug2012)

Note that the choice of nominalizer does not appear to depend on the agentiveness of the relativized argument, but on its animacy proper, as evident in (22) and (13), in which the relativized arguments are very far from agentive.

(12) *nómìò yì ñfàjàìchikò jùkò*

nomio yi ñia -jai -chi -ko jui -ko
 woman 1.sg see go.SER -NOMZ.ANIM.PAST -FEM be.sick -3sg.fem.PRES
 ‘La mujer que visité está enfermo.’ (E.AMM.LDM.16jun2012)

(13) *ímì yìrè bàìchíkì hùnìhógí.*

imi yi -re bàì -chi -kì hùnì -hó
 man 1.sg.PRO -ACC hit -NOMZ.ANIM.PAST -CL:masc die.NI.FORM -2.STATE
 -gì
 -3.sg.masc.PAST
 ‘El hombre que me pegó se ha muerto.’ (E.LMM.08aug2012)

In (14), (15), and (16) I show that the animacy-dependent alternation between the two types of nominalizers holds for relativized objects as well.

(14) *ñítù yì jínítóchìkì húnìhógí.*

ñítù yi jíní -tó -chi -kì hùnì -hó
 child 1.sg.PRO let.go -drop -NOMZ.ANIM.PAST -CL:PAST die.NI.FORM -2.STATE
 -gì
 -3sg.mascPAST
 ‘El niño que dejó caer se ha muerto. E.LMM.LDM.08aug2012

(15) *tótòdèò yì jínídíósèdèò núnìhógí.*

totodeo yi jíní -díó -se -deo núní -hó
 plate 1sg.PRO let.go -sink -NOMZ.INAN.PAST -CL: PLATE sink -2.STATE
 -gì
 -3sg.masc.PAST
 ‘El plato que he dejado caer se ha hundido.’ E.LMM.LDM.08aug2012

(16) *mámàsò jàsò ákò máfbàrò kwàkòsè.*

má- maso jàsò ai -ko máíbarò kwàkò -se
 red- green.acouchy yuca eat -3f.PRES sloth cook -TELIC.NOMZ.PAST
 Mamaso está comiendo yuca que ha cocinado Maibaro. (E.AMM.LDM12jun2012)

We now examine a context in which the inanimate nominalizer, *-se*, surfaces that superficially appears to contradict the preceding generalization that restricts it to clauses in which an inanimate argument is relativized: namely, when it appears with intransitive verbs in which the sole core argument is an animate one, as in (17) (cf. (18)).

(17) Yì ñiàbì ímì sáísè.

yì ñià -bì ímì sáí -se
1sg.PRO see -1sg.PAST man go -NOMZ.INAN.PAST

‘He visto que el hombre se ha ido (p.ej. sus huellas, un palo cortado, etc.).’
(E.LMM.LDM.08aug2012)

(18) Yì ñiàbì ímì sáíchikèrè.

yì ñià -bì ímì sáí -chi -kì -re
1sg.PRO see -1sg.PAST man go -NOMZ.ANIM.PAST -CL:masc -ACC

‘He visto el hombre que se ha ido.’ (E.LMM.LDM.08aug2012)

As is evident in comparing (17) with (18), however, the verb that bears the inanimate nominalization does not appear in a clause in which the animate subject of the verb has been relativized. Rather the sentence in question indicates that the subject of the main clause has seen traces of the man’s going, suggesting that if anything has been relativized in this clause, it is some oblique argument (which is not overtly expressed in any case). Whether or not sentences like those in (17) are relativizations proper, it is clear that the referent of verb nominalized with the inanimate nominalizer is not animate.

3.1.3 *-chi* and *-se* as nominalizers

We now examine the question of why I consider what I have here designated ‘tensed nominalizers’ to in fact be nominalizers. The reasons I can adduce are morphological in nature: stems derived with tensed nominalized can bear: 1) classifiers, which appear on nominal elements; 2) nominal plural marking; and 3) accusative case marking, which likewise appears on nominal elements.² These morphological properties suggest that the stems derived with the ‘tensed nominalizers’ are nominal in nature.

3.2 Classifier and number agreement

The nominal stems formed by deriving the verbal stem with the tensed nominalizers typically bear classifiers which agree with classifier class of the nominal head of the relative clause. Numerous examples of classifier agreement with animate heads can be found above, e.g. (4)-(6). Note that for the future animate nominalizer, the masculine and feminine animate classifiers take the forms *-gi* and *-go*, respectively, rather than their typical forms *-kì* and *-ko*, as evident in (5). An example of classifier agreement involving an inanimate head is given in (19). Also see Neely (2012) for numerous examples of agreement with animate and inanimate heads in relative clause constructions.

(19) mífìkà chímàtájàitìkà tánitíyóyí áóáídè

²Ongoing work suggests that at least classifiers and accusative marking participate in agreement relationships between nominal heads and their dependents. The precise word class of all elements capable of bearing nominal morphology is thus not entirely clear, although it is likely that all these elements are at likely constituents of the NP (or DP).

máí -tika chima -tai -jai -tika tani -tíyó -yi
 climb -CL:stick slip -fall.SER -RESULT.NOM.FUT -CL:stick fall -break -3.neut.FUT
áo -ái -deo
 food -eat -CL:basin

‘La escalera que va a resbalar cayendo va a romper el plato.’ (E.AMM.LDM.15jun2012)

If the head of the relative clause is plural, the nominalized verb optionally takes nominal plural marking, in the form of the plural marking appropriate for the classifier that the nominalized verb bears, as evident in (20).

(20) *yì níàbì mítìkàmà tíyíjàitìkàmà.*

yì nia -bì mítìka -ma tíyí -jai -tika -ma
 1sg see -1sg.PAST escalera -PL break -NOMZ.INAN.FUT -CL:stick -PL

‘He visto varias escaleras que quieren romperse.’ (E.LTN.LDM.18jun2012)

3.3 Accusative marking

The nominalized verb in a relative clause may also exhibit accusative marking, which, when it appears, follows the classifier. Nominalized verbs of this sort bear accusative marking when the head of the relative clause bears accusative marking,³ that is, when the head is an animate object of the matrix verb, as in (21). When the head of the relative clause is a subject of the matrix clause, the nominalized verb of the relative clause does not bear accusative marking, even if the relativized head is the object of the matrix clause, as in (22).⁴

(21) *ñàjàjì nómìòrè jùkórè*

ñia -ja -jì nomio -re jù ò -ko -re
 see -go.SER -1sg.PAST woman -ACC be.sick -NOMZ.ANIM.PRES -CL:fem -ACC

‘Visité la mujer que está enfermo.’ (E.AMM.LDM.16jun2012)

(22) *nómìò yì ñàjàchikò jùkò*

nomio yì ñia -jai -chi -ko jù -ko
 woman 1sg.PRO see -go.SER -NOMZ.ANIM.PAST -FEM be.sick -3sg.fem.PRES

‘La mujer que visité está enfermo.’ (E.AMM.LDM.16jun2012)

4 NP accessibility hierarchy

Languages differ in which grammatical relations are relativizable, following the NP accessibility hierarchy, given in (23). In Máfhìkì, NPs at any point in the implicational hierarchy can be relativized.

(23) S > O > IO > oblique > possessor

Examples of subject and object relativization have been given above. Examples of indirect object, oblique, and possessor relativization are given in (24), (25), and (26), respectively.

(24) *ímì kíurì íchíchìkì dákì*

³It may be more accurate to state the generalization as follows: ‘Nominalized verbs of this sort bear accusative marking when the head of the relative clause is capable, optionally, of bearing accusative marking’.

⁴Inanimate objects generally do not bear accusative marking.

ímì kiurì íchí -chi -kí dá -kí
 hombre machete give -NOMZ.ANIM.PAST -CL:masc come -3masc.PRES
 ‘El hombre le que he dado machete ha venido.’ (E.LMM.LDM.18jun2012)

(25) *ímì kái jànù dáíchikì jùjì.*

ímì kái jànù dáí -chi -kí jùù -jì.
 man that.masc COM/INST come -NOMZ.ANIM.PAST -CL:masc be.sick -3masc.PAST
 ‘El hombre con quien he venido está enfermo.’ (E.LMM.LDM.18jun2012)

(26) *nómìò (káo) wè újóchikò dákò.*

nomio (káo) wè újó -chi -ko dá -ko.
 woman that.fem house burn -NOMZ.ANIM.PAST CL:fem come -3.fem.PAST
 ‘La mujer que le quemó su casa ha vuelto.’ (E.LMM.LDM.18jun2012)

Note, incidentally, that that the head in (25) must be coreferential with a deictic element in the head position of the postpositional phrase, making this the sole context discovered thus far in which the gap strategy found in other contexts is obligatorily replaced by a resumptive pronoun strategy. In (26), either the gap strategy or the resumptive pronoun strategy is permitted.

5 References

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Conditional Constructions in Máiħiki

Lev Michael

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1 Introduction

In this module I describe conditional and counterfactual conditional constructions in Máiħiki. This module is a follow-up to Finley (2010), the first work to discuss Máiħiki conditional constructions. The current module largely confirms the results of that earlier work.

By the term *conditional construction* I mean to indicate constructions of the form *If Ivan comes, we will dance*, where some contingent state of affairs will be realized if the specified condition is realized (these constructions are sometimes called ‘possible conditional constructions’, e.g. Aikhenvald and Dixon (2009)), while by the term *counterfactual conditional construction* I mean to indicate constructions of the form *Had Ivan come, we would have danced*, where some contingent state of affairs failed to be realized by virtue of the fact that the specified condition failed to be realized. I employ the term *protasis* to refer to the clause that specifies the condition that must be satisfied in order to realize the contingent state of affairs (i.e. *If Ivan comes*, in the above example), and *apodosis* to refer to the clause that indicates the latter contingent state of affairs (i.e. *we will dance*, in the above example).

In Máiħiki, the conditional and counterfactual conditional constructions are closely related, overlapping in the form of their protasis clauses. I begin with a description of conditional constructions, which exhibit greater constructional complexity, and then turn to a discussion of counterfactual conditional constructions.

2 Conditional constructions

Máiħiki exhibits three distinct conditional constructions that distinguish, along one parameter of contrast, the probability with which the speaker deems the protasis likely to be realized, and along a second parameter of contrast, whether the subject of the protasis and the apodosis clauses are coreferential or not. These parameters combine to yield: 1) a different-subject high-probability conditional construction; 2) a different-subject uncertain probability conditional construction; and 3) a same-subject conditional construction. Note that the same-subject conditional construction does not distinguish degree of probability of realization of the state of affairs denoted by the apodosis.

2.1 Different-subject conditional constructions

2.1.1 High probability conditional construction

The high probability different-subject conditional construction consists of: 1) a protasis clause in which the verb bears the suffix *-tu*, but no inflectional morphology; and 2) an apodosis clause in which the verb bears future tense inflection, as in (1) and (3). Note that speakers sometimes translate these sentences of this type as ‘Cuando ...’ rather than ‘Si ...’, as indicated in (1), reflecting the degree of certainty they attribute to the realization of the state of affairs denoted by the protasis. They do, nevertheless, distinguish the degree of certainty in such constructions from simultaneous

temporal clause linking constructions, in which no uncertainty regarding the realization of either event is presupposed.

- (1) Ivan dáítù, ótéyò.

Ivan dáí -tu óté -yo
 personal.name come -DS.HPROB.COND dance -1pl.FUT

‘Cuando viene Ivan, vamos a bailar.’ Also: ‘Cuando viene Ivan, vamos a bailar.’
 (E.AMM.LDM.20jun2012), (E.LTN.LDM.02jul2012)

- (2) Ivan dáímátù, ótémáyò.

Ivan dáí -má -tu óté -má -yo
 Ivan come -NEG -COND dance -NEG -1pl.FUT

‘Si Ivan no viene, no vamos a bailar.’ E.LMM.LDM.09aug2012

- (3) Gasolina sáóhótù, tìñàmáyò.

gasolina sáo -hó -tu tìñà -má -yo
 gasolina run.out -2.STATE -DS.HPROB.COND arrive -NEG -1pl.FUT

‘Si se acaba la gasolina, no vamos a llegar.’ (E.LTN.LDM.02jul2012)

Note that the suffix *-tu* does not receive spreading high tone from adjacent morphemes (e.g. *bábátù* ‘if (it) floats’).

2.1.2 Uncertain conditional construction

The uncertain different-subject conditional construction consists of: 1) a protasis clause in which the verb bears subordinating morphology, and is followed by the free element *bètù*; and 2) an apodosis clause in which the verb bears future tense inflection, as in (4) and (6).

The subordinating morphology can be of two types: 1) morphology that agrees in gender and/or number with the subject of the subordinate clause, as in Table 1, and exemplified in (4) and (6); or 2) the nominalizer *-se*, as in (8). With respect to the former paradigm, it is worth noting that these morphemes constitute wholly, or in part, the subordinating morphology in a number of subordinate clause constructions, as in the case of several temporal clause-linking constructions, relative clause constructions, and complement clause constructions. With respect to the latter construction, it is interesting to note that the *-se* nominalization here resembles the event nominalizations involving *-se* commented upon in Neely (2012). In both cases, however, it appears that this subordinating morphology is probably cogently treated as nominalizing morphology, and that *bètù* is either a verb, or grammaticalized from one.

The grammatical difference between the two kinds of nominalizing morphology may be temporal in nature. One consultant, LMM, indicates that protases in which the verb bears *-se* nominalization exhibit a past tense interpretation, while those that bear agreeing nominalization do not, as suggested by the glosses in (8) and (7). suggesting that such constructions are best understood as epistemic conditionals. This is a topic that requires further investigation.

- (4) Ivan dáíkì bètù, ótéyó.

Ivan dáí -kì bètù óté -yo
 personal.name come -MASC.SG.SUBORD DS.UNCERT.COND dance -1pl.FUT

‘En caso que viene Ivan, vamos a bailar.’ (E.LTN.LDM.02jul2012), (E.AMM.LDM.03jul2012)

- (5) Ivan dáímákì bètù, ótémáyó.

Ivan dáí -má -kì bètù óté -má -yo
 personal.name come -NEG -MASC.SG.SUBORD DS.UNCERT.COND dance -NEG -1pl.FUT
 ‘En caso que viene Ivan, vamos a bailar.’ (E.LTN.LDM.02jul2012), (E.AMM.LDM.03jul2012)

- (6) nómiòjùnà kwàkòjì bètù, áó áàyò

nómio -juna kwako -jì bètù áó áò -yo
 woman -PL cook -PL.SUBORD DS.UNCERT.COND food eat.FUT -1pl.FUT
 ‘Si las mujeres cocinan, vamos a comer.’ (E.AMM.LDM.03jul2012)

- (7) Máíbàrò kwàkòkò bètù, yì áó áàchì

Máibàrò kwàkò -ko bètù, yì áó áà -chi
 personal.name cook -FEM.NOMZ DS.UNCERT.COND 1sg.PRO food eat.FUT -1pl.FUT
 ‘Si Máíbaro cocina, vamos a comer.’ (E.LMM.LDM.09aug2012)

- (8) Máíbàrò kwàkòsè bètù, yì áó áàchì

Máibàrò kwàkò -se bètù, yi áó áà -chi
 personal.name cook -NOMZ.INAN DS.UNCERT.COND 1sg.PRO food eat.FUT -1pl.FUT
 ‘Si Máíbaro ha cocinado, vamos a comer.’ (E.LMM.LDM.09aug2012)

- (9) Máíbàrò kwàkòmásè bètù, yì áó áàmày’i.

Máibàrò kwàkò -má -sè bètù, yì áó áà
 personal.name cook -NEG -NOMZ.INAN DS.UNCERT.COND 1sg.PRO food eat.FUT
 -mà -y’i
 -NEG -1pl.FUT
 ‘Si Máíbaro no ha cocinado, no vamos a comer.’ (E.LMM.LDM.09aug2012)

Table 1: Subordinate verb marking in protasis clauses

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
masculine/inanimate	-kì	-jì
feminine	-ko	-jì

2.2 Same-subject conditional constructions

There is a single same-subject conditional construction, and speakers’ metalinguistic observations indicate that this is an ‘uncertain probability’ construction, making it semantically parallel to the uncertain conditional constructions described in the previous section. The same-subject conditional construction is also structurally similar to that construction in that the main verb bears subordinating morphology drawn from the same paradigm given in Table 1, followed by the free element *mání*.¹ This construction is illustrated in (10) and (11).

¹Note that the element *mání* is identical to the *ní*-form of the existential verb *bàì*.

(10) Yi dòìkì ikito sáíkì mání, mónímáyì.

yi *dòìkì* *ikito* *sáíkì* *-kì* *mání* *móní* *-má* *-yi*
 1sg.PRO brother Iquitos go MASC.SG.SUBORD SS.COND return -NEG -1sg.FUT
 ‘Si mi hermano va a Iquitos, no va a volver.’ (E.LTN.LDM.02jul2012)

(11) ítìjùnà áchíràkà úkúhámání, ótéyò.

ítìjuna *áchíraka* *úkú* *-hí* *mání* *óte* *-yo*
 1pl.PRO aguardiente drink -PL.SUBORD SS.COND dance -1pl.FUT
 ‘Si toman aguardiente, van a bailar.’ (E.LTN.LDM.02jul2012)

3 Counterfactual conditional constructions

The counterfactual conditional construction exhibits different-subject and same-subject subtypes, in which the protasis is identical to the protasis of each of the counterpart uncertain conditional constructions discussed above. The counterfactual construction is distinguished from the corresponding possible conditional construction by the apodosis clause, whose verb bears the frustrative of intent *-da* and past tense inflection.

The different-subject counterfactual construction is illustrated in (12), and its same-subject counterpart in (13). Note that (14) demonstrates the possibility of replacing the subordinating morphology with the nominalizer *-se*, as in the case of the possible conditional constructions discussed above. In the case of the counterfactual, it also appears possible for the nominalizer *-chi* to surface in protasis clauses, as in (15). Note, however, that we do not find classifier agreement on the nominalized verb, which we expect from the use of this nominalizer in relative clause constructions (see Michael (2012)). This probably indicates that this is an event nominalization (see discussion in Neely (2012) of instances of an otherwise unexpected lack of agreement in putative relative clause constructions for what is likely the same event nominalization construction). Note also that the *-se* nominalizer is not acceptable in this context.

(12) Yóu núnìhókì bètù sáimáràbì.

you *nuni* *-hó* *-kì* *bètù* *sáí* *-má*
 canoa hundirse -2.STATE -MASC.SG.SUBORD DS.UNCERT.COND -NEG -FRUST.INTENT
-ra *-bì*
 -1pl.PAST
 ‘Si la canoa hubiera sumido, no hubiéramos ido.’ (E.AMM.LDM.03jul2012)

(13) Yi áchíràkà úkúkì mání, ótéjàbì.

yì *áchíraka* *úkú* *-kì* *mání* *óte* *-da*
 1sg.PRO aguardiente drink -MASC.SG.SUBORD SS.COND dance -FRUS.INTENT
-bì
 -1sg.PAST
 ‘Si hubiera tomado aguardiente, hubiera bailado.’ (E.LTN.LDM.02jul2012)

(14) Ivan bájjùnà áchíràkà dàsè bètù, ótéjàbì.

Ivan *bá* *-juna* *áchíraka* *dá* *-se* *bètù*
 person.name have -PL aguardiente bring -NOMZ.INAN DS.UNCERT.COND
óté *-da* *-bí*
 -FRUST.INTENT -1sg.past
 ‘Si la gente de Ivan hubieran traido aguardiente, hubieramos bailado.’
 (E.LTN.LDM.02jul2012)

(15) *Jáírì* *yétéhóchikì* *bètù*, *káimàràbì*.

jáírì *yété* *-hó* *-chi* *-kí* *bètù* *káí* *-má*
 hammock tear -2.STATE -NOMZ.ANIM -MASC DS.UNCERT.COND sleep -NEG
-ra *-bí*.
 -FRUST.INTENT -1pl.PAST
 ‘Si la hamaca hubiera roto, no hubieramos dormido.’ (E.AMM.LDM.03jul2012)

4 References

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Reason Constructions in Máíhìkì

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1 Introduction

This module discusses reason constructions in Máíhìkì. Sylak (2011) was the first to discuss reason constructions in any detail in the language, and this module is intended to clarify certain aspects of the description in that work, drawing on improved understandings of how inflection and nominalization function in the language.¹ I will show that Máíhìkì exhibits almost no dedicated reason constructions, but that instead, cause-effect relationship readings arise pragmatically from constructions that otherwise serve to express temporal clause-linking and purposive meanings.

Máíhìkì employs six distinct construction types to convey cause-effect meanings, where these construction types differ in terms of the tense of the reason clause and whether the subject of the matrix clause is the same as or different from that of the reason clause. All constructions functioning as reason constructions consist of a finite clause² that bears tense inflection, and indicates the outcome stemming from the state of affairs indicated by the reason clause, and a reason clause in which the verb bears subordinating morphology.

As already indicated, most reason constructions are in fact formally identical to temporal clause-linking constructions, and whether a temporal relationship reading or a causal relationship reading obtains for a given sentence depends on pragmatics. As might be expected, certain sentences can be ambiguous in terms the two kinds of readings. This issue is discussed below.

2 Different subject reason constructions

Past tense different-subject reason relations are expressed using a subordinate clause marked with the suffixes drawn from the paradigm in Table ???. Note that this is the sole paradigm that appears to be wholly dedicated to reason constructions, and which does not also serve to indicate other kinds of clause-linking relationships.³

- (1) Yi jana sáímáyí jáíjuna bairo yi doiki dáimáǵire.

<i>yi</i>	<i>jana</i>	<i>sáí</i>	<i>-má</i>	<i>-yi</i>	<i>jáí</i>	<i>-juna</i>	<i>bai</i>	<i>-ro</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>doi</i>
1sg.PRO	now	go	-NEG	-1sg.PRES	big	-PL	exist	-HAB.LOC.NOMZ	1sg.PRO	sibling

¹The results obtained in this module are broadly compatible with those of Sylak(2011). As discussed in §???, some of the paradigms presented in the latter work reflect heterogeneous combinations of different constructions that are employed to express reason relationships. One important difference between that earlier work and the present one concerns the suffix *-bi*, which the earlier work indicates appears in a number of reason constructions. I did not encounter this morpheme in the work for this module, despite working with a superset of consultants who contributed to the earlier work, and consultants in fact indicated that sentences bearing the putative morpheme were ungrammatical.

²For present purposes we treat future tense and interrogative inflections of all tenses as finite inflections, although there are reasons for considering them – historically, at least – to be nominalizations (Michael 2012b).

³On the other hand, it would not be entirely surprising to learn that this paradigm *does* serve to express some as-yet-undiscovered clause-linking relationship. It should be noted, in this regard, that this paradigm does resemble the nominalization paradigm for future tense relative clauses (Michael 2012a).

-*kí* *dai* -*ma* -*gíre*
 -MASC come -NEG -DS.SG.MASC.PAST.REAS
 ‘No me voy ahora a Iquitos porque mi hermano no ha venido.’
 (E.NMM&JMM.LDM.07jul2012)

(2) Yi doiki dáimáhí yi kíámá gore.

yi *doi* -*kí* *dai* -*má* -*hí* *yi* *kíá* -*má*
 1sg.PRO sibling -MASC come -NEG -3masc.PRES 1sg.PRO invite -NEG
 -*gore*
 -DS.SG.FEM.PAST.REAS
 ‘Mi hermano no viene porque no le invitado (female speaker).’ (E.JMM.LDM.07jul2012)

Table 1: Subordinate verb marking in different-subject past tense reason clauses

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
masculine/inanimate	-gíre	-jírè
feminine	-gore	-jírè

Present tense different subject reason relations are expressed with morphology on verb of the subordinate clause drawn from the paradigm in Table ???. Note that this paradigm is identical to that found in the subordinate clause of different subject simultaneous temporal clause-linking constructions (Michael 2011).

(3) Yi jana sáimáyí jájuna bairo yi doiki dáimákire.

yi *jana* *sái* -*má* -*yi* *jái* -*juna* *bai* -*ro* *yi* *doi*
 1sg.PRO now go -NEG -1sg.PRES big -PL exist -HAB.LOC.NOMZ 1sg.PRO sibling
 -*kí* *dai* -*ma* -*kíre*
 -MASC come -NEG -DS.SG.MASC.PRES.REAS
 ‘No me voy ahora a Iquitos porque mi hermano no viene.’ (E.NMM&JMM.LDM.07jul2012)

Table 2: Subordinate verb marking in different-subject present tense reason clauses

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
masculine/inanimate	-kíre	-jírè
feminine	-kore	-jírè

Affirmative future tense reason relations are expressed with a construction in which the verb of the reason clause is marked with the suffix *-jaye*. Note that the marking is identical for all persons and numbers, as evident in Table ???. Note also that this is the same morpheme that is used in different subject affirmative purposive constructions (Michael 2010). An example of this construction is given in (??).

(4) Yi áó kwakoko yi doiki dáijaye.

Table 3: Subordinate verb marking in affirmative different-subject future tense reason clauses

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
masculine/inanimate	-jaye	-jaye
feminine	-jaye	-jaye

yi áó kwako -ko yi doi -ki dai -jaye
 1sg.PRO food -3sg.fempRES 1sg.PRO sibling -MASC come -DS.FUT.REAS
 ‘Estoy cocinando porque mi hermano va a venir.’

Given that affirmative future reason constructions employ the affirmative purposive construction, it is unsurprising that negative future reason sense are conveyed via a construction in which the subordinate verb bears a negative purposive suffix, drawn from the paradigm in Table ???. An example of this construction is given (??).

(5) *máká sáímáyì yai áíkaraki*

máká sái -má -yi yai áí -karaki
 forest go -NEG -1sg.FUT jaguar eat -NEG.PURP.MASC
 ‘No voy al monte porque siento que me va comer el tigre.’ (E.LMM.LDM.15jun2012)

Table 4: Subordinate verb marking in negative different-subject future tense reason clauses

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
masculine/inanimate	karakí	karaǰì
feminine	karako	karaǰì

3 Same-subject reason constructions

We now turn to same-subject reason constructions – that is constructions in which the subject of the main clause and the subordinate reason clause are co-referential.

Past tense same-subject reason clauses are uniformly marked with the suffix *-re*, regardless of the person, gender, or number of the subject, as indicated in Table ???. An example of this construction is given in (??). Note that this construction is formally identical to the same subject sequential temporal clause-linking construction (Michael 2011)

(6) *Áó kwàkòmárè, dáimágó.*

áó kwako -má -re dai -má -go
 food cook -NEG -SS.PAST.REAS come -NEG -3sg.fempPAST
 ‘Porque no ha cocinado, no ha venido.’ (E.NMM.LDM.09jul2012)

Table 5: Subordinate verb marking in same-subject past tense reason clauses

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
masculine/inanimate	-re	-re
feminine	-re	-re

Present tense same-subject reason clauses are formed with verbs bearing the suffixes drawn from the paradigm in Table ???. An example of this construction is given in (??). Note that this paradigm is identical to the paradigm of subordinate clause markers in same subject simultaneous clause-linking constructions (Michael 2011).

(7) *jũiko sáiyí.*

jũi *-ko* *sáí* *-yí.*
 be.sick -SS.FEM.PRES.REAS go -1sg.PRES
 ‘Estoy enfermo, por eso estoy yendo.’ (E.NMM.09jul2012)

Table 6: Subordinate verb marking in same-subject present tense reason clauses

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
masculine/inanimate	-kí	-hĩ
feminine	-ko	-hĩ

Future tense same-subject reason constructions are formed with subordinate verbs bearing suffixes drawn from the paradigm given in Table ???; and example of this construction is given in (??). Note that this paradigm is identical to the that of the subordinate clause markers in same-subject affirmative purposive constructions (Michael 2010).

(8) *dáimákó jéte kwakoyíko*

dai *-má* *-ko* *jete* *kwako* *-yiko*
 come -NEG -3fem.PRES later cook -FEM.SG.FUT.NOMZ
 ‘No viene porque luego va a cocinar.’ (E.JMM.LDM.09jul2012)

Table 7: Subordinate verb marking in same-subject future tense reason clauses

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
masculine/inanimate	-yiki	-yojĩ
feminine	-yiko	-yojĩ

4 Cause-effect and temporal relationship interpretation of subordinated clauses

There is considerable overlap between the constructions used to convey reason relationships and a number of other clause-linking construction types. The so-called present tense reason constructions – both same-subject and different-subject – are formally identical to the corresponding same-subject and different-subject simultaneous temporal clause-linking constructions. Likewise, the so-called future reason constructions – once again, both same-subject and different-subject – are formally identical to the corresponding affirmative purposive constructions.

The question of whether a given instance of one of the preceding constructions yields a reason or non-reason (i.e. temporal overlap or purposive) reading seems to be entirely a question of pragmatics, i.e. whether the two states affairs denoted by the two clauses can be readily construed as cause-effect relationship, in which case a reason reading obtains, or not, in which case a non-reason reading obtains.

As might be expected, some sentences readily yield both reason and non-reason readings, as in (??).

(9) *Súkíni ókókire, táíhí.*

tsúkí -ní ókó -kire táí -hí
 tree -CL:trunk rain -DS.MASC.PRES.REAS/-DS.MASC.SIMUL fall -3sg.mascPAST
 ‘El palo se ha caído porque llovía’ or ‘El palo se ha caído cuando llovía’
 (E.NMM.LDM.09jul2012) (E.LMM.09aug2012)

Only the different-subject past tense reason construction is not formally identical to any other known clause-linking construction, although the subordinating morphology that the verb of the reason clause bears resembles the morphology borne the verb in a future tense relative clause, with the difference that the subordinate verb in the reason construction does not bear the nominalizer -ja.

In closing, it should be noted that it is possible – likely, even – that construction types other than those enumerated in this report, may be employed in discourse to convey reason meanings. For example, although this did not transpire frequently in elicitation contexts, it appears that relative clause constructions proper may be used to convey reason meanings, as in (??).

(10) *yì biegi asa yì níjònà gòhàgònà.*

yì biegi asa -yi yì níjò -nà gòò -hàgò -nà
 1sg.PRO tristeza feel -1.sgPRES 1sg.PRO woman -PL be.angry -FUT.FEM.NOMZ -PL
 -rè
 -ACC
 ‘Estoy triste porque mis mujeres me van a rabiar.’ (lit. ‘Estoy triste sobre mis mujeres, los cuales van a rabiar.’)(E.LMM.LDM.15jun2012)

In fact, several of the reason suffix paradigms in Sylak (2011) appear to be a mixture of temporal clause-linking subordinating suffixes and relative clause suffixes, which accounts for the structural heterogeneity of those paradigms.

5 References

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Máíj̀̀k̀̀ finite verbal inflectional paradigms

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1 Introduction

This module presents the inflectional paradigms for finite verbs in Máíj̀̀k̀̀. The elicitation and analysis for this module was conducted in collaboration with Stephanie Farmer; to the degree that this module has any merits, they should be credited to her. All errors and deficiencies are the responsibility of the author.

The Máíj̀̀k̀̀ verbal inflectional system distinguishes past, present, and future tense, and within each tense, declarative and interrogative mood. This yields a total of six tense-mood inflectional categories. Each tense-mood category is associated with a paradigm that exhibits person, number, and gender agreement with the subject of the verb, which may or may not be overtly expressed in any given utterance. Each tense-mood category, other than the present declarative and present interrogative paradigms, is in fact associated with *two* distinct agreement paradigms, one for each of the two major Máíj̀̀k̀̀ verb classes: the regular class, and the *ni*-class, where the latter class takes its name for the distinct form these verbs exhibit in certain serial verb constructions (among other constructions). The Máíj̀̀k̀̀ verbal paradigms exhibit extensive syncretism, as is discussed with respect to each of the tables given below.

There is evidence of non-trivial dialectal and even intra-dialectal variation in the verbal inflectional paradigms. In §§2 - 8 I present the inflectional paradigms used most frequently in the communities of Nueva Vida and Puerto Huamán. How closely these paradigms resemble those used in the Sucusari dialect is a question for further research. In §xxx I present a variant of the regular present interrogative paradigm found among some speakers in Nueva Vida and Puerto Huamán. Finally, in §xxx I present the paradigms for the Totoya dialect, which appear to diverge significantly from those used in the communities of Nueva Vida and Puerto Huamán.

2 Regular declarative paradigms

Table 1 presents the present, past, and future tense declarative paradigms for the regular verb *ábí* ‘bathe’. Note that the non-future verbs make only three agreement distinctions: local singular and plural for all persons, third person singular masculine, and third person singular feminine. Future verbs make only two agreement distinctions: local singular and third person singular masculine versus third person singular feminine and plural for all persons.

3 Regular interrogative paradigms

Table 2 presents the present, past, and future tense declarative paradigms for the regular verb *ábí* ‘bathe’. Note that the non-future verbs make only three agreement distinctions: local singular and plural for all persons, second and third person singular masculine, and second and third person singular feminine. Future verbs make only two agreement distinctions: first person and second and third person masculine versus plural for all persons and second and third person feminine singular.

Table 1: Regular declarative verb paradigms for *ábí* ‘bathe’

	PRESENT	PAST	FUTURE
LOCAL SG.	ábíyí	ábíbí	ábíyì
3 rd MASC. SG.	ábíhí	ábígí	ábíyì
3 rd FEM. SG.	ábíkó	ábígó	ábíyò
PL.	ábíyí	ábíbí	ábíyò

Table 2: Regular interrogative verb paradigms for *ábí* ‘bathe’

	PRESENT	PAST	FUTURE
1 st SG.	ábíyì	ábírè	ábíyì
2 nd & 3 rd MASC. SG.	ábíkì	ábígì	ábíyì
2 nd & 3 rd FEM. SG.	ábíkò	ábígò	ábíyò
PL.	ábíyì	ábírè	ábíyò

4 *Ni*-class declarative paradigms

Ni-class verbs exhibit distinct paradigms from their regular verb counterparts for all tense-mood categories except the present declarative and interrogative paradigms, which are identical to the corresponding regular verb paradigms. We illustrate the *ni*-class verb declarative paradigms in Table 3 with the verb *sái* ‘go’. Note that *ni*-verbs exhibits different root allomorphs in the different tenses. If the *ni*-verb exhibits a CVi allomorph in the present tense paradigm, it exhibits a CV allomorph in the past tense paradigm, and a CVV allomorph in the future tense paradigm.

The declarative *ni*-class paradigms make the same person, gender, and number distinctions in the present and past declarative paradigms as do the regular present and past declarative paradigms (note that the present *ni*-class and regular paradigms are actually formally identical): local singular and plural for all persons, third person singular masculine, and third person singular feminine. The form of the suffixes used to express these agreement distinctions in past declarative paradigm are distinct in the *ni*-class paradigm, however: local singular and plural for all persons employs the suffix *-hi* instead of *-bi*, third person masculine singular employs *-ki* instead of *-gi*, and third person singular feminine suffix employs *-ko* instead of *-go*.

The differences between the *ni*-class and regular declarative paradigms are more marked in the future paradigms, as the two sets of paradigms both make different distinctions and employ different morphemes to do so. Whereas the regular paradigm makes a two-way distinction between local singular and third person masculine singular versus third person feminine singular and plural for all persons, the *ni*-class paradigm splits apart third person feminine singular from plural for all persons. Likewise, where the regular paradigm exhibits the same marking, *-yi*, for local singular and plural agreement, the *ni*-class paradigm uses the morpheme *-chi* for local singular marking, and exhibits distinct marking, *-yo*, for plural agreement for all persons.

Table 3: *Ni*-class declarative verb paradigms for *sáí* ‘go’

	PRESENT	PAST	FUTURE
1 st SG.	sáíyí	sáhì	sáàchì
2 nd & 3 rd MASC. SG.	sáíhí	sákì	sáàchì
2 nd & 3 rd FEM. SG.	sáíkó	sákò	sáàchò
PL.	sáíyí	sáhì	sáàyò

5 *Ni*-class interrogative paradigms

Ni-class verbs exhibit the same root allomorphy in the interrogative paradigms as they do in the corresponding declarative paradigms. The present tense interrogative paradigm for *ni*-class verbs is the same as corresponding regular paradigm. In the past tense, the *ni*-class interrogative paradigm differs from the regular interrogative paradigm in the morphemes employed, but makes same paradigmatic distinctions (i.e. exhibits the same syncretism) as in the regular paradigm. Instead of *-re* for first person singular and plural agreement for all persons, *ni*-class verbs bear the agreement suffix *-te*; instead of the morphemes *-gi* and *-go* for second and third person masculine and feminine singular agreement, respectively, the *ni*-class verb employs the suffixes *-kì* and *-ko*.

Both the regular and *ni*-class future interrogative paradigms exhibit syncretism between the first person singular, second person singular masculine, and third person singular masculine cells, where the former exhibits the agreement marker *-yi* and the latter, *-chi*. Likewise, they exhibit between the same syncretism between the second and third person singular feminine cells, where the regular paradigm uses the suffix *-yo* to mark agreement, and the *ni*-class paradigm uses the suffix *-cho*. The greatest difference in paradigmatic structure between the two paradigms is found in the plural, since in the regular paradigm, the plural for all persons is syncretic with the second and third person feminine singular (i.e. bears *-yo*), while in the *ni*-class paradigm this syncretism does not obtain. Interestingly, this paradigmatic symmetry is broken by the use of *-yo* for plural agreement in the *ni*-class paradigm, so that it breaks the syncretism with with the feminine singular cells in the *ni*-class paradigm by using the same morpheme used for plurals of all persons in the regular paradigm.

Table 4: *Ni*-class interrogative verb paradigms for *sáí* ‘go’

	PRESENT	PAST	FUTURE
1 st SG.	sáíyè	sátè	sáàchì
2 nd & 3 rd MASC. SG.	sáíkì	sákì	sáàchì
2 nd & 3 rd FEM. SG.	sáíkò	sákò	sáàchò
PL.	sáíyè	sátè	sáàyò

6 Observations on phonological relationships between regular and *ni*-class paradigms

A number of interesting phonological relationships obtain between the regular and *ni*-class paradigms that I comment upon here – excepting the present tense paradigms, which are identical for regular

and *ni*-class paradigms. In order to facilitate comparison between the various agreement paradigms, the agreement suffixes are presented in Table 5, where corresponding suffixes are placed in the same row. Note, however, that the suffixes in a given row may not entirely overlap in terms of the cells within the paradigms that they are associated with, although there is significant overlap. The following abbreviations are employed in the table: RPD, recent past declarative; NPD, *ni*-class past declarative; RPI, recent past interrogative; NPI, *ni*-class past interrogative; RFD, recent future declarative; NFD, *ni*-class future declarative; RFI, recent future interrogative; NFI, *ni*-class future interrogative.

Turning first to the *-gi* and *-go* suffixes in the regular past declarative and interrogative paradigms, we find that their counterparts in the *ni*-class paradigms are *-ki* and *-ko*, respectively. In other words, the *ni*-class suffixes in question can be ‘derived’ from their regular counterparts by devoicing the initial consonant. Likewise, we find that the morphemes *-yi* and *-yo* in the regular future paradigms have as their *ni*-class counterparts the morphemes *-chi* and *-cho*, which can likewise be ‘derived’ from the regular forms by devoicing the initial consonant. Note, however that in the relevant *ni*-class future plural forms, the correspondence is not the ‘expected *-yo:-cho* correspondence but rather *-yo:-yo*, breaking the perfect symmetry. Another wholly consistent voicing symmetry obtains between the regular and *ni*-class past interrogative agreement markers where the regular suffix *-re* corresponds the *ni*-class *-te*.

The final correspondence we consider concerns the past declarative suffixes, where the regular class *-bi* corresponds to the *ni*-class *-ji*. Although at first glance this pair seems to fail to conform to the voicing relation we have found between regular and *ni*-class agreement suffixes, there is an explanation that preserves the relationship historically. Briefly, given the regular agreement suffix *-bi*, we would expect the corresponding *ni*-class suffix to be the synchronically unattested *-pi*. Chacon (2012:17) observes a regular correspondence, however, between Proto-Tukanoan **p* and Májǰiki *h*, which would yield the attested *-hi* (i.e. *-jǰi* in standard orthography).

Table 5: Correspondences between verbal agreement suffixes

	RPD	NPD	RPI	NPI	RFD	NFD	RFI	NFI
MARKER 1	-bǰi	-jǰi	-re	-te				
MARKER 2	-gi	-ki	-gi	-ki	-yi	-chi	-yi	-chi
MARKER 3	-go	-ko	-go	-ko	-yo	-cho/-yo	-yo	-cho/-yo

7 Paradigm-shifting suffixes

For purposes of understanding the paradigmatic properties of Májǰiki verbs, it is useful to distinguish two classes of verbal suffixes: 1) inflectional suffixes *sensu strictu*, consisting solely of the agreement suffixes involved in the agreement paradigms discussed; and 2) derivational suffixes, consisting of all other verbal morphology. Crucially, all derivational suffixes have a significant effect on the inflectional behavior of stems with *ni*-class roots: they inflect with regular paradigms rather than *ni*-class paradigms. That is, derivational suffixes have the effect of converting *ni*-class roots into regular stems (Farmer p.c., Skilton 2012).

This behavior is illustrated with the negative suffix *-má*, as in (1a), where the stem bears the regular first person past suffix *-bi* rather instead of the (ungrammatical) *ni*-class first person past suffix *-hi*, as in (1b).

- (1) a. áimábí

áí -má -bí
eat -NEG -1sg.PAST
‘No he comido.’ (E.AMM.AHS.25jul2012)

a. *áímáhì

áí -má -hì
eat -NEG -1sg.PAST
‘No he comido.’ (E.AMM.AHS.25jul2012)

8 Tonal behavior of inflected roots

In this section I discuss the tonal behavior of verb roots that bear only inflectional morphology. The tonal behavior of such verbs is predictable in terms of the tonal analysis developed by Stephanie Farmer, and summarized in Michael (2012), providing that the tonal class of the inflectional morphemes is properly taken into account. In particular, using the terminology in the cited work, the regular verb inflections for the present and past declarative paradigms are all class II morphemes, i.e. they are \emptyset -tone and accept spreading H, while all other regular class inflections, i.e. all interrogative and all future inflections, are class III, i.e. they are \emptyset -tone and do not accept spreading H. *Ni*-class inflections are all Class III, with the exception of the present declarative and interrogative inflectional suffixes, which are identical to regular present inflections. These generalizations are summarized in Table 6.

Table 6: Tonal classes of verbal inflectional suffixes

	PRES DECL	PAST DECL	FUT DECL	PRES INTERR	PAST INTERR	FUT INTERR
REGULAR	Class II	Class II	Class III	Class III	Class III	Class III
NI-CLASS	Class II	Class III	Class III	Class III	Class III	Class III

The behavior of tone for each of these inflectional suffix types is illustrated for each of the three root shapes for each of the two verb classes in Table 7, below.

Table 7: Tone patterns for inflected verb

	CLASS II	CLASS III
HH	HH-H	HH-L
HL	HL-L	HL-L
LL	LL-L	LL-L

9 Paradigmatic variation in the Western dialect

A small number of speakers of the Western dialect employ a different form for the plural for all persons and the first person singular in the regular present interrogative paradigm, *-ye*, instead of *-yi*. The regular present interrogative paradigm for these speakers is given in Table 8.

We have thus far identified two speakers in Nueva Vida (Luciano Tavares Navarro and Neida Mosoline Mogica) and one speaker in Puerto Huamán (Grapulio Tamayo Mera) who employ this

Table 8: Regular interrogative verb paradigms for *ábí* ‘bathe’

	PRESENT
1 st SG.	ábíyè
2 nd & 3 rd MASC. SG.	ábíkì
2 nd & 3 rd FEM. SG.	ábíkò
PL.	ábíyè

paradigm, and there are presumably more. Curiously, none of the speakers are related to each other or live with each other, and one of the speakers, Neida Mosoline Mogica, is the only one of her family to employ this variant inflection. Significantly, Velie[1975](2008: 26) exhibits precisely this variant in a work based on the Sucusari dialect. In contrast with the paradigm we have found for the speakers mentioned above, however, the Velie paradigm exhibits the *-ye* form for the plural cells of the paradigm only, and not for the first person. The Velies’ linguistic work is significantly influenced by the Sucusari dialect, raising the possibility that this variant is in some significant way associated with that dialect.

It is worth noting that the present interrogative paradigm exhibiting the exhibiting the *-ye* suffix exhibits greater formal parallelism with the regular and *ni*-class past interrogative paradigms than that with the *-yi* suffix. This greater parallelism obtains from the fact that the agreement suffix for plural of all persons and for first person in these other paradigms is *-re* for the regular paradigm, and *-te* for the *ni*-class paradigm, such that the corresponding suffixes for all these paradigms has the form *-Ce*.

10 Inflectional paradigms of the Northern dialect

In this section I present the verbal inflectional paradigms of the Northern dialect, spoken in the community of Tótoya and the nearby municipality of Estrecho. I then comment on the ways in which the paradigms of this dialect diverge from those of the Western dialect, discussed above. It is important to present one caveat before continuing however: the information presented in this section represents work with only a single speaker of the Northern dialect, Pírí (Lizardo Gonzalez Flores). In addition to the issues raised by work with a single consultant, it appeared evident in working with Pírí that Totoya itself may be quite dialectally diverse, possibly due to speakers of the Western dialect having resettled there. This led to Pírí often producing two or sometimes even three alternatives for a given cell of the paradigm. I chose to resolve this ambiguity by asking Pírí to inform me of what his father, an elderly speaker of the Northern dialect, would say. The paradigms that resulted from this procedure were internally consistent, and furthermore were consistent the written texts that Pírí produced in collaboration with his father, suggesting that this procedure produced non-spurious results. Further direct work with additional speakers of the Northern dialect is clearly called for, however.

According to the consultant, there is no difference in the declarative and interrogative paradigms for *ni*-class verbs in the Northern dialect. Another striking feature of the Northern dialect in comparison to Western dialect the is the tonal behavior of the inflectional suffixes: all inflectional suffixes of the Northern dialect behave like Class III suffixes, even those that are Class II suffixes in the other dialects.

10.1 Regular declarative

The regular declarative paradigms for the verb *ábí* ‘bathe’ for the three tenses are presented in Table 9.

Table 9: Regular declarative verb paradigms in the Northern dialect for *ábí* ‘bathe’

	PRESENT	PAST	FUTURE
1 st SG.	ábíyì	ábí	ábíyì
2 nd & 3 rd MASC. SG.	ábíj̄ì	ábí	ábí
2 nd & 3 rd FEM. SG.	ábíkò	ábí	ábí
PL.	ábíj̄ì	ábí	ábí

10.2 Regular interrogative

The regular interrogative paradigms for the verb *ábí* ‘bathe’ for the three tenses are presented in Table 10.

Table 10: Regular interrogative verb paradigms in the Northern dialect for *ábí* ‘bathe’

	PRESENT	PAST	FUTURE
1 st SG.	ábíyì	ábí	ábíyì
2 nd & 3 rd MASC. SG.	ábíkì	ábí	ábí
2 nd & 3 rd FEM. SG.	ábíkò	ábí	ábí
PL.	ábíj̄ì	ábí	ábíyò

10.3 *Ni*-class declarative paradigms

The *ni*-class declarative paradigms for the verb *sáí* ‘go’ for the three tenses are presented in Table 11.

Table 11: *Ni*-class declarative verb paradigms in the Northern dialect for *sáí* ‘go’

	PRESENT	PAST	FUTURE
1 st SG.	sáíyì	sáíbì	sáàchì
2 nd & 3 rd MASC. SG.	sáíkì	sákì	sáí
2 nd & 3 rd FEM. SG.	sáíkò	sákò	sáí
PL.	sáíj̄ì	sáj̄ì	sáàyò

10.4 *Ni*-class interrogative paradigms

The *ni*-class interrogative paradigms for the verb *sáí* ‘go’ for the three tenses are presented in Table 12.

Table 12: *Ni*-class interrogative verb paradigms in the Northern dialect for *sáí* ‘go’

	PRESENT	PAST	FUTURE
1 st SG.	sáíyì	sáíbì	sáàchì
2 nd & 3 rd MASC. SG.	sáíkì	sákì	sáí
2 nd & 3 rd FEM. SG.	sáíkò	sákò	sáí
PL.	sáíj̃̀	sáj̃̀	sáàyò

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Tone in Máíhǎ̀kì

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1 Introduction

This module describes tone in Máíhǎ̀kì . The analysis presented here was mainly developed by Stephanie Farmer in a number of works, particularly Farmer (2011a) and Farmer (2011b). The analysis presented here differs at a number of points from those in these earlier works, representing refinements by Farmer, and in a number of minor cases, refinements developed in collaboration between Farmer and the author.

Máíhǎ̀kì distinguishes two surface tones, H and L, which can be appreciated by contrasting the monosyllabic forms in (??) and the disyllabic forms in (??).

- (1) a. *má* ‘macaw’
b. *mà* ‘path’
- (2) a. *násó* ‘Woolly Monkey, sci name’
b. *nàsò* ‘tree sp.’

This description and analysis of the Máíhǎ̀kì tone system distinguishes two major subsystems, one consisting of tone assignment to a certain subset of finite verbs, and a second system consisting of tone assignment to words of all other classes, and in particular, nouns. As will become apparent, a significant fraction of finite verbs exhibit *nominal* tone behavior, a fact probably attributable to the fact that several finite verbal inflections were historically nominalizations (and in fact retain their nominalizing function in other contexts).

We first discuss the behavior of tone in finite verbs. As indicated above, verbs in fact exhibit two kinds of tonal behavior, one which is found only in verbs belonging to certain finite inflectional classes, which I will refer to as *verbal tone*, narrowly construed, and another kind of tonal behavior, which is found for verbs belonging to other inflectional classes and nouns, which I refer to as *nominal tone*.

1.1 Tone in verbs

The surface tonal pattern of morphologically complex Máíhǎ̀kì verbs is predictable wholly on the basis of knowledge of the tonal pattern of the root of the word and the class membership of the morphemes to its right. Typically the latter morphemes are suffixes, but in the case of serial verbs, may include verb roots as well. For purposes of tone assignment, we distinguish three classes of suffixes: Class I suffixes, which always exhibit a surface high tone in present and past tense regular declarative paradigms; Class II suffixes, which when immediately following a root or a Class I suffix, always exhibit the same tone as the final tone of the preceding morpheme; Class III suffixes, which may surface with either an H or L tone, according to generalizations we outline below; and the causative, which exhibits idiosyncratic tonal behavior. As we shall see, there is also one morphological context in which Class I suffixes behave like Class III suffixes: interrogative mood paradigms of all tenses,

and future tense paradigms (i.e. both declarative and interrogative). As will become clear, this particular behavior is most parsimoniously explained in terms of verbs of these paradigms behaving tonally like nouns, a fact we attribute to the historical origin of the relevant inflectional suffixes as nominalizers.

Roots can exhibit one of three surface tonal patterns: HH, HL, and LL; LH roots are not attested in the language. In (??) we illustrate these three patterns with a Class II suffix, the first person present tense suffix *-yi*.¹ Note that the Class II suffix always bears the same tone as the root syllable immediately to its left. Class II suffixes are restricted to the inflectional verbal suffixes of the declarative past and present tense paradigms.

- (3) a. *béóyí*
béó *-yi*
 sleep.with.child -1sg.PRES
 ‘I am sleeping with a child.’
- b. *béòyì*
beo *-yi*
 lie.in.hammock -1sg.PRES
 ‘I am lying in a hammock.’
- c. *bèòyì*
bèò *-yi*
 give.name -1sg.PRES
 ‘I am giving a name.’

The tonal pattern of the leftmost morpheme in a word is never affected by the tonal properties of morphemes to its right, and this generalization holds in particular for verb roots. Moreover, the tonal pattern of HH and LL roots is invariable, even when they participate as non-initial verbs in serial verb constructions (if they are verbal roots). We examine the behavior of HL roots in greater detail below.

After HH and LL roots, the next most tonally invariable set of morphemes are the Class I suffixes, which uniformly surface with a high tone in regular declarative present and past verb forms (we discuss their behavior in other verbal forms further below). There are two Class I suffixes, the verb suffixes *-hó* ‘2.STATE’ and *-má* ‘NEG’. The invariant behavior of these Class I suffixes is illustrated in (??), where they appear following roots of each tonal type, and are followed by a Class II (inflectional) suffix. Note that the following Class II suffixes bear high tones in all cases, since the negative *-má*, which immediately precedes them, is high tone.

- (4) a. *gárá má yí*
gárá *-má* *-yi*
 roll.about.on.ground -NEG -1sg.PRES
 ‘I am not rolling about on the ground.’
- b. *gàrà má yí*
gara *-má* *-yi*
 be.exhausted -NEG -1sg.PRES
 ‘I am not exhausted.’

¹The first line of each example provides a surface tonal representation for the word or words, while the morphologically segmented line provides the underlying tones according to the analysis we develop below.

c. gàrà máyí

gàrà *-má* *-yi*
huddle -NEG -1sg.PRES

‘I am not huddling (e.g. because of the cold).’

As indicated above, the Class II suffixes in the language consist of the finite inflections in the regular past and present declarative paradigms (see Michael (2012) for further information about these suffixes).

We now consider the behavior of the Class III suffixes. When Class III suffixes immediately follow a LL root, and are also not word-final, the first syllable of the suffix (or only syllable, in the case of *-da*, the frustrative of intent) surfaces as high. This behavior is illustrated in (??), where the prioritivie *-suba* appears with roots of all three tone shapes.

(5) a. bótásùbàyì

bótá *-suba* *yi*
remove -PRIOR 1sg.PRES

‘I am removing (e.g. leaves) first.’

b. bótàsùbàyì

bota *-suba* *yi*
split.off -PRIOR 1sg.PRES

‘I am splitting off (e.g. a branch) first.’

c. bòtàsúbàyì

bòtà *-suba* *yi*
wipe.off -PRIOR 1sg.PRES

‘I am wiping off first.’

In all other positions, Class III suffixes surface as low. We illustrate this with all three root shapes, where in (??) the class III suffix appears following another Class III suffix, and in (??), where the Class III suffix *-ko*, the regular present third person feminine interrogative inflection, appears immediately following the root, but in word-final position.

(6) a. bótàsàòsùbàgò

bótá *-sao* *-suba* *-go*
remove -UNIV.QUANT -PRIOR -3sg.fem.PAST

‘she finished removing first (e.g. leaves)’

b. bótàsàòsùbàgò

bota *-sao* *-suba* *-go*
split.off -UNIV.QUANT -PRIOR -3sg.fem.PAST

‘she finished splitting off first (e.g. a branch).’

c. bòtàsáòsùbàgò

bòtà *-sao* *-suba* *-go*
wipe.off -UNIV.QUANT -PRIOR -3sg.fem.PAST

‘she finished wiping off first (e.g. a branch).’

(7) a. bótákò

bótá -*ko*
 remove -3fem.PRES.INTERR
 ‘Is she removing (e.g. leaves)?’

b. *bótàkò*

bota -*ko*
 split.off -3fem.PRES.INTERR
 ‘Is she splitting off (e.g. a branch)?’

c. *bòtākò*

bòtà -*ko*
 wipe.off -3fem.PRES.INTERR
 ‘Is she wiping off?’

The inventory of Class III suffixes includes suffixes that are intrinsically members of this tonal class as well as derived members of this class which result from tonal erasure processes in the nominal tonal system (see discussion below). Intrinsically Class III suffixes include all verbal suffixes other than the Class I inflectional suffixes and the causative. The status of nominal suffixes in this respect is less clear, since the only way to distinguish intrinsic Class III morphemes from derived members of this class is to find a form in which the morpheme in question appears in leftmost position, and this is not possible for certain morphemes, such as the plural *-huna*. For purposes of analytical convenience, we treat morphemes with the latter distribution as Class III. Nevertheless, it is clear that many morphemes – especially classifiers – that normally appear as Class III suffixes surface as HH or LL when they appear in leftmost position in the nominal form.

Finally we consider the causative, which forms a singleton class in terms of its tonal behavior. When the causative follows an HH root it surfaces as LL, as in (??a); when it follows an HL root it surfaces as HH, as in (??b); and when it follows an LL root, it surfaces as HL, as in (??c). Note that the H tone in the HH form of the causative in (??b) spreads to the Class II inflectional suffix.

(8) a. *dóágòpòyì*

dóá -*gopo* -*yì*
 wash -CAUS -1sg.PRES
 ‘I am making (someone) wash.’

b. *tíàgóróyí*

tíà -*góró* -*yí*
 sharpen -CAUS -1sg.PRES
 ‘I am making (someone) sharpen (e.g. a machete).’

c. *dòàgóròyì*

dòà -*górò* -*yì*
 paddle -CAUS -1sg.PRES
 ‘I am making (someone) paddle.’

We now discuss an issue deferred from above, namely the fact that Class I suffixes behave differently when verbs inflect other than the regular past or present declarative inflection.² Note that these are precisely the contexts in which inflection behave like Class III rather than Class II

²Note that the *ni*-class present declarative inflection is identical to the regular present declarative inflection, and has the same tonal properties.

suffixes.^{3,4} In such instances, the erstwhile Class I suffixes behave like Class III suffixes, i.e. they surface as L, as in (refex:clcliilow) and (??a), unless they directly follow a LL root, in which case they surface as H, as in (??b). In both (??) and (??), the erstwhile Class I suffix in question in the negation suffix *-ma*; in (??) and (??a) it surfaces as L, as we would expect of a Class III suffix that does not immediately follow an LL root, while in (??b) it surfaces as H, likewise the expected behavior of a Class III suffix.

(9) kwàkòsúbàmàyì.

kwàkò -*suba* -*ma* -*yi*.
 cook -PRIOR -NEG -1sg.FUT
 ‘I will not be the first to cook.’

(10) a. ábímàyì.

ábí -*ma* -*yi*
 bathe -NEG -1sg.FUT
 ‘I will not bathe.’

b. kwàkòmàyì.

kwàkò -*ma* -*yi*
 cool -NEG -1sg.FUT
 ‘I will not cook.’

Given the above generalizations, one might wonder if it is the presence of Class III inflectional morphology *per se*, rather than merely a following Class III suffix, that induces the Class I → Class III conversion just discussed. We can distinguish between these two analyses by considering a word with the morphological structure ROOT-CLASS I-CLASS III-CLASS II, as in (??). In this case, we have the class I suffix *-ma* NEG followed by the Class III suffix FRUS.INTENT, which is in turn followed by the Class II inflectional suffix *-bi* 1sg.PAST. Were any following Class III suffix sufficient to condition the Class I → Class III conversion, we would expect the frustrative to convert the Class I negation suffix to Class III. Were this the case, however, the negation suffix would surface with low tone, since Class III suffixes following HH roots surface as L. As we see, the negation suffix surfaces as H, indicating that it is not Class III, but rather, Class I. We conclude, then, that it is the presence of Class III inflectional morphology *per se* that converts Class I suffixes to Class III suffixes.⁵

(11) ábímádàbì

ábí -*má* -*da* -*bi*
 bathe -NEG -FRUS.INTENT -1sg.PAST
 ‘I was not going to bathe (but did so).’

³The distinct tonal behavior of these inflectional suffixes presumably reflects their origin as nominalizers (they are in fact homophonous with a subset of synchronic nominalizers)

⁴Note that *ni*-verb past tense declarative inflectional suffixes are also Class III, and for this reason, we may expect the same class-switching behavior for Class I suffixes. It is not possible, however, to ascertain whether this is the case in the paradigm in question, because the suffixation of Class I suffixes converts *ni*-class roots into regular stems, and the regular past tense declarative suffixes are Class II, and not Class III.

⁵As will become evident below, a somewhat more satisfying analysis is available once we consider the tonal behavior of nouns. Verbs bearing Class III inflectional suffixes in fact behave tonally like nouns, a fact attributable to the fact that these suffixes were historically nominalizers (and are homophonous with a subset of synchronically attested nominalizers).

One final descriptive issue remains before we develop our analysis: the tonal behavior of serial verbs. Thus far we have only considered verbs consisting of a single root with one or more suffixes. Serial verbs, in contrast, consist of two or more verb roots that appear immediately adjacent to one another. For purposes of tonal assignment to suffixes following the two roots, tonal assignment attends only to the tonal pattern of the rightmost of the two roots. If the rightmost root is HH, for example, the suffixes on the verb behave in the same way as those following a single HH root in a non-serial verb. The crucial issue thus becomes how the tonal pattern of the two roots affect each other.

If we analyze the tonal behavior of roots in terms of their tonal patterns when they appear in non-serial verbs, we find that the following generalizations obtain: 1) HH and LL roots remain HH or LL in serial verbs, whether the roots in question are the first or second serialized verb; and 2) HL roots remain HL if they are the first serialized verb, but surface either as: a) LL, when following and HH or HL root; or b) HL, if following an LL root. These generalizations are summarized in Table ??.

Table 1: Surface tones of serialized verb roots

	HH	HL	LL
HH	HH-HH	HH-LL	HH-LL
HL	HL-HH	HL-LL	HL-LL
LL	LL-HH	LL-HL	LL-LL

2 Nominal tone

As indicated above, we use the term *nominal tone* to refer to tonal behavior characteristic of nouns and a subset of verbal inflectional paradigms – in particular, all but the regular present and past declarative paradigms – who likely owe their tonal behavior to their origin as nominalizations.

The nominal tonal system is in many respects similar to the verbal tonal system. Disyllabic roots exhibit three possible surface tonal patterns, HH, HL, and LL, as evident in (??), and as with the case of verbal roots, the tone of these roots is unaffected by suffixes that appear to their right.

- (12) a. b átí ‘shadow, spirit’
 b. ínè ‘*píjuayo*’
 c. hàsò ‘manioc’

There is a significant difference between the nominal and verbal tone systems however: in the nominal tone system, all morphemes other than the leftmost morpheme behave like Class III suffixes. This single difference has three significant ramifications for how nominal tone differs from verbal tone.

First, the tone of nominal roots is affected by whether they are preceded by another morpheme; when preceded by another morpheme, nominal roots behave like Class III suffixes in all cases. The reader will recall that verbal roots appear with the same surface tone regardless of whether they are preceded by another morpheme (with the exception, discussed above, of HL roots). Nominal roots, in contrast, lose their inherent tone, as evident in (??), where we find that roots of the three tone shapes given in (??) all surface as LL when preceded by the HH adjectival prefix *háí-* ‘large’, but as HL when preceded by the LL adjectival prefix *yàrí-* ‘small’, as in (??).

- (13) a. háíbàtì

jáí- bítí
 large- spirit
 ‘large spirit’

b. *háíñè*

háí- ine
 large- *píjuayo*
 ‘large *píjuayo*’

c. *háíhàsò*

jáí- hàsò
 large- manioc
 ‘large manioc’

(14) a. *yàrìbátì*

yàrì- bítí
 small- shadow
 ‘small shadow’

b. *yàrìínè*

yàrì- ine
 small- hole
 ‘small hole’

c. *yàrìhàsò*

yàrì- hàsò
 small- manioc
 ‘small manioc’

Second, all nominal suffixes surface are Class III suffixes, meaning that they surface as LL (or L, if monosyllabic), except when immediately following an LL morpheme in leftmost position in the word, in which case they surface as HL (or L, if monosyllabic and in word-final position). This behavior is evident in the behavior of the plank classifier, exemplified in (??), below.

Third, not only are all nominal suffixes Class III suffixes, we find that erstwhile Class I verbal suffixes are converted to Class III suffixes when a morphologically complex verbal stem containing a Class I suffix undergoes nominalization. This process is exemplified in (??), in which the verbal stem *népá-má* ‘hang-NEG’ appears in (??a) with a Class II verbal inflectional suffix, and as expected, the negation suffix *-má* surfaces with its inherent H tone, as we would expect of a Class I suffix on a verb. Compare now with (??b), where the same stem has undergone nominalization with the nominalizer *-ko*, and the negation suffix *-má* now surfaces with low tone. This behavior suggests that the negation suffix is behaving as Class III suffix in this nominalized verb, a conclusion confirmed by the behavior of the negation suffix in nominalized verbs when immediately following an LL root, as in (??b). In this form, the negation suffix surfaces with H, thereby exhibiting – when compared with (??b)– the post-LL root conditioning of H typical of Class III morphemes.

(15) a. *népámáyí*

népá -má -yí
 hang -NEG -1sg.PRES
 ‘I am not hanging (something)’

b. *népámàkò*
népá -má -ko
 hang -NEG -3sg.fem.NOMZ
 ‘not hanging (3sg feminine agreement)’

(16) a. *kwàkòmáyí*
kwàkò -má -yí
 cook -NEG -1sg.PRES
 ‘I am not cooking’

b. *kwàkòmákò*
kwàkò -má -kò
 cook -NEG -3sg.fem.NOMZ
 ‘not cooking (3sg feminine agreement)’

The effect of nominalization of verbal stems on Class I verbal suffixes forming part of those stems suggests that nouns effectively convert all morphemes to the right of the leftmost morpheme into Class III suffixes.⁶ There is further evidence in favor of this conclusion in the tonal behavior of classifiers. Classifiers typically appear following nominal roots and as such, behave like Class III suffixes, as in evident in (??), where the plank classifier in (??c) exhibits the characteristic HL pattern following an LL root.

(17) a. *másópèrè*
másó -péré
ojé -CL:plank
 ‘plank of *ojè* wood’

b. *hóràpèrè*
hórà -péré
añuje.rumo -CL:plank
 ‘plank of *añuje rumo* wood’

c. *bitòpèrè*
bitò -péré
leche.caspi -CL:plank
 ‘plank of *leche caspi* wood’

Classifiers can, however, appear as the leftmost element in certain constructions, including the ‘singulative’ construction in (??).⁷

(18) *pérébì*
péré -bì
 CL:flat.slender -SING
 ‘*capillejo*, type of basket’

⁶Note, however, that HH-HH root sequences in serial verb constructions retain that tone pattern under nominalization (Stephanie Farmer, p.c.).

⁷The singulative construction consists of a classifier bearing the singulative suffix *-bì*, and is typically indicates a single entity that falls into the category delimited by the classifier. In some cases the singulative form of a suffix has a conventionalized and somewhat unpredictable meaning, although such conventionalized meanings are typically consistent with the sense of the classifier.

Crucially, note that in the singulative construction in (??), classifier *péré*, which surfaces as a Class III suffix when it is not the leftmost morpheme, surfaces as an HH morpheme when it appears leftmost. This behavior suggests that its Class III behavior when non-leftmost is a result of Class I → Class III conversion, as we saw with the negation suffix *-ma* in cases of deverbal nominalization, and that classifiers in general are not intrinsically Class III suffixes.

We conclude our discussion of nominal tone by observing that the tonal behavior of verbs bearing Class III inflectional suffixes, discussed above. As noted there, all suffixes to the right of the root in such verbs behave like Class III suffixes. Given our observations about nominal tone, and in particular, the tonal behavior of deverbal nominals, it is clear that that these finite verbs simply behave tonally like deverbal nominals. Given that most Class III verbal inflectional suffixes are homophonous with nominalizers, the most obvious explanation for this homophony and the tonal behavior of the verbs in question is that the relevant verbal inflectional suffixes grammaticalized from the homophonous nominalizers – presumably via insubordination – and that the resulting finite verbal forms retained the tonal behavior of the original nominalized forms.

3 An analysis of the Máíhìkì tonal system

Having provided a surface description of verbal and nominal tone in the language, we now develop a tonal analysis that accounts for the inventory of attested root and affix tonal patterns and for the tonal interaction between the various root and affix types. We begin by focusing on the analysis of verbal tone, and then turn to the analysis of nominal tone.

The starting point for our analysis is observing that surface tones in verbs differ in terms of how they co-occur with tones on adjacent morphemes; we find differences in co-occurrence behaviors of this type for both surface H and L tones. Beginning with surface H tones, we find that H associated with HH roots or Class I suffixes uniformly co-occur with H on an immediately following Class II suffix, as in (??a) and (??b), respectively, but that H associated with a class III suffix does not co-occur with an H tone on an immediately Class II suffix, as evident in (??). We refer to the first kind of H as a ‘spreading H’ and the second, a ‘non-spreading’ H.

(19) a. ábíyí

ábí *-yi*
bathe -1sg.PRES
‘I am bathing’

b. kwàkòmáyí

kwàkò *-má* *-yi*
cook -NEG -1sg.PRES
‘I am not cooking’

(20) kwàkòdábì

kwàkò *-dá* *-bì*
cook -FRUS.INTENT -1sg.PAST
‘I was going to cook (but did not).’

As articulated, the proposed distinction between spreading and non-spreading H presupposes that the H spreads from the HH root or Class I morpheme to the Class II morpheme. This is no accident: there is good reason to think that HH roots and Class I morphemes bear H intrinsically, and that Class II morphemes do not. In the first place, HH roots and Class I morphemes always bear H (when they appear in words whose tone is assigned by the verbal tone subsystem, to which we

are currently restricting our attention), whereas Class II morphemes only bear H when immediately preceded by and HH root or a class II morpheme. For these reasons it is cogent to treat HH roots and Class I morphemes as conditioning H on Class II morphemes, but not the other way around. One way this basic insight can be implemented is to treat HH roots and Class I morphemes as being lexically specified for H, and that this tone spreads to Class II morphemes when Class II morphemes immediately follow them.

We now turn to the surface L, which can likewise be divided into two types on the basis of the behavior they exhibit with respect to how they co-occur with H tones on adjacent morphemes. The first kind of surface L, found exclusively in LL roots, conditions an H tone on the first syllable of an immediately following Class III suffix, as exemplified in (??a). The second kind of low tone does not condition a high tone on adjacent Class III suffixes, and is found at the right edge of HL roots, as well as on class III suffixes themselves. An HL root, *yúà* ‘sweep’, is given in (??b), and we see that it fails to condition a surface H on the first syllable of the following Class III suffix, the prioritive *-suba*. We see in (??c) that the surface L at the end of the prioritive likewise fails to condition a surface H on another following Class III suffix, in this case the frustrative of intent *-da*.

We provisionally refer to the first type of L as an ‘active’ L, since it conditions a surface H on Class III suffixes and the second type of L and ‘inactive’ L, since it does not do so.

- (21) a. *bìbìsúbàbì*
bìbì *-suba* *-bì*
 run -PRIOR -1sg.PAST
 ‘I ran first’
- b. *yúàsùbàbì*
yua *-suba* *-bì*
 sweep -PRIOR -1sg.PAST
 ‘I swept first’
- c. *yúàsùbàdàbì*
yua *-suba* *-da* *-bì*
 sweep -PRIOR -FRUS.INTENT -1sg.PAST
 ‘I was going to sweep first (but did not)’

Since spreading H and active L affect the surface tone of adjacent morphemes, we assume them to be lexically-specified tones, while the non-spreading H and inactive L we assume to be assigned by default principles of tone assignment which guarantee that all syllables surface with either a H or L value, but are assigned in such a way that these surface tones do not affect the surface tones of other morphemes. Syllables that bear either of the latter tone types we assume to be underlyingly unspecified for tone. This entails that the Maihiki tone inventory is H, L, and \emptyset .

Note, incidentally, that although we talk of ‘spreading’ and ‘non-spreading’ H and ‘active’ and ‘inactive’ L, we do not mean to indicate that there are in fact two different kinds of H or L tones. The names for these tones serve as shorthand descriptions of their behavior, and our analysis will ultimately resort only to H and L tones, with their behavioral differences stemming from different ways in which these tones are assigned to words by the tonal system.

With the distinction between lexically-specified H and L and their non-lexically specified surface counterparts in hand, we are now in a position to explain the surface inventory of root patterns. Let us first consider the two root patterns that contain a surface H: HH and HL. Since the final H in the HH root is a spreading H, it is plausible that this second H in fact spread from the position of the first H in the HH root. On this analysis, it is only necessary to specify tone on the first syllable of the root, such that a surface HH root results from an underlying $H\emptyset$ root.

If the preceding analysis is correct, we can characterize the the HL root as exhibiting an initial non-spreading H, since H does not spread to the second syllable of the root, and moreover, does not condition an H on an adjacent Class II suffix. Note also that the final L of the HL root is an inactive L, since it fails to condition an H on the first syllable of a following Class III suffix. If we adopt the notion, suggested above, that non-spreading H and inactive L result from default principles of tone assignment to tonally unspecified syllables, it follows that surface HL roots in fact result from underlying $\emptyset\emptyset$ roots. The important question of how such roots surface with an HL tone pattern remains to be answered of course, and we will turn to this shortly.

The final attested surface root tonal pattern is LL. Since roots of this type condition a surface H on following Class III roots, the final L on such roots is ‘active’, leading us to treat such roots as involving a lexically specified L. If we assume that LL roots result in the same way from lexically specified L as HH roots do from lexically specified H, this leads us to conclude that surface LL roots result from underlying $L\emptyset$ roots, where the initial L spreads to the right edge of the morpheme boundary.

The relationship between surface and underlying root tonal pattern just proposed is summarized in (??).

- (22) a. $H\emptyset \rightarrow HH$
 b. $\emptyset\emptyset \rightarrow HL$
 c. $L\emptyset \rightarrow LL$

The analysis of root tonal patterns just presented contains an implicit explanation for a number of facts related to Máihiki verb roots, including the attested root tonal pattern inventory (HH, HL, and LL), and the absence of LH roots; the fact that the surface H and L of HL roots are non-spreading and inactive, respectively; and the fact there are no surface HH or LL roots where the rightmost tone is non-spreading or inactive, respectively. To render the preceding analysis more explicit, we assume that only the leftmost syllable of a disyllabic root can bear a lexically-specified tone, and that the tone of that syllable may either be H, L, or \emptyset , where the latter null tone corresponds to the lack of assignment of lexical H or L. We also assume that these underlying H and L tones spread to the right edge of the root, resulting in HH and LL roots where the rightmost tone is, crucially, a spreading H or active L, respectively.

We now need to return to an issue we deferred above: accounting for how $\emptyset\emptyset$ roots surface as HL. To this end, it is helpful to consider the more general question of how non-spreading H is distributed: it occurs only in HL roots, as in (??a), or in Class III suffixes immediately following an LL root, as in (??b). In the latter case Class III suffixes surface as HL when disyllabic, suggesting that Class III suffixes exhibit the same underlying tonal specification as $\emptyset\emptyset$ roots. Supposing that this is correct we obtain the provisional generalization the distribution of non-spreading H: it is assigned to the first null-toned syllable of the word, as in (??a&c) provided that this syllable is not preceded by an underlying H, as in (??c). Note that make a minor modification to this provisional generalization below.

- (23) a. $\emptyset\emptyset-\emptyset\emptyset-\emptyset \rightarrow H_{non-spread}L-LL-L$
 b. $LL-\emptyset\emptyset-\emptyset \rightarrow LL-H_{non-spread}L-L$
 c. $HH-\emptyset\emptyset-\emptyset \rightarrow HH-LL-L$

Having discussed lexical tone spreading and the assignment of non-spreading H, we finally turn to the assignment of inactive L. We have thus far seen inactive L surface in HL roots and in Class III suffixes, and these are in fact the only environments in which inactive L appears in verbs. This suggests inactive L is assigned to any syllables which are have been left tonally unspecified by the processes of tone spreading and non-spreading H assignment. In other words, inactive L is the default tone in Máihiki .

Note that if we treat inactive L as the default tone assigned to tonally unspecified syllables, and that if we further assume that surface HH and LL roots are underlyingly specified as H \emptyset and L \emptyset , we are led to conclude that lexical tone spreading occurs prior to assignment of non-spreading H or inactive L, since otherwise either: 1) unattested LH roots would result (where the second H is an inactive H); or 2) HH or LL roots would result in which the second tone is non-spreading H or inactive L, respectively.

The analysis just developed is exemplified for $\emptyset\emptyset$, L \emptyset , and H \emptyset roots in Table ??, where purposes of expositional convenience, each root is followed by a disyllabic Class III suffix, which is in turn followed by a monosyllabic Class II suffix. As indicated above, we assume that spreading of lexical (i.e. active) L within the root and spreading lexical H within the root and to Class II suffixes transpires first, followed by the assignment of non-spreading H, which is finally followed by the assignment of surface (i.e. inactive) L to all syllables which still lack tone.

Beginning with the case of $\emptyset\emptyset$ roots, no H or L spreading occurs, since there are no morphemes in the given word with lexical H or L. A non-spreading H is then assigned to the leftmost \emptyset syllable, which in this case is the first syllable in the word. L is then assigned to the remaining \emptyset syllables, resulting in the attested HL-LL-L shape. In the case of L \emptyset roots, L first spreads to the right edge of the root, resulting in an LL root, and then H is assigned to the leftmost \emptyset syllable. In this case, this is the syllable immediately to the left of the LL root. Finally, L is assigned to the remaining \emptyset syllables, resulting in the attested LL-HL-L shape. Finally, in the case of H \emptyset roots, H first spreads to the right edge of the root, resulting in an HH root. Unlike the previous cases, however, no (non-spreading) H is assigned, in accord with the generalization above, that non-spreading H is not assigned following a surface HH root. We return shortly to the analytical awkwardness of this stipulation. In any case, L is assigned to the \emptyset syllables, resulting in the attested HH-LL-L shape.

Note, incidentally, that the current analysis has essentially disposed of the distinction between ‘spreading’ and ‘non-spreading’ H, on the one hand, and ‘active’ and ‘inactive’ L, on the other. In the derivational terms of the preceding analysis, the differences between these tones stems from the point in the tone assignment process the tone is assigned to a syllable, and consequently, whether the tone can thereby affect the later assignment of tones.

Table 2: Tonal derivations

Underlying Form	→ Tone spreading	→ Non-spreading H	→ Default L
$\emptyset\emptyset_{ROOT}-\emptyset\emptyset_{CIII}-\emptyset_{CII}$	$\emptyset\emptyset-\emptyset\emptyset-\emptyset$	H \emptyset - $\emptyset\emptyset-\emptyset$	HL-LL-L
L $\emptyset_{ROOT}-\emptyset\emptyset_{CIII}-\emptyset_{CII}$	LL- $\emptyset\emptyset-\emptyset$	LL-H $\emptyset-\emptyset$	LL-HL-L
H $\emptyset_{ROOT}-\emptyset\emptyset_{CIII}-\emptyset_{CII}$	HH- $\emptyset\emptyset-\emptyset$	HH- $\emptyset\emptyset-\emptyset$	HH-LL-L

We now return to the analytical issue of the awkwardness of the statement regarding the assignment of non-spreading H, mentioned above. Before we tackle this issue directly, however, we introduce an important exception to the provisional generalization, as stated, regarding the distribution of non-spreading H, which renders the generalization as stated even less analytically elegant. As the generalization is stated, we would predict that the leftmost \emptyset syllable in a word would receive non-spreading H, regardless of its position in the word. This turns out not to be the case, however: non-spreading H never appears in word-final position, as exemplified in (??).

- (24) a. b̩b̩k̩
 b̩b̩ -k̩
 run -1sg.PAST.INTERROG
 ‘Did you run?’
 b. *b̩b̩k̩

Avoiding the assignment of word-final non-spreading H thus appears to require an additional stipulation on the assignment of non-spreading H, such that the generalization regarding the distribution of this tone is subject to two relatively arbitrary stipulations: 1) that it never occurs following an HH root; and 2) that it cannot appear in word-final position.

It is possible to develop a more elegant generalization if we note that: 1) in all instances of assignment of non-spreading H, what results is an HL sequence (i.e. via the formation of an HL root, or in the assignment of a H to the first syllable of a Class III suffix following an LL root); and 2) in the cases where a spreading H fails to be assigned, the assignment of the spreading H would either: i) fail to create an HL sequence, as in the unattested case of word-final spreading H assignment; or ii), be entirely redundant for purposes of creating an HL sequence, as in the case of a verb beginning with an HH root.

These facts suggest that non-spreading H assignment results from a requirement that Máfhîki verbs exhibit an HL contour aligned as closely as possible with the left edge of the word. It follows that non-spreading H would not be assigned word-finally, since this would never result in an HL contour, and it also follows that non-spreading H would never be assigned to a word with an HH root, since the assignment of inactive L would suffice to create an HL contour, without the need to assign non-spreading H.

The fact that we analyze non-spreading H assignment as motivated to achieve a target tone shape, and that this assignment fails to occur when the target shape can be achieved without recourse to non-spreading H assignment or when it is not achievable suggests that an Optimality Theoretic account is called for.

In (??) we list the constraints required to account for the proper distribution of non-spreading H. The unviolated SYLLABLE-TO-TONE assures that all syllables surface with tone, while the ranking DEP-IO(H) >> DEP-IO(L) makes L the default tone assigned to satisfy SYLLABLE-TO-TONE. Finally, the ranking ALIGN(L, HL, PRWD) >> DEP-IO(H) drives the assignment of (non-spreading) H in order to achieve an HL contour as close to the left edge of the word as possible. Note that SYLLABLE-TO-TONE and ALIGN(L, HL, PRWD) needn't be ranked with respect to one another, although the former is never violated, while the latter is. Nevertheless, it is never the case that the violation of one constraint serves to satisfy the other. The complete ranking for these constraints is given in (??).

(25) SYLLABLE-TO-TONE: Assign one * for each syllable present in the output without an H or L tone.

ALIGN(L, HL, PRWD): Align an HL tone sequence to the left edge of the prosodic word; assign one * for each syllable between the left edge of the word and the H of the HL contour, and assign a number of stars equal to the number of syllables in the word if there is no HL contour in the word.

DEP-IO(H): Assign one * for each H present in the output that is not present in the input.

DEP-IO(L): Assign one * for each L present in the output that is not present in the input.

(26) SYLL-TO-TONE, ALIGN(L, HL, PRWD) >> DEP-IO(H) >> DEP-IO(L)

We now demonstrate that the constraints in (??) and their ranking given in (??) produce the HL distribution described above.⁸ For expositional purposes, we consider tone assignment for words with

⁸For the purposes of the discussion that follows immediately we will assume that roots are either HH, LL, or $\emptyset\emptyset$ and that the non-spreading H and inactive L assigned as a result of the constraints given in (??) cannot be assigned to syllables with underlying H or L or syllables to which H has spread. In a complete Optimality theoretic analysis, HH and LL roots would presumably emerge from the effects of morpheme-internal CORRESPONDENCE constraints and the maintenance of underlying tones and ones emerging from spreading from these tones in favor of non-spreading H and inactive L would emerge from the effects of MAX-IO constraints.

roots of each of the three tone shapes followed by a disyllabic Class III suffix and a (monosyllabic) Class II suffix.

When the input is a word of the specified morphological structure with a $\emptyset\emptyset$ root, the constraint ranking in (??) – together with the assumptions in fn. 7 – yields HL-LL-L as the optimal candidate, i.e. form d. in Table ???. The assignment of H to the leftmost underlying \emptyset syllable yields an HL contour entirely aligned with the left edge of the word, perfectly satisfying ALIGN(L, HL, PRWD), incurring only a single violation of DEP-IO(H), and four violations of DEP-IO(L). Assignment of more than a single H to the word incurs gratuitous violations of DEP-IO(H), as in form c., and assignment of a single H any further to the right incurs gratuitous violations of ALIGN(L, HL, PRWD), as in form b. Failure to assign tone to the syllables of the word incur critical violations of SYLL-TO-TONE and failure to assign any H to the word likewise incurs critical violations of ALIGN(L, HL, PRWD).

Table 3: HL contour in $\emptyset\emptyset_{Root}-\emptyset\emptyset_{Cl.III}-\emptyset_{Cl.II}$ words

$\emptyset\emptyset_{Root}-\emptyset\emptyset_{Cl.III}-\emptyset_{Cl.II}$	SYLL-TO-TONE	ALIGN(L, HL, PRWD)	DEP-IO(H)	DEP-IO(L)
a. $\emptyset\emptyset-\emptyset\emptyset-\emptyset$	*****!	*****!		
b. LL-HL-L		**!	*	****
c. HL-LL-H			**!	***
d. HL-LL-L			*	****
e. LL-LL-L		*****!		*****

Turning now to words of the same morphological structure and an LL root, we find the optimal form to be LL-HL-L, as in form e. of Table ???. This form incurs a single violation of DEP-IO(H), as does the optimal form for the corresponding $\emptyset\emptyset$ root word, but in contrast incurs two violations of ALIGN(L, HL, PRWD). This is due to the fact that root tones must, *ex hypothesi*, surface and cannot be supplanted by tones absent in the input, as discussed in fn. 7. This fact means that the location of the HL contour in form e. is the leftmost possible in the word. If the contour occurs any further to the right, as in form c., this incurs a fatal violation of ALIGN(L, HL, PRWD), as does position of the single H of a word at the right edge of the word, as in form d. Gratuitous assignment beyond that necessary for the creation of a single HL contour incurs a fatal violation of DEP-IO(H), as in form f., and the failure to assign any H incurs a fatal violation of ALIGN(L, HL, PRWD), as in form b. The failure to assign surface tones to syllables that are \emptyset in the input of course incurs fatal violations of SYLL-TO-TONE, as in the maximally problematic case of form a.

Table 4: HL contour in $LL_{Root}-\emptyset\emptyset_{Cl.III}-\emptyset_{Cl.II}$ words

$LL_{Root}-\emptyset\emptyset_{Cl.III}-\emptyset_{Cl.II}$	SYLL-TO-TONE	ALIGN(L, HL, PRWD)	DEP-IO(H)	DEP-IO(L)
a. LL- $\emptyset\emptyset$ - \emptyset	***!	*****!		
b. LL-LL-L		*****!		***
c. LL-LH-L		***!	*	**
d. LL-LL-H		*****!	*	**
e. LL-HL-L		**	*	**
f. LL-HL-H		**	**!	*

We finally consider the case of words of the specified morphological form with HH roots. Words of this type are interesting because the root displays an H tone at the right edge of the root, making it possible for the word to display an HL contour without having to incur a DEP-IO(H) violation,

as in form b. What we find instead is that the HL contour can be obtained by simply assigning an L tone to the \emptyset syllable following the root. Note that this form incurs a single violation of ALIGN(L, HL, PRWD), since the immutability of the root tones means that an L tone cannot be assigned to the second syllable of the root, which is what would be required to obtain an HL contour perfectly aligned with the left edge of the word. Any assignment of H to the word incurs gratuitous violations of DEP-IO(H), as in forms c., d. and e.; the latter two further incur additional violations of ALIGN(L, HL, PRWD).

Note that it is precisely words of this type that favor an Optimality theoretic analysis of HL contour distributions, since these are cases in which typical assignment of (non-spreading) H to the leftmost \emptyset syllable of a word fails to obtain precisely because it is unnecessary to produce an HL contour – under the assumption, at least, of default L assignment to \emptyset syllables. A derivational version of this account requires less parsimonious mechanisms such as if-then statement or a rule that assigns non-spreading H to either underlying H or \emptyset syllables.

Table 5: HL contour in HH_{Root}- $\emptyset\emptyset$ _{Cl.III}- \emptyset _{Cl.II} words

HH _{Root} - $\emptyset\emptyset$ _{Cl.III} - \emptyset _{Cl.II}	SYLL-TO-TONE	ALIGN(L, HL, PRWD)	DEP-IO(H)	DEP-IO(L)
a. HH- $\emptyset\emptyset$ - \emptyset	***!	*****!		
☞ b. HH-LL-L		*		***
c. HH-LL-H		*	**!	**
d. HH-HL-L		**!	*	**
e. HH-LH-L		***!	*	**

We now present an analysis of the nominal tone system, which applies to nouns and to verbs inflected with suffixes that were likely originally nominalizers (i.e. the Class III inflectional suffixes). The description given above indicates that the nominal tone system is essentially identical to the verbal one, with the crucial exception that only the leftmost morpheme retains its underlying tonal specification. All morphemes to the right of the leftmost morpheme behave like Class III suffixes, which we have analyzed above as having no underlying tonal specification (i.e. \emptyset tonal specification). As discussed above, there is good reason to believe that some of the morphemes that behave as if they were underlyingly \emptyset -toned have in fact undergone tonal ‘erasure’, since when they are not the non-leftmost element of either nouns (deverbal or otherwise) or verbs inflected with Class III suffixes, they in behave as if they bear underlying H or L tone.

The principal analytical issue is thus how to handle tonal erasure in the nominal tone system. Significantly, the tonal erasure process does not appear to be motivated by a tonal shape target. Given that the tonal shapes that can surface in the nominal system are fairly restricted, as in (??), one might suppose that a tonal target does indeed play a role. For example, all three possible shapes in (??) involve one and only one HL sequence, rendering this target a plausible one, especially since this target does play a role in H assignment. However, this tonal target explanation would predict the unattested form in (??).

- (27) a. HH-LL...
 b. HL-LL...
 c. LL-HL...

- (28) *HH-HH-L...

Another possibility might be words participating in the nominal tonal system are subject to a form of OCP that erases underlying non- \emptyset tones on morphemes to the right of the leftmost morpheme

whenever the leftmost morpheme bears an underlying non- \emptyset tone (i.e. underlying H or L). However, this would predict that tonal erasure would not occur in cases where the leftmost morpheme is $\emptyset(\emptyset)$. This is not the case, however: tonal erasure occurs in nouns regardless of the tonal pattern of the leftmost morpheme.

We are left, then, with the account of tonal erasure we began with: underlying H or L tones are simply erased on all morphemes but the leftmost morpheme in words participating in nominal tonal system. Note that this erasure must occur in such a way as to guarantee that H is assigned to the morpheme immediately to the right of any LL morphemes in leftmost position (i.e. that H is assigned immediately after LL). In terms of the derivational analysis we advance above, this would mean that tonal erasure must take prior to the assignment of H.

Other than this one stipulation, however, nominal tone functions identically to verbal tone.

4 Summary

Let us now summarize our analysis. Máíhǎ̀kì exhibits three underlying tones: H, L, and \emptyset . Only the first syllable of any given morpheme is specified for tone, yielding the following underlying tonal inventory for disyllabic morphemes: $H\emptyset$, $\emptyset\emptyset$, and $L\emptyset$; the underlying tonal inventory for monosyllabic morphemes is H and \emptyset – there are no monosyllabic underlyingly L morphemes.⁹ Non-root morphemes are of four kinds in terms of their underlying tone and tonal behavior: 1) H morphemes (Class I morphemes, in the description above); regular \emptyset or $\emptyset\emptyset$ morphemes (Class III); 3) \emptyset morphemes which behave like they form a single morpheme with their leftwards neighbor (Class II); and 4) the causative suffix, which exhibits idiosyncratic tonal behavior, as described above.

Underlying tones spread from the left edge of the morpheme in which they appear to the right edge, but do not spread any further. The significant exception to this generalization are Class II suffixes (a limited set of verbal inflectional suffixes), which behave tonally as if they form a single morpheme with their neighbors to their left, and therefore receive tone spreading from an underlying H or L morpheme immediately to their left.

Most non-root morphemes (and some root morphemes) in Máíhǎ̀kì are not underlyingly specified for tone, but all syllables bear a surface tone. These surface tones are assigned in accord with two competing principles: 1) a (violable) requirement that Máíhǎ̀kì verbs exhibit an HL tonal sequence aligned as close as possible to the left edge of the word; and 2) a default process of tone assignment that assigns a surface L tone to any syllable unspecified for tone. The first requirement drives the assignment of surface H to underlying \emptyset syllables, in conjunction with the default principle of L assignment, in order to create HL sequences. Note that the requirement that verbs exhibit an left-aligned HL sequence is not so strong that underlying H or L tones, or surface H or L tones that are a consequence of spreading from underlying H or L tones, are deleted in order to yield either an HL sequence or a completely left-aligned HL sequence. It is also the case that surface H is not assigned in cases in which it would fail to yield a surface HL sequence, such as $L\emptyset\text{-}\emptyset \rightarrow *LL\text{-}H$, which instead surfaces as LL-L.

Tone assignment can thus be described in quasi-derivational terms as follows. First, any underlying H or L tones spread from the right edge of the morpheme to the left edge of the morpheme and stops spreading there, unless a Class II morpheme appears immediately to the right of the morpheme in question, in which case the tone spreads to the right edge of the Class II morpheme. Next, H is assigned to the leftmost \emptyset syllable if doing so is necessary to subsequently permit the word to meet the left-aligned HL target shape discussed above. Finally, L is assigned to any remaining \emptyset syllables

⁹This is presumably an accidental fact that stems to the fact that Máíhǎ̀kì underlying L is due to the loss of /ʔ/ in intervocalic position (Farmer 2012), making it less likely that any synchronically monosyllabic morphemes exhibited a glottal stop, since they would historically have had to have been disyllabic in order to exhibit an intervocalic /ʔ/.

Although nominal tone patterns arise from the same principles as those that account for verbal tone, nouns differ from verbs in two significant ways: first there are no Class II nominal suffixes (i.e. suffixes that can accept a spreading H); and second, there exists a small set nominal prefixes, while there are no clear cases of verbal prefixes.

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Quantification in Maij+ki

Stephanie Farmer

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1 Introduction

This module will explore the various ways in which quantities are expressed in Máijiki. There are two main sections: one which deals with universal quantification (quantification over all members of a set) and one which deals with existential quantification (quantification over a portion of a set). There are three types of quantifiers in Máijiki: the verbal suffix *-sao*, the nominal suffix *-dea*, and a set of adverbial quantifiers *haye*, *beobese*, and *ía*.

2 Universal Quantification

2.1 *béóbese*

The adverb¹ *béóbese*² means 'every, all'. This word may appear before or after the noun over which it quantifies, as shown in (1) and (2), or it can appear when no noun is present, as in (3).

- (1) *béóbese* *ánumi* *sísí-sao-jéá-gí*
all papaya go.rotten-UNIV.QUANT-PERF.PL-3.PL.PAST

'Todas las papayas se han podrido.' (E.AMM.SJF.14Jun2012)

- (2) *ánumi* *béóbese* *sísí-sao-jéá-gí*
go.rotten-UNIV.QUANT-PERF.PL-3.PL.PAST

'Todas las papyas se han podrido.' (E.AMM.SJF.14Jun2012)

- (3) *béóbese* *bibi-yi*
all run-3.PL

'Todos están corriendo.' (E.AMM.SJF.14Jun2012)

2.2 *-sao*

The second way to express universal quantification in Máijiki is with the verbal suffix *-sao*, which exhaustively identifies either the subject or the object of the verb. When a verb is intransitive and has a plural subject, *-sao* may exhaustively identify the subject of that verb, as is shown in (4) below:

1 I am calling this word an adverb because it can take neither nominal nor verbal inflectional morphology, because its position in the sentence is variable, and because it cannot appear when an inflected verb is not present.

2 This word seems to be related to the prefix *beo-*, which indicates that something is empty (e.g. *beowe* 'empty house' and *beodadi* 'empty place', as well as to the verb *beoh#*, 'be absent').

- (4) béóbese ákwé-sao-bi ánu-bi
all eat.fruit-1.PL.PAST papaya-SING

'Todos han comido la papaya.' (E.LTM.SJF.18Jun2012)

-sao may quantify over a singular subject as well. This yields the interpretation that the *whole* subject (rather than a part of the subject) is affected, as in (5):

- (5) we ú-sao-jó-gi
house burn-UNIV.QUANT-PERF-3.SG.PAST.NEUT

'Toda la casa se ha quemado.' (E.AMM.SJF.16Jun2012)

When a sentence has a transitive verb, *-sao* may exhaustively identify either the subject of that verb, the object of that verb, or both the subject and the object of that verb. An example of such a case and its three interpretations is shown in (6) below:

- (6) yíkí-huna ókó béóbese jáñu-sao-bi
we-PL water all pour-UNIV.QUANT-1.PL.PAST

'Hemos botado todo el agua'/'Todos hemos botado el agua'/'Todos hemos botado todo el agua'
(E.LTM.SJF.18Jun2012)

These types of distinctions are exceedingly difficult to tease apart in elicitation sessions. The 'default' interpretation (i.e., the one that the consultant provided first when presented with the sentence in Májíiki) for sentences of this type seemed to be the interpretation with the exhaustively identified subject.

-sao may cooccur with *béóbese*, but it seems that either *-sao* or *béóbese* is optional in a given sentence for the purpose of expressing universal quantification. Examples are shown below in (7) and (8).

- (7) yi we béóbese yúa-sao-bi
I house all sweep-UNIV.QUANT-1.SG.PAST

'He barrido la casa entera.' (E.LTM.SJF.18Jun2012)

- (8) yi we yúa-sao-bi
I house sweep-UNIV.QUANT-1.SG.PAST

'He barrido la casa entera'/'He terminado de barrer la casa.' (E.LTM.SJF.18Jun2012)

2.3 *-má-sao*

When the negative suffix directly precedes *-sao*, it yields the interpretation that *none* of the members of a set has a given property, as is shown in (9):

- (9) yía-ma hói-má-sao-gi

egg-PL break-NEG-UNIV.QUANT-3.SG.NEUT

'Ninguno de los huevos se ha roto.' (Todos los huevos no se han roto.) (E.AMM.SJF.16Jun2012)

Note that in this case, 'all' (*-sao*) has scope over 'not' (*-má*). Note also that the singular suffix *-gi* is used despite the plural marker on the noun 'egg.'

The verb *béó-* may also be used to indicate that all members of a given set are not present or are nonexistent, as is shown in (10) below.

(10) mító béó-hí
 mosquito be.absent-3.SG.PRES.MASC

'There are no mosquitoes.' (E.LTM.SJF.18Jun2012)

Again, note that the verb is marked with the 3rd person singular suffix.

2.4 *-dea*

The suffix *-dea*, which appears exclusively on nouns, seems to be a distributive suffix. It means something like 'each' and obligatorily follows the plural suffix. Some examples are shown in (11) and (12) below.

(11) yíkí nómihuna-dea ha
 we women-UNIV.QUANT COP

'Cada uno de nosotras es mujer.' (E.LTM.SJF.18Jun2012)

(12) ítíhuna we-má-dea bá-sao-yi
 they house-PL-DISTR have-UNIV.QUANT-1.PL.PRES

'Cada uno tiene su propia casa.' (E.AMM.SJF.19Jun2012)

Note that in (12) the person marking on the verb is plural.

3 **Existential Quantification**

Existential quantifiers quantify over at least one member of a given set. Examples in English include 'some', 'not all', 'many', 'few', 'two', etc. In Máijiki, existential quantification may be expressed with *-sao* plus the negative suffix *-má* (in this order) or with an adverbial quantifier.

3.1 *-sao-má*

To express the idea about *some* but not *all* of a set, the universal quantifier *-sao* may be followed by the negative marker *-má*, as in (13) and (14) below:

(13) yía-ma béóbese hóni-sao-má-gí
 egg-PL all break-UNIV.QUANT-NEG-3.PL.PAST (E.AMM.SJF.17Jun2012)

'No todos de los huevos se han roto' (i.e., algunos no están rotos)

- (14) sání-sao-má-bí
go-UNIV.QUANT-NEG-1.PL.PAST (E.AMM.SJF.17Jun2012)

'No todos se han ido' (i.e., algunos se han quedado)

In these cases, 'not' (-*má*) has scope over 'all' (-*sao*). Note that in examples (13) the verb takes the singular past tense suffix, while in example (14) the verb takes the plural past tense suffix. According to AMM, both suffixes are possible in this construction.

3.2 Adverbs

The adverb *jáyé* ~ *jái* means 'many' and typically occurs before the verb.

- (15) míté jáyé huhe-hí
mosquito many bite-3SG.MASC

'Hartos zancudos me están picando.'

- (16) ókó jáyé báí-hí
water much exist-3SG.NEUT

'Hay harto agua' (E.LMM.SJF.13Jun2012)

- (17) ðiri-ná-dea jáyé mání-héá-bí
fly-PL-DISTR many kill-PERF-1SG.PAST

'He muerto a varias manta blanca' (E.AMM.SJF.19Jun2012)

The adverb *núi* 'to a great extent' may also be placed before the verb *bái-* to indicate a large quantity, as in (18):

- (18) míté núí báí-hí

'Hay hartos zancudos'

ía ~ *íahaye* is an adverbial quantifier meaning 'few' and has the same syntactic behavior as *haye*.

- (19) míté ía báí-hí
mosquito few exist-3.SG.MASC

'Pocos zancudos hay' (E.LTM.SJF.18Jun2012)

- (20) míté íahaye báí-hí
mosquito few exist-3.SG.MASC

'Pocos zancudos hay' (E.LTM.SJF.18Jun2012)

Another way to express that few (not many) things exist is to negate the existential verb and use the adverb *núí*, as is shown in (21) below:

- (21) míté núí báí-má-hí
mosquito very be-NEG

'No hay hartos zancudos.' (E.LMM.SJF.13Jun2012)

- (22) míté dei béó-hí
mosquito ? not.exist-3SG.MASC

'Casi no hay zancudos.' (E.LMM.SJF.13Jun2012)

The noun *íaso*, 'a small quantity' can be used with other verbs to indicate a small number of subjects or objects, as in (23) and (24) below:

- (23) ía-so díri-na mání-héá-bí
small-quantity fly-PL kill-PERF-1SG.PAST

'He muerto a pocos mosquitos.' (E.AMM.SJF.19Jun2012)

- (24) ía-so díri-na húhé-yí
small-quantity fly-PL bite.PL-3.PL.PRES

'Pocos mosquitos me están picando.' (E.AMM.SJF.19Jun2012)

Argument Sharing in Máíjìkì Serial Verb Constructions

Stephanie Farmer

July 6, 2012

1 Introduction

Serial verb constructions are constructions that, in spite of consisting of at least two verb roots, are inflected as a single verb and are conceived of as a single event. As described in Farmer 2011, serial verb constructions (henceforth SVCs) in Máíjìkì may be divided into at least three semantically defined categories. The first category is the ‘cause and effect’ construction, in which a verb root describes the direct and immediate consequence of the verb root that precedes it. The second is the ‘learn to’ SVC, in which the first verb is the learned action and the second is the verb *yétéyí* ‘learn’. The third (and least productive) type of SVC involves a posture verb plus the verb *yábéyí* ‘rest’.

This module will explore the argument structure of SVCs in Máíjìkì, and will focus on ‘cause and effect’ SVCs, whose components may be most easily ‘stacked’ (i.e., it is possible to get three or more consecutive verb roots). We will see that the component verbs of SVCs must share a subject, must share an object when an object is present, and may not mix subjects and objects (i.e., the subject of one component verb may not be the object of the other). We will see that the component verbs of SVCs need not match in transitivity.

2 Intransitive SVCs

SVCs in Máíjìkì must share a subject. When all component verbs of a SVC are intransitive, the resulting construction is intransitive and the subject is shared by the component verbs. The final verb root in the construction is inflected for person, number, and tense. Note that because SVCs express a single coherent action, the component verbs are necessarily marked for the same tense. Note also that this is different from *simultaneous* actions, which are separate events that occur at the same time and which require clause-linking subordinating morphology. In example (1), we see a SVC whose components share the argument *yì*, ‘I’.

(1) *yì chìmàtáníjóbí.*

yì tání -chima -jó -bí.
I fall.down -slip -PERF -1.SING.PAST
‘Yo me resbalé y me caí.’ (E.LTM.SJF.2jul2012)

In (2), we see another example of two intransitive verb roots (‘be deep’ and ‘be sick’) in an intransitive SVC.

(2) *mítè kíòrò nùnìjúníjógí.*

mítè kíò -rò nùnì -júní -jó -gí.
zancudo metal -CL:pot -be.deep -be.sick -PERF -3.MASC.PAST
‘El zancudo se ha ahogado en la olla.’ (E.LTM.SJF.2jul2012)

3 Intransitive-Transitive SVCs

The component verbs of SVCs may differ in transitivity as long as there is only one object and the subject is shared by all component verbs. In example (3), the first verb, ‘fall,’ is intransitive while the second verb, ‘hurt,’ is transitive.

- (3) *yìrè kábì tóméyétójóǵí.*

yì -rè ká -bì tómé -yétó -jó -ǵí.
 I ACC branch -CL:? fall -injure.TR -PERF -3.MASC.PAST
 ‘The branch fell and hurt me.’ (E.LTM.SJF.2jul2012)

In (4), we see another example of an intransitive verb followed by a transitive verb.

- (4) *wè báichìkò tómókò jíjǐre tóméméábí*

wè báí -chi -ko tómé -ko jíjǐ -rè tómé -méá
 casa estar -REL.PAST -NOM.FEM caer SIMUL.FEM -araña -ACC caer -matar
 -bí.
 -1SG.PAST.
 ‘Cayendo de la casa, le he aplastado a la araña.’

Note that in this case the verb *tome-* is repeated. First, it is used in a simultaneous clause-linking construction to ‘set the scene’ (‘when I fell from the house...’). Later it is repeated in the SVC (‘I fell and smashed the spider’).

Example (5) shows another example of an intransitive verb followed by a transitive verb.

- (5) *tóá yìrè tííúóǵí*

tóá yì -rè tíí -úó -ǵí.
 candela yo -ACC arder -quemar -3.SG.PAST
 ‘Cuando estaba ardiendo la candela, me quemó’

Note that the subjects of these verbs must be shared. When I tried to elicit intransitive-transitive SVCs with different subjects (e.g., ‘I fell and the stick stabbed me’), they were produced with a single subject and a voice alternation in one of the verbs (‘I fell on the stick and got stabbed’). See example (6). If separate subjects are expressed, a simultaneous clause-linking construction must be used.

- (6) *yì tíká bì tóméjúníjóbí*

yì tíká -bì tómé -júní -jó -bí.
 yo palo -CL caer -sartar -PERF -1.SG.PAST
 ‘Yo me caí y me he sartado en el palo.’

4 Transitive-Intransitive SVCs

It is also possible for the first verb in a SVC to be transitive while the second is intransitive. Examples are shown in (7) and (8):

- (7) *yì gono úkúbébéyí.*

yì gono úkú -bébé -yí.
 yo masato tomar -estar.borracho -1.SG.PRES
 ‘Estoy borracho de tomar masato.’ (E.LMM.SJF.6jul2012)

(8) yì jííjìre nágùchìmàjóbí.

yì jííjì -re nágù -chìmà -jò -bí.
 yo araña -ACC pisar -resbalar -PERF -1.SG.PAST
 ‘Yo he pisado una araña y me resbalé.’ (E.LMM.SJF.6jul2012)

5 Transitive-Transitive SVCs

Two or more transitive verb roots may form a SVC as long as they share a subject and an object. Some examples of this construction are shown in (9) and (10) below.

(9) yì Arvinrè náítàòjóbí.

yì Arvin -rè náí -táò -jò -bí.
 yo Arvin -ACC jalar -hacer.caer -PERF -1.SG.PAST
 ‘Yo le he hice caer a Arvin jalandole.’ (E.LTM.SJF.2jul2012)

(10) yì tíkábì dérótíyóbí.

yì tíká -bì déró -tíyó -bí.
 yo palo -CL torcer -quebrar -1.SG.PAST
 ‘He quebrado el palito por torcerlo.’ (E.LTM.SJF.2jul2012)

It is possible to stack more than two transitive verb roots as long as they share a subject and object, as in (11) below:

(11) yì yáíjòyìrè títàòjóbí.

yì yáíjòyì -rè títàò -táò -jò -bí.
 yo perro -ACC golpear -hacer.caer -PERF -1.SG.PAST
 ‘Yo he golpeado al perro, le hice caer, y le he lastimado.’ (E.LMM.SJF.6jul2012)

6 Discussion

The component verbs of SVCs in Májìkì may be either transitive or intransitive. The component verbs must *always* share a subject. There may only be one object present (i.e., if all roots in the SVC are transitive, they must share a single object). Component verbs of SVCs needn’t share an object only in the sense that one of the component verbs may be intransitive while others are transitive. Because of the restrictions on subject and object sharing, sentences of the type ‘I hit him and he fell’ (in which there are two subjects); ‘I pushed the pot and [in doing so I] knocked over the book’ (in which there are two objects); and ‘She kicked the dog and it bit the child’ (in which there are two subjects and two objects) are not expressed with SVCs. These are expressed instead with simultaneous or sequential clause-linking constructions. In some cases, a voice alternation in one of the verb roots is enough to remedy a subject mismatch.

I have encountered no examples of SVCs of ‘alternating transitivity’ (e.g. transitive, intransitive, transitive). Verbs of the same transitivity seem to cluster together, so that ‘I slipped and fell and

spilled the pot' is likelier than 'I slipped and spilled the pot and fell'. Perhaps there is something about alternations in transitivity that cause these types of sequences to be conceived of as separate events.

I have not been able to elicit ditransitive verbs as part of SVCs, probably because the limited number of ditransitive verbs that we have encountered do not fit neatly into the 'cause and effect' paradigm. Causative constructions with *goño* are possible but rare, and seem only to occur when the causee is animate. An example of such a construction is shown in (12) below:

(12) *yì írè nágùchìmàgóñòbì.*

yì í -rè nágù -chìmà -góñò -bì.
yo él -ACC pisar -resbalar -CAUS -1.SG.PAST
'Yo le he hecho resbalar .' (E.AMM.SJF.jul2011)

Note that the causative suffix is rare in these constructions due to the high frequency of verb roots with voice alternations that participate in this type of SVC.

-jə

Stephanie Farmer

July 12, 2012

1 Introduction

The suffix *-jə* in Maijiki has two idiolectal variants *-jɛ̃* (NMM, JMM) and *-jɹ* (HM) and one allomorph *-jea* that surfaces when a plural subject is present. This module will explore the semantics of this suffix, and '*-jə*' will be used throughout refer to any of its variants. I will propose that *-jə* suffixes to verbs with 1-state lexical contents to create verbs with 2-state lexical contents, and that the various possible relationships between the Time of Utterance and the Situation Time of the Source State of a verb suffixed with *-jə* provide information about whether the target state has been reached.

2 Framework

Although I will argue in this module that *-jə* is not strictly speaking an aspect marker in Maijiki, it will be useful to describe its semantic properties in terms of Wolfgang Klein's framework of tense and aspect as outlined in his *Time and Language* (1994). Important terms from this framework are defined in below.

2.1 Terminology

- **Lexical Content (LC):** the situation or events of the clause without temporal information.
- **Topic Time (TT):** “the time for which, on some occasion, an assertion is made” (81). TT is represented with brackets in Klein's (and my) diagrams.
- **Situation Time (TSit):** the time for which the situation described by the lexical content holds
- **Time of Utterance (TU):** the time at which the utterance is uttered

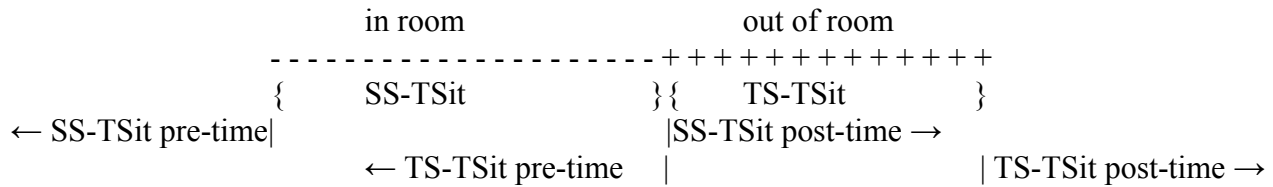
According to Klein, aspect situates TT with respect to TSit, whereas tense situates TT with respect to TU. We shall see that in the case of *-jə* (and possibly all other finite verbs in the language), TT and TSit are indistinguishable, and that *-jə* can thus not properly be called an aspect marker. Rather, it changes the lexical content of a verb to include two states.

2.2 0-, 1- and 2-state verbs

Klein distinguishes between three types of verb in his framework of aspect. The first is the 0-state verb, for which it is not possible to get an aspectual reading (e.g. 'was' in 'The pen was red'). The second is the 1-state verb, which, in contrast to the 0-state verb, has a pre- and post-time; that is, times before and after the TSit of the verb. An example would be 'Steve ran.' One can imagine, for instance, a topic time in the post-time of the running event ('Steve had/has/will have run') or in the pre-time of the running event ('Steve was/is/will be going to run'). The third type of verb is the 2-state verb, which has a source state and a target state. Each of these states has an associated TSit, which are called the SS-TSit and the TS-TSit. Klein provides as an example the 2-state verb 'leave' (in the sense of 'exit'). The lexical

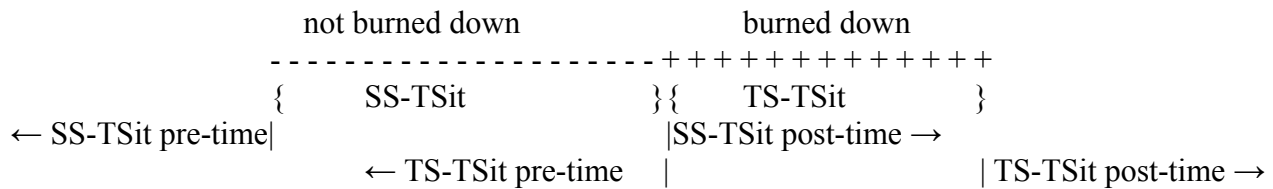
content [he leave the room] is diagrammed below in (1). Note that the first state (in which he is *in* the room) is represented with dashes, while the second state (in which he is *out* of the room) is represented with pluses.

(1) [he leave the room]



In example (2), the lexical content of [the house burn down] is diagrammed.

(2) [the house burn down]



In English, tense and aspect may be expressed for these lexical contents with the addition of a TT and a TU. In English 2-state verbs, the aspect of the verb is determined via the linking of the SS-TSit with a topic time. The position of the TT with respect to the TU will determine the tense.

3 The Function of -jɔ

In Maijk+ki, when -jɔ is suffixed to a 1-state verb, the lexical content of that verb changes to have two states. The difference that -jɔ makes is similar to the difference between the 1-state version of the verb 'burn' and the 2-state 'burn down' in English. Some examples of verbs with and without -jɔ are shown

(3):

- (3) a. we ú-gí
house burn.INTR-3.SG.PAST
- 'La casa quem'o [un pedazo]'
'The house burned [some]'
- b. we ú-jɔ-gí
house burn-INTR-2.STATE-3.SG.PAST
- 'Se quemó la casa [ya no hay]'
'The house burned down'

I propose that the distinction between these is a distinction in the number of states contained the verb's lexical content. This distinction is diagrammed below in (4).

(4)

a. LC: [we ú-]

 { TSit }

b. LC: [we ú-jǫ]

-----++++++
 { SS-TSit } { TS-TSit }

Evidence for this interpretation of the function of *-jǫ* comes from the effect that the suffix has on non-telic verbs, or verbs that do not prototypically have an associated resultant state. *-jǫ* is most often suffixed to 1-state 'verbs of depletion'; that is, verbs like 'burn' and 'melt' which are not telic in the sense that they do not have a natural endpoint (a house can burn and then keep burning) but that must, by the laws of the universe, not be able to continue indefinitely because they are progressing toward some other state. When *-jǫ* is suffixed to other activity verbs, such as 'run' or 'swim', which normally do *not* suggest progression toward another state, it forces the interpretation that another state has been or will be reached as a result of the action. An example of this is in (5) below:

(5) yi bībi-jǫ-bí
 I run-2.state-1.SG.PAST
 'I ran away [never to return]'

In (5), the verb 'run' becomes similar to the English 2-state verb 'leave' in example (1); that is, there is a SS-TSit in which I am wherever I started and a TS-TSit in which I am where I ended up. Note that the 'never to return' interpretation is probably an implicature; with verbs for which alternating between states is less pragmatically unusual (e.g. 'open' and 'close'), the sense of 'forever' is lost. This suggests that the second state (TS-TSit) is not coextensive with the post-time of SS-TSit, although for many verbs (e.g. *ú-jǫ* 'burn down'), it is likely to endure forever in the post-time.

The example in (6) shows the contrast between the 1-state verb *bi-* 'rise [in water level]' and its 2-state counterpart *mini-jǫ-* 'fill up'. Note that according to LTM, *bi-* may be used for either a water vessel such as a cup or pot *or* for a river, but *mini-jǫ-* may only be used for a vessel. Presumably this restriction against using a 2-state verb for bodies of water comes from the fact that there is no natural endpoint to the rising of a river; there's no point at which the river is 'full' in the sense that a vessel may be full.¹

(6)

a. yía-ya bi-gí
 river-CL:river llenar-3.SG.PAST

1 LTM mentioned, however, that it might be possible to use *mini-jo-* for rivers when you've been waiting for a river to rise enough for you to be able to go on a trip.

'La quebrada ha crecido.'

b. 'yía-ya bi-gí'

TU

{ TSit }

c. né-ogu míní-jó-gí
thing-CL:container llenar-2.STATE-3.SG.PAST

'El vaso se ha llenado'

d. 'né-ogu míní-jó-gí'

TU

-----++++
{ SS-TSit } { TS-TSit }

4 Aspect and -jə

In English, the aspect of a 2-state verb may be determined by the position of the TT with respect to the SS-TSit. For instance, if the TT (represented with brackets) is entirely after the SS-TSit, the aspect will be perfect, as is shown in (7) below:

(7) 'The house will have burned down'

TU

-----++ [+++]+++
{ SS-TSit } { TS-TSit }

In Maij+ki, by contrast, there appears to be no way to divorce the TT of a finite verb from the TSit of that verb. In the case of 1-state verbs, this means that the verb may have a variety of aspectual readings, as is shown in (8) below:

(8) bíbi-bí
'corrí' / 'he corrido' / 'estaba corriendo'

In these cases, tense is simply placed relative to the TSit. If the sentence is uttered in the pre-time of the verb, the verb will be inflected with the future tense. If the sentence is uttered during the TSit of the verb, the verb will be inflected with the present tense. If the sentence is uttered during the post-time of the verb, the verb will be inflected for the past tense.

In the case of 2-state verbs, the SS-TSit is relevant for tense marking and for determining whether the second state has been entered. If the TU is before SS-TSit, the verb will be marked for future tense, and the interpretation is that neither state has yet been reached (but both will be reached).

An example is shown in (9) below:

(9)

- a. áni-míní-jò-yí
eat-fill-2.state-1.SG.FUT

'Voy a comer hasta llenarme'
- b. TU

-----+++++++
{SS-TSit }{TS-TSit }

If the TU is during the SS-TSit, the verb will be marked for future tense, and the interpretation is that the action of the SS is current and the TS-TSit will eventually be reached. An example is shown in (10) below:

(10)

- a. áni-míní-jò-yí
eat-fill-2.state-1.SG.FUT

'Estoy comiendo para llenarme'
- b. TU

-----+++++++
{SS-TSit }{TS-TSit }

Note that in example (10), the implication is that you are *almost* full. An equivalent sentence in English might be 'I'm filling up with food,' which in theory could be uttered at any point during the process of 'eating to fullness,' but will most likely be uttered when the fullness is in sight.

If the TU is after the SS-TSit (that is, either during the TS-TSit or in its post-time), the verb will be marked with past tense and the interpretation will be that the TS has been reached. An example of this is shown in (11) below:

(11)

- a. áni-míní-jò-bí
eat-fill-2.state-1SG.PAST

'He comido hasta llenarme'
- b. TU or TU

-----+++++++
{SS-TSit }{TS-TSit }

Note that in this example, TU may occur at any point during the post-time of SS-TS_{it}. It does not matter whether it occurs during or after the TS-TS_{it}.

As was mentioned above in section 2, tense is defined by Klein as the linking up of a TT with a TU. The problem with this definition in the case of Maij+ki is that TT seems to be indistinguishable from TS_{it}. In this sense, the tense of the verb is determined via the relationship between TU and SS-TS_{it}.

1 Introduction

This module will discuss the expression of time in Máíjiki. It will claim that tense (i.e., the linking up of topic times (TTs) and times of utterance (TUs) is the principle method of expressing temporal relations, and that aspect (i.e., the linking up of topic times (TTs) and situation times (TSits) is, insofar as Klein describes it, not marked in the language. The module will also explore the various ways in which Máíjiki expresses temporal relations that are commonly expressed in other languages with aspect marking.

This module will posit that aspect compares two points in time that are not the TU and makes a claim about how one of these times (Klein's TT) is situated with respect to the other (Klein's TSit). In languages such as English, a second non-TU time may be referenced within a single clause, yielding an aspectual interpretation. In Máíjiki, a second non-TU time cannot be added to a single clause. Rather, a single Máíjiki clause is a comparison of two times: the time for which the event described by the verb holds, and the time at which the clause is uttered. This means that Máíjiki only has tense clause-internally, but can express relationships between multiple non-TU times in multi-clausal constructions. Máíjiki, I will claim, also makes use of what I call 'possible situation times' in order to situate the TSit of a verb within a single clause.

2 Tense in Máíjiki

In Máíjiki, tense is expressed on every finite verb with a tense-marking suffix¹. Time is divided into three categories: past (prior to TU), present (concurrent with or slightly after TU) and future (after TU). Note that, as shown below, these verbs may have various aspectual interpretations. Below in (1) is the verb *abi-* 'bathe' inflected for each tense with possible aspectual interpretations.

(1)

- a. yi ábí-bì
 I bathe-1SG.PAST

'I ran', 'I was running'

- b. yi ábí-yi
 I bathe-1SG.PRES

'I am running', 'I'm going to run'

- c. yi ábí-yi
 I bathe-1SG.FUT

1 The verbal tense-marking paradigm is outlined in Lev's module 4.

'I will run', 'I will be running'

Because no Topic Time (TT) is marked in (1), diagrams for these sentences might look as follows in (2).

(2)

a. yi ábí-bí

TU

{ TSit }

b. yi ábí-yi

TU

{ TSit }

c. yi ábí-yi

TU

{ TSit }

A potential problem with these diagrams is that they make inferences about the duration of the TSit—information that is not encoded in the tense suffixes. It is possible, for instance, that in (2a) the TSit continued past the TU. LTM gave several possible interpretations for the following sentence in (3):

(3) yía-ya bi-kì
river-CL:river rise-3SG.PAST

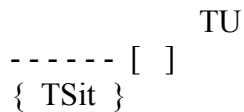
'The river rose [and stopped/and is now falling]' / 'The river rose [and is still rising]'

'The river rose' does not exclude the possibility that it will continue to rise, nor that it has stopped rising. These types of distinctions are precisely what languages like English use aspectual marking for. The next section will deal with how Májìkì differentiates these senses.

3 Relating non-TU times

In English, aspect is marked by the linking of a TT and a TSit, as is shown in example of perfect aspect in (4):

(4) 'I had run'



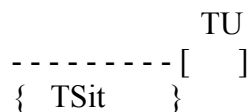
In (4) there is a single finite verb and a single event: the running. But English has a mechanism for introducing a second non-TU time into the clause for comparison with the TSit. It is this time that serves as a topic: it's the time about which some claim is being made. The claim, in this case, is that running occurred prior to that point in time. The sentence is in some sense *about* that point in time, rather than about running. That point in time is the topic. In Májiki, a second non-TU time cannot be referenced in a single clause to serve as the topic. For these types of comparisons, clause-combining strategies and comparisons of TSits with possible TSits are used.

3.1 Relating TSits and Possible TSits

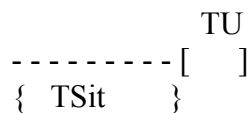
The words 'already,' 'yet,' 'still,' 'now,' and 'later' in English provide more precise information about when a situation occurs. The words *doe*, *chia*, *chiata*, *hana* and *hete* in Májiki perform more or less the same function. But what is the nature of this 'more precise information'? In other words, what is the difference between 'I have eaten' and 'I have already eaten' in English, and between *yi sáiyí* and *yi doe sáiyí* in Májiki? I propose that time adverbials like 'already,' 'still,' 'not yet,' 'now,' and 'later' relate TSits to *possible* or *expected* TSits (PTSits). In the case of 'I have eaten', the assertion is that as of right now (TT), eating has taken place. 'I have already eaten' asserts that the eating has taken place prior to the TT (right now) *as opposed to at some other time* (e.g., during or after the TT). A diagrammed example of this distinction in English is shown in (5) below. '~' indicates an expected (irrealis) situation time.

(X)

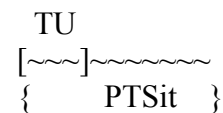
a. 'I have eaten'



b. 'I have already eaten'



in contrast to



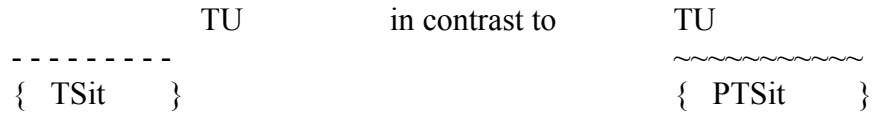
In Májiki, there are various adverbial elements that perform the function of relating an actual TSit to a possible TSit. These elements serve a function similar to aspectual markers in that they situate a TSit with respect to some other time.

3.1.1 Doe

Doe indicates that the actual TSit is before an expected PTSit, as in (6) below:

- (6) yi doe á-jì
 I already eat-1SG.PAST

'I [already] ate'



Note that the English translation 'already' is not quite correct, or at least not always correct. It seems that in English, 'already' indicates that a TSit occurred prior to when it was expected to occur, while in Májìkì the sense of 'expectation' is less strong. Rather, it seems that in Májìkì, the relationship between the actual TSit and the TU is in contrastive focus with another possible relationship (that of the PTSit and the TU).

Note also that this construction seems to be used to imply strongly that the situation time was *over* prior to the TU (in which sense it is a mechanism by which Májìkì expresses something similar to perfect aspect), but that this implicature can be canceled. Just as in English it is possible to say 'I already ate, but I'm still going to eat more,' it is possible in Májìkì to say sentences like (7) below:

- (7) yikì doe tóyá-kìà-huna bá-hì hana tea chia kía-yi
 we already write-say-PL be-3PL.PAST now also still say-1PL.PRES

'We used to be teachers, and we still are'

In these cases, the adverb *chia* 'still' must be used to indicate that the real TSit is different from the expected PTSit (implied by *doe* in the first sentence).

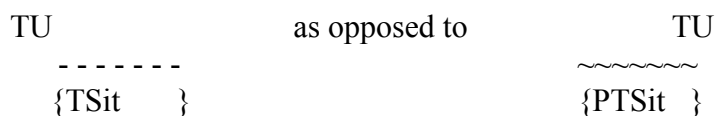
It is infelicitous to use *doe* with time adverbials that specify past tense, such as *ñamina* 'yesterday.' My best guess as to why this is the case is that these adverbs supply redundant information about the temporal opposition that is being focused. In English 'Yesterday I already ate' is similarly infelicitous, possibly because it means something like 'Yesterday I ate and it wasn't in the future'.

3.1.2 *Jete*

Jete, 'later,' emphasizes that the real TSit is after a PTSit.

- (8) jete sá-chi
 later go-1SG.FUT

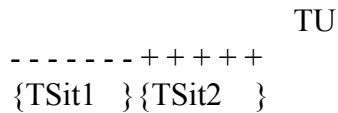
'I'm going later'



Note that when some other TSit has been established, perhaps in a previous sentence or clause, *hete* can be used to indicate that a TSit occurred at some point after the previously established TSit.

- (9) ábí-re jete biya-bì
 bathe-SEQ later swim-1SG.PAST

'Después de bañar he nadado'



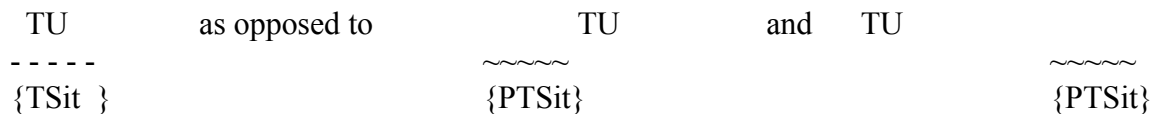
In this sense, *hete* is not linked in any way to TU in the way that time adverbials like *ñamina* and *ñatase* are. It can appear in any place relative to TU and it only indicates the relationship between non-TU times (TSits and PTSits or TSits and established TSits).

3.1.3 *Jana*

Hana, 'today,' 'now' is used in Májiki to emphasize that the real TSit is in opposition to an earlier *and* a later PTSit. An example of this is shown in (10) below.

- (10) jana yi tóyá-yí
 now I write

'I'm writing now' / 'I'm going to write now'



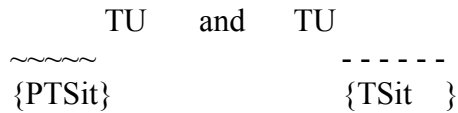
It is possible to emphasize which of the two PTSits *jana* is in opposition to by combining it with either *doe* or *jete*. *Jana jete* means 'and now...' (i.e., in opposition to some previous time) whereas *jana doe* means 'right now' (as opposed to later).

3.1.4 *Chia*

Chia, 'yet,' always appears with a negated verb. It indicates that the situation of the verb has *not* occurred, contrary to some expectation that it should already have occurred. In this case, the negated verb has an irrealis TSit (a PTSit) and there is a strong implication that the actual TSit of the verb will take place after the TU. An example is shown below in (11).

- (11) chia abí-má-bí
 yet bathe-NEG-1SG.PAST

'Todavía no he bañado'

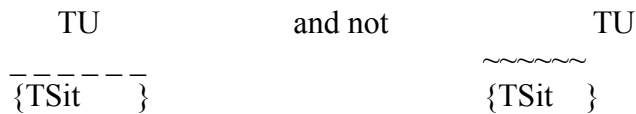


3.1.5 *Chiata*

Chiata, 'still,' is used with non-negated verbs to indicate that the TSit of the verb continues past its previously expected endpoint.

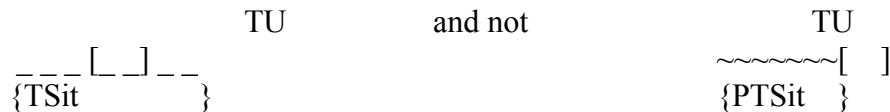
- (12) yi chiata ábí-yí
 I still bathe-1SG.PRES

'Todavía estoy bañado'



Note that LTM says it that *chiata* cannot be used with a verb in the past tense. This is presumably because a separate topic time in the past would have to be established in order for the comparison to be made between that time and the time of bathing. Májǐki lacks a mechanism for this within a single clause, but it is possible in English, as is shown in (13) below:

- (13) 'I was still bathing'



3.1.5 *Jwe*

Doe, jete, jana, chia and *chiata* are used to relate actual TSits to PTSits. So far, we have only seen sequential relations between TSits and PTSits. It is also possible in Májǐki to express that a situation and a possible situation are simultaneous. *Jwe* expresses the sense that something *might* be the case; that the situation and the negated situation are both possibilities at a given time, but that there is insufficient information to determine which is the actual situation. Another way of saying this is that *jwe* is used when a situation's TSit and a possible situation's TSit overlap. Note that this adverb (as far as I have found) is only used in questions and with complements of the verb *gwasayi* 'think.' This is presumably because there is a prohibition on asserting something and its opposite simultaneously. An example of *jwe* is shown in (14) below.

- (14) í jwe ábí-gì?
 he maybe bathe-3SG.PAST.Q

'No sé si el ha bañado'

----- TU
 or
~~~~~ TU

When the present tense is used with *jwe* there is a habitual reading, as is shown in (15) below:

(15) *ío jwe kwakoko?*  
      She maybe cook

'Cocina ella?' (not 'Está cocinando ella?')

-----  
~~~~~

4 Summary

Aspect, as Klein describes it, is a relationship between a TT and a TSit. In *Máijiki* a TT cannot be established within a single clause, and therefore we can say that *Máijiki* lacks aspect in the Kleinian sense. *Máijiki* does, however, have ways of linking TSits with other non-TU times. One of these strategies is linking the TSits of verbs inter-clausally. Another strategy is to link the TSit of a verb to PTSits. A more thorough investigation of 'inter-clausal aspect' as well as lexical aspect is needed.

Affix Ordering in Májiki Verbs

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August 2, 2012

1 Introduction

This module will discuss the order of verbal affixes in Májiki. I will argue that suffixes that appear closest to the Májiki verb have variable order determined by their semantic scope, and that affixes farthest from the verb root have a fixed order. The affixes whose relative order I have investigated are *-ma* ‘negative’; *-suba* ~ *-siba* ‘anterior participant’; *-tíi* ~ *tíni* ~ *títi* ~ *tí* ‘terminative’; *-sao* ‘universal quantification’; *-ñia* ‘frustrative of goal’; *-goño* ‘causative’; *-jə* ‘second state’; *-kai* ~ *-kani* ~ *kati* ~ *ka* ‘benefactive’; *-da* ‘frustrative of intent’; *-baima* ~ *-bai* ‘prohibitive’; *-ma* ‘imperative’; and a class of mutually exclusive inflectional tense-marking suffixes. In dealing with the way in which a language orders its affixes, the questions of ‘possible’ versus ‘preferred’ orders and ‘possible’ versus ‘processable’ orders often arise. I will note here that speakers of Májiki prefer *not* to stack affixes if they can avoid it, and that analytic constructions are often preferred in cases where an alternative would require more than one or two verbal suffixes. This dispreference for suffixation may be due to the fact that many Májiki suffixes retain a high degree of lexical content.

2 ‘Content’ Suffixes

A large class of verbal suffixes in Májiki do not have a fixed slot in an affix ordering template, but have variable order that is determined by semantic scope. These suffixes have in common that they appear, relative to the fixed-order affixes that will be discussed below in section 4, closer to the verb root; that they appear in many cases to be recently grammaticalized verb roots; that they are likelier to be disyllabic; that they are likelier to have inherent tone; and that they have, relative to fixed-order affixes, more ‘adverbial’ meanings (i.e., meanings that modify the internal event structure of the verb). To distinguish these suffixes from suffixes with fixed order, I will call them ‘content’ suffixes because they retain a high degree of lexical content. The suffixes that fall into this class are discussed individually in detail below.

2.1 -suba ~ -siba

The suffix *-suba* ~ *-siba* ~ *-sua* indicates that the subject of the verb was the first to do the action described by the verb. It has no inherent tone. Some examples of this suffix are shown below.

(1) yì bìbìsúbabì.

yì bìbì -súba -bì.
I run -ANT.PAR -1.SING.PAST
'Yo corrí primero.' (E.LTN.SJF.29jul2012)

(2) yì kwakosúbayi.

yì kwako -súba -yì.
I kwako -ANT.PAR -1.SING.FUT
'Voy a cocinar primero.' (E.LTN.SJF.29jul2012)

One speaker, RTT, allowed *suba* to be inflected as a finite verb in the construction shown below.

(3) yì bìbìre súbabì.

yì bìbì -re súbba -bì.
I run -SEQ be.first -1.SING.PAST
'He terminado de correr primero.'

Because the example in (3) involves a sequential construction, my guess is that the sentence in question means something like 'I came in first' or, more literally 'I ran and I was first.' I have not confirmed this with RTT. This sentence was produced when the consultant was asked to translate its gloss from the Spanish gloss provided above. Other consultants have rejected this construction.

For at least one consultant (LTN), *-suba* seems to force the interpretation that the verb has an endpoint; that is, in order for an act to be done first, it must be *completed* first. This has consequences for the semantic co-occurrence restrictions discussed below.

2.2 -ñia

The suffix *-ñia* is a frustrative suffix that indicates, as described in Skilton (2012), 'that the action of the verb did not lead to the speaker's expected result.' It was often translated by AMM and LMM as meaning 'en vano.' This suffix has no inherent tone. It is possible that *-ñia* has been grammaticalized from the verb 'see', *ñia-*. Evidence for this grammaticalization trajectory is the common serial verb construction verb X + *ñia-*, which means 'do X and see what happens' or 'try to do X.' Furthermore, *ñia-* may appear in subordinate constructions as a verb meaning 'hacer en vano.' Some examples of all three of these constructions are shown below.

(4) yì kwàkòñíàbì.

yì kwàkò -ñíà -bì.
I cook -FRUS.GOAL -1.SING.PAST

‘Yo he cocinado en vano [e.g. nadie ha venido para comer]’ or ‘Yo he cocinado pero no he terminado’ (E.AMM.SJF.1aug2012)

(5) yì ñíàkì kwàkòbì.

yì ñíà -kò kwàkò -bì.
I cook do.in.vain -1.SING.FEM.SIM cook -1.SING.PAST

‘He cocinado en vano.’ (E.AMM.SJF.1aug2012)

(6) yì ániñíàbì.

yì á -ni -ñíà -bì.
I eat do.in.vain -1.SING.FEM.SIM cook -1.SING.PAST

‘He cocinado en vano.’ (E.AMM.SJF.1aug2012)

2.3 -goño

The morphological causative, *-goño*, adjusts the valency of the verb root by adding a causee. This suffix has idiosyncratic tonal behavior (described in Michael(2012)), and in some cases has inherent (spreading) high tone. This suffix cannot appear in subordinate constructions as a root. An example of *-goño* is shown in (7) below.

(7) yì Békóre yúagóñóyí.

yì Békó -re yúa -góñó -yí.
I Kelsey -ACC -CAUS -1.SING.PRES

‘Yo estoy haciendole barrer a Kelsey.’ (E.LTN.SJF.29Jul2012)

2.4 -tíi ~ -tini ~ -titi ~ -tí

The terminative suffix *-tíi* indicates that the subject has stopped doing the action of the verb and does not plan to continue. This suffix has all of the allomorphs of a *-ni*-class verb and triggers the *-ni*-class verb past and future tense inflectional paradigm when no other suffix intervenes. Tonally, *-tíi* behaves as if it were part of a serial verb construction. It has inherent high tone that it retains when suffixed to a verb root of any tone shape. The tone of *-tí* when it directly bears past- or future-tense inflectional morphology is HL, as is the case with all other *-ni*-class verbs. Whether the suffix surfaces as HL in this position depends on the tonal shape of the preceding elements (i.e., whether there is already a HL contour in the word).

This suffix seems to have grammaticalized from the *-ni*-class verb *tíyí*, which LTN translates as ‘arrancar’ and AMM translates as ‘despegar.’ AMM says that *tíyí* specifically means ‘to break off from a group.’ He provided the example in (8) below.

(8) *bìbìko tíko*.

bìbì -ko tíí -ko.
correr -SS.SIM.FEM despegar -3.SING.FEM.PRES
'Ella se quita de lo que estamos corriendo.' (E.AMM.SJF.1aug2012)

As a suffix, *-tíí* behaves as in (9).

(9) *yì bìbìtíhì*.

yì bìbì -tí -hì.
I run TERM -1.SING.PAST.NI.CLASS
'He terminado de correr; no voy a correr más.' (E.AMM.SJF.31jul2012)

2.5 -sao

The suffix *-sao* exhaustively identifies each member of the set of subjects or objects. It may also indicate that an action has been finished. *sao* may also be a verb root meaning 'to exhaust.' For a more detailed description of the semantics of this suffix, see Farmer (2012).

(10) *yì kwakosúbayi*.

yì kwako -súba -yi.
I kwako -ANT.PAR -1.SING.FUT
'Voy a cocinar primero.' (E.LTN.SJF.2jul2012)

2.6 -kai ~ -kani ~ kati ~ ka

-kai, the benefactive suffix, adds an argument (the beneficiary) to the verb. It is most often translated as 'to help do X.' This suffix also behaves like a *-ni*-class verb in that it has all *-ni*-class allomorphs and triggers the past tense inflectional paradigm of *-ni*-class verbs. *-kai* has the tonal behavior of *-goño*, the only other suffix that adds an argument to the verb. After a HH verb root, *-kani* surfaces as LL; after a HL verb root, it surfaces as HH; after a LL verb root, it surfaces as HL. *-kai* cannot appear as a root.

(11) *yì Máiàrò kwàkòkàiyí*.

yì Máiàrò -rè kwàkò -kài -yí.
I Christine cook -BEN -1.SING.PRES
'Le estoy ayudando a Cristina a cocinar.' (E.NMM.SJF.24jul2012)

2.7 -ma

The negative suffix *-ma* indicates that the event described by the verb did not occur. *-ma* surfaces with high tone when a non-*-ni*-class verb is inflected for declarative

mood and present or past tense, and when a -ni-class verb is inflected for declarative mood and present tense.

2.8 -jo~-jea

-jo indicates that a verb has a second state. The semantics of this suffix are discussed in Farmer (2012). -jo does not appear by itself as a verb root. Its tonal behavior is identical to that of -ma as described above.

3 Scope Effects

The content suffixes described above do not have a fixed order in the Máijiki affix template, but instead seem to be able to appear in any order relative to one another as long as the resulting construction is semantically felicitous. Getting at the subtle distinction between impossible and unlikely situations is a difficult elicitation task; for this reason, ‘grammaticality’ judgments of various affix orderings varied from consultant to consultant. What I present below is a summary of 1) orders judged by all consultants as felicitous; 2) orders judged by some consultants as felicitous and by others as infelicitous; and 3) orders judged by no consultants as felicitous. The table below shows all possible pairings of the eight content affixes described above, the anticipated meaning of the combination, whether consultants accepted the pairing as felicitous, and what the consultants described as the meaning of the pairing.

Pairing	Meaning	Notes
-sao-j <u>o</u>	Upon finishing action, second state was reached.	All consultants (LTN, RTT, NMM, AMM) accept this order.
-j <u>o</u> -sao	All subjects reached second state of verb (e.g. ‘All the houses burned’)	Always entails multiple subjects or objects; does not mean ‘state two was finished being reached.’
-sao-ma	Subject did not finish action or not all subjects/objects participated	All consultants accept this ordering
-ma-sao	All subjects did not do the action or all objects were unaffected (i.e., none)	All consultants accept this ordering
-sao-goñ <u>o</u>	Made all causees do something (LTN) or made causee finish doing something	Consultants accept this but prefer analytic causative

-goño-sao	All subjects made the causee do something (LTN)	AMM rejects this, but for a sentence with a singular subject. This construction apparently cannot mean ‘finish making someone do something’
-sao-suba	Finished first	All accept this ordering
-suba-sao	Everyone did something first (NMM)	Most reject this pairing; LTN says it can’t be used to mean ‘finished being the first to do X’
-sao-tii	Stopped finishing(?)	No one accepts this.
-tini-sao	Everyone stopped doing X and intends not to do X anymore	Only LTN accepts this; others reject the ‘finished stopping’ sense
-sao-kai	Helped finish	Everyone accepts this
-kani-sao	Everyone helped/subject finished helping	AMM rejects ‘finished helping’ sense
-sao-ñia	Finished doing something, but to no avail	With some verbs, the frustrative has a conventionalized interpretation that is incompatible with <i>-sao</i> . An example is <i>ani-ñia-</i> , which means ‘to eat and not finish.’
-ñia-sao	Everyone did something in vain	Speakers do not like the interpretation ‘I finished doing something in vain.’ If this sequence is interpreted as a SVC, it can mean that everyone tried something, or that someone tried everything.
-ñia-jo	The action of the verb was incomplete or in vain, and that action reached a second state.	This is rejected by all speakers.
-jo-ñia	The action of the verb reached a second state, but it was unexpected or in vain.	Perhaps this would be felicitous with the right verb and situation, but speakers were unwilling to accept it.
-ñia-ma	Did not do something in vain/Do something without getting an unexpected result	Speakers only accept the SVC that means ‘didn’t try’
-ma-ñia	Did not do something, and the not doing was in vain or produced an unexpected result	Speakers uniformly reject this combination.

-ñia-goño	Ordered someone to do something that has an unexpected result	Speakers reject this combination.
-goño-ñia	Ordered in vain	All accept this interpretation
-ñia-suba	First to do something in vain	Everyone accepts this
-suba-ñia	Firstness is in vain	No one likes this.
-ñia-ti	Stopped doing something in vain	No one accepts this.
-tini-ñia	Stopped doing something, and the stopping was in vain.	No one accepts this
-ñia-kai	Helped do something, and that something was in vain	AMM accepts this, for instance, when someone helps someone else prepare a meal for guests, but the guests never show up.
-kani-ñia	Helped do something, and the helping was in vain	All consultants accept this. AMM insists that the meaning is the same as in the reverse order.
-j <u>o</u> -ma	Second state of verb was not reached	Can imply that first state was reached but not the second, or that the action of the verb never took place. All accept this combination.
-ma-j <u>o</u>	Action of verb doesn't occur, but reaches second state(?)	No one accepts this.
-j <u>o</u> -goño	Cause to reach second state	No one accepts this, perhaps because of the high occurrence of stem alternations with verbs that take <i>-j<u>o</u></i> .
-goño-j <u>o</u>	The causing of an action entered a second state	No one accepts this.
-j <u>o</u> -suba	X was the first to reach state two	All consultants repeat this combination, think about it, and say that it sounds fine, but that it is better without <i>-j<u>o</u></i> . This could be because <i>-suba</i> already forces the verb to be interpreted as telic, so <i>-j<u>o</u></i> is redundant.
-suba-j <u>o</u>	The act of doing something first reached a second state	No one accepts this.

-j <u>o</u> -t <u>i</u>	Stopped doing a two-state verb	No one accepts this; perhaps there is incompatibility because it implies stopping before an endpoint is reached.
-t <u>i</u> ni-j <u>o</u>	Enter a second state as the result of stopping doing something	AMM accepts this as meaning ‘stop and not continue.’
-j <u>o</u> -ka	Help do a two-state verb	AMM accepts this
-kani-j <u>o</u>	Enter a second state as a result of helping	No one accepts this
-ma-go <u>ño</u>	Order someone not to do something	This is an impermissible order; an analytic construction is used for the sense ‘prohibit’
-go <u>ño</u> -ma	Not order someone to do something	Everyone accepts this; it implies that you didn’t order <i>and</i> that the causee did not do the action
-ma-suba	Be the first not to do something	Everyone rejects this.
-suba-ma	Not to do something first	Everyone accepts this; it implies that you did the action, but that you were not the first to do it.
-ma-t <u>i</u>	Stop not doing something	No one accepts this.
-t <u>i</u> i-ma	Not stop doing something	No one accepts this. I’m not sure what the nature of the infelicity is.
-ma-ka	Help someone not do something	No one accepts this.
-kai-ma	Not help someone do something	Everyone accepts this.
-go <u>ño</u> -suba	Subject was the first to order	All consultants accept this order, but have trouble distinguishing it from the other possible order semantically.
-suba-go <u>ño</u>	Subject ordered causee to do something first	All consultants accept this order.
-go <u>ño</u> -t <u>i</u>	Stopped ordering	No one likes this order.
-t <u>i</u> ni-go <u>ño</u>	Order someone to stop doing something	All consultants are reluctant to accept this; AMM accepts it as meaning this, but says it’s ‘weird.’
-go <u>ño</u> -ka	Helped someone make someone do something	No one accepts this. Perhaps there are too many arguments?

-kani-goño	Made someone help someone do something	No one accepts this. Perhaps there are too many arguments?
-suba-ti	Stop being the first to do something	No one accepts this.
-tini-suba	The first to stop doing something	AMM accepts this.
-suba-ka	helped someone be the first to do something	AMM and LTN accept this and distinguish between it and the other order; NMM and RTT accept both orders but do not distinguish between them.
-kani-suba	was the first to help someone do something	AMM and LTN accept this and distinguish between it and the other order; NMM and RTT accept both orders but do not distinguish between them.

Note that combinations of more than two affixes are possible, but that I did not test every possibility with every consultant. Verbs with more than two suffixes become difficult for consultants to parse and are much likelier to have a semantic co-occurrence restriction.

4 Fixed-order Suffixes

Fixed-order affixes in Májiki are affixes that are not subject to scope effects. These suffixes include the frustrative of intent *-da*, the prohibitive *-baima*, the imperative *-ma* and all of the inflectional tense-/person-marking suffixes. These suffixes must occur *after* any content suffixes. *-da* occurs in the slot immediately preceding the inflectional morphology, which is obligatory for interrogative and declarative sentential moods. *-baima* and *-ma* always occur word-finally when they appear.

4.1 Co-occurrence Restrictions on Fixed-order Suffixes

-ma and *-baima* cannot appear with person-marking morphology. They are also prohibited from co-occurring with the negative *-ma* and the frustrative of intent *ñia*, as is the frustrative of intent, *-da*. *-da*, *-ma* and *-baima* cannot co-occur.

5 Summary

The Máijiki verb has four affixal regions. The first is for the verb root (or roots, in a SVC); the second is for what I have called ‘content suffixes,’ whose order is determined by scope; the third is for the fixed-order suffix *-da*, which indicates prospective aspect or irrealis mood; and the fourth is for markers of person, tense and sentential mood (the prohibitive and imperative suffixes and the inflectional paradigm). Further investigation of the affix ordering template and scope effects should involve looking at natural occurrences of three or more ‘content’ suffixes.

Cognates to Máíhíkì *-ni* verbs

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1 Introduction

Máíhíkì has a number of verb roots which vary between an ‘i-form’ (C)(V)i-, a ‘ni-form’ (C)Vni-, and a ‘short form’ (C)V-. Preliminary investigation suggests that synchronically in Máíhíkì, mostly monomorphemic verbs with citation-form roots of the form (C)Vi- participate in this allomorphy.¹ Some verb roots which do not have the shape (C)Vi- also display the alternation, but these may be (or diachronically have been) multimorphemic forms arising from compounds or serial verb constructions with a (C)Vi- verb as the final member of the construction.² As there is no ready phonological explanation for the allomorphy in either the multimorphemic verbs or the (C)Vi- verbs, I consider these roots to form a conjugation class (“the *-ni* class” or “Class ii”).

Comparative data indicates that other Western Tukanoan languages - and perhaps also Kubeo - have identical or very similar behavior in a class of verbs cognate with the Máíhíkì *ni*- class. However, there is no such evidence for a comparable alternation in Eastern Tukanoan. This raises a number of questions about when and how the *ni*- class arose and what changes or expansions it has since undergone. I discuss these issues in more detail below.

2 The *ni*- class

Máíhíkì has at least the following 33 *-ni* class verbs. This list includes all of the verbs listed with *-ni* allomorphs in the dictionary and all of the verbs with *-ni* allomorphs which I found in elicitation. The list excludes a large number of compound verbs with noncompositional meanings (such as *góásádáiyi* ‘recuperar’ (more lit., *pensar y venir*) which have *-ni* allomorphs because the second element of the compound is a *ni*- class verb.

Citation form	Gloss	<i>-ni</i> allomorph	Source
áiyí	comer	áni	Michael et al. (2011): 4
báisìyí	ser dulce	báisíní	E.LMM.AHS.15jun2012
báiyí	golpear, pegar, matar	máni	Michael et al. (2011): 8
béyí	echarse en hamaca	méni	Michael et al. (2011): 12
baiyi	estar	mani	E.AMM.AHS.14jun2012
biyi	llenarse	míni	Michael et al. (2011): 14
chiyi	ponerse gorro	chini	E.LMM.AHS.16jun2012
dáiyi	venir	nání	Michael et al. (2011): 18
duiyi	sumirse	núni	Michael et al. (2011): 20
gúyí	cavar tierra, cavar canoa	gúni	Michael et al. (2011): 27

¹Exceptions include *júyí* ‘pucunear’ and *dóyí* ‘arrimar.’ E.LMM.AHS.16jun2012.

²This holds for most but not all verbs which have the alternation but do not conform to the (C)(V)i- template. For example, *kúáyí* ‘marcar’ has the allomorph *kúání-* (Michael et al. 2011: 41)

gwíyí	recoger	gúni	Michael et al. (2011): 28
íyí	recibir, recoger	íni	Michael et al. (2011): 29
júyí	pitir con silbato	júní	E.AMM.AHS.13jun2012
júajáyí	encontrar	júanání	E.AMM.AHS.14jun2012
juíyí	estar enfermo	júni	Michael et al. (2011): 37
juíyí	soltar	juini	E.AMM.AHS.13jun2012
káiyí	dormir	káni	Michael et al. (2011): 38
kuíyí	morder una vez	kúni	Michael et al. (2011): 41
kuáyí	marcar	kuáni	Michael et al. (2011): 41
kwáyí	cargar sobre el hombro, hombrear	kwáni	Michael et al. (2011): 42
kwéyí	cortar un palo con el fin de tumbarlo	kwéni	Michael et al. (2011): 42
màiyí	subir	màni	E.AMM.AHS.14jun2012
mónhduiyí	voltearse, tener (un nombre)	mónhúní	Michael et al. (2011): 47
nòyí	prender fuego	nèni	Michael et al. (2011): 50
óiyí	amar, querer, gustar	óni	Michael et al. (2011): 52
síyí	estar pegado, estar en el cielo	sèni	Michael et al. (2011): 56
sáyí	irse, ir	sáni	Michael et al. (2011): 55
tíyí	quedarse un rato	tèni	Michael et al. (2011): 58
tìyí	quitar	tèní	E.AMM.AHS.14jun2012
túyí	seguir	túni	Michael et al. (2011): 61
táyí	caerse, estar rebalsado	táni	Michael et al. (2011): 57
úyí'i	echarse	úní	Michael et al. (2011): 63
yiyí	cantar (gallo)	ñíni	Michael et al. (2011): 66

Diachronically, eight of these 33 verbs belong to pairs or triplets of verbs which reflect an earlier (probably Proto-Tukanoan) morphological system in which increased valency was marked by vowel mutation. For example, *úyí'i* 'echarse' is in a pair with *úáyí* 'poner OBJ echado.'

3 Koreguaje and Siona cognates

13 of the 33 *Máihkì* *-ni* class verbs have a definite cognate in Koreguaje which also alternates between a simple root and a root in *-ni*. All but one of these verbs also has a definite cognate in Siona. Although there is no evidence for root allomorphy with *-ni* in Siona, eight of the 12 Siona cognates have a nasal root. The following table shows the cognate set.

Koreguaje	Kor gloss	Máihkì	Mai gloss	Siona	Sio gloss
uhimì	yacer, estar acostado	úyí	estar echado	uìjì	estar acostado
mìimì	subir	míyí	subir	mìijì	subir
kuemì	tumbar palo	kw'éyí	cortar un palo	kuèjì	tumbar (palo)
kuaimì	cargar en el hombro	kwáiyi	cargar	kuaji	cargar
kaimì	dormir	k'áiyi	dormir	kajìjì	dormir
ju?imì	enfermar	juíyí	enfermar	ju?ijì	enfermar
aimu	comer	áyí	comer	ajìjì	comer
ku?imì	morder, cortar con tijeras	kuíyí	morder	kuìjì	morder
vaimì	pegar, golpear	báyí	matar, pelear, golpear	NC	NA
raimì	venir	dáiyí	venir	rioji	venir
ru?imì	sumirse, ahogarse	duiyí	sumirse	ru?ijì	sumergirse
oimì	llorar, estar triste	óyí	llorar, querer	oiji	llorar
saimì	ir	sáyí	ir	saijì	ir

4 Eastern Tukanoan equivalents

The presence of good cognates for the Máíhíki *-ni* verbs in Western Tukanoan languages raises the question of whether the *-ni* class is a Western Tukanoan innovation, or could be reconstructed back to Proto-Tukanoan. To answer this question, I used the Spanish finder lists in 6 bilingual dictionaries/wordlists of “Eastern Tukanoan” languages to locate semantic equivalents of the 13 roots discussed above.

The results of this search are summarized in the following table. I consulted Maxwell, Salser and Salser (1999) for Kubeo; Alemán, López and Miller (2000) for Desano; Barasana Literacy Committee et al. (2009) for Barasana and Eduria, West and Welch (2004) for Tukano, Waltz (2007) for Kotiria (also called Wanano), and Metzger (2000) for Carapana.

Due to the lack of information about tone in the majority of these sources, tone is not marked below. All forms cited are roots (not citation forms). Morpheme-level nasality is indicated with ~.

Gloss	Koreguaje	Máíhíki	Siona	Kubeo	Desano	Barasana	Tukano	Kotiria	Karapana
cargar	ku <u>ai</u>	kwa <u>(i)</u>	ku <u>a</u>	kañ	~koa	gaja	~mia	dure	pisa
comer	<u>ai</u>	<u>ai</u>	<u>ai</u>	añ	ba	baa	baʔa	chi	iuga
dormir	ka <u>i</u>	ka <u>i</u>	ka <u>i</u>	kañ	~kadi	~kadi	~kadi	~kadi	~kadi
enfermarse	juʔi	ju <u>i</u>	juʔi	yai	doreki	ND	~weri	ND	ND
ir	sai	sai	sai	niñ	wa	waa	waʔa	waha	ata
llorar	oi	oi	oi	oy	ore	oti	ND	tii	oti
morder	kuʔi	ku <u>i</u>	ku <u>i</u>	kuñ	~kudi	~kudi	ND	bahka	baka
golpear	vai	bai	gui	boa	paa	haa	ND	~kja	pa
subir VI	mii	mi	mii	miñ	~miri	~bija	~maja	~mihan	~wami
sumirse	ruʔi	dui	ruʔi	muiñ	ND	ruu	ND	~mion	~ñua
cortar.palo	kuee	kw <u>e</u>	kue	koe	tabe	~kea	ND	~kjan	yiseta
venir	rai	dai	rio	day	ari	wadi	aʔti	ta	ata
yacer	u <u>i</u>	u <u>i</u>	u <u>i</u>	ju <u>a</u>	ND	~kaji	~kaji	~koa	yosa

This data suggests that the *-ni* class formed no earlier than Proto-Western Tukanoan. Only four verbs have any significant evidence for a proto-form with final -C_{COR}i:

1. DORMIR: All of the languages referenced have a form which is almost certainly cognate with Máíhíki *kaiyi*. This root was clearly *~kadi or *kani in Proto-Tukanoan.
2. MORDER: Desano and Barasana have ~kudi, which follows established correspondences with the WT forms on the left. However, I have no data available for this verb in Tukano, and the Kotiria and Karapana forms seem unrelated. It is reasonable, but not necessarily correct, to give the proto-form of this item as *~kudi or *kuni.
3. LLORAR: The Barasana and Karapana items, together with the Western Tukanoan data, suggest that the proto-form might have been *oti. However, there is no evidence that any segment of this item was nasal at any stage of any of the languages concerned.
4. VENIR: The Eastern Tukanoan forms shown could reasonably reflect a proto-form *ati or *adi, but there is no apparent relationship between this form and the form with *-ni* alternations in WT. The WT items instead suggest PWT *rai.

I tentatively conclude that systematic root allomorphy with *-ni* does not exist synchronically in ET and did not exist in Proto-Tukanoan. On this view, the *-ni* class is a WT innovation.

5 The case of Kubeo

As the table above shows, Kubeo has forms with root-final palatal nasals for seven of the 13 forms shared by Koreguaje and Máíhíki . Additionally, the majority (nine of 13) of the Kubeo items are clearly cognate with the semantically equivalent forms in WT. This presents us with three possible accounts for the origin of the *-ni* forms in Koreguaje and Máíhíki , and the cognate nasalized or nasal-final forms in Siona and Kubeo. These are:

1. The *-ni* forms existed in Proto-Tukanoan. They were lost in Eastern Tukanoan, but retained in WT and Kubeo. This account is consistent with classification of Kubeo as either a WT language or as neither WT nor ET. It offers no explanation for the loss of the *-ni* class in ET.
2. The *-ni* forms were innovated at some point after Proto-Eastern Tukanoan split from Proto-Tukanoan. They developed in a proto-language (which could be called Late Proto-Tukanoan or Proto-Western Tukanoan, depending on the classification of Kubeo) which gave rise to all of {Koreguaje, Máíhíki , Siona, Kubeo}. This account is again consistent with classification of Kubeo as either a WT language or as neither WT nor ET. Unlike the story discussed above, it does offer an explanation for the absence of *-ni* forms in ET.
3. The *-ni* forms were innovated in Proto-Western Tukanoan. They either spread to (Proto-) Kubeo due to language contact, or were inherited into Kubeo. The choice between these alternatives depends on how one is inclined to classify Kubeo.

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Máìhìkì lexical and morphological causatives

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1 Introduction

Máìhìkì has at least 42 verbs which once participated in a system of voice and/or valency alternations marked by vowel mutation. Synchronically, these verbs form 18 pairs and two triplets, each consisting of one lower-valency verb and one or more higher-valency verbs.

In general, the higher-valency verb in each pair can be described as a causative form of the lower-valency verb. However, many verbs involved in the vowel mutation have undergone considerable semantic and syntactic change since the vowel mutation ceased to be productive. These changes have created significant differences in argument structure between some higher-valency verbs and the morphological causative forms of their lower-valency counterparts. In this report, I (a) discuss the differences between “frozen” (lexical) causatives and causatives with *-goño*, and (b) enumerate the citation forms and argument structures of all roots which show traces of the vowel mutation.

2 Generalizations

2.1 Argument structure of morphological causatives

Affixation of *-goño* to the verb root adds exactly one argument, a causee, to the argument structure of the verb. There is no evidence so far that *-goño* can add more than one argument to the verb, add arguments other than causee, or license arguments that are not possible arguments of the root. That is, *-goño* is a true causative (not an applicative) and does not change the internal argument structure of the root.

The following examples illustrate that:

- (1) *-goño* does not license beneficiary or dative arguments.
 - a. *Yì bírìré jásóbì*
Yì bírì -re jásó -bì
1sg white-collared.peccary -ACC shoot -1sg.pst
I shot the white-collared peccary.
 - b. *Yì bírìré jásógoñobi Tìtìré*
Yì bírì -re jásó -goño -bì Tìtìré -re
1sg white-collared.peccary -ACC shoot -CAUS -1sg.pst personal.name -ACC
a. I made Grace shoot the white-collared peccary.
b. *I shot the white-collared peccary for Grace. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jun29)

(2) *-goño* does not license arguments which are not possible arguments of the root.

- a. *Yì kwénéyi*
 Yì kwéné -yi
 1sg dry -1sg.pres
 I'm drying myself.
- b. **To kwénéjì*
 To kwéné -jì
 Clothing dry -3sg.pres
 *The clothing is drying.
- c. **Yì tó kwénégoñoyi*
 *Yì tó kwéné -goño -yi
 1sg clothing dry -CAUS -1sg.pres
 *I'm making my clothing dry. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jun29)

2.2 Argument structures of frozen causatives

Frozen causatives, unlike causatives with *-goño*, sometimes take arguments which are not possible arguments of the corresponding lower-valency verb. For example, *kwénáyi* takes -ANIM arguments, while *kwénéyi* and *kwénégonoyi* take only +ANIM arguments. Compare the following with (2):

- (3) *Yì toka kwénáyi*
 Yì tó -kà kwéná -yi
 1sg clothes -CL:fiber? dry -1sg.pres
 I'm drying the towel. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jun29)

Similarly, *étóyi* takes -ANIM objects, while *étáyi* and *étágoñoyi* take only +ANIM arguments.

- (4) a. *Yì étáyi*
 Yì étá -yi
 1sg go.out -1sg.pres
 I'm leaving.
- b. **Yì tóbì étágoñoyi*
 *Yì tóbì étá -goño -yi
 1sg shirt go.out -CAUS -1sg.pres
 *I'm taking the shirt away.
- c. *Yì tóbì étóyi*
 Yì tóbì etó -yi
 1sg shirt remove -1sg.pres
 I'm taking the shirt away. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jun29)

Similar differences between morphological and frozen causatives exist for nine pairs and triplets of verbs: {*dáiyi*, *dáoyi*, *dáyi*}, {*étáyi*, *étóyi*}, {*gárayi*, *gároyi*}, {*gwénèyi*, *gwénàyi*}, {*kwénéyi*, *kwénáyi*}, {*máiyi*, *máyai*}, {*sáiyi*, *sáoyi*, *sáyai*}, {*sìiyi*, *síoyi*}, {*títáyi*, *títóyi*, and {*úíyi*, *úáyai*}.

There is no evidence for other syntactic differences between frozen and morphological causatives. I suspect that, for at least some verb pairs, the morphological causative can be reflexive and the frozen causative cannot. However, I have not been able to obtain consistent data on reflexives for any verb pair.

2.3 Historical relevance

Wheeler’s (1987: 144-146) grammar of Siona lists 31 sets of verbs (26 pairs and five triplets) which show traces of the vowel mutation.¹ 17 of the Siona sets correspond to pairs of Máíhìkì verbs which also contrast, or might recently have contrasted, for valency and thematic vowel. Additionally, one pair of Siona verbs, which form a minimal phonological and syntactic pair but are not listed in Wheeler’s discussion of the vowel mutation, corresponds to a pair of Máíhìkì verbs which were clearly involved in the vowel mutation. Including this pair, there are a total of 36 items (in 17 sets) which have at least two reflexes displaying the vowel mutation in each of Siona and Máíhìkì.

Another nine of the Siona pairs listed in Wheeler (1987) have a Máíhìkì cognate for only one item of the pair, and the final three pairs do not have any Máíhìkì cognate. Similarly, two sets of Máíhìkì verbs which show the mutation have only one good cognate in Siona, and two more sets have no Siona cognates. The tables in §3 below summarize the correspondences.

It is notable that eight of the 42 Máíhìkì verbs involved in the vowel mutation are i-verbs (“Class II verbs”). All of these display the canonical CVi- shape of a Class II verb in the citation form. Additionally, all eight Class II roots have cognates of the form CVi- in Siona.

3 Siona cognates

3.1 Siona sets with two or more Máíhìkì cognates

Sio verb	Sio gloss	Mai cognate	Mai gloss
sai-	go	sai- (Class II)	go
sa-	take	sa-	take
sao-	send	sao-	send, finish
rai-	come	dai- (Class II)	come
ra-	bring	da-	bring
rao-	send, make bring	dao-	walk
mii-	raise oneself	mii- (Class II)	ascend
mia-	raise X	mia-	make X ascend
mio-	make X raise	none	n/a
tui-	be above X	tui- (Class II)	be/sit above X
tio-	place on X	tio-	place on X
tua-	place oneself on X	none	n/a
siʔi-	be stuck to X	sii-	be stuck to X
siʔa-	stick oneself to X	none	n/a
sio-	stick X to Y	sio-	stick X to Y
ai-	eat	ai- (Class II)	eat
ao-	feed	ao-	feed

¹I use the term “set” rather than “root” because each item is a verb root synchronically in Siona.

<u>kai-</u>	sleep	<u>kai-</u> (Class II)	sleep
<u>kao-</u>	make sleep	<u>kao-</u>	make sleep
<u>tai-</u>	fall	<u>tai-</u> (Class II)	fall
<u>taa-</u>	make fall, plant	<u>tate-</u>	plant
<u>gaje-</u>	descend	<u>gaje-</u>	descend
<u>gacho-</u>	lower X	<u>gaso-</u>	make descend
<u>ye?ye-</u>	learn	<u>yete-</u>	learn
<u>ye?yo-</u>	teach	<u>yeto-</u>	teach
<u>uku-</u>	drink	<u>uku-</u>	drink
<u>ukua-</u>	give drink	<u>uka-</u>	give drink
<u>kue?e-</u>	dry oneself	<u>kwene-</u>	dry oneself
<u>kue?a-</u>	dry X	<u>kwena-</u>	dry X
<u>boe-</u>	be capsized	<u>moni-</u>	turn, return
<u>boa-</u>	capsize X	<u>mona-</u>	capsize X
<u>ui-</u>	lie down	<u>ui-</u> (Class II)	lie down
<u>ua-</u>	put X to bed	<u>ua-</u>	lay X down
<u>nika-</u>	stand up	<u>nika-</u>	be standing
<u>niko-</u>	make stand	<u>niko-</u>	make stand
<u>eta-</u>	go out	<u>eta-</u>	go out
<u>eto-</u>	make X go out	<u>eto-</u>	remove
<u>sita-</u>	awaken	<u>tita-</u>	awaken
<u>sito-</u>	wake X up	<u>tito-</u>	wake X up

3.2 Siona sets with exactly one Máhìkì cognate

Sio verb	Sio gloss	Mai cognate	Mai gloss
<u>acha-</u>	hear	<u>asa-</u>	perceive
<u>acho-</u>	make hear	none	n/a
<u>re-</u>	be hanging	<u>de-</u>	be hanging
<u>rea-</u>	hang from X	none	n/a
<u>reo-</u>	hang X	none	n/a
<u>toi-</u>	fall from above	<u>tome-</u>	fall from above
<u>toa-</u>	make fall	none	n/a
<u>zi-</u>	ignite	none	n/a
<u>zio-</u>	set fire to X	<u>sio-</u>	set fire to X
<u>kiki-</u>	be afraid	<u>kiki-</u>	be afraid
<u>kiko-</u>	frighten	none	n/a
<u>je?e-</u>	cross to other side	<u>je-</u>	cross
<u>jea-</u>	take tó other side	none	n/a
<u>sese-</u>	get cold	<u>sisi-</u>	feel cold
<u>sesa-</u>	make cold	none	n/a
<u>ze?e-</u>	support oneself	none	n/a
<u>zea-</u>	grab	<u>nea-</u>	grab
<u>cha-</u>	jump	<u>sa-</u>	jump
<u>chua-</u>	make X jump	none	n/a

3.3 Siona sets without definite Máíhìkì cognates

Sio set	Sio gloss
juíi-, juíia-, juíio-	lift oneself, lift X, make X lift
rií-, riá-	be on all fours, put X on all fours
goʔi-	return
goʔya-	return (item)
toʔi-	fall
toa-	make fall
juéʔe-, juéʔo-	have a name, carry X on the back
ñika-, ñiko-	meet, make meet
yaya-, yayo-	turn off, turn X off
ira-, iro-	grow, cultivate

3.4 Máíhìkì sets with one or fewer Siona cognates

Mai verb	Mai gloss	Sio verb	Sio gloss
gane-	make X spin	gaʔne-, gano-	wrap X
gani-	spin	none	n/a
goasa-	think	none	n/a
goase-	order	goase-	order
gara-	roll	none	n/a
garo-	make X roll	none	n/a
gwena-	dent	none	n/a
gwene-	get dented	none	n/a

4 Appendix: All Máíhìkì verb pairs and triplets, as of July 2, 2012

In the table below, S represents the only argument of a single-argument verb. I do not claim that all of the arguments listed as S below are syntactically subjects.

Lower-valency verb	Arguments	Higher-valency verb	Arguments	Notes
<i>áíyí</i> “eat”	A _{+ANIM} , P _{±ANIM}	<i>áóyí</i> “feed”	A _{+ANIM} , Beneficiary _{+ANIM} , Theme _{±ANIM}	See (5)
<i>dáíyí</i> “come”	S _{+ANIM}	<i>dáyí</i> “bring”	S _{+ANIM} , P _{±ANIM}	See (6)
<i>dáíyí</i>		<i>dáóyí</i> “walk”	S _{+ANIM}	
<i>étáyí</i> “go out”	S _{+ANIM}	<i>étóyí</i> “remove”	A _{+ANIM} , P _{±ANIM}	See (4)
<i>gájèyí</i> “descend”	S _{±ANIM}	<i>gásóyí</i> “lower”	S _{+ANIM} , P _{±ANIM}	
<i>gánìyí</i> “move in circle, wrap”	A _{±ANIM}	<i>gànèyí</i> “move in circle, wrap”	A _{±ANIM} , P _{±ANIM}	
<i>gáráyí</i> “roll, spin”	S _{+ANIM} ,	<i>gáróyí</i> “roll, spin”	A _{±ANIM} , P _{±ANIM}	
<i>góásáyí</i> “think”	S _{+ANIM}	<i>gòáséyí</i> “order”	A _{+ANIM} , P _{+ANIM}	
<i>gwénèyí</i> “get dented”	S _{-ANIM}	<i>gwénàyí</i> “dent”	A _{+ANIM} , P _{-ANIM}	
<i>káíyí</i> “sleep”	S _{+ANIM}	<i>káóyí</i> “make sleep”	A _{+ANIM} , P _{+ANIM}	See (7)

<i>kwénéyi</i> “dry”	S _{+ANIM}	<i>kwénáyí</i> “dry”	A _{±ANIM} , P _{±ANIM}	See (2), (3)
<i>mííyí</i> “get into”	A _{+ANIM} , P _{-ANIM}	<i>míáyí</i> “put into”	A _{+ANIM} , P _{±ANIM}	See (8)
<i>móníyí</i> “return”	S _{+ANIM}	<i>mònàyi</i> “capsize X”	A _{+ANIM} , P _{-ANIM}	
<i>níkáyí</i> “be standing”	S _{±ANIM}	<i>níkóyí</i> “make stand”	A _{+ANIM} , P _{±ANIM}	
<i>sáyí</i> “go”	S _{+ANIM}	<i>sáyí</i> “take”	A _{+ANIM} , P _{±ANIM}	See (9)
<i>sáyí</i>		<i>sáóyí</i> “send”	A _{+ANIM} , P _{±ANIM}	See (9)
<i>sìyí</i> “be stuck”	A _{±ANIM} , P _{±ANIM}	<i>síóyí</i> “stick X (to a tree)”	A _{+ANIM} , P _{-ANIM}	See (10)
<i>táyí</i> “fall”	S _{+ANIM}	<i>tátèyí</i> “plant”	A _{+ANIM} , P _{-ANIM}	
<i>títáyí</i> “awaken”	S _{+ANIM}	<i>títòyí</i> “wake up”	A _{±ANIM} , P _{+ANIM}	
<i>túyí</i> “sit above”	A _{±ANIM}	<i>tíòyí</i> “place above”	A _{±ANIM} , P _{±ANIM}	
<i>úyí</i> “lie down”	S _{+ANIM}	<i>úáyí</i> “lay down”	A _{+ANIM} , P _{±ANIM}	See (11)
<i>úkúyí</i> “drink”	A _{+ANIM} , P _{-ANIM}	<i>úkáyí</i> “give drink”	A _{+ANIM} , Beneficiary _{+ANIM} , Theme _{-ANIM}	
<i>yétéyí</i> “learn”	S _{+ANIM}	<i>yétóyí</i> “teach”	A _{+ANIM} , P _{+ANIM}	

- (5) a. *ánígoñoyi* has both the meaning “make eat” and the noncompositional meaning “feed.”

Ánígoñoyi

ání -goño -yi
eat -CAUS -1sg.pres

- a. I’m making (someone) eat.
b. I’m feeding (someone). (E.R.AHS.2012jun26)

- b. *áoyi* is not a dedicated sociative, despite its similarity to the sociative *ká`oyi*. Compare the following *tó* (7):

Yì ñítùre áoyi

Yì ñítù -re áó -yi
1sg boy -ACC feed -1sg.pres

- a. I’m feeding the boy (and I’m not eating).
b. I’m feeding the boy (and I’m eating too). (E.LTN.AHS.2012jun29)

- (6) a. *dáyí* takes only animate arguments.

**Tútù dági*

Tútù dá -gi
wind come -3sg.n.past

*The wind came. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jun29)

- b. *dayi* can take both inanimate and animate patients.

Yì dòikíre dábi

Yì dòikí -re dá -bi
1sg Br -ACC bring -1sg.pst

I brought my brother. (E.LMM.AHS.2012jun29)

Yì yóu dábi

Yì yóu dá -bi
1sg canoe bring -1sg.pst

- I brought my canoe. (E.LMM.AHS.2012jun29)
- (7) a. *káòyì* is a dedicated sociative meaning “make X sleep by sleeping at his/her side.”
Yì ìre káòyì
 Yì ì -re káò -yì
 1sg 3sg -ACC make.sleep -1sg.pres
 a. I’m making him sleep (and I’m asleep).
 b. *I’m making him sleep (and I’m awake). (E.AMM.AHS.2012jun27)
- b. *kánígoñoìyì* is questionably grammatical. Robertina and LTN reject it, AMM and LMM accept (with a limited range of readings).
Yì ìre kánígoñoìyì
 Yì ì -re kání -goño -yì
 1sg 3sg -ACC sleep -CAUS -1sg.pres
 I’m making him sleep (i.e. by ordering him to sleep, but I’m awake). (E.AMM.AHS.2012jun27)
- (8) *máìyì* and its morphological causative take only animate arguments, but the patient of *máìyì* can be inanimate.
- a. **Yì bàì yóù máìgoñoìyì*
 *Yì bàì yóù máì -goño -yì
 1sg meat canoe get.in -CAUS -1sg.pres
 *I’m placing the meat in my canoe. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jun29)
- b. *Yì bàì yóù máìyì*
 Yì bàì yóù máì -yì
 1sg meat canoe put.in -1sg.pres
 I’m placing the meat in my canoe. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jun29)
- (9) *sáìyì* and its morphological causative have a single animate argument, but *sáìyì* and *sáóyì* can take inanimate patients.
- a. **Yì yóù sánígoñoìyì*
 Yì yóù sání -goño -yì
 1sg canoe go -CAUS -1sg.pres
 *I’m making the canoe go (i.e. by rowing).
- b. *Yì yóù sábi*
 Yì yóù sá -bì
 1sg canoe take -1sg.pst
 I took my canoe. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jun29)
- c. *Yì tóyásejao sáóyì*
 Yì tóyá -se -jao sao -yì
 1sg write -RESULT.NMLZR.PST -CL:leaf? send -1sg.pres
 I’m sending the letter. (E.LMM.AHS.2012jun29)
- (10) *sìyì* is an intransitive verb with a single obligatory argument (which may be animate or inanimate). *síòyì* is transitive, with an animate agent.
- a. *Bàyìdì sìjì*
 Bàyìdì sù -jì
 copal.sp stick -3sg.n.pres

The copal is sticking (to a tree).

- b. *Títí sùkíń̀ s̀̀ko*
Títí sùkíń̀ s̀̀ -ko
personal.name tree stick -3sg.f.pres
Grace is sticking to the tree.
- c. *Bàyídí síò yi*
Bàyídí síò -yi
copal stick -1sg.pres
I'm sticking the copal (to a tree). (E.LMM.AHS.2012jun29)

(11) *úyi* “lie down” takes a single animate argument. *úáyi* “lay down” has an animate agent and an animate or inanimate patient.

- a. **Tóbì únígoń̀yi*
*Tó -bì úní -goń̀ -yi
shirt -CL? lie.down -CAUS -1sg.pres
*I'm laying the shirt down.
- b. *Tóbì úáyi*
Tó -bì úá -yi
shirt -CL? lay.down -1sg.pres
I'm laying the shirt down.
- c. *Ñítùre úáyi*
Ñítù -re úá -yi
child -ACC lay.down -1sg.pres
I'm putting the child to bed. (E.R.AHS.2012jun30)

Máájìkì morphological frustratives

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1 Introduction

Máájìkì has two productive verbal frustrative affixes: *-da* (glossed here as FRUST.A) and *-nia* (FRUST.B). *-da* is a frustrative of intention: it indicates that the subject wanted or expected to do the action of the verb, but never began it. The semantics of *-nia*, the frustrative of result, are more complex. In general, *-nia* indicates that the action of the verb did not lead to the speaker’s expected result. Marking of a finite verb with *-nia* is therefore among the most frequent strategies for forming adversative/concessive constructions in the language.

On the other hand, some Máájìkì verbs with *-nia* have several possible readings beyond the adversative/concessive and frustrative of result uses. This raises questions about the role of pragmatics in disambiguating *-nia* frustratives in discourse. Is the reading of a particular frustrative verb determined only by context and the pragmatic expectations of the speaker and/or addressee? Or does the addressee select one of a semantically circumscribed range of readings available to the verb?

In response to these questions, this report describes aspects of the morphology, syntax, and semantics of both frustrative affixes. We see that while the *-nia* frustrative has a wide semantic range – much wider than that of *-da* – possible readings of verbs marked with *-nia* can nevertheless be sorted into a finite number of semantic classes. Investigation of the *-nia* frustrative also adds to our understanding of other aspects of Máájìkì morphosyntax, including clause-linking constructions, affix ordering, and verb serialization.

2 The *-da* frustrative construction

2.1 Semantics

-da is available to all personal, non-stative verbs. If the subject could perform the action of the verb intentionally, then the *-da* frustrative has the reading “(Subject) considered Xing but didn’t.” Table 1 gives an example of the *-da* frustrative of a verb from each non-stative *Aktionsart* class.

Table 1: Uses of *-da* (E.LTM.AHS.2012jul10)

<i>Aktionsart</i> class	Example
Activity	<i>Yì bìbìdàbì</i> “I wanted to run, but didn’t”
Accomplishment	<i>Yì wè nédábì</i> “I thought about building a house, but didn’t”
Achievement	<i>Yì jásódábì</i> “I thought about shooting, but didn’t”
Semelfactive	<i>Yì gádábì</i> “I wanted to laugh, but didn’t”

If the action of the verb is prototypically unintentional, then the *-da* frustrative means “(Subject) unexpectedly failed to X,” as in (1).

(1) *Yì tǎídábì*

Yì tǎi -dá -bì
1sg fall -FRUST.A -1sg.pst

I almost fell, but I didn't fall (*Casí caí pero no he caído*). (E.LTM.AHS.2012jul10)

2.2 Morphology

When *-da* appears on an i-verb and is the first suffix to the right of the verb root, the shape of the verb root varies between (C)Vi- and (C)Vti-.

(2) a. *Yì sáidágó jáijùnà bàirò*

Yì sái -dá -gó jái -jùnà bàì -rò
1sg go -FRUST.A -3g.f.pst big -pl be -HAB.LOC.NMLZR

I wanted to go to Iquitos (but I didn't). (E.NMM.AHS.2012jul09)

b. *Yì sátidágó jáijùnà bàirò*

Yì sái- dá -gó jái -jùnà bàì -rò
1sg go -FRUST.A -3g.f.pst big -pl be -HAB.LOC.NMLZR

I wanted to go to Iquitos (but I didn't). (E.NMM.AHS.2012jul09)

The i-verb root appears in the (C)Vti- form only in this construction. The contrast in (3) indicates that the allomorphy occurs in the verb root and not in the suffix.

(3) a. *Yì kúnísúbádábí*

Yì kúni -súbá -dá -bí
1sg bite -PRIOR.ACTION -FRUST.A -1sg.pst

I wanted to bite first (but I didn't). (E.LTM.AHS.2012jul10)

b. **Yì kúnísúbátídábí*

*Yì kúni -súbá -tídá -bí
1sg bite -PRIOR.ACTION -FRUST.A -1sg.pst

-da cannot occur with the perfective *-jó*.¹

3 The *-nia* frustrative construction

3.1 Semantics

The *-nia* frustrative can be used productively with four basic readings, discussed in §3.1.1-3.1.4. It has a limited range of use with stative verbs (3.1.5, 3.1.6) and impersonal verbs referring to weather events (3.1.7).

¹We previously believed that *-da* also could not co-occur with the negative *-má*. This was falsified by text data from LGF.

3.1.1 Core reading

The core reading of a verb X affixed with *-nia* is “complete action X, but not achieve (speaker’s) expected result.” As Table 2 indicates, speakers accepted readings on this model for almost all verbs with personal subjects.

Table 2: “Unexpected result” readings of *-nia*

Verb	Reading	Accepted by
bathe	I bathed a lot (but didn’t get clean)	LMM, RTT
bite	my dog bit him but didn’t injure him	AMM, JMM, LTN, RTT
cut.tree	I cut down the tree but it was rotten inside	AMM, LMM, LTN
drink	I drank, but didn’t get drunk	LMM, RTT
fall	I fell, but didn’t injure myself	AMM, LMM, LTN, RTT
get	I got the papaya but didn’t eat it	AMM, LMM
get.plant	I got plants, but they weren’t good (no vale)	LTN
greet	I greeted him, but he didn’t accept my hand	LMM
hear	I heard, but didn’t understand	AMM, LMM, RTT
hear	I heard, but forgot	AMM, LMM, RTT
hit	I hit him but I didn’t kill him	AMM, LMM, RTT
invite	I invited them, but they didn’t come	AMM
lie	I lied to him, but he didn’t believe me	LMM
love	I loved X unrequitedly	LMM, RTT
see	I saw X, but didn’t recognize him/her	LMM
shoot	I shot him, but didn’t kill him (I only injured him)	LTN
shoot	I shot him, but didn’t kill him (I missed)	LTN
speak	I spoke to him, but he didn’t listen	AMM, LMM
think	I thought about something, but didn’t achieve it	AMM
vomit	I vomited but still had nausea	LTN
walk	I walked (in the woods) but didn’t kill an animal	LMM, RTT

We see from the examples in Table 2 that the “unexpected result” reading is available for essentially any non-stative verb, regardless of transitivity and aspectual properties. One might expect this reading not to be available for factitive verbs such as *melt*, but (4) suggests that even factitive verbs can have the “unexpected result” reading (at least in an adversative construction).

(4) *Yì ókóràkà kwàkòníábí àchúmájí*

Yì ókó -ràkà kwàkò -níá -bí àchú -má -jí
 1sg water -CL:liquid cook -1sg.pst be.hot -NEG -3sg.n.pst

I boiled the water, but it didn’t get hot. (E.LMM.AHS.2012jul07)

Use in adversative/concessive² clauses Speakers almost always employ the frustrative to translate Spanish adversative and concessive constructions. The frustrative appears on the verb which refers to the unsuccessful action, which tends to appear first in the utterance, as in (5) and (6).

²I have not yet been able to determine whether there is a morphologically marked distinction between adversative and concessive constructions in Májiki.

(5) *Sèmèrè jásóniábí dámábí ìdàrì*

Sèmè -rè jásó -níá -bí dá -má -bí ìdàrì
lowland.paca -OBJ shoot -FRUST.B -1sg.pst bring -NEG -1sg.pst here

T: Although I killed a lowland paca, I couldn't bring it with me.

E: I killed the lowland paca and didn't bring it here. (E.LMM.AHS.2012jul07)

(6) *Bìbì níá yàbì má bí*

Bìbì -níá -bì yàbì -má -bí
run -FRUST.B -1sg.pst be.tired -NEG -1sg.pst

T: I ran, but didn't get tired.

E: I ran, but I'm not tired. (E.LMM.AHS.2012jul07)

The adversative/concessive use of the frustrative is a subset of the more general “do X without expected result” reading. The unexpected result of the frustrative verb may be benefactive, as in (6) and (7); malefactive, as in (5); or neutral, as in (8).

(7) *Wè tání níá gí tání yétó má gí*

Wè tání -níá -gí tání -yétó -má -gí
house fall -FRUST.B -3sg.n.pst fall -injure -NEG -3sg.n.pst

The house fell down, but no one was injured. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jul10)

(8) *Ñàkò ókó kíríkwené níá bí tókà ókó bá má gí*

Ñà -kò ókó kíríkwené -níá -bí tókà ókó bá -má -gí
wet -CL:fem water dry.oneself -FRUST.B -1sg.pst towel water have -NEG -3sg.pst

Although I was wet and dried myself, the towel was still dry. (E.LMM.AHS.2012jul07)

3.1.2 “Tried and failed” reading

Besides the core reading, a verb X with *-nia* can also have the reading “tried to do X, but didn't complete the action.” This reading leaves open the question of intentionality. That is, it is possible either that the subject decided not to complete the action of the verb with *-nia*, or that the subject was unable or incompetent to complete the action. The following table lists some possible “tried and failed” readings of frustratives.

Verb	Reading	Accepted by
breathe	I tried to breathe, but I couldn't	AMM
build a house	I started building a house, but didn't finish	LMM, RTT
cry	I was sad, but couldn't cry (at all)	LTN, RTT
cut.tree	I cut the tree but didn't fell it	AMM, LMM, LTN
do	I tried to do X and failed	LTN
follow	I followed him but didn't arrive at the destination	AMM, LMM
go	I tried to go, but didn't arrive at the destination	AMM, LMM
gut.fish	I tried to gut the fish, but failed	RTT

lift	I tried to lift the tree, but failed	AMM
run	I tried to run, but I couldn't (start)	AMM, JMM, RTT
run	I ran, but didn't finish the race	AMM, JMM, LMM, RTT
see	I tried to look, but couldn't see clearly	LMM
sleep	I tried to sleep, but couldn't	RTT
sweep	I swept part of the house, but there's still more to sweep	HMR
vomit	I tried to vomit, but couldn't	RTT
wash	I tried to wash, but I couldn't	AMM

As the verb roots shown above indicate, this reading is available regardless of the transitivity and telicity of the verb root. Interestingly, I have no examples of a middle verb root with the “tried and failed” reading. This could be due either to the absence of a productive middle voice formative in *Máújiki*, or to a ban on “tried and failed” readings of verbs where the subject does not intend the action of the verb.

3.1.3 “Do to exhaustion” reading

The *-nia* frustrative of an atelic verb *X* is often glossed in Spanish as “He Xdo demasiado” or “Estoy cansado de X.” This indicates that the subject has performed the action of the verb until exhausted or no longer capable of continuing. The following table offers examples of both of these closely related readings.

Verb	Reading	Accepted by
cry	I cried a lot (until I couldn't any more)	AMM, JMM, NMM
cut.path	I cut the path (in the forest), but there's still more to cut	HMR, JMM
drink	I drank but couldn't/didn't want to finish all of the drink	JMM, LMM, LTN, RTT
eat	I ate but couldn't/didn't want to finish all of the food	AMM, JMM, LMM, LTN, RTT
eat.fruit	I ate fruit but couldn't/didn't want to finish all of the fruit	LTN
get firewood	I got firewood, but there's still more to get	JMM
get.plant	I got plants, but there's still more to get	LTN
gut.fish	I gutted a lot of fish, but there's still more to gut	JMM, AMM, NMM
harvest	I harvested (the plant), but there's still more to harvest	LTN
run	I finished running (now I can't run any more)	AMM, NMM
sit	I was sitting down for too long (now I can't sit any more)	JMM, NMM
swim	I swam a lot (until I couldn't any more)	AMM, JMM
swim	I swam a lot (but I still have to swim more)	JMM
vomit	I vomited a lot (and can't vomit any more)	JMM, AMM, LTN
walk	I finished walking (now I can't walk any more)	AMM, JMM

Speakers volunteered this reading only for atelic verbs, primarily activity verbs (+dynamic, +durative). Even when a root is typically punctual (as with *vomit*), the “do to exhaustion” reading of *-nia* tends to force a durative reading of the frustrative verb.

3.1.4 “Do minimally” reading

Some telic verbs with *-nia* can or must have the reading “(subject) did X to the minimum possible extent.” This usage indicates that the subject completed the action of the verb, but has yet to finish other actions which normally accompany the verb. The following table provides all examples from my data of verbs with this reading of *-nia*. As it shows, this usage is by far the least frequently attested reading of the frustrative.

Verb	Reading	Accepted by
build a house	I’ve built the house (but no one lives there)	LTN
gut.fish	I gutted all of the fish (but I haven’t cooked them)	AMM, LTN
make stand	I made the shungo stand (but there’s no house around it)	LTN
sweep house	I swept the entire house	AMM, JMM
wash shirt	I washed my shirt (but I haven’t put it out to dry)	LTN

Unlike the terminative *-sáó*, the “do minimally” use of *-nia* specifies that the action of the verb is complete, but other actions associated with it are not. It is questionable whether the “do minimally” reading of *-nia* is also separate from the “unexpected result” reading of this affix.

3.1.5 Frustrative of *bànyì* “exist”

The *-nia* frustrative of *bànyì* “exist” has the idiosyncratic reading “live in (a location) and leave,” as (9) illustrates.

(9) *Yì mànìnìbì Nuevo Progreso.*

Yì mànì -nìà -bì Nuevo Progreso
1sg exist -FRUST.B -1sg.pst place.name place.name

I used to live in Nuevo Progreso (but not any more). (E.RTT.AHS.2012jun26, E.LMM.AHS.2012jun26)

This reading is not fully grammaticalized, as it coexists with other uses of *mànìnìbì*. For example, (10) indicates that the frustrative of *bànyì* can still be used in an adversative/concessive construction.

(10) *Chìbàkò mànìnìbì yì yáíjòyì júníjògírè óyì*

Chìbà -kò mànì -nìà -bì yì yáíjòyì júní -jò -gí -ré óí
be.happy -CL:fem be -FRUST.B -1sg.pst 1sg dog be.sick -PFV -CL:m cry -OBJ
-yì
-1sg.pres

I was happy, but my dog died and now I’m sad. (E.NMM.AHS.2012jul10, E.LTM.AHS.2012jul10)

3.1.6 Frustratives of stative verbs

In *Máíjìkì*, many of the items which express personal physical or psychological states are stative verbs. Two strategies are used to form the frustratives of these verbs.

The frustrative of a personal stative verb is usually formed by a periphrastic construction with the verb root and the frustrative of *bànyì*, as in (10). Although speakers accept personal statives affixed with *-nia*, as in (11), the periphrastic construction is much more frequent in my data.

(11) *Yì góóníábí jàná ùtìjùnà yìrè jìkàjì chíbàgòñòyì*

Yì góó -níá -bí jàná ùtì -jùnà yì -rè jìkà -jì chíbà -gòñò
 1sg be.angry -FRUST.B -1sg.pst now 3 -pl 1sg -OBJ speak -3sg.n.pres be.happy -CAUS
 -yì
 -3pl.pres

I was angry, but now they've made me be calm. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jul10)

The frustrative of an impersonal stative verb is formed regularly, as in (12).

(12) a. *Áó gíàniàjì*

Áó gíà -nià -jì
 food DESID -FRUST.B -3sg.n.pres

I'm hungry (but I can't eat). (E.JMM.AHS.2012jul07)

b. *Bíó gíàniàgì, jàná bíó gíàmájì*

Bíó gíà -nià -gì, jàná bíó gíà -má -jì
 sleep DESID -FRUST.B -3sg.n.pst now sleep DESID -NEG -3sg.n.pres

I wanted to sleep (and didn't); now, I'm not sleepy. (E.NMM.AHS.2012jul09)

Speakers do not give consistent glosses for the frustratives of other stative verbs, and I suspect that in discourse these occur mostly (if not exclusively) in adversative/concessive constructions.

3.1.7 Frustratives of weather verbs

Máíjìki has a number of impersonal verbs which refer to weather events. All of the verbs shown in the following table can appear with the *-nia* frustrative in an adversative/concessive construction such as (13). Elsewhere, the frustrative forms of weather verbs indicate that the weather event took place in an incomplete or unexpected way, as in (14).

(13) *Dòè ísíníagí jàná ókójì*

Dòè ísì -níá -gí jàná ókó -jì
 before be.sunny -FRUST.B -3sg.n.pst now rain -3sg.n.pres

A moment ago it was sunny, but now it's raining. (E.NMM.AHS.2012jul09)

(14) *Ókó tómeníagí*

Ókó tóme -níá -gí
 rain fall -FRUST.B -3sg.n.pst

It's rained a little (but it's about to rain more). (E.NMM.AHS.2012jul09)

3.2 Morphology

The *-nia* affix cannot occur in serial verb constructions or with the negative. Unlike *-da*, however, *-nia* can co-occur with *-jó*.

3.2.1 Serialization

A verb with *-nia* cannot form part of a serial verb construction. For example, *Yì táníníábí* (fall-FRUST.B-1sg.pst) typically means “I fell but didn’t injure myself.” (15) shows that when the root *táí* “fall” participates in a serial verb construction, it cannot be marked with the frustrative to convey this meaning. Instead, a second verb must express the unexpected result.

- (15) *Yì chíímátájí yì yémábí*
 Yì chíímá -táí -jí yì yé -má -bí
 1sg slip -fall -1sg.pst 1sg be.injured -NEG -1sg.pst

I slipped and fell, but didn’t injure myself. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jul10)

3.2.2 Cooccurrence restrictions

Unlike the other frustrative, *-nia* may cooccur with *-jó* and the negative *-má*. The scope of *-jó* appears to depend on its position relative to *-nia*, as the contrast in (16) indicates.

- (16) a. *Yì wè néjóníábí*
 Yì wè né -jó -níá -bí
 1sg house build -PFV -FRUST.B -1sg.pst
 I’ve built the (entire) house, but no one lives there. (E.LTM.2012jul10)
- b. *Yì kwàkònàjóbí*
 Yì kwàkò -nà -jó -bí
 1sg cook -FRUST.B -PFV -1sg.pst
 I cooked, but didn’t finish (there’s still food left over). (E.LTM.AHS.2012jul10)

The limited data available on interaction between *-jó* and *-nia* suggests that when the perfective precedes the frustrative, it indicates that the action of the verb was completed but the normal result did not obtain. In turn, the frustrative followed by the perfective means that the subject has abandoned the action of the verb before completion. Under this analysis, the ordering *-jó-nia-* forces the “unexpected result” or “do minimally” readings of the frustrative, while *-nia-jó-* allows only the “tried and failed” or “do to exhaustion” readings of *-nia*. However, speaker judgments of the forms in (16) were not stable, and further work on the semantics of *-jó* is necessary to clarify this issue.

Morphological causatives

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1 Introduction

Máájìkì has a single productive morphological causative affix, *-goño*. This affix is suffixed to the verb root¹ and derives a new verb stem of higher valency. Although Máájìkì also has a number of analytic causative constructions, derivation with *-goño* is the language's only productive strategy for morphologically adjusting the voice or valency of the verb.

This entails that facts about the morphological causative will be important to our analysis of many other points of verbal morphology and syntax. In this module, I therefore explore the morphosyntax and semantics of *-goño*, elaborating on Michael (2010). I do not discuss the unusual tone behavior of the affix, which is described in Farmer (2010).

2 Argument structure

2.1 Generalizations

Derivation with *-goño* adds exactly one argument to the verb. This argument is always a causer. We see from (1) that *-goño* does not license additional beneficiary arguments not permitted by the argument structure of the verb root. That is, the affix is a causative, not an applicative or benefactive.

- (1) a. *Yì bírírè jásógoñobi Títíre*
Yì bírírè -re jásó -goño -bi Títí -re
1sg white-collared.peccary -ACC shoot -CAUS -1sg.pst personal.name -ACC
a. Yo he hecho a Títí balar la huangana. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jun29)
b. *He baleado la huangana para Títí. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jun29)

Causative derivation does not alter the internal argument structure of the verb root. Data such as that in (2) indicates that if a verb root has an animacy restriction on the subject or agent, it derives a causative with the same restriction on the causee. The same applies to restrictions on the animacy of the patient. This behavior distinguishes causatives with *-goño* from transitive verbs which began life as causatives formed by vowel mutation.

- (2) a. *Yì kwénéyi*

¹In the case of *-ni* class verbs, *-goño* appears on the *-ni* allomorph of the root.

Yì kwéné -yì
 1sg dry -1sg.pres
 I'm drying myself.

b. **To kwénéjì*
 To kwéné -jì
 Clothing dry -3sg.pres
 *The clothing is drying.

c. **Yì tó kwénégoño*
 *Yì tó kwéné -goño -yì
 1sg clothing dry -CAUS -1sg.pres
 *I'm making my clothing dry. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jun29)

Verbs of any lexical aspect class can form causatives with *-goño*. The only restriction on derivation with this affix is that *-goño* cannot apply to impersonal stative verbs such as *gíàjì* or on impersonal verbs referring to weather events. (3) shows that this restriction does not apply to personal statives such as *chíbà* “be happy.”

(3) *Yì ókòrè Grace chíbàgónògò*
 Yì ó -kò -rè Grace chíbà -gónò -gò
 1sg cry -CL:fem -OBJ personal.name be.happy -CAUS -3sg.f.pst

Yo estaba llorando, y Grace me ha hecho contentarme. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jul11)

We conclude that *-goño* is a true morphological causative. It adds a causer argument to the verb – increasing its valency by one – but does not license other additions or changes to the argument structure of the verb root. This behavior distinguishes *-goño* from voice- and valency-increasing strategies employed in other Tukanooan languages and in Amazonia more generally.

2.2 Intransitive verbs

When *-goño* appears on a root which has only one argument, it derives a transitive verb. This operation adds a causer to the argument structure of the verb and demotes the original single argument to causee. The verb agrees in person and number with the causer, and the causee (if animate) is optionally marked with *-re*, as in (4). This suggests that the causer is the agent, and the causee the patient, in the causative clause. The preferred word order is Causer - Causee - Verb.

(4) *Yì Estefanyre bìbìgónògò*
 Yì Estefany -re bìbì -gónò -yì
 1sg personal.name -OBJ run -CAUS -1sg.pres

Yo le estoy haciendo a Estefany correr. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jul03)

As we have discussed at other times, *Májjìkì* has a number of intransitive verbs with middle semantics. Many but not all of the middle verbs are related, by an unproductive vowel mutation, to transitive verbs with causative semantics (for example, *máyyí* “rise” corresponds to *mááyí* “raise”). This does not prevent the middle verbs from forming morphological causatives with *-goño*. Rather,

the *-goño* causatives and the vowel-mutation causatives coexist. (5) indicates that the lower-valency verb in a vowel mutation pair can form a morphological causative; (d) shows that the same is true for the higher-valency verb.

(5) *Yì Tííré yòù mìnígóñóyì*

Yì Tííré -ré yòù mìní -góñó -yì
1sg personal.name -OBJ canoe rise -CAUS -1sg.pres

Estoy haciendo a Grace subir a mi canoa. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jun29)

2.3 Transitive verbs

When *-goño* appears on a transitive root, it derives a trivalent verb. The arguments of the derived verb are causer, causee (corresponding to the agent of the underived verb), and patient. In the causative clause, the verb agrees in person and number with the causer, and the patient is obligatorily marked with *-re* if animate. The causee is optionally marked with *-re* if animate. (6) shows both possibilities for object marking on the causee. (6) also illustrates the most frequent word order in clauses of this type, which is Causer - Causee - Patient - Verb. (7) shows that Causer - Patient - Causee - Verb word order is also acceptable.

(6) *Yì Estefany(re) bírírè jásógóñòbì*

Yì Estefany -re bírí -rè jásó -góñò -bì
1sg personal.name -OBJ white-lipped.peccary -OBJ shoot -CAUS -1sg.pst

Yì Estefany bírí -rè jásó -góñò -bì
1sg personal.name white-lipped.peccary -OBJ shoot -CAUS -1sg.pst

Yo le [he] hecho balear a Estefany a la huangana. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jul03)

(7) *Yì wè íré négóñóbí*

Yì wè í -ré né -góñó -bí
1sg house 3sg.m -OBJ build -CAUS -1sg.pst

Yo le he hecho construir la casa. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jul05)

2.4 The verb *íchíyí* “give”

In Májìkì, it is unclear whether beneficiaries are distinct from patients in the argument structure of prototypically ditransitive verbs such as *íchíyí* “give, sell,” *úkáyí* “serve drink,” and *úóyí* “feed.” The speakers consulted were evenly divided about whether any of these items can take the causative affix. One only rejected sentences such as (8); two only accepted them; and two rejected and accepted the same sentence on different occasions.

(8) *Yì Máibàròrè Mámàsòrè jàsò íchígóñóbí*

Yì Máibàrò -rè Mámàsò -rè jàsò íchí -góñó -bí
1sg personal.name -OBJ personal.name -OBJ manioc give -CAUS -1sg.pst

a. Yo he dicho a Maibaro para que le diera la yuca a Mamaso.

- b. Yo he dicho a Mamaso para que le diera la yuca a Maibaro. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jul11)

For speakers who allow derivation of a causative of *ícháyí*, the derived verb has four arguments: causer, causee (corresponding to the agent of the original verb), theme, and beneficiary. The causee, theme, and beneficiary can all be marked with *-re* if animate, but we do not have sufficient data to determine whether the marking is obligatory.

Even speakers who accept causative forms of *ícháyí* reject causatives formed from a derived verb with the benefactive *káí*-. This restriction could arise either from the semantics of the benefactive or from a more general constraint against 4-valent verbs.

2.5 Omission of arguments

Most arguments can be omitted from a causative clause. Positive data indicates that:

1. For an originally intransitive causative verb, the causee can be omitted if the causer is overt.
2. For an originally transitive causative verb, the causer can be omitted if the causee is overt. In this case, the patient may be either omitted (-Cr+Ce-P) or overt (-Cr +Ce +P).
3. For an originally transitive causative verb, the patient can be omitted if the causee is overt. As above, the causer may be either omitted (-Cr+Ce-P) or overt (+Cr -Ce -P).

Sentences with causer and patient omitted, but causee overt, appear relatively often in our data. (9) is an example of this type.

- (9) *Mámàsòrè jásógóñóbí*

Mámàsò -rè jásó -góñó -bí
 personal.name -OBJ shoot -CAUS -1sg.pst

Yo le he hecho a Mamaso balear (algo). (E.LTN.AHS.2012jul05)

We limit our comments to positive data because speakers have do not have consistent grammaticality judgments on this issue. On the one hand, we have no attested examples of omission of an intransitive causer or a transitive causee. On the other, speakers sometimes accepted sentences which omitted these arguments. It is likely that the syntax governing omission of arguments from causative (and other) clauses crucially involves aspects of information structure which we do not yet understand.

2.6 Causative with other voice- and valency-adjusting operations

Reflexive and reciprocal. Causatives with *-goño* cannot express reflexive or reciprocal action by either the causer or the causee. (10) indicates that the causer and causee of a morphological causative cannot be coreferential, while (11) shows that the causee and patient cannot be coreferential. Reciprocal analogues to the sentences in (10) and (11) were also rejected as ungrammatical.

- (10) *Yì chísógóñóbí*

Yì chísó -góñó -bí
 1sg vomit -CAUS -1sg.pst

- a. *Yo me he hecho vomitar.
- b. Yo le hecho vomitar (a él). (E.LTN.AHS.2012jul05, E.AMM.AHS.2012jul07)

(11) *Yì ǐré jásó góńóbí*

Yì ǐ -ré jásó -góńó -bí
 1sg 3sg.m -OBJ shoot -CAUS -1sg.pst

- a. *Yo le he hecho balearse.
 b. Yo le he hecho balear (a tí/él/ellos). (E.LTN.2012jul05)

-kí, -ko construction. In a non-causative clause, the animate subject of a verb can be marked with the classifiers *-kí* or *-ko*. This construction can indicate that the subject performed the action of the verb alone; that the subject was the only member of a group to perform the action; or that the subject performed the action of the verb reflexively. (12) demonstrates that *-kí, -ko* marking cannot appear on the causee of a morphological causative. This suggests that the *-kí, -ko* construction is limited to grammatical subjects (which supports the existence of subjects as a category in Májìkì).

(12) a. *Yìkò bíbìbí*

Yì -kò bíbì -bí
 1sg -CL:fem run -1sg.pst
 Yo he corrido solita.

b. **ǐ yìkòrè bíbìgòńògì*

*ǐ yì -kò -rè bíbì -góńò -gì
 3sg 1sg -CL:fem -OBJ run -CAUS -3sg.m.pst

*Él me ha hecho correr solita. (E.AMM.AHS.2012jul07)

Multiple causation. (13) shows that it is not possible to stack multiple copies of the causative affix in order to express that the causer sets in motion a chain of caused events.

(13) **Yì Mámàsòrè Máíbàròrè kwàkògòńògòńòyì*

*Yì Mámàsò -rè Máíbàrò -rè kwàkò -gòńò -gòńò -yì
 1sg personal.name -OBJ personal.name -OBJ cook -CAUS -CAUS -1sg.pres

*Yo le mando a Mamaso que haga a Cristina cocinar. (E.HMR.AHS.2012jul04)

We conclude that the morphological causative is not compatible with any other voice- or valency-adjusting operation, even when – as in (10) and (11) – the other change in valency is not morphologically marked on any element. Analytic causatives therefore take the place of *-gońo* causatives when reflexive, reciprocal, or multiple causation must be expressed.

3 Causative with other affixes

3.1 Negation

-gońo can be followed by the clausal negator *-má*. Speakers are unanimous that *má* can negate either the entire clause or the action of the causee (equivalent to the subordinate clause in an analytic causative). (14) provides an example of each possible reading.

(14) *Yì Mámàsòrè bíbìgòńòmábí*

Yì Mámàsò -rè bìbì -gòñò -má -bí
 1sg personal.name -OBJ run -CAUS -NEG -1sg.pst

- a. Yo no he hecho correr a Mamaso (pero está corriendo).
- b. Yo no he hecho correr a Mamaso (y por eso no está corriendo).
- c. Yo le prohíbo correr a Mamaso.; Yo no dejo correr a Mamaso. (E.HMR.AHS.2012jul05, E.JMM.AHS.2012jul06, E.AMM.AHS.2012jul07)

The negative form of the causative also forms the negative abilitive construction. In this impersonal construction, the verb root appears with the causative and negative affixes and is marked for present tense and 3sg masculine/inanimate subject.² The verb is preceded by the logical subject, which is always animate and is marked with *-re*. A second nominal argument can also appear, typically between the logical subject and the verb. This argument may be animate or inanimate, and if animate is marked with *-re*. (15) provides an example with two nominal arguments.

(15) *Yìre mǎrè ñiàgòñòmáǰǐ*
 Yì -re mǎ -rè ñià -gòñò -má -ǰǐ
 1sg -OBJ 2sg -OBJ see -CAUS -NEG -3sg.n.pres

No puedo mirarte. (E.HMR.AHS.2012jul04, E.LTN.AHS.2012jul05)

Only a first or second person pronoun can be the obligatory argument (logical subject) of a negative abilitive construction. However, the optional argument (logical object) may be any semantically acceptable NP or pronoun. (16) illustrates this restriction.

(16) *Sèmèrè yìrè ñiàgòñòmáǰǐ*
 Sèmè -rè yì -rè ñià -gòñò -má -ǰǐ
 lowland.paca -OBJ 1sg -OBJ see -CAUS -NEG -3sg.n.pres

- a. *El majás no puede verme.
- b. No puedo ver el majás. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jul05)

3.2 The 2-state suffix *-jǒ* ~ *jéá*

The causative affix cannot co-occur with the verbal affix *-jǒ*. (17) shows that even if a verb appears frequently with *-jǒ* at its default valency, it cannot bear *-jǒ* when causative. Since causation is inherently a 1-state event, this is consistent with Stephanie Farmer's analysis of *-jǒ* as deriving a 2-state verb from a 1-state root.

(17) a. *Yì chímàtànìǰúbì*
 Yì chímà -tànì -ǰú -bí
 1sg slip -fall -2-STATE -1sg.pst
 Yo he resbalado y caído. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jul14)

b. **Yì dòikíré chímàtànìgòñòǰóbì*³

²The negative abilitive is the only impersonal construction allowed with the causative. Compare the discussion of impersonal statives in §5).

³The ungrammaticality of this example is due to the cooccurrence of *-jǒ* and *-gòñò*, not to the occurrence of *-gòñò* on a serial verb. See (18).

*Yì dòi -kí -ré chímà -tànì -gòñò -jò -bí
 1sg sibling -CL:masc -OBJ slip -fall -CAUS -2-STATE -1sg.pst
 *Yo le hice a mi hermano resbalar y caer. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jul14)

4 Causative in common verbal constructions

Serial verb constructions. In a serial verb construction, the causative appears after the last verb root and before the TAM marking. The examples in (18) and (19) indicate that the causative has scope over both elements of the serial verb.

(18) *Yì ùkábèbègòñòbì yí dòikírè*

Yì ùká -bébè -gòñò -bì yí dòi -kí -ré
 1sg drink -be.drunk -CAUS -1sg.pst 1sg sibling -CL:masc -OBJ

Yo he hecho a mi hermano emborracharse. (E.NMM.AHS.2012jul12, E.LTN.AHS.2012jul14)

(19) *Yì dòikírè jàrù yábìgòñòbì*

Yì dòi -kí -ré jàrù -yábì -gòñò -bì
 1sg sibling -CL:masc -OBJ sit -rest -CAUS -1sg.pst

Yo le hice a mi hermano sentar y descansar. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jul14)

Sequential constructions. The causative may appear on any verb, finite or nonfinite, in a sequential construction. Comparing (20) and (21) with (19), we see an important difference between serial and sequential verbal constructions. In (19), *-goño* has scope over both elements of the serial verb. The translations of (20) and (21), on the other hand, indicate that in a sequential construction *-goño* only has scope over the root on which it occurs. This indicates that *-goño* has word-level scope, and further supports that a serial verb constitutes a single morphological word.

(20) *Yì dòikírè dárè bìbìgòñòmábí*

Yì dòi -kí -ré dá -ré bìbì -gòñò -má -bí
 1sg sibling -CL:masc -OBJ bring -SEQ run -CAUS -NEG -1sg.pst

He traído a mi hermano, pero no le hice correr. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jul14)

(21) *Yì dòikírè dáògòñòrè jètè bìbìgòñòbì*

Yì dòi -kí -ré dáò -gòñò -rè jètè bìbì -gòñò -bì
 1sg sibling -CL:masc -OBJ walk -CAUS -SEQ later run -CAUS -1sg.pst

Yo le hice a mi hermano caminar y después correr. (E.NMM.AHS.2012jul12)

Nominalization. We have no evidence for restrictions on nominalization of causative verbs. (22) shows that when a causative is nominalized to form a relative clause, it may bear either *-chi* or *-se*.⁴ Additionally, any argument of the causative may be extracted to stand as the head of the relative clause. (22) provides an example of extraction of each of the three possible arguments of a causative.

⁴We have no data on co-occurrence of the causative affix and future nominalizers, but there is no morphosyntactic reason that *-goño* could not co-occur with a future nominalizer.

- (22) a. Causer extracted
Yì ñíàbí àkì Mámàsòrè bìbìgòñòkìrè
 Yì ñíà -bì àkì Mámàsò -rè bìbì -gòñò -kì -rè
 1sg see -1sg.pst mestizo personal.name -OBJ run -CAUS -CL:masc -OBJ
 Yo he visto al mestizo que ha hecho a Mamaso correr. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jul05)
- b. Causee extracted
Yì ñíàbí àkìrè ótégòñókó
 Yì ñíà -bì àkì -rè óté -gòñò -kó
 1sg see -1sg.pst mestizo -OBJ dance -CAUS -CL:fem
 Yo he visto al mestizo que yo he hecho bailar. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jul05)
- c. Patient extracted, nominalized with *-se*
Yì ñíàbí yì d̀̀kìrè jàsò yì gòásékó kwàkògòñòsè
 Yì ñíà -bì yì d̀̀kì -kì -rè jàsò yì gòásé -kó kwàkò -gòñò
 1sg see -1sg.pst 1sg sibling -CL:masc -OBJ manioc 1sg order -CL:fem cook -CAUS
 -sè
 -PAST.NMLZR
 Yo he visto la yuca que yo le he mandado cocinar a mi hermano. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jul14)
- d. Patient extracted, nominalized with *-chi*
Yì ñíàbí yòù yì yókó yì d̀̀kìrè díógóñóchíbí⁵
 Yì ñíà -bì yòù yì yó -kó yì d̀̀kì -kì -rè díó -gòñò
 1sg see -1sg.pst canoe 1sg do -CL:fem 1sg sibling -CL:masc -OBJ make.sink -CAUS
 -chí -bí
 -PAST.NMLZR -CL:?
 Yo he visto la canoa que yo le hice sumir mi hermano. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jul14)

From this evidence, we conclude that derived causative verbs have the same behavior as monomorphemic verb roots in sequential verbal constructions and relative clauses. We also see, from the behavior of *-goño* in sequential verbal constructions and serial verb constructions, that the affix has word-level – not root or phrase-level – scope.

5 Semantics

5.1 Intentionality

Intentionality does not play an important role in the semantics of the Májìkì causative. The causer and causee of a given causative verb may intend to perform the action of the verb, or they may perform it accidentally or unconsciously. For example, speakers indicate that the sentence in (23) can have either an intentional interpretation, as in (a), or an unintentional interpretation, as in (b).

- (23) *Yì íoré tò yèrègòñòyì*
 Yì ío -ré tò yèrè -gòñò -yì
 1sg 3sg.f -OBJ clothing tear -CAUS -1sg

⁵The root of this form is *díó*- “make sink,” which is related by a vowel mutation to *d̀̀*- “sink.” This illustrates our statement in § that either verb in a vowel-mutation pair can form a morphological causative.

Yo le estoy haciendo romper la ropa. (E.HMR.AHS.2012jul04, E.JMM.AHS.2012jul06)

- a. **Causer and causee action intentional.** I dislike my neighbor so much that I pay another person to tear up her clothes while they are drying on the line.
- b. **Causer and causee action unintentional.** I see that it is about to rain and tell my friend to take down her clothes. She does this too quickly and tears some of the clothes.

Because of the unimportance of intentionality to the causative, inanimate causers are acceptable to most speakers of Májìkì.⁶ In (24), *bíà* “ají” appears to be the grammatical subject of the causative: it precedes the causee argument (*yìrè*), and the verb is marked for a 3sg masculine/inanimate subject.

(24) *Bíà yìrè chí só gó ñó jí*

Bíà yì -rè chí só -gó ñó -jí
ají 1sg -OBJ vomit -CAUS -3sg.n.pres

Ají me está haciendo vomitar. (E.NMM.AHS.2012jul09)

5.2 Volitionality

(25) *Ítì jùnà yìrè óté gó ñó yí*

Ítì -jùnà yì -rè óté -gó ñó -yí
3 -pl 1sg -OBJ dance -CAUS -3pl.pres

Me están haciendo bailar. (E.HMR.AHS.2012jul04)

Some degree of causee volition is necessary for the causative to be semantically appropriate. Speakers generally indicate that for (25), at least these three readings are possible:

1. **Coercive.** I don’t like to dance, but on Fiestas Patrias, someone physically drags me to the dance floor, where I have to dance.
2. **Expected Result.** I am working when people come to my house playing instruments and singing. Naturally, the music makes me dance.
3. **Facilitative.** A group of people bring a generator and gasoline to my community and organize a party. I go to the party and dance.

Although all three of these readings are available, speakers indicate that the expected result and facilitative readings are the most apt, and some categorically reject the coercive reading. Additionally, speakers are often reluctant to translate morphological causatives with Spanish glosses such as *hacer que* and *mandar*. They preferred to give *-goño* causatives an explicitly facilitative translation, as in (26).

(26) *Yì ír é jí só gó ñó bí*

Yì í -ré jí só -gó ñó -bí
1sg 3sg shoot -CAUS -1sg.pst

Yo le he dado cartuchos para balar. (E.HMR.AHS.2012jul05)

This suggests that the core meaning of the Májìkì causative is \pm intentional, $+$ volitional for both causer and causee.

⁶One of our consultants, LTN, categorically rejected inanimate causers.

5.3 Effort and directness

The morphological causative requires that the causer exert at least some effort in order to achieve the action of the verb. It is not possible to use a causative when someone has caused an event through inaction. This restriction prohibits morphological (and perhaps also analytic) causatives from expressing meanings such as *I made the fruit rot (by leaving it out)* and *I made the baby cry (by not feeding him)*.

On the other hand, there is no restriction on directness of causation for the morphological causative. That is, the causative is appropriate even if the causer is not present for or immediately involved in the causee's action. Speakers were unanimous that a causative sentence such as (27) can express either indirect causation, as in interpretation (a), or direct causation, as in (b).

(27) *Yì gágóñóyí*

Yì gá -góñó -yí
1sg laugh -CAUS -1sg.pres

Yo les estoy haciendo reír. (E.LMM.AHS.2012jul07)

- a. **Indirect causation.** While I am in Iquitos, I send a book of jokes to my friends in Nueva Vida. They read the book and laugh.
- b. **Direct causation.** I make a face or tell a joke to the people next to me, making them laugh immediately.

Reflexive and reciprocal constructions

Amalia Skilton

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1 Introduction

Many theories of syntax rely crucially on evidence about reflexive pronouns, adducing restrictions on reflexives in patient and/or complement roles to support generalizations about the syntactic importance of C-command. Reflexive constructions in Májìkì present an interesting test case for such theories. The language has no dedicated morphological markers for reflexive or reciprocal semantics. Instead, Májìkì employs a variety of polysemous constructions – mostly within the NP – to convey reflexive and reciprocal meanings.

This module therefore explores productive reflexive and reciprocal strategies in Májìkì. We begin our discussion of reflexives in §2.2, where we describe morphological marking of reflexive on the subject of a transitive clause, and the function of the “reflexive” markers when they appear in an intransitive clause. We then consider the use of adverbs (§2.4) and semantically light object NPs (§2.5) to express reflexivity. The report concludes in §3 with a discussion of reciprocal constructions.

2 Reflexive strategies

2.1 Generalizations

Two related factors conspire to render overt reflexive marking generally unnecessary in Májìkì. One is that the language has a large number of intransitive verbs with middle (reflexive or passive) semantics, such as *yètèyì* “injure oneself,” *tíyíyí* “cut oneself,” and *úyí* “burn (up), burn oneself.” When lexically possible, speakers almost always employ one of these dedicated middle verbs to express reflexive action, reducing the number of reflexive clauses with transitive verbs. Even when a transitive verb does appear with reflexive semantics, there is often no overt marker of reflexivity, for Májìkì allows relatively free omission of patients. As such, patientless sentences such as *Yì jásóbí* “I shot” can be interpreted as having either a reflexive patient (“I shot myself”) or an underspecified non-reflexive patient (“I shot something”).

Because of these two facts, overt reflexive marking tends to appear only when (a) the action cannot be expressed by a middle verb and (b) the reflexive meaning cannot be recovered from context. The set of predicates for which both (a) and (b) can hold is essentially the set of verbs which are prototypically transitive, with an animate agent and patient. We focus on reflexive and reciprocal constructions with verbs of this type for the remainder of the report.

Table 1: Reflexive markers

PERSON	ELEMENT
Local masc.	- <i>kí</i>
Local fem.	- <i>ko</i>
3sg fem.	<i>íkí</i>
3sg masc.	<i>íkó</i>
Plural	<i>íjí</i>

2.2 Reflexive marking on the agent NP

The agent of a transitive clause can be marked with an element from the paradigm in Table 1 to indicate reflexivity of the action.

The elements which appear with first- and second-person singular agents are affixes to the personal pronoun, and agree with it in gender. For third-person singular agents and plural agents of any person, the reflexive marker is an independent phonological word which immediately follows the last word in the agent NP and agrees with it in number and gender. The reflexive markers do not vary with the tense of the clause, and there is no evidence for any restriction on their availability in subordinate clauses.

The third-person and plural markers in Table 1 are transparently grammaticalized from a verb *íyí*. Together with the gender agreement in the first and second person singular markers, this strongly suggests that the synchronic reflexive markers grammaticalized from a same-subject simultaneous construction with *íyí*. It is unclear whether *íyí* is or diachronically was distinct from *íyí* “say” (which synchronically has both referential and grammatical functions).

2.2.1 Word order in reflexive clauses

When reflexivity is marked with one of the elements in Table 1, the strongly preferred word order is (Agent) - Reflexive - Verb. If the agent is third person singular, then it can be omitted, yielding a clause consisting only of the reflexive marker and the verb, as in (1). This is the only construction in which a reflexive marker can appear without immediately following an overt agent NP.

(1) (*Níò*) *íkò* *báíkó*

Níò *íkò* *báí* -*kó*
 3sg.f.PRO 3sg.f.REFL hit -3sg.f.PRES

íkò *báí* -*kó*
 3sg.f.REFL hit -3sg.f.pres

Ella misma está golpeando a su cuerpo. (E.JMM.AHS.2012jul21)

First- and second-person pronouns with the reflexive affixes can appear before or after the verb. On the other hand, when the reflexive element is a free word, it can appear postverbally only if it immediately follows the subject NP. (2) illustrates some possible and impossible word orders in reflexive clauses.

(2) a. *Yíkò* *báíyí*

- b. *Báiyí yìkò*
- c. *Mìkì báiyí*
- d. *Báiyí mìkì* (E.LTN.AHS.2012jul23)
- e. *Báíkó nìò ìkó*
- f. *Nìò ìkó báíkó*
- g. **Nìò báíkó ìkò*
- h. *ìkó báíkó nìò* (E.NMM.AHS.2012jul24)

2.3 Reflexive marking on intransitive subjects

The markers in Table 1 are not exclusively reflexive in function. When they appear in an intransitive clause, or in a transitive clause with an overt non-reflexive patient, they yield the reading that the subject performed the action of the verb alone. (3) and (4) exemplify the most frequent uses of these markers in intransitive and transitive clauses. (5) shows that the “reflexive” markers can also appear in a non-reflexive transitive clause.

- (3) *Yìkò bìyàbì*

Yì -kò bìyà -bì
1sg.PRO -1sg.fem.REFL swim -1sg.pst

Solita he nadado. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jul19)

- (4) *Kákí ìkí jásógí*

Kákí ìkí jásó -gí
3sg.m.PRO 3sg.m.REFL shoot -3sg.m.pst

El hombre ha baleado sólo.¹ (E.JMM.AHS.2012jul21)

- (5) *Yájòyì ìkí kúníméájúgí kúchìrè*

Yájòyì ìkí kúní -méá -jú -gí kúchì -rè
male.dog 3sg.m.REFL bite -kill -2.STATE -3sg.m.pst pig -OBJ

El perro solito ha mordido al chancho y le ha muerto al chancho. (E.JMM.AHS.2012jul21)

The reflexive markers can appear on an inanimate subject (perhaps better termed an inanimate experiencer) if the verb is middle. This tends to yield the reading, as in (6), that the action of the verb occurred without the intervention of an agent. On the other hand, we did not obtain this type of reading for (7).

- (6) *Wè ìkí újúgí*

Wè ìkí ú -jú -gí
house 3sg.m.REFL be.burning -2-STATE -3sg.m.pst

La casa se quema solita (nadie le ha prendido fuego). (E.JMM.AHS.2012jul21)

- (7) *Yì yíò ìkí újúgí*

¹This is the standard reflexive construction in local Spanish, which does not usually use *se* to indicate reflexive action. We probed all back-translations with reflexive *sólo* to verify that the elicited sentence was reflexive.

Yì yìò ìkí ú -jú -gí
 1sg.PRO garden 3sg.m.REFL be.burning -2-STATE -3sg.m.pst

Mi chacra está quemando (solito). (E.JMM.AHS.2012jul21)

(8) suggests that with at least some intransitive predicates, the reflexive markers can also indicate reflexive causation.

(8) *Yìkò chísóyí*

Yì -kò chísó -yí
 1sg.PRO -1sg.f.REFL vomit -1sg.pres

T: Yo me estoy haciendo vomitar.

E: Yo sóla estoy vomitando. (E.JMM.AHS.2012jul21)

2.3.1 Reflexive marking with *-re*

An NP with an overt reflexive element generally cannot be marked with *-re*. The exception is that *-re* may appear on an animate NP which is the single argument of a middle verb, as in (9). It is unclear whether this single argument is syntactically a subject.

(9) *íkóré kíurì títóyétéjógó*

íkó -ré kíú -rì tító -yété -jó
 3sg.f.REFL metal -CL:manufactured.object cut.oneself -injure.oneself -2.STATE -3sg.f.pst
 -gó

Ella se ha cortado con machete. (E.NMM.AHS.2012jul24)

2.3.2 Reflexive marking on objects

(10) shows that even when a reflexive affix has the “(argument) alone” reading, it cannot appear on the patient.

(10) a. **Yì bájì m̀k̀k̀(рэ)*

*Yì bá -jì m̀ k̀ -k̀ -(рэ)
 1sg.PRO hit -1sg.pst 2sg.PRO -2sg.m.REFL -OBJ

*Yo estoy pegando sólo a tí. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jul23)

b. **Yì bájì yì d̀k̀k̀ ík̀(рэ)*

Yì bá -jì yì d̀ k̀ -k̀ ík̀ -(рэ)
 1sg.PRO hit -1sg.pst 1sg.PRO sibling -CL:masc 3SG.M.REFL -OBJ

*Yo estoy pegando sólo a mi hermano. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jul23)

Despite this restriction, reflexive elements can appear inside of a relative clause modifying the patient. (11) illustrates this construction for a third-person argument; it is also possible with a first- or second-person pronoun as head of the relative clause.

(11) *Yì ñíàbí nómìò íkó jásójóchìkòrè*

Yì ñíà -bí nómìò íkó jásó -jó -chí -kò -rè
1sg.PRO see -1sg.pst woman 3sg.f.REFL shoot -PST.NMLZR -CL:fem -OBJ

Yo he visto a la mujer que ha baleado sólo. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jul19)

2.3.3 Reflexive items in other syntactic roles

A reflexive element cannot appear as the complement of a noun. Instead, a bare pronoun occurs, as in (12).

(12) *Ñìò tóyájádò útàsèjàò yìrè íchìgò*

Ñìò tóyá -jàò útà -sè -jàò yì -r'e íchì -gò
3sg.f.PRO write -CL:leaf remove -PST.NMLZR -CL:leaf 1sg.PRO -OBJ give -3sg.f.pst

Su foto de ella me ha dado a mí. (E.JMM.AHS.2012jul18)

Speakers indicate that a sentence of this form can have all of the following three readings:

- She gave me a picture of her (she is in the picture).
- She gave me her picture (a picture that belongs to her).
- She_i gave me a picture of her_j (a picture of another person).

Reflexive elements also cannot appear in possessor NPs. Similarly, if the agent and beneficiary of an action are coreferential, then a bare pronoun – not an NP with a reflexive element – appears in the beneficiary role. (13) illustrates this.

(13) *Yì mì áó kwàkòmágo, yì áòrè kwàkòbì*

Yì mì áó kwàkò -má -gó, yì áò -rè kwàkò -bí
1sg.PRO 2sg.PRO cook -NEG -3sg.f.pst 1sg.PRO food -OBJ cook -1sg.pst

Yo no he cocinado la comida para ti, yo he cocinado para mi mi comida. (E.NMM.AHS.2012jul24)

2.4 Reflexive use of *téì* “alone”

The adverb *téì* “alone” (feminine *téóì*) can also indicate that a clause is reflexive, as in (14).

(14) *Yì ñíàgò jàná í téì jásókírè*

Yì ñíà -gò jàná í téì jásó -kí -rè
1sg.PRO see -1sg.fem.pst now 3sg.m.PRO alone shoot -CL:masc -OBJ

Yo he visto que él ha baleado sólo. (E.JMM.AHS.2012jul21)

2.5 Body parts as patients

If a reflexive action is performed on some body part, the body part usually becomes the grammatical patient of the clause, as in 15, and appears postverbally. (16) indicates that this construction is also available with verbs of perception. When no individual body part can be identified as the object of the action, often *gá* “body” appears as the patient of the clause, as in (17). Both of these constructions can occur with reflexive marking on the agent, but neither is available for consistently intransitive verbs.

(15) *Yì tǐyíjǔbǐ jǐtìpèrè*

Yì tǐyí -jú -bǐ jǐtìpèrè
1sg.PRO cut.oneself -2.STATE -1sg.pst arm

Yo me he cortado mi brazo. (E.JMM.AHS.2012jul18)

(16) *Yìkò ásábǐ yì yòbì*

Yì -kò ásá -bǐ yì yòbì
1sg.PRO -1sg.f.REFL hear -1sg.pst 1sg.PRO mouth

Yo mismo he escuchado mi voz. (E.JMM.AHS.2012jul18)

(17) *Yì gá yèyì*

Yì gá yè -yì
1sg.PRO body smell -1sg.pres

Estoy oliendo yo mismo mi cuerpo. (E.JMM.AHS.2012jul18)

3 Reciprocal strategies

3.1 Reciprocal use of *téàjùnà*

The plural nominal *téàjùnà* appears after a plural subject (or in place of an established subject) to indicate that a clause is reciprocal. The meaning of the root *téà* is unclear. The root is usually glossed as “también,” but the plural form can have either this reading or a reciprocal reading. (18) illustrates both possibilities.

(18) *Yìkǐjùnà téàjùnà jásóyí*

Yìkǐjùnà téà -jùnà jásó -yí
1pl.PRO also -PL shoot -1pl.pres

- a. Nosotros iguales estamos baleando.
- b. Nosotros entre nosotros estamos baleando. (E.JMM.AHS.2012jul21)

The particle *déà* often cooccurs with *téàjùnà*, as in (19). *déà* is a quantificational adverb most often glossed as “puros.” It specifies that all and only the referents of the NP performed the action of the verb. (20) provides an example of *déà* in a non-reciprocal clause.

(19) *Yáíjòjà téàjùnà déà kúkúbí*

Yáíjò -jà téà -jùnà déà kúkú -bí
dog -PL also -PL only bite.PLURACTIONAL -3pl.pst

Los perros entre ellos han mordido. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jul19)

(20) *Ítìjùnà déà máká sájì*

Ítìjùnà déà máká sá -jì
3pl.PRO only forest go -3pl.pst

Sólo ellos no más se han ido al monte. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jul19)

For at least some speakers, the plural reflexive marker *íjì* can also mark a clause as reciprocal. (21) illustrates this use of the reflexive marker.

(21) *Ítìjùnà íjì chíbà yì*

Ítìjùnà íjì chíbà -yì
3pl.PRO PL.REFL kiss -3pl.pres

Entre ellos se besa. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jul19)

There are no distinct reciprocal forms for other syntactic roles, such as beneficiary or possessor.

Analytic causatives

Amalia Skilton

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1 Introduction

Máíjìkì has two productive means for expressing causation. One is a morphological causative with the verbal affix *-goño*, and the other is the use of analytic causative constructions. As we have mentioned elsewhere, speakers often employ analytic causative constructions even when there exists an equivalent, grammatical morphological causative. This entails that a full description of causative constructions in the language must include analytic causatives, as well as causatives with *-goño* and lexical causatives marked by a vowel mutation.

In this report, we therefore discuss aspects of analytic causative constructions in Máíjìkì. We begin by describing the formation of the matrix clause of an analytic causative when the matrix clause verb is finite (2.1), and when it is not (2.2). We then consider the use of quoted speech (3) and prospective complement clauses (4) in the subordinate clause of analytic causative constructions. From the grammar of these clauses, we learn that despite the frequency of analytic causatives in Máíjìkì, the language has no dedicated analytic causative construction.

2 Matrix clause

2.1 Finite matrix clauses

In most cases, the verb in the matrix clause of an analytic causative construction is a form of *góáséyí* “order.” This verb also often co-occurs with morphological causatives, most often in a simultaneous clause-linking construction. (1) illustrates the use of *góáséyí* in the matrix clause of an analytic causative (a), and in a subordinate clause with a morphological causative (b). Other verbs of speech, such as *jìkàyi* “say,” can also participate in both of these constructions.

- (1) a. *Yì dòikòrè góáséyí yì náñà títèàgò.*
Yì dòikó -rè góásé -yí yì náñà títè- àgò
1sg.PRO sister -OBJ order -1sg.pres.dcl 1sg.PRO hair cut.hair COMP.fem
Yo le mando a mi hermana que peluquee mi pelo. (E.AMM.AHS.2012aug03)
- b. *Yì jàsò útárè títérè yì dòikírè góásékò kwàkògòñòbì.*
Yì jàsò útá -rè títé -rè yì dòikí -rè góásé -kò kwàkò -gòñò
1sg manioc pull.up -SEQ cut.up -SEQ 1sg brother -OBJ order -CL:f cook -CAUS
-bì
-1sg.pst.dcl

Yo saqué yuca y le he arrancado, y luego le hice cocinar mi hermano. (E.LTN.AHS.2012jul14)

Verbs and verb phrases which do not refer to speech acts can also appear in the matrix clause of an analytic causative. For example, *kúchki íchìyì* “pay” can introduce a prospective complement clause, as in (2). Speaker also often employ purposive constructions with *-yikì/-yiko* to express causation by means other than speech.

(2) *Yì kúchki íchìbì yì wè néàgì ìkò.*

Yì kúchki íchì -bì yì wè né -àgì ìkò
1sg money give -1sg.pst.dcl 1sg house build -COMP.m COMP.f

Yo al hombre he pagado dinero para que construya mi casa. (E.JMM.AHS.2012jul30)

2.2 Nominalized matrix clauses

Analytic causatives may appear in relative clauses and other nominalized constructions. In this case, both the matrix verb and the verb referring to the caused action are nominalized. (3) - (6) illustrate some possible structures of a nominalized analytic causative in a relative clause. In (3) the causer extracted from the analytic causative construction to stand as the head of the relative clause. The causee is the head in (4) and (5), while in (6), the patient is extracted.

(3) *Yì ñiábì ímàrè yì wè góásékì négòñòchìkàrè.*

Yì ñiá -bì ímà -rè yì wè góásé -kì né -gòñò -chì -kì -rè
1sg see -1sg.pst.dcl man -OBJ 1sg house order -CL:m build -CAUS -PST.NMLZR -CL:m -OBJ

Yo he visto al hombre que ha mandado construir mi casa.

(4) *Yì ñiábì nómiòrè yì góáséchikò ótékòrè.*

Yì ñiá -bì nómiò -rè yì góásé -chì -kò óté -kò -rè
1sg see -1sg.pst.dcl woman -OBJ 1sg order -PST.NMLZR -CL:f dance -CL:f -OBJ

Yo he visto a la mujer que le mandé bailar.

(5) *Yì ñiábì nómiòrè yì góáséchikò ótégòñòkòrè.*

Yì ñiá -bì nómiò -rè yì góásé -chì -kò óté -gòñò -kò -rè
1sg see -1sg.pst.dcl woman -OBJ 1sg order -PST.NMLZR -CL:f dance -CAUS -OBJ

Yo he visto a la mujer que le mandé, que está mandando bailar (a otros).

(6) *Yì ñiábì kúchìrè yì góásékòrè yì dòikí jásóchikòrè.*

Yì ñiá -bì kúchì -rè yì góásé -kò -rè yì dòikí jásó -chì -kò
1sg see -1sg.pst.dcl pig -OBJ 1sg order -CL:f -OBJ 1sg brother shoot -PST.NMLZR -CL:f
-rè
-OBJ

Yo he visto al chancho que ha baleado mi hermano, lo que le mandé a matar. (E.AMM.AHS.2012aug03)

Attempts to elicit causatives with underspecified causees (analogous to “I had the pig shot”) also produced a construction with a nominalized verb of causation. In sentences such as (7), the verb of causation appears in a different-subject simultaneous clause, the main clause has no overt subject, and the main clause verb is marked for plural number.

(7) *Yì góásékòrè yì yíò tétóbí.*

Yì góásé -kòrè yì yíò tétó -bí
 1sg order -DIFF.SUBJ.SEQ 1sg clear.garden -3sg.pst.dcl

Yo le hice rozar la chacra. (No se sabe quien ha rozado.) (E.AMM.AHS.2012aug03, E.LTN.AHS.2012aug06)

This construction could be calqued from the Spanish impersonal construction “OBJ han Ydo” (Finley 2010). If not, it represents evidence in favor of our tentative claim that indefinite and/or underspecified subjects are grammatically marked as plural in Májìkì.

3 Subordinate clauses with reported speech

When a speech verb appears in the matrix clause, a subordinate clause with reported speech often follows. The reported speech always contains an imperative (which may be negative or positive) and may also contain other constituents, as in (8a,b). The reported speech is usually followed by a form of the verb *íyì*, which acts as a complementizer and may appear either in an inflected or a nominalized form in the reported speech construction. (8b), where *íyì* does not appear, suggests that the presence of *íyì* may signal indirect speech.

(8) a. *Yì dòikíré góáséyí kúchìrè jásóbàimà íyì.*

Yì dòikí -rè góásé -yí kúchì -rè jásó -bàimà íyì
 1sg brother -OBJ order -1sg.pres.dcl pig -OBJ shoot -NEG.IMP COMP

Yo le digo a mi hermano que no le mate al chancho. (E.AMM.AHS.2012aug03)

b. *Yì jìkàbì yì dòikíré kúchì báíbàimà.*

Yì jìkà -bì yì dòikí -rè kúchì báí -bàimà
 1sg say -1sg.pst.dcl 1sg brother -OBJ pig kill -NEG.IMP

Yo he dicho a mi hermano que no le mate al chancho. (E.LTN.AHS.2012aug06)

The morphological causative with *-goño* cannot appear on a derived causative or benefactive verb. The reported speech construction is therefore the favored strategy for expressing multiple causation, as in (9), and causation of benefactive events.

(9) *Yì jìkàyì Mámàsòrè Cristinarè kwàkògòñòmà íyì.*

Yì jìkà -yì Mámàsò -rè Cristina -rè kwàkò -gòñò -mà íyì
 1sg speak -1sg.pres.dcl personal.name -OBJ personal.name -OBJ cook -CAUS -IMP COMP

Yo le digo a la Estefany mande a la Cristina cocinar. (E.AMM.AHS.2012aug03)

4 Subordinate clauses with prospective complements

4.1 Prospective complements with *agì/o*

If the causee of an analytic causative construction is singular, then the subordinate clause may be a prospective complement clause (Michael 2010). The prospective complement clause follows the verb of the matrix clause, typically has the order (S)OV, and ends with a complementizing suffix (*-ago*

or *agi*) which agrees with the subject of the subordinate clause in grammatical gender. The tense of the matrix verb does not affect the form of the subordinate clause. Additionally, we have found no grammatical differences between prospective complements with analytic causatives and those with other complement-taking verbs (such as *óyí* “want”).

- (10) a. *Yì góáséyí kúchki íchìàgì.*
 Yì góásé -yí kúchki íchì -àgì
 1sg order -1sg.pres.dcl money give -COMP.m
 Yo le mando a mi hermano que me de la plata. (E.LTN.AHS.2012aug06)
- b. *Yì ñámìnà yì dòikíre góásébí yíò tétóágì.*
 Yì ñámìnà yì dòikí -rè góásé -bí yíò tétó -àgì
 1sg yesterday 1sg brother -OBJ order -1sg.pst.dcl garden clear.garden -COMP.m
 Yo a él he mandado rozar mi chacra a mi hermano. (E.AMM.AHS.2012aug07)

4.2 Prospective complements with *íyì*

The *-agi/o* complementizers are not available when the subject of the subordinate clause is plural. Instead, the subordinate verb is marked with the imperative *-ma*, and the complementizer is *íyì* or *íkì/o*. This construction is indistinguishable from the reported speech constructions discussed in §3. We see in (11), however, that *óyí* “want” can also take a complement clause of identical form when the subject of the complement clause is plural. This suggests that *íyì* and *íkì/o* synchronically belong to the same paradigm as the *agi/o* complementizers.

- (11) a. *Yì dòikínàre góáséyí yí yíò tétómá íyì.*
 Yì dòikí -nà -rè góásé -yí yí yíò tétó -má íyì
 1sg brother -PL -OBJ order -1sg.pres.dcl 1sg garden clear.garden -IMP COMP
 Yo le mando a mis hermanos que rozen mi chacra. (E.AMM.AHS.2012aug07)
- b. *Yì óyí yí dòikínà yí yíò tétómá íyì.*
 Yì óí -yí yí dòikí -nà yí yíò tétó -má íyì
 1sg want -1sg.pres.dcl 1sg brother -PL 1sg garden clear.garden -IMP COMP
 Yo quiero que mis hermanos rozen mi chacra. (E.AMM.AHS.2012aug07)

Additionally, the *agi/o* and *íyì* complementizers can co-occur, as in (12). (13) provides an example of co-occurrence of these complementizers in a negated subordinate clause. The absence of *-ma* from the subordinate verb in this example suggests that the *agi/o* complementizers cannot co-occur with the imperative *-ma*.

- (12) *Yì māmákòre góáséyí jàsò táyéágò íkò.*
 Yì māmákò -rè góásé -yí jàsò táyé -ágò íkò
 1sg daughter -OBJ order -1sg.pres.dcl manioc cut -COMP.f COMP.f
 Yo le mando a mi hija que destronque palo de yuca. (E.JMM.AHS.2012jul30, E.LTN.AHS.2012aug6)
- (13) *Jànà yì góáséyí yì māmákìrè yíàyà biyàbàlàgì íkò.*
 Jànà yì góásé -yí yì māmákì -rè yíàyà biyà -bài -àgì íkò
 now 1sg order -1sg.pres.dcl 1sg son -OBJ river swim -NEG.IMP -COMP.m COMP.f
 Yo he dicho a mi hijo que no nade en el río. (E.JMM.AHS.2012jul30)

5 References

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Agreement within the Májìkì noun phrase

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1 Introduction

In Májìkì, elements of the noun phrase (demonstratives, numerals, adjectives, and nominalized verbal modifiers) often agree with the classifier, number, and case of the noun. Classifiers, bound morphemes that indicate the class to which a given noun belongs, must always be used to mark agreement on each of the elements composing the noun phrase. In some cases, the classifier is an integral part of the noun, such as *ñìgò* in *yíñìgò* 'cotton' or *ñàkà* in *tóyá-ñàkà* 'pencil' (lit. 'write'-CLF:sharp.stick'). In other cases it may be covert, such as in *yòù* 'canoe', which has the classifier *bì* as a marker of agreement on other NP elements. Animate nouns such as humans and most animals take the classifiers *-kì* and *-kò*, which indicate masculine and feminine gender respectively. A handful of other nouns used in a general sense, such as *nè* 'aguaje' (in general, not the tree, not the fruit, not any specific part or product of aguaje), or mass nouns, such as *ókó* 'water', do not have a classifier, but one can be employed to indicate a specific part, in the case of general nouns, or a certain quantity, in the case of mass nouns, if necessary. General nouns and mass nouns must bear a classifier in order to be individuated and/or counted. Part terms are bound morphemes behaving much like classifiers (in fact, many bound part terms have both a literal part term sense and a more abstract classifier sense in which they may be employed). Unbound part terms may appear independently, but in most cases, they can also be used as bound morphemes marking agreement (for more details on part terms, see Neely 2012 module on classifiers versus part terms). Many nouns, such as *wè* 'house', *mà* 'path', and *yìò* 'chacra', may also be employed as repeater classifiers, that is, a copy of the noun is used in place of a bound-only classifier. This module describes the agreement of classifiers, plural marking, and the accusative suffix *-re* on nominalized verbal modifiers, adjectives, numerals, and demonstratives. Most of the module focuses on classifier agreement (sections 2-5) since this is the only agreement which is obligatory on all elements of the noun phrase in (almost) all contexts. Section 6 discusses plural agreement, and section 7 takes a look at accusative marking with *-re*.

Word order within the Májìkì noun phrase is somewhat variable. In a noun phrase with a demonstrative, noun, numeral, and nominalized verbal modifier (much like an adjective), the demonstrative must always come before the noun or any other elements. Numerals and adjectives may appear either before or after the noun, but the preference appears to be for adjectives to follow the noun. Nominalized verbal modifiers almost always occur right-most in the noun phrase, but there are some circumstances where the verb is permitted to precede the

noun. Alternations in word order appear to sometimes have effects on the interpretation of the noun phrase, especially when nominalized verbal modifiers appear non-finally. Word order also appears to affect which element(s) bear(s) accusative marking. Additionally, discourse-related factors appear to neutralize classifier agreement on demonstratives in some contexts.

2 Classifier agreement on nominalized verbal modifiers

Most modifiers fulfilling an adjective-like role are nominalized verbs; however, there is also a limited set of prefixing, non-verbal adjectives discussed in section 3. The preferred word order of nominalized verbal modifiers is generally following the noun, but it is also felicitous for them to appear before the noun. In nearly every case, classifier agreement is obligatory on nominalized verbal modifiers, as discussed in section 2.1. Inverting the order of the noun and the nominalized verb often results in no semantic difference, but some cases where there are slight variations in meaning are discussed in 2.2. Finally, there appears to be evidence that certain nominalized verbs may lack classifier agreement, but this is only permitted under a limited set of circumstances and results in a semantic difference between the form with agreement and the form without, as discussed in 2.3.

2.1 Typical classifier agreement on nominalized verbs

Nominalized verbs are the most common way that non-basic property concepts are expressed in Májìkì. This is probably best considered a relativization strategy. Agreement is almost always marked using a classifier. The examples in (1) demonstrate this with a variety of nouns and verbs¹.

- (1) a. *yá-yà* *sísí-yà*
 river-CLF:river be.cold-CLF:river
 'río frío' (E.LMM.KCN.14jun2012)
- b. *sísíkò-rè* *jájò-kò-rè*
 squirrel-ACC be.dry-CLF:FEM-ACC
 'ardilla seca' (E.LMM.KCN.14jun2012)
- c. *méjá áchúì-sàì*
 sand be.hot-CLF:pile.of.grains
 'arena caliente' (E.LMM.KCN.14jun2012)

In each of the above examples, there is some form of agreement between the noun and the nominalized verbal modifier. In (1a) we see an example with a classifier that is obligatory on both the noun and the verb; in (1b) we see gender agreement with the feminine classifier-like morpheme *-kò*; and in (1c) we see classifier agreement on the verbal element, but the classifier is not required as a part of the noun. Additionally, when a noun is being discussed in a general sense (as described in the introduction), it is possible for there to be no classifier agreement on the verbal element, as in (2).

¹ All of the examples used in this module, unless otherwise stated, were elicited as complements of the phrase *yì ñàbì* "I saw. . .".

- (2) *nè kwàkò-sè*
 aguaje cook-NOMLZR
 'aguaje cocinado' (E.LMM.KCN.14jun2012)

Notice that in (2), where there is no classifier marking agreement on the verb, an overt nominalizer must be used, whereas in (1) we saw three cases where the classifier alone appears to fulfill the function of nominalizing the verb. We also see examples which employ both a nominalizer and a classifier, as in (3).

- (3) *néá-jàrà sísí-jò-sè-jàrà*
 flower-CLF:flower rot-2.STATE-NOMLZR-CLF:flower
 'flor podrida' (E.LMM.KCN.14jun2012)

In the above example, the classifier is actually a bound part term (these behave identically). Unbound part terms may also appear as repeater classifiers, as in (4). There are also some phonologically short non-part term nouns, such as *wè* 'house', *yíò* 'chacra', *mà* 'path', and *tòà* 'candela', which can also exhibit repeater classifier behavior.

- (4) *náñà tíyó-sé-náñà*
 hair cut-NOMLZR-CLF:hair
 "el cabello cortado" (E.AMM.KCN.31jul2012)

When a free part term or other noun that makes use of a repeater classifier appears in a noun phrase with multiple elements, such as (#), it is often the case that no free form of the noun will even appear. Even when an adverb is inserted into the noun phrase as in (##), a free form of the noun cannot be included.

- (#) *í-ñàkwà kótó-sé-ñàkwà*
 DEM.PROX-CLF:eye swell-NOMLZR-CLF:eye
 "este ojo hinchado" (E.LMM.KCN.07aug2012)
- (##) **í-ñàkwà dòè ñákwà kótó-sé-ñàkwà*
 *DEM.PROX-CLF:eye already eye swell-NOMLZR-CLF:eye
 (E.LMM.KCN.07aug2012)

It is also important to note that in some multi-morphemic words composed of more than one classifier, it may not always be the right-most morpheme that agrees, as seen in (5) with the multi-morphemic part term *chóbì* 'head'.

- (5) *chóbì kwàkò-sè-chò*
 head cook-NOMLZR-CLF:round.thing
 "la cabeza cocinada" (E.AMM.KCN.31jul2012)

2.2 Word order effects

Speakers tend to prefer for the noun to precede the nominalized verb, but this is not always the case. When the order is inverted, there is generally no effect on the meaning of the noun phrase, as seen in (6).

- (6) a) mǐ́-jà̀ ò tóme-sé-jà̀ ò
irapay-PT:leaf fall-NOMLZR-CLF:leaf
“la hoja de irapay caída” (E.AMM.KCN.01aug2012)
- b) tóme-sé-jà̀ ò mǐ́-jà̀ ò
fall-NOMLZR-CLF:leaf irapay-PT:leaf
“la hoja de irapay caída” (E.AMM.KCN.01aug2012)

However, with some combinations of nouns and verbs, this inversion is prohibited, as seen in (7).

- (7) a. bíbí bíyà-kó-rè
dolphin swim-CLF:FEM-ACC
“bufeo que estaba nadando” (E.AMM.KCN.01aug2012)
- b. *bíyà-kó-rè bíbí (E.AMM.KCN.01aug2012)

In a handful of cases, the word order alternation makes a very slight distinction in the meaning of the noun phrases, as in (8). In (8a) the consultant reported that the meat had been cooked before it was seen by the speaker (remember that all of these NPs were elicited as complements of the phrase “I saw. . .”); in (8b) the implication is that the meat was cooking when you saw it and was/is almost cooked, but not entirely. The syntactic restrictions on and semantic effects of this word order alternation are not fully understood at this time.

- (8) a. chóbì kwàkò-sè-chò
head cook-NOMLZR-CLF:round.thing
“la cabeza cocinada (puede ser en el pasado)”
(E.AMM.KCN.31jul2012)
- b. kwàkò-sè-chò chóbì
cook-NOMLZR-CLF:round.thing head
“la cabeza cocinada (mirando lo que estás diciendo)”
(E.AMM.KCN.31jul2012)

2.3 Semantic effects of lacking agreement

When a noun is not being used in the general sense, as in (2), there must be classifier agreement on a nominalized verbal modifier, as we have seen. However, there are two exceptions to this rule. The first is when the nominalized verb cannot host classifier agreement, as in (9).

- (9) ñákwà mǎjí-kì-rè
 eye blink-3SG.MASC/INAN.PRES-ACC
 “el ojo que estaba parpadeado” (E.AMM.KCN.01aug2012)

In the above example, it appears that the verb may actually be agreeing with the presumed possessor of the eye, as it is marked with accusative *-re*, which generally only appears on animate nouns and modifiers of animate nouns. So far, the only examples of this type have occurred with *ñákwà*.

The second exception to the obligatory classifier agreement rule can be seen in the contrast between the noun phrases in (10) below.

- (10) a. bàì-kánò kwàkò-sè-kánò
 meat-CLF:piece cook-NOMLZR-CLF:piece
 “la carne cocinada” (E.AMM.KCN.01aug2012)
- b. bàì-kánò kwàkò-sè
 meat-CLF:piece cook-NOMLZR
 “la carne cocinada (hay parte cruda en el centro)”
 (E.AMM.KCN.01aug2012)

When speakers are asked to elaborate on the semantic difference between noun phrases like (10a) and (10b), they usually provide some kind of explanation relating to tense. In one discussion (LTN.KCN.07aug2012), the speaker made it quite clear that noun phrases like (10a) mean that the speaker saw the noun (in this case a piece of meat) which has already undergone a process or other change (in this case cooking). In noun phrases like (10b), it appears that the meaning is that the speaker saw the process (cooking) being enacted on the noun (meat).

3 Prefixal modifiers

To express basic, core property-concepts such as good/bad, big/small, and white/black, nominal prefixes are affixed directly to the noun, as in (11).

- (11) *dèd-wé*
 good-house
 'casa buena' (E.LTN.KCN.08aug2012)

It is also possible to place the prefix after the noun, but in this case it must have agreement, as in (12).

- (12) *í-kò* *bíbí-rè* *jái-kò-rè*
 this-CLF:FEM river.dolphin-ACC big-CLF:FEM-ACC
 'este bufeo grande' (E.AMM.KCN.15jun2012)

If the noun is sufficiently phonologically short, it can be used as a repeater classifier as in (13).

- (13) *wè jíí-wè*
 house big-house
 'casa grande' (E.AMM.KCN.15jun2012)

Furthermore, it is also possible to invert the order seen in (12) and put the adjective, with agreement, before the noun. (14) shows all three possible word orders.

- (14) a. *ákwé-bì jíí-bì*
 fruit-CLF:fruit big-CLF:fruit
 'fruta grande'
- b. *jíí-ákwé-bì*
 big-fruit-CLF:fruit
 'fruta grande'
- c. *jíí-bì ákwé-bì*
 big-CLF:fruit fruit-CLF:fruit
 'fruta grande' (E.LMM.KCN.15jun2012)

In most cases, there is no semantic difference among the various word orders shown in (14) above; however, in some cases, such as (15) and (16), there is a difference of degree.

- (15) a. *yàrì-kíò-rò*
 small-steel-CLF:pot
 "olla pequeña (más chiquita)"
- b. *yárì-rò kíò-rò*
 small-CLF:pot steel-CLF:pot
 "olla chica (mediano)" (E.AMM.KCN.31jul2012)
- (16) a. *chóbì jíí-chò*
 head big-CLF:round.thing
 "cabeza grande"
- b. *jíí-chò chóbì*
 big-CLF:round.thing head
 "cabeza grande (pero más grande)" (E.AMM.KCN.31jul2012)

The asymmetry between which order in (15) and (16) indicates the greater degree of the prefixal property seems to indicate that these semantic differences are idiomatic and not related to the syntax of the NP.

4 Classifier agreement on numerals

Numerals must always have classifier agreement. The numeral generally precedes the noun, as the examples in (17) show.

- (17) *tèpè-kánò* *bàì-kánò* *kwàkò-sè-kánò-mà*
 two-CLF:piece meat-CLF.piece cook-NOMLZR-CLF:piece-PL
 'dos pedazos de carne cocinado' (E.AMM.KCN.20jun2012)

Plural agreement must be marked on at least one of the elements in the NP, but this varies quite a bit. Plural agreement is discussed in detail in section 6.

Non-numeral quantifiers (*jáyé* 'a lot' and *là* 'a little') do not appear to show classifier agreement. However, classifier agreement does appear on the interrogative quantifier ('how much/many'), as in (18). A possible response to the question in (18) is given in (19).

- (18) *késò-nòà* *bàì-kì*
 how.many-CLF:pot.PL exist-3SG.MASC/INAN.PRES.INTERR
 "Quántas (ollas) hay?" (E.JMM.KCN.30jul2012)

- (19) *tèpè-nòà* *báí-jì*
 two-CLF:POT.PL exist-3SG.MASC/INAN.PRES
 "dos ollas" (E.LMM.KCN.08aug2012)

5 Classifier agreement on demonstratives

Demonstratives are always the first element in the noun phrase, and they (almost) always require agreement with the classifier, as in (20).

- (20) *í-bì* *ákwè-bì* *kwàkò-sè-bì*
 this-CLF:fruit fruit-CLF:fruit cook-NOMLZR-CLF:fruit
 'esta fruta cocinada' (E.LMM.KCN.16jun2012)

In the case of animate nouns which do not have classifiers, we see the same pattern of agreement with *-kò* and *-kì* for feminine and masculine, respectively, as in (21).

- (21) *í-kò* *bíbí* *déó-kò-rè*
 this-CLF:FEM river.dolphin good-CLF:FEM-ACC
 'este bufeo bueno' (E.LMM.KCN.16jun2012)

In cases where a noun does not bear a classifier, and is used in a general sense, such as *nè* 'aguaje', the demonstrative takes the suffix *-gè*, as in (22).

- (22) *í-gè* *nè* *énò-sè*
 this-? aguaje ripe-NOMLZR
 'este aguaje maduro' (E.LMM.KCN.16jun2012)

At this point, it is not entirely clear what function *-gè* serves. It can also be used with nouns that have classifiers, but there is no obvious difference in the meaning between NPs with classifier agreement and NPs with *-gè*. (23) shows two such noun phrases.

- (23) a. \acute{i} - $\tilde{n}\grave{a}k\grave{a}$ $t\acute{o}y\acute{a}$ - $\tilde{n}\grave{a}k\grave{a}$ $t\acute{y}\acute{i}$ - $j\grave{o}$ - $s\grave{e}$
 this-CLF:sharp.stick write-CLF:sharp.stick break-2STATE-NOMLZR
 'esta lpiz chancada'
- b. \acute{i} - $g\grave{e}$ $t\acute{o}y\acute{a}$ - $\tilde{n}\grave{a}k\grave{a}$ $t\acute{y}\acute{i}$ - $j\grave{o}$ - $s\grave{e}$
 this-? write-CLF:sharp.stick break-2STATE-NOMLZR
 'esta lpiz chancada' (E.LMM.KCN.16jun2012)

The speaker consulted for the examples in (22) indicated that there is some kind of difference between the two, specifically that *-g * is for objects which are in the hand of the speaker, and demonstratives with classifier agreement are used for objects which are not quite as close to the speaker. Future work considering other demonstratives and looking at the use of *-g * versus classifier agreement as it is employed in natural-speech texts will hopefully reveal a more sophisticated and satisfying answer to the question of what motivates each of the forms².

Classifier agreement can also be seen on the interrogative pronoun *ig *, as in (24).

- (24) $\acute{i}g\acute{e}$ - $r\grave{o}$ $kw\grave{a}k\grave{o}$ - $y\grave{i}$?
 what-CLF:pot cook-1SG.FUT.INTERR
 ‘‘En qu  olla voy a cocinar?’’ (E.JMM.KCN.30jul2012)

6 Plural agreement

When a noun is plural, there must be at least one plural marker present on one of the elements of the noun phrase in order to indicate this. There is a great deal of variation, even within the speech of one speaker, as to how many elements and which elements receive plural marking. However, when given the option between an NP lacking some of the plural morphemes and one which has a plural morpheme on each element, speakers choose the one with all elements marked with the plural as better sentences. An example of an NP with plural morphemes on all of the possible elements is given in (25).

- (25) \acute{i} - $n\grave{o}\grave{a}$ $t\grave{e}p\grave{e}$ - $n\grave{o}\grave{a}$ $k\acute{i}\grave{o}$ - $n\grave{o}\grave{a}$ $n\acute{e}\acute{a}$ - $n\grave{o}\grave{a}$
 this-CLF:pot.PL two-CLF:pot.PL steel-CLF:pot.PL black-CLF:pot.PL
 $gw\acute{e}n\acute{e}$ - $h\acute{e}\acute{a}$ - $s\acute{e}$ - $n\grave{o}\grave{a}$
 dent-2.STATE-NOMLZR-CLF:pot.PL
 ‘‘estas dos ollas negras tachos’’ (E.LMM.KCN.07aug2012)

In the above example, the classifier and the plural marking have phonologically merged into a single morpheme. This is the only plural marking which is always obligatory on all elements of the noun phrase (excepting, of course, those special cases where demonstratives or nominalized verbs lack classifier agreement). In other cases, where there is not a special plural classifier, plural marking is sometimes dropped on certain elements, as seen in (26), where the demonstrative lacks plural marking, and (27), where the noun lacks plural marking.

² My most recent work on this seems to indicate that the *-ge* forms may actually be interrogatives, but this is still quite unclear. Other consultants have since rejected sentences similar to the one in (22b).

(26) $\dot{\text{i}}\text{-k}\ddot{\text{o}}$ $\text{t}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{p}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{-}\acute{\text{a}}\text{k}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{-n}\grave{\text{a}}$ $\text{b}\acute{\text{i}}\text{b}\acute{\text{i}}\text{-n}\grave{\text{a}}\text{-r}\ddot{\text{e}}$ $\text{n}\acute{\text{e}}\acute{\text{a}}\text{-k}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{-n}\grave{\text{a}}$
 DEM.PROX-CLF:FEM TWO-CLF:FEM-PL dolphin-PL-ACC black-CLF:FEM-PL
 $\text{b}\acute{\text{i}}\text{y}\acute{\text{a}}\text{-ch}\acute{\text{i}}\text{-k}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{-n}\grave{\text{a}}\text{-r}\ddot{\text{e}}$
 swim-CLF:FEM-ACC

“estos dos bufeos negros que han nadado” (E.LMM.KCN.08aug2012)

(27) $\dot{\text{i}}\text{-k}\ddot{\text{o}}$ $\text{b}\acute{\text{i}}\text{b}\acute{\text{i}}$ $\text{t}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{p}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{-}\acute{\text{a}}\text{k}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{-n}\grave{\text{a}}\text{-r}\ddot{\text{e}}$
 DEM.PROX-CLF:FEM dolphin TWO-CLF:FEM-PL-ACC

“estos dos bufeos” (E.LMM.KCN.08aug2012)

For classifiers that have special plural forms, this form is generally a nasal variant of the non-nasal singular classifier, as seen in (26) above and (28) below.

(28) $\dot{\text{i}}\text{-n}\grave{\text{a}}$ $\text{k}\acute{\text{i}}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{-n}\grave{\text{a}}$ $\text{j}\acute{\text{a}}\text{i}\text{-n}\grave{\text{a}}$
 DEM.PROX-CLF:machete.PL steel-CLF:machete.PL big-CLF:machete.PL
 $\text{t}\acute{\text{y}}\text{i}\text{-j}\acute{\text{o}}\text{-s}\acute{\text{e}}\text{-n}\grave{\text{a}}$
 break-2.STATE-NOMLZR-CLF:machete.PL

“estos machetes grandes chancados” (E.AMM.KCN.01aug2012)

7 Accusative marking with *-re*

When the direct or indirect object of a verb is animate, at least one element of the noun phrase must generally be marked with the accusative suffix *-re*. If the object is inanimate, it will never bear this suffix. The example in (29) shows a noun phrase with *-re* marked on all elements.

(29) $\dot{\text{i}}\text{-k}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{-n}\grave{\text{a}}\text{-r}\ddot{\text{e}}$ $\text{t}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{p}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{-}\acute{\text{a}}\text{k}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{-n}\grave{\text{a}}\text{-r}\ddot{\text{e}}$ $\text{n}\acute{\text{o}}\text{m}\acute{\text{i}}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{-n}\grave{\text{a}}\text{-r}\ddot{\text{e}}$ $\text{d}\ddot{\text{e}}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{-k}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{-n}\grave{\text{a}}\text{-r}\ddot{\text{e}}$
 DEM.PROX-CLF:FEM-PL-ACC TWO-CLF:FEM-PL-ACC woman-PL-ACC good-CLF:FEM-PL-ACC
 $\acute{\text{a}}\text{b}\acute{\text{i}}\text{-ch}\acute{\text{i}}\text{-k}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{-n}\grave{\text{a}}\text{-r}\ddot{\text{e}}$
 bathe-NOMLZR-CLF:FEM-PL-ACC

“estas dos mujeres bonitas que han bañado” (E.AMM.KCN.02aug2012)

However, *-re* is often omitted from many elements of the noun phrase, as seen in (30), repeated from (26) above.

(30) $\dot{\text{i}}\text{-k}\ddot{\text{o}}$ $\text{t}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{p}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{-}\acute{\text{a}}\text{k}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{-n}\grave{\text{a}}$ $\text{b}\acute{\text{i}}\text{b}\acute{\text{i}}\text{-n}\grave{\text{a}}\text{-r}\ddot{\text{e}}$ $\text{n}\acute{\text{e}}\acute{\text{a}}\text{-k}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{-n}\grave{\text{a}}$
 DEM.PROX-CLF:FEM TWO-CLF:FEM-PL dolphin-PL-ACC black-CLF:FEM-PL
 $\text{b}\acute{\text{i}}\text{y}\acute{\text{a}}\text{-ch}\acute{\text{i}}\text{-k}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{-n}\grave{\text{a}}\text{-r}\ddot{\text{e}}$
 swim-CLF:FEM-ACC

“estos dos bufeos negros que han nadado” (E.LMM.KCN.08aug2012)

Speakers vary in terms of which elements of the noun phrase will bear *-re* and which will not. When there is only one element in the noun phrase, the noun, *-re* must be marked on it. Nominalized verbs (almost) always bear *-re*. Adjectives and numerals often, but not always bear *-re*. If they are the last elements in the noun phrase, they generally will be marked with it, as in (31) and (32). When there are several other elements in the noun phrase, as in the examples below, the noun is less likely to be marked with *-re*.

(31) *nómíò tètè-ákò-nà dèò-kò-nà-rè*
 woman two-clf:fem-pl good-clf:fem-pl-acc
 “dos mujeres bonitas” (E.LMM.KCN.08aug2012)

(32) *í-kò bíbí tètè-ákò-nà-rè*
 DEM.PROX-CLF:FEM dolphin TWO-CLF:FEM-PL-ACC
 “estos dos bufeos” (E.LMM.KCN.08aug2012)

If any one element of a noun phrase does not bear *-re* it is most likely the demonstrative, as seen in several of the examples above (specifically, (30) and (32)). Interestingly, demonstratives do not appear to be able to host accusative marking in the singular, as seen in (33) below.

(33) a) *í-kò bíbí-rè*
 DEM.PROX-CLF:FEM dolphin-ACC
 “este bufeo” (E.AMM.KCN.04aug2012)

b) **í-kò-rè bíbí-rè*
 DEM.PROX-CLF:FEM-ACC dolphin-ACC
 (E.AMM.KCN.04aug2012)

c) *í-kò-nà-re bíbí-nà-rè*
 DEM.PROX-CLF:FEM-PL-ACC dolphin-PL-ACC
 “estos bufeos” (E.AMM.KCN.04aug2012)

When the object is no longer living, *-re* is not marked, as in (34). However, there are also some instances of living animate objects which, for reasons still not understood, do not have accusative marking, as shown in (35).

(34) *í-kì bírí jáf-kì júní-jó-chì-kì*
 DEM.PROX-CLF:MASC huangana big-clf:masc die-2.STATE-NOMLZR-CLF:MASC
 “esta huangana grande muerta” (E.AMM.KCN.01aug2012)

(35) *nómíò tètè-ákò-nà ábí-chí-kò-nà*
 woman two-clf:fem-pl bathe-NOMLZR-CLF:FEM-PL
 “dos mujeres bañadas” (E.LMM.KCN.07aug2012)

Máíjìkì Classifiers and Bound Part Terms in Comparison

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1 Introduction

Classifiers and bound part terms are both nominal-like elements which can combine with free elements (nouns or verbs) to generate new nouns. However, several important distinctions can be made regarding both their semantics and their morpho-syntactic behavior. While part terms behave identically to classifiers when used in word formation, “true” classifiers cannot appear independently of another free or bound element, while part terms may appear as free elements when used as nouns referring to parts (leaf, root, bark/skin) of another entity, but not when they are used as classifiers to form novel nouns. In addition to the bound part terms which are the focus of this module, there are also free part terms which can be used independently of a possessor and which do not require agreement. The semantics of part terms point to physical, real-world objects, while “true” classifiers often indicate the general shape or some other property of the noun (such as roundness, flatness, or whether it is used as a container). The behavior of bound part terms suggests that they represent an intermediate stage along a grammaticalization cline from free noun to obligatorily bound classifier.

2 Classifiers and part terms in word formation

When classifiers and part terms are used as bound elements to form new nouns, their behavior is identical. Classifiers and part terms may both be suffixed to a free element to form a new noun, as shown in (1) and (2) below¹.

- (1) Word formation with a classifier
kúchikìmìña
kúchiki -mìña
money -CLF:small.round.PL
“coins”
(E.RTT.KCN.26jun2012)

- (2) Word formation with a part term
a) *ábitàjàò*
ábità -jàò
quinilla -PT:leaf
“quinilla leaf”
(E.AMM.KCN.23jun2012)

¹ The abbreviation PT is used for bound part terms in their part term use. The abbreviation CLF is used for both true classifiers and part terms behaving as classifiers.

- b) *tóyájàò*
 tóyá -jàò
 write -CLF:leaf
 “sheet of paper”
 (E.AMM.KCN.23jun2012)

Notice in (2) that the example word in (a) employs the part term *-jàò* 'leaf' in the literal, part term sense; in (b) it is employed as a classifier characterizing the flat, thin shape of a sheet of paper, and not in its literal sense.

True classifiers can also be combined with other bound elements to form new nouns. These elements can be other classifiers, as seen in (3), or other types of bound nominal-like elements, as in (4).

- (3) a) *tòbì*
 tò -bì
 CLF:cloth -CLF:?
 “shirt”
- b) *chóbìtì*
 chò -bìtì
 CLF:round/loop -CLF:small.round
 “(bottle) cap”
- (4) *yòbì*
 yò -bì
 mouth -CLF:?
 “mouth”

This behavior has not been observed for part terms, but it may be that future research will reveal that it does occur, just with less frequency for part terms than true classifiers. Among classifiers, *-bì*, a classifier that appears to be completely bleached of any semantic content, is most common element in nouns with multiple bound elements. The prevalence of this morpheme in noun formation warrants detailed further study, as it is still unclear how and when it may be employed in word formation and whether it does, in fact, have any semantic content still associated with it².

3 The syntactic behavior of classifiers and part terms

Beyond their use in the formation of nouns, there are other important morpho-syntactic similarities between classifiers and part terms. When a noun including either is the subject of a verb, the verb will agree with the classifier, as in (5). Note that example (5) shows agreement with a) a true classifier, b) a part term, and c) a part term used as a classifier.

² Stephanie Farmer (personal communication, 2012) believes that the morpheme *-bì* may be a singulative marker, an interesting idea which should be researched further.

- (5) a) . . . *báikánò kwàkòsèkánò*.
 báì -kánò kwàkò -sè -kánò
 meat -CLF:piece cook -NOM.TEL -CLF:piece
 “ . . . the cooked piece of meat.”
 (E.AMM.KCN.13jun2012)
- b) . . . *ínìgò yínìgò déònígò*.
 í -nìgò yíì -nìgò déò -nìgò
 DEM.PROX -CLF:cotton huimba -PT:cotton clean -CLF:cotton
 “ . . . this clean cotton.”
 (E.LMM.KCN.16jun2012)
- c) . . . *tóyàjàò ókó bàjàò*.
 tóyá -jàò ókó bà -jàò
 write -CLF:leaf water have -CLF:leaf
 “ . . . wet sheet of paper.”
 (E.AMM.KCN.03jul2012)

However, evidence from possessive constructions shows that part terms are less bound than classifiers. Further evidence from relative clause constructions shows that part terms are nonetheless still more bound than free nouns.

3.1 *Classifiers and part terms used as classifiers*

True classifiers and part terms behaving as classifiers behave identically with respect to the syntactic positions in which they may occur. They cannot ever stand as independent nouns, and must always be suffixed to either a free verb, a free noun, or another bound nominal. As such, they cannot be used in possessive constructions, as example (6) demonstrates.

- (6) a) Ungrammatical possession with a true classifier
 **yí yò jà*
 yí yò jà
 1SG CLF:stick be
 *‘‘It’s my stick.’’
 (E.AMM.KCN.02jul2012)
- b) Ungrammatical possession with a part term classifier
 **yí jàò jà*
 yí jàò jà
 1SG CLF:leaf be
 *‘‘It’s my sheet (of paper).’’
 (E.AMM.KCN.02jul2012)

Note that in (6b), while the interpretation of ‘‘my sheet of paper’’ is completely unavailable, the sentence may be understood as meaning ‘‘It’s my leaf.’’ The behavior of part terms when they are used as actual part terms will be discussed further in the following section.

3.2 Part terms used as nouns

Part terms appear to be less bound than classifiers, but more bound than free nouns. Consider the sentence given in (7) on the following page, where a part term is used in a basic possessive construction.

- (7) *yí jàò jà*
yí jàò jà
1SG leaf be
“It's my leaf.”
(E.AMM.KCN.02jul2012)

This sentence allows for *jàò*, the part term for “leaf”, to be used in a possessive construction. The use of the same morpheme as a classifier for “flat, thin, leaf-like object” is unavailable, as we saw in example (6b) above. The example in (7) appears to be unique among similar examples using different part terms, because the interpretation of possessing a part term which is not one's own part is available; that is to say, the interpretation “this is my leaf that I found in the forest” is available for this example, but generally is not for other part terms.

Other part terms may appear in comparable possessive constructions, but when the part term is not a part typically found on humans (such as a tree trunk), this is semantically strange, and the animal or plant must be personified for the construction to make sense³. However, possession using a pronoun instead of a species name can be accomplished, and the constructions appear, to the best of my knowledge, to be grammatical, as in (8). This indicates that most part terms are inalienably possessed.

- (8) *yí ñì jà*
yí ñì jà
1SG PT:tree.trunk be
“It's my trunk.” (Only if said by a tree)
(E.AMM.KCN.02jul2012)

Yet part terms are still not completely free morphemes, as evidenced by the fact that they cannot appear as the heads of relative clauses. Example (9) gives a free noun (formed with a part term) used as the head of a relative clause. Example (10) gives a corresponding ungrammatical example where the species name (the possessor in a sense) has been omitted, leaving only the part term.

- (9) *yí mîrò méyí mîjàò ókó bà jàò.*
yí mîrò méyí mî -jàò ókó bà -jàò
1SG thatch weave irapay -PT:leaf water have -CLF:leaf
“I'm weaving the irapay leaves that are wet.”
(E.AMM.KCN.03jul2012)

3 Attempts to elicit possessive constructions of the type “3SG's part term” generally led the consultant to ask “what kind of plant is it?” or to just simply use a plant name to fill in the missing information.

- (10) *yì mǎìrò méyí jàò ókó bà -jàò.
 yì mǎìrò méyí jàò ókó bà -jàò
 1SG thatch weave PT:leaf water have -CLF:leaf
 *‘I’m weaving the leaves that are wet.’
 (E.AMM.KCN.03jul2012)

Even though there is some evidence that *-jàò* is possibly alienable from its possessor, we see in (10), that even it cannot be used completely independently.

3.3 *Free part terms*

In addition to bound part terms like the ones discussed above, there are also free part terms which can appear without an overt possessor and which do not require agreement on modifying elements such as relative clauses or demonstratives. Generally, however, these part terms will appear with a possessor indicated, as in (11a), but it is also grammatical, if not completely semantically felicitous, for them to appear by themselves as in (11b).

- (11) a) yì náñà jà.
 yì náñà jà
 1SG hair be
 ‘It’s my hair.’
 (E.LTN.KCN.05jul2012)

- b) náñà jà.
 náñà jà
 hair be
 ‘It’s hair.’
 (E.LTN.KCN.05jul2012)

When constructions such as (11b) were presented to speakers, they were able to accept and repeat them, but almost always asked who the possessor of the part was. All speakers reported that it was semantically odd to lack this possessor in most cases.

Interestingly, free part terms can also trigger demonstrative agreement, as in (12), but this agreement appears to be optional or pragmatically determined.

- (12) ìnáñà yì náñà jà.
 ì -náñà yì náñà jà
 DEM.PROX-hair 1SG hair be
 ‘This (hair) is my hair.’
 (E.LTN.KCN.05jul2012)

There are also constructions in Májìkì where it appears that there is agreement between free part terms and nominalized verbal modifiers, as in (13). However, this is optional and an agreement-free construction is also permitted, as in (14). There is good evidence from sentences like (15), where a free noun is repeated after the nominalized verb, that what appears to be agreement in

sentences like (13) is actually an appositive noun phrase.

- (13) *yì ñíàbì máíbàrò náñà títòsè náñà.*
yì ñíà-bì máíbàrò náñà títò-sè náñà
 1SG see-PST Máíbàrò hair cut.hair-NOM.TEL hair
 “I saw Máíbàrò's cut hair (Máíbàrò's hair which was cut).”
 (E.JMM.KCN.06jul2012)

- (14) *yì ñíàbì máíbàrò náñà títòsè.*
yì ñíà-bì máíbàrò náñà títò-sè
 1SG see-PST Máíbàrò hair cut.hair-NOM.PST
 “I saw Máíbàrò's cut hair (Máíbàrò's hair which was cut).”
 (E.JMM.KCN.06jul2012)

- (15) *yì ñíàbì mì yóu núníhìchìbì mì yóu.*
yì ñíà-bì mì yóu núní -hì -chì -bì mì yóu
 1SG see-PST 2SG canoe sink -2STATE -NOM.PST -CLF.canoe 2SG canoe
 “I saw your sunken canoe.”
 (E.JMM.KCN.06jul2012)

3.4 Repeater classifiers

Repeater classifiers are classifiers which are identical to the noun to which they correspond. There are currently three nouns known to also be used as their own repeater classifier: *wè* “house”, *mà* “trail, path”, and *dòrù* “basket”. These often, but not always, show agreement on demonstratives, verbs, numerals, and the eight known prefixal adjectives. Otherwise, they behave as free nouns and can be possessed by any semantically acceptable possessor and used as the heads of relative clauses.

4 Grammaticalization from part term to classifier

The syntactic evidence we have seen shows that “true” classifiers are completely bound, part terms are equally bound when used in their more abstract, classifier sense, and part terms used in their literal sense are only bound in the sense that they generally need a valid possessor to accompany them. The dual use of many bound part terms as classifiers indicates that they have been grammaticalized to greater or lesser degrees. Some part terms, such as *ñì* “(tree) trunk”, do not appear to have any classifier-like uses. Others, such as *-kà* “web, net, fibery thing” appear to be mostly used as a classifier, and only literally in a few cases (such as *tómàsòkà*, “web of lanchama tree fibers”). Most seem to fall somewhere in the middle, with a primary literal use and a handful of applications as classifiers (as is the case with *-jàò* “leaf”). Free part terms and repeater classifiers may represent an even more premature stage of grammaticalization from free noun to classifier.

Possessive Strategies in Máíjìkì

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1 Introduction

Possessive relationships in Máíjìkì are expressed by juxtaposing the possessor and the possessee, in that order. No special morphology is required. There does not appear to be any distinction between different types of possession in the language, and all types of relationships make use of the same nominal and verbal strategies.

2 Basic possessive strategies

The basic strategy for expressing possession is of the form Possessor Possessee. This is true for the structure of possessive relationships involving bound part terms (1a), free part terms (1b), inanimate objects (1c), animates (such as domesticated animals) (1d), affinal kin (1e) and consanguineal kin (1f).

- (1) a) *ábítàj̀à̀*
ábítà-j̀à̀
quinilla-PT:leaf
“quinilla leaf”
(E.AMM.KCN.23jun2012)
- b) *yì náñà j̀à̀.*
yì náñà j̀à̀
1SG hair be
“It's my hair.”
(E.LTN.KCN.05jul2012)
- c) *máí núíséù j̀à̀*
máí núíséù j̀à̀
1PL chair be
“It's our chair.”
(E.LMM.KCN.07jul2012)
- d) *yì yáíj̀òyì*
yì yáíj̀òyì
1SG dog
“(It's) my dog”
(E.LMM.KCN.07jul2012)
- e) *nómìò ìj̀ì ábìj̀ì.*
nómìò ìj̀ì ábìj̀ì
woman husband bathed
“The woman's husband is bathing.”

(E.JMM.KCN.09jul2012)

- f) *Mámàsò dòiḱḱ àḡḱ.*
Mámàsò dòiḱḱ àḡḱ
Mámàsò brother be
“It's Mámàsò's brother.”
(E.LMM.KCN.07jul2012)

Possessive relationships of all the above types can also be expressed using the verb *bá-* 'to have', which is discussed in section 4. To date, there is no evidence of possessive pronouns (e.g. “mine”, “yours”, “his/hers”) in the language – emphatic, contrastive or otherwise.

3 Modification of elements in a possessive relationship

Both possessors and possessees can be modified by relative clauses and/or bear demonstrative determiners. It is also possible to modify any (or every) element of a possessive relationship chain with more than two nouns (see section 3.3). The only restrictions on the complexity of this modification appear to be due to the difficulty of constructing (or repeating) excessively long noun phrases.

3.1 Relativization

Either the possessor or possessive (or both) can be modified using a relative clause (a nominalized verb), as in (2).

- (2) *nómìò jùḱḱò ǎǎ jùḱḱ àbǎǎ.*
nómìò jùḱḱ -kò ǎǎ jùḱḱ -kḱ ábǎ -jǎ
woman be.sick -FEM.PRES.NOMZ husband be.sick -MASC.PRES.NOMZ bathe -3SGM.PRES
“The sick woman's sick husband is bathing.”
(E.JMM.KCN.09jul2012)

Additionally, *-re*, which is most commonly used as an accusative marker, can optionally be applied to the relative clause modifying the possessor, as in (3).

- (3) *ǎǎ jùḱḱre nómìò jùḱḱò ábǎǎ.*
ǎǎ jùḱḱ -kḱ -re nómìò jùḱḱ -kò ábǎ -kò
man be.sick -MASC.PRES.NOMZ -ACC? woman be.sick -FEM.PRES.NOMZ bathe -3SGF.PRES
“The sick man's sick wife is bathing.”
(E.JMM.KCN.09jul2012)

This is very interesting, as *-re* was previously thought to only be a marker of accusative case. The possessive cannot take *-re* in intransitive sentences like the above, where it is the nominative subject.

Note that the relative clauses also agree in gender with the nouns they modify. The main verb *ábǎǎ* in example (2) agrees in person, number and gender with the possessive, “husband”, the head of the possessive noun phrase. This is also the case when the possessive is an inanimate noun, as in (4).

- (4) *nómìò kíúrḱ tíyǎǎǎ.*
nómìò kíúrḱ tíyí -jú -ḡḱ

woman machete break -2_{STATE} -3_{SG.INAN.PST}
 “The woman's machete has broken.”
 (E.NMM.KCN.09jul2012)

3.2 Demonstratives

Either or both the possessor and the possessee may bear a demonstrative determiner, as in (5), showing that there are no restrictions on the definiteness of participants in a possessive relationship.

- (5) *yì ñiàbɛ kà ñítú tóyáñàkà ìñaka.*
 yì ñià -bɛ kà ñítú tóyá -ñàkà í -ñaka
 1_{SG} see -PST DEM.DIST child write -CLF:sharp.stick DEM.PROX -CLF:sharp.stick
 “I saw this pencil of that child.”
 (E.JMM.KCN.09jul2012)

Note that different deictics may be used for each of the nouns. In the above example, the possessor is distal, while the possessee is proximal.

3.3 Multiple possessors

When possessive relationships are nested within one another to form a chain, the same possessor-possessee order is maintained, as in (6).

- (6) *Mámàsò dòi kò màmákò biákɛ núisèù jà.*
 Mámàsò dòi kò màmákò biákɛ núisèù jà
 Mámàsò sister daughter father chair be
 “It's Mámàsò's sister's daughter's father's chair.”
 (E.LMM.KCN.07jul2012)

These can also be modified, as in (7). The only restrictions on the length or complexity of these constructions appear to be due to the difficulty of producing, processing, and remembering all the nested relationships.

- (7) *nómìò áó kwàkòkò màmákɛ jùkɛ tóyáñàkà tíyíjɛ.*
 nómìò áó kwàkò-kò màmákɛ jùkɛ -kɛ
 woman food cook -FEM.PRES.NOMZ son be.sick -MASC.PRES.NOMZ
 tóyáñàkà tíyí -jɛ
 pencil break -3_{SG.INAN.PRES}
 “The pencil of the sick son of the woman who is cooking is broken.”
 (E.NMM.KCN.09jul2012)

4 Verbs of possession

There only appears to be one verb of possession in Májíjɛkɛ, *bá-*. It is possible to alternately express all of the possessive relationships given in example (1) in section 2 using this verb. (8) gives a sampling of some of these.

- (8) a) *kàdò nómìò dòikòrè bákó.*

kàò nómìò dòikó -rè bá -kó
 DEM.DIST woman sister -ACC have -3SGF.PRES
 “That woman has a sister.”

b) *kàò nómìò yáíjòyìrè bákó.*
 kàò nómìò yáíjòyì -rè bá -kó
 DEM.DIST woman dog -ACC have -3SGF.PRES
 “That woman has a dog.”

c) *kàò nómìò kíórò bákó.*
 kàò nómìò kíórò bá -kó
 DEM.DIST woman pot have -3SGF.PRES
 “That woman has a pot.”

d) *kàò nómìò yáòjǎ bákó.*
 kàò nómìò yáòjǎ bá -kó
 DEM.DIST woman land have -3SGF.PRES
 “That woman has land.”
 (E.LTN.KCN.10jul2012).

These verbal possessive constructions can also be relativized and nested in chains of multiple possessors, as in (9).

(9) *yì dòikó bákó ímíre yáíjòyì bákíre.*
 yì dòikó bá -kó ímí -re yáíjòyì bá -kí -re
 1SG sister have -3SGF.PRES friend -ACC dog have -MASC.PRES.NOMZ -ACC
 “My sister has a friend who as a dog.”
 (E.NMM.KCN.09jul2012)

Interrogatives and Question Words in Máíjìkì

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1 Introduction

This module discusses both the formation of polar questions and content questions in Máíjìkì. The formation of polar interrogatives is considered first in section 2, followed by a discussion of the formation of content interrogatives in section 3. Sections 4 and 5 present some data on cleft constructions and Wh-extraction, respectively.

2 Polar questions

Polar questions in Máíjìkì are formed by using a distinct set of verbal tense/person-agreement suffixes (for a detailed discussion of the interrogative paradigm, see Michael 2012 module on the verbal paradigm). Polar questions are not distinguished from declarative clauses by word order or intonation. Examples of a positively and negatively framed polar question, with their declarative counterparts, are given in (1) and (2), respectively.

(1) a) *mɛ́ yíò sáíkì?*
mɛ́ yíò sái -kì
2SG chacra go -SG.MASC.PRES.INTER
“Estás yendo a tu chacra?” (E.LTN.KCN.17jul2012)

b) *mɛ́ yíò sáikó.*
mɛ́ yíò sái -kó
2SG chacra go -SG.FEM.PRES
“Estás yendo a tu chacra.” (E.NMM.KCN.24jul2012)

(2) a) *mɛ́ ótémáɣì?*
mɛ́ óté -má -ɣì
2SG dance -NEG -SG.MASC.PST.INTER
“Tu no has bailado?” (E.LTN.KCN.17jul2012)

b) *mɛ́ ótémágó.*
mɛ́ óté -má -gó
2SG dance -NEG -SG.FEM.PST

3 Content questions

Most content question words (Wh-words) in Máíjìkì begin with the sound /k/ (as in *kímà* 'how', *kàrò* 'where', *kénò* 'when', and *késò*, 'how much/many'). Question words targeting human nouns

are formed with *né*, and question words targeting inanimate nouns are formed with *ígé*. All content questions also use the interrogative verbal paradigm. This section presents data on all content question words, including questions targeting nouns (section 3.1), questions targeting points in time and space (section 3.2), questions targeting quantity (section 3.3), and the various functions of the word *kimà* (section 3.4).

3.1 Content questions targeting nouns

The formation of content questions targeting nouns (subjects, direct and indirect objects, instruments, comitatives, possessors, and adjuncts¹) make use of the interrogative pronouns *né* (for human nouns) and *ígé* (for inanimate nouns). Animals fall appear to fall in a category in-between the two classes, and can sometimes be an appropriate response to questions formed with *né*, and other times are appropriate reponses to questions formed with *ígé* (see section 3.1.3). Depending on the grammatical relation of the noun in question, it may be necessary to employ a suffix indicating this relation. The same suffixes are used with both interrogative pronouns, but the relations indicated by these suffixes vary slightly depending on animacy.

3.1.1 *né* forms

Content questions formed with *né*, target animate nouns. Table 1 below gives a summary of the forms of the various interrogative pronouns formed with *né* and an appropriate suffix. Note that all plurals are formed by suffixing *-juna* directly to *né*, before the addition of any other suffix.

Table 1: Interrogative pronouns formed with *né*

	Singular (-Ø)	Plural (- <i>juna</i>)
Subject (- <i>bɪ</i>)	<i>nébɪ</i>	<i>néjùnàbɪ</i>
Object (DO/IO) (- <i>re</i>)	<i>nére</i>	<i>néjùnàre</i>
Comitative (- <i>janu</i>)	<i>néjànù</i>	<i>néjùnàjànù</i>
Possessor (-Ø)	<i>né</i>	<i>néjùnà</i>

Nébɪ and its plural counterpart *néjùnàbɪ* are used to ask for the subjects of intransitive, transitive and ditransitive clauses, as in (3a). Note that because the gender of the subject is unknown, the verbal inflection agrees with the plural. The response to an interrogative will need to have proper agreement with the person, number, and gender of the subject, as in (3b).

- (3) a) *nébɪ iquitos sáyì?*
né -bɪ iquitos sáy -yì
 who -SUBJ Iquitos go -PL.FUT.INTER
 “Quién está yendo a Iquitos?” (E.LTN.KCN.17jul2012)

¹ It is currently not clear which types of adjuncts can be added to which verbs nor the circumstances under which they may be added. This is fertile ground for future fieldwork and syntactic research.

- b) *mámàsò jájùnà báirò sáí kó.*
 mámàsò jájùnà báirò sáí -kó
 Mámàsò Iquitos go -SG.FEM.PRES
 “Mámàsò está yendo a Iquitos.” (E.NMM.KCN.24jul2012)

Nérè and plural *néjùnàrè* are used to ask for the direct objects of transitive clauses, as in (4a) or the indirect objects (recipients) of ditransitive clauses, as in (5a). Declarative counterparts are given for each of these in (4b) and (5b), respectively. Questions asking for humans as the direct objects of ditransitive clauses were usually judged semantically strange and were often difficult for speakers to produce, but (6) gives an example of this with the verb *íchíyí*, which can be used to mean “to give X (a female) to Y (a male)”.

- (4) a) *mì nérè àgàkì?*
 mì né -rè àgà -kì
 2SG who -OBJ call -SG.MASC.PRES.INTER
 “A quién le estás llamando usted?” (E.LTN.KCN.17jul2012)

- b) *yì àgàyì mámàsòrè.*
 yì àgà -yì mámàsò -rè
 1SG call -1SG.PRES Mámàsò -OBJ
 “Estoy llamando a Mámàsò.” (E.NMM.KCN.24jul2012)

- (5) a) *né ré jàsò íchí -rè?*
 né -ré jàsò íchí -rè
 who -OBJ yuca give -PL.PST.INTER
 “A quién le han dado yuca?” (E.LTN.KCN.17jul2012)

- b) *ítì jùnà íchígú jàsò mámàsòrè.*
 ítì -jùnà íchí -gú jàsò mámàsò -rè
 3.PROX -PL give -SG.PAST yuca Mámàsò -OBJ
 “Ellos le han dado yuca a Mámàsò.” (E.NMM.KCN.24jul2012)

- (6) *né rè íchí -rè mámàsò -rè?*
 né -rè íchí -rè mámàsò -rè
 who -OBJ give -PL.PST.INTER Mámàsò -OBJ
 “A quién le han entregado Mámàsò?” (E.LTN.KCN.19jul2012)

Néjànù and plural *néjùnàjànù* are used to ask for comitative adjuncts (“with X” in English), as in (7a). An appropriate response is given in (7b).

- (7) a) *néjànù sáíkì Tótóyà?*
 né -jànù sáí -kì Tótóyà
 who -COM go -SG.MASC.PRES.INTER Tótóyà
 “Con quién estás yendo a Tótóyà?” (E.LTN.KCN.17jul2012)

- b) *sáyí tótóyà mámàsòjànù.*

sái -yí tótóyà màmàsò -jànù
 go -1SG.PRES Tótóyà Màmàsò -COM
 “Estoy yendo a Tótóyà con Màmàsò.” (E.NMM.KCN.24jul2012)

When *né* or *néjùnà* does not have a suffix, it can be used to ask for the possessor of a given noun (like the Wh-word “whose” in English), as in (8).

- (8) *né màmákɪ àgɪ?*
 né màmákɪ àgɪ
 whose son be.MASC
 “De quién es este niño?” (E.LTN.KCN.17jul2012)

The formation of copular questions asking for the identity of humans is somewhat different from the formation of questions asking for other human subjects. There appear to be two primary ways of asking these types of questions, one with *ígí* or *ígíò*, and another with *kímà* (see section 3.4). The first of these strategies is given in (9) below.

- (9) a) *ígí àgɪ kàɪ?*
 ígí àgɪ kàɪ
 who.MASC be.MASC DEM.DIST.MASC
 “Quién es él?” (E.JMM.KCN.18jul2012)

- b) *ígíò àgò kàò?*
 ígíò àgò kàò
 who.FEM be.FEM DEM.DIST.FEM
 “Quién es ella?” (E.JMM.KCN.18jul2012)

3.1.2 ígé forms

Question words formed with *ígé* target inanimate nouns. These can be subjects, direct objects, instruments, or other adjuncts of intransitive, transitive or ditransitive verbs. There are no known cases where inanimates can fulfill the roles of indirect object recipients of ditransitive verbs. Table 2 summarizes the combinations of *ígé* with the same suffixes given in Table 1. Note that *ígé* has no plural form.

Table 2: Interrogative pronouns formed with *ígé*

Subject/Instrument (- <i>bi</i>)	<i>ígébi</i>
Object (DO) (- <i>re</i>)	<i>ígére</i>
Object (DO) (- <i>jano</i>)	<i>ígéjànò</i>
Subject (copula)/ Adjunct	<i>ígé</i>

When asking for the inanimate subject of an intransitive or transitive clause (inanimate subjects of ditransitive clauses were not tested), the form *ígébi* is used, as in (10).

- (10) *ígé̀bɪ̀ gájérùrù bábáki?*
 ígé -bɪ̀ gájérùrù bábá -kɪ̀
 what -SUBJ down.river float -SG.MASC.PRES.INTER
 “Qué está flotando río abajo?” (E.LTN.KCN.17jul2012)

Ígé̀bɪ̀ can also be used to ask for an instrument of an intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive clause, as in (11). This use of *ígé̀bɪ̀* is the only one that appears to have a plural counterpart, *ígé̀mà*, shown in (12).

- (11) *ígé̀bɪ̀ jújékɪ̀ sááchì?*
 ígé -bɪ̀ húhé -kɪ̀ sáá -chì
 what -INSTR walk -NOMZ.MASC.SG go -SG.MASC.FUT.INTER
 “En qué recitencia vas a caminar?” or “Con qué vas a caminar?”
 (E.LTN.KCN.17jul2012)

- (12) *ígé̀mà jújékɪ̀ sááchì?*
 ígé -mà húhé -kɪ̀ sáá -chì
 what -PL.INSTR walk -NOMZ.MASC.SG go -SG.MASC.FUT.INTER
 “En qué recitencias vas a caminar?” (E.LTN.KCN.17jul2012)

Employing the suffix *-jànò* with *ígé* does not yield an interrogative pronoun targeting an instrument; instead, it appears to be targeting an object as in (13).

- (13) *ígé̀jànò tíyíkò?*
 ígé -jànò tíyí -kò
 what -OBJ cut -SG.FEM.PRES.INTER
 “Qué estás cortando?” (E.JMM.KCN.18jul2012)

While the form above was accepted as a way of asking for an object, the more common (and perhaps more natural) way to ask for an inanimate direct object of a transitive or ditransitive verb is to use the form *ígérè*, as in (14).

- (14) *ígérè íchírè màmàsòrè?*
 ígé -rè íchí -rè màmàsò -rè
 what -OBJ give -PL.PST.INTER Màmàsò -OBJ
 “Qué cosa(s) le han dado a Màmàsò?” (E.LTN.KCN.17jul2012)

Ígé is also used in its bare form in two different contexts: as the subject of copular clauses, and as an adjunct (specifically an adjunct indicating a purpose). Its use as the subject of a copular clause is shown below in (15).

- (15) *ígé àyì?*
 ígé àyì
 what be.INTER
 “Qué es (esto)?”

More interesting is the use of bare *ígé* as a question word targeting an adjunct noun indicating a purpose. Questions in Spanish using the question word “por qué” were sometimes translated in a manner similar to (16). Note the back translation in the example below, which uses the phrase “a qué”.

- (16) *mɪ́ ígé sáíkɪ́ yíò?*
 mɪ́ ígé sáí -kɪ́ yíò
 2SG what go -SG.MASC.PRES.INTER chacra
 “A qué te vas a la chacra?” (E.LTN.KCN.16jul2012)

(16) is particularly interesting, as the verb *sái-* is intransitive, and therefore expected to only have one argument, the subject (in this case *mɪ* 'you'). The addition of a goal, in this case the location *yíò* 'chacra' is also expected, but the addition of a bare nominal adjunct indicating a purpose seems quite unusual. As an appropriate response to the question in (16), the speaker offered the sentence in (17), which also has a bare nominal adjunct.

- (17) *áó sáiyí.*
 áó sáí -yí
 food go -1SG.PRES
 “Estoy yendo traer comida.” (E.LTN.KCN.16.jul2012)

3.1.3 Asking about animals

Speakers report that neither *né* nor *ígé* should be used to target animals. When a speaker wishes to target a species of animal, the form *ígó* or *ígónà* is used, as in (18).

- (18) *ígónàbɪ́ jàsò áiyè?*
 Ígónà -bɪ́ jàsò áí -yè
 what.animal -SUBJ yuca eat -PL.PRES.INTER
 “Qué animal es que come yuca?” (E.LTN.KCN.19jul2012)

3.2 Content questions targeting time or location

To ask when or where an event took place, one only needs to employ the question words *kàrò* (targeting a location) or *kènò* (targeting a temporal adverbial).

3.2.1 *kàrò*

The question word *kàrò* targets a location where the event in question took place. *Kàrò* can be used to ask about the location where a person or other entity currently is located, as in (19).

- (19) *Tímí kàrò bàikɪ́?*
 Tímí kàrò bàí -kɪ́
 Tímí where be -SG.MASC.PRES.INTER
 “Dónde está Tímí?” (E.LTN.KCN.17jul2012)

It can also be used to inquire about the location to which a person is going, or the location from which a person has returned, as in (20) and (21). Note that in (21), the proper form for 'from where' ('de dónde') is *kàrò ákɛ* or *kàrò ákò*, depending on the gender of the subject. The form *kàrò ák-* can(not) be used in a declarative sentence, as seen in (22)

(20) *Tímí kàrò sáíkɛ?*
 Tímí kàrò sái -kɛ
 Tímí where go -SG.MASC.PRES.INTER
 “A dónde va Tímí?” (E.LTN.KCN.17jul2012)

(21) a) *kàrò ákɛ dáikɛ?*
 kàrò ákɛ dáí -kɛ
 where come -SG.MASC.PRES.INTER
 “De dónde viene?” (E.LTN.KCN.17jul2012)

b) *kàrò ákò dáikò?*
 kàrò ákò dáí -kò
 where LOC.FEMcome -SG.FEM.PRES.INTER
 “De dónde estás viniendo?” (E.NMM.KCN.24jul2012)

(22) *mámàsò yíò ákò dáikò.*
 mámàsò yíò ákò dáí -kò
 Mámàsò chacra LOC.FEM? come -SG.FEM.PRES
 “De la chacra, Mámàsò viene.” (E.LTN.KCN.25jul2012)

Finally, it can be used to ask for the homeland of a person, as in (23).

(23) *Mámàsò kàrò báikò ágò?*
 Mámàsò kàrò báí -kò ágò
 Mámàsò where be -NOMZ.FEM be.FEM
 “De dónde es Mámàsò?” (E.LTN.KCN.17jul2012)

3.2.2 *kènò*

The question word *kènò* targets a temporal adverbial indicating when the event in question took place, as in (24).

(24) *kènò mónɛ̀ gò?*
 kènò mónɛ̀ -gò
 when return -SG.FEM.PST.INTER
 “Cuando ha regresado?” (E.LTN.KCN.17jul2012)

3.3 *Content questions targeting quantity*

Késò can be used to ask for a quantity of either a count noun or a mass noun, as in (25) and (26)

respectively.

(25) *késò ì báiyì tóyáyètèwè?*
késò nì báí -yì tóyá -yètè -wè
how.many children be -PL.PRES.INTER write -learn -house
“Quántos niños hay en la escuela?” (E.LTN.KCN.17jul2012)

(26) *késò gònò óíkí?*
késò gònò óí -kí
how.much masato want -SG.MASC.PRES.INTER
“Quánto masato quieres?” (E.LTN.KCN.17jul2012)

3.4 *kímà*

Kímà is a particularly interesting question word because it has many uses. Its primary use appears to be to ask about “how” or “why” an event takes place and it calls for a clause providing a description of an event that causes another event, as in (27).

(27) *kímà tíyíjgì mì dáòsèù?*
kímà tíyí -jì -gì mì dáòsèù
how break -2STATE -SG.INAN.PST.INTER 2SG motor
“Cómo se has quebrado su motor?” (E.JMM.KCN.18jul2012)

For the above sentence, the consultant also reported that “por qué” would be an adequate translation in place of “cómo”. It is currently not clear if there are other strategies for forming content questions targeting other types of clauses.

Kímà can also be used to ask “how” something is, or “how” an event took place. The examples in (28) and (29) target a nominal modifier and an adverb, respectively.

(28) *kímà bàkì áó?*
kímà bà -kì áó
how be -SG.INAN.PRES.INTER food
“Cómo es la comida?” (E.LTN.KCN.17jul2012)

(29) *kímà dáikò Graici?*
Kímà dáí -kò Graici
how sing? -SG.FEM.PRES.INTER Grace
“Cómo canta Graici?” (E.LTN.KCN.17jul2012)

However, the sentences in (28) and (29) were somewhat difficult to elicit. The sentences that were often provided were then back translated as “What did Grace sing?” or “What (type of) food is it?” In general, more data needs to be collected on how to ask questions targeting the quality of a noun or the manner of a verb.

It can also be used in constructions asking “which” as in (30), which targets a single item out of a

set, and (31), which targets multiple items out of a set.

(30) *kímà bébì bíyáki?*
 kímà bébì bíyá -kì
 which ? swim -SG.MASC.PRES.INTER
 “Cuál niño sabe nadar?” (E.LTN.KCN.17jul2012)

(31) *kímà bájjùnàbì bíyáyè?*
 kímà bájjùnàbì bíyá -yè
 which ? swim -PL.PRES.INTER
 “Cuáles niños saben nadar?” (E.LTN.KCN.17jul2012)

However, with inanimates it appears that the plural marker *mà* must be used when the question intends for the speaker to specify various items out of the set, as can be seen in the contrasting singular and plural versions of the question in (32). Note that the form in (32a) uses the prefix *ké-* instead of *kímà*. It is not currently clear why this is, but a *kè-* form can also be used in the plural, provided that the suffix *-mà* is present, as in (33).

(32) a) *kétikàrè tóyátìkà mì núì óíkì?*
 ké -tìkà -rè tóyá -tìkà mì núì óí -kì
 which -CLF:stick -OBJ write -CLF:stick 2SG INTENS want -SG.MASC.PRES.INTER
 “Cuál lapicero más te gusta a usted?” (E.LTN.KCN.17jul2012)

b) *mì kímà mà tìkàrè óíkì?*
 mì kímà -mà tìkà -rè óí -kì
 2SG which -PL CLF:stick -OBJ want -SG.MASC.PRES.INTER
 “Cuáles lapiceros son tus favoritos?” (E.LTN.KCN.17jul2012)

(33) *kéñàkàmà óìkò tóyáñàkà?*
 ké -ñàkà -mà óí -kò tóyá -ñàkà
 which -CLF:sharp.stick-PL want -SG.FEM.PRES.INTER write -CLF:sharp.stick
 “Cuál de ellos (lapiceros) te gusta?” (E.NMM.KCN.224jul2012)

Kímà finds one more use in interrogatives targeting the identity of a human noun, as in (34).

(34) a) *kímà bèì ágì?*
 kímà bèì ágì
 how ?.MASC be.MASC
 “Quién es él?” (E.LTN.KCN.17jul2012)

b) *kímà bèò ágò?*
 kímà bèò ágò
 how ?.FEM be.FEM
 “Quién es ella?” (E.LTN.KCN.17jul2012)

The examples in (34) are a bit of a mystery, as it the words *bèì* and *bèò* are not identifiable nor

understood by the author.

4 Interrogative cleft constructions

It appears that interrogative cleft constructions do exist in Máájiki; however, because these constructions are the result of information structure related choices on the part of the speaker, they are particularly difficult to elicit successfully. Nevertheless, (35) offers a sentence that was produced by Stephanie Farmer, but which the consultant repeated and judged grammatical. Note that the translation is plural, but the morphology is singular.

- (35) *nébìrà máká sáìjàgì ágì?*
né -bɪ -rà máká sáì -jà -gɪ ágì
who -SUBJ -FOC woods go -? -SG.MASC.PAST.NOMLZR be.MASC
“Quiénes están yendo al monte?” (E.NMM.KCN.24jul2012)

The consultant also offered the sentence in (36) and reported that it had the same meaning as (35), and the simple interrogative given in (37).

- (36) *nébìrà máká sáìhàgìrà?*
né -bɪ -rà máká sáì -hà -gɪ -nà
who -SUBJ -FOC woods go -? -SG.MASC.PAST.NOMLZR -PL
“Quiénes están yendo al monte?” (E.NMM.KCN.24jul2012)

- (37) *nébì máká sáìyì?*
né -bɪ máká sáì -yì
who -SUBJ woods go -PL.PRES.INTERR
“Quiénes están yendo al monte?” (E.NMM.KCN.24jul2012).

Hopefully, future work using a text corpus of the language will reveal more details about both interrogative cleft constructions and clefts in the language more generally.

5 Wh-extraction

Wh-words (content question words) can be extracted from embedded clauses, but not from DP islands or adjunct islands². It is not possible to have more than one Wh-word in a single question (e.g., “Who ate what?” in English); instead, the question is broken into two separate questions, as in (38).

- (38) *nébì áìyì? ígèrè áìyì?*
né -bɪ áì -yì ígè -rè áì -yì
Who -SUBJ eat -PL.PRES.INTER what -OBJ eat -PL.PRES.INTER
“Quién come? Qué cosa come?” (E.LTN.KCN.25jul2012)

5.1 Extraction from embedded clauses

² Subject islands (“That Mámaso eats yuca is obvious/good/normal.”) proved difficult to elicit in Máájiki, as did sentences of the type “It’s obvious/good/normal that Mámaso eats yuca.”

All types of Wh-words discussed in section 3 can be extracted from a complement clause of verbs such as *gùàsà̀yì* ('think'), *jìkà̀yì* ('tell/say'), and *ńíà̀yì* ('see'). The word order of these extractions is often quite flexible, but the Wh-word and the verb of the embedded clause usually appear between the subject (if overtly expressed) and verb of the matrix clause. (39a) gives an example of a declarative sentence with a clausal complement, and (39b) gives a corresponding example of a question with Wh-extraction. (39c) gives a polar question formed from (39a) for comparison. Note that in (39b), the embedded clause has interrogative inflection, and the matrix clause has declarative inflection.

(39) a) *yì gùàsà̀yì màmàsò jàsò áíkò.*

yì gùàsà -yì màmàsò jàsò áí -kò
 1SG think -1SG.PRES Màmàsò yuca eat -SG.FEM.PRES.NOMLZR
 “Pienso que Màmàsò está comiendo yuca.” (E.LTN.KCN.25jul2012)

b) *nébì jàsò áíyì gùàsà̀kì?*

né -bì jàsò áí -yì gùàsà -kì
 who -SUBJ yuca eat -PL.PRES.INTER think -SG.MASC.PRES
 “Quién piensas que está comiendo yuca.” (E.LTN.KCN.23jul2012)

c) *mì gùàsà̀kì Màmàsò jàsò áíkò?*

mì gùàsà -kì Màmàsò jàsò áí -kò
 2SG think -SG.MASC.PRES Màmàsò yuca eat -SG.FEM.PRES.INTER
 “Piensas tú que Màmàsò está comiendo yuca?”

When the extracted element is not a Wh-word targeting a human noun, its position in the sentence may differ from the word order seen in (39b). An example of this is given in (40).

(40) *máíbà̀rò ígèrè íchìkò gùàsà̀kì màmàsòrè?*

máíbà̀rò ígè -rè íchí -kò gùàsà -kì màmàsò -rè
 Máíbà̀rò what -OBJ give -SG.FEM.PRES.INTER think -SG.MASC.PRES Màmàsò -OBJ
 “Qué piensas que Máíbà̀rò le está dando a Màmàsò?” (E.LTN.KCN.23jul2012)

Interestingly, the locative Wh-word *kà̀rò* ('where'), which can appear in a variety of positions in declarative clauses, including after the verb, is much more constrained when it has been extracted, and must occur before the verb, as in (41).

(41) *mì màmàsò kà̀rò sáíkò gùàsà̀kì?*

mì màmàsò kà̀rò sái -kò gùàsà -kì
 2SG Màmàsò where go -SG.FEM.PRES.INTER think -SG.MASC.PRES
 “A dónde piensas que está yendo Màmàsò?” (E.LTN.KCN.25jul2012)

When the target of the Wh-word was an adjunct, the embedded verb sometimes occurred after the matrix verb, but the Wh-word was still moved to the position before the matrix verb, as in (42).

- (42) *mɛ néhànù gùàsàkɛ màmàsò tótóyà sáikó?*
 mɛ né -hànù gùàsà -kɛ màmàsò tótóyà sái -kó
 2SG who -COM think -SG.MASC.PRES Mámàsò Tótóyà go -SG.FEM.PRES.NOMLZR
 “Con quién piensas que Mámàsò está yendo a Tótóyà?” (E.LTN.KCN.23jul2012)

The full range of permissible Wh-extraction word orders has still not been completely studied, but the above examples present the orders most commonly produced by speakers.

5.2 *Adjunct islands and Wh in-situ*

When a main clause has a clausal adjunct, as in (43a), an element of the adjunct can be targeted in an interrogative, but instead of extracting this element from the clausal adjunct and moving it to the top of the sentence, it is left in-situ, as in (43b).

- (43) a) *bóchichì sáákɛ màmàsò jàsò chíá áímákòrè.*
 bóchichì sáá -kɛ màmàsò jàsò chíá áí -má -kò -rè
 Bóchichì go -SG.MASC.PRES Mámàsò yuca before eat -NEG -SG.FEM.PRES.INTER -?
 “Se ha ido Bóchichì, antes que Mámàsò come yuca.” (E.LTN.KCN.25jul2012)
- b) *bóchichì sáákɛ màmàsò chíá ígèrè áímákòrè?*
 bóchichì sáá -kɛ màmàsò chíá ígé -rè áí -má -kò -rè
 Bóchichì go -SG.MASC.PRES Mámàsò before what -OBJ eat -NEG -SG.FEM.PRES.INTER -?
 “Se ha ido Bóchichì, antes que Mámàsò come qué?” (E.LTN.KCN.25jul2012)

However, while one speaker produced the sentences in (43), another had a difficult time interpreting (43b), so the status of Wh in-situ in adjunct islands as a grammatical strategy for asking about an element in an island is still uncertain.

Part Terms in Máíhiki

Grace Neveu

June 21, 2012

1 Introduction

The part terms used in Máíhiki depend on several different physical properties of the objects being described. These include the vertical and horizontal planes, the solidity of the object, if the object sits on a bottom or if the object is connected to the ground.

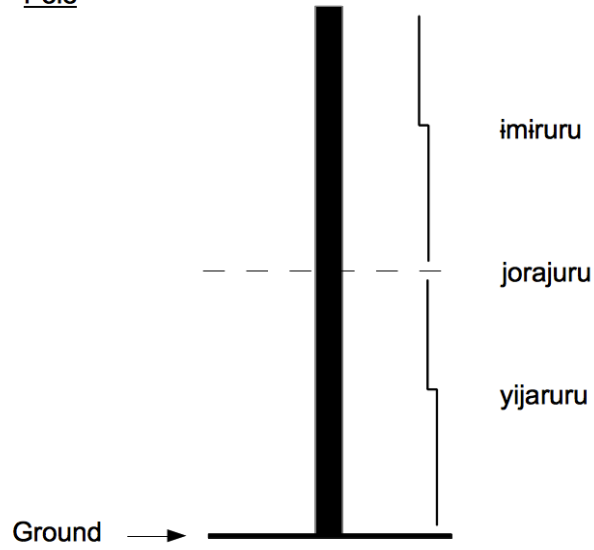
2 Vertical Part Terms

All Vertical objects can take the terms *ímírùrù* for the top half and *jòràjùrù* for the mid point extending horizontally. The terms used for the bottom half, however, differ according to whether or not the object is connected to the ground or has a distinguishable bottom on which it sits. Note that *jòràjùrù* means the exact midpoint extending horizontally.

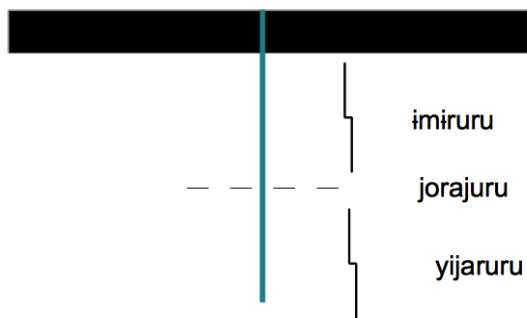
2.1 Objects that are connected to the ground

If an object is connected to the ground (la tierra), such as a vertical pole stuck in the ground, it takes *yíjàrùrù* for the bottom half. *yíjàrùrù* is also used for the bottom half of something hanging as it has no distinguishable bottom. The term references the ground directly as the free word *yíjà* translates to "la tierra."

Pole

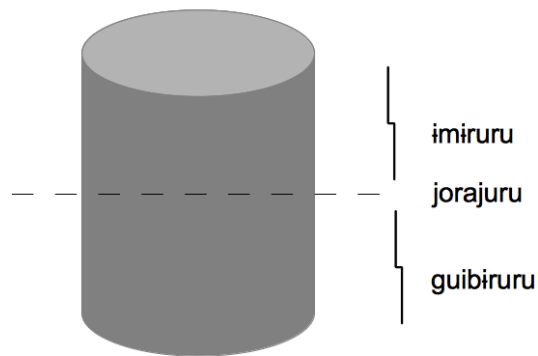


Hanging string



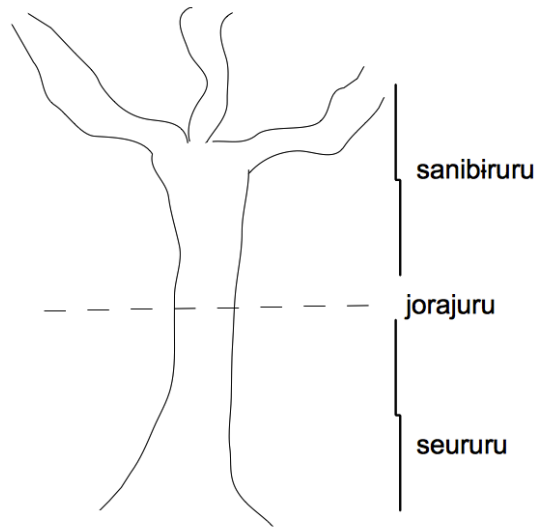
2.2 Objects with a bottom

Objects with a bottom on which they stand, such as cups, bowls and boxes take gúbìrùrù for the bottom half.



2.3 Object specific

Some terms are object specific and used in place of the more general ímírùrù, yìjàrùrù and gúbìrùrù. One such example are the terms for the top and bottom half of trees. Though trees are connected to the ground the terms sànbìrùrù and séùrùrù are preferred for top and bottom half respectively. In this case the two terms used for top half and bottom half are referencing the branches and the roots of the tree respectively as sànbì translates to "la punta" and séù translates to "raíz."



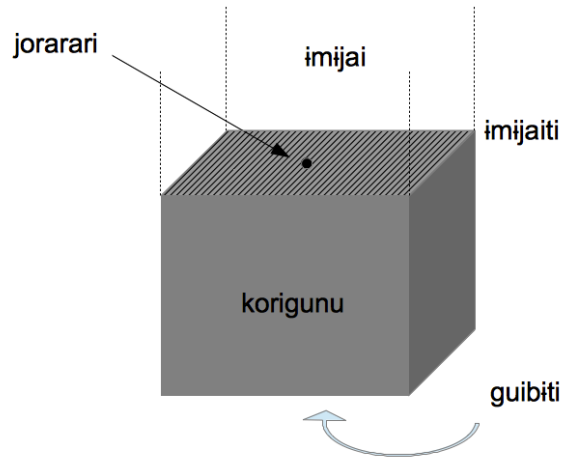
2.4 Long narrow objects

Though they do not necessarily need to be vertical, long narrow objects such as sticks, pens and ropes take similar terms to those described above for vertical objects. Like vertical objects they take *jòràjùrù* for their midpoint. The point or tip of these objects is described with *sànbì*. The section near the points is referred to using *sànbìrùrù*.

3 Horizontal Part Terms

Objects with a flat, horizontal surface take the terms *ímíjà* for the space above the object, *ímíjàtì* for the top surface, *gúbítì* for the bottom surface and *jóràrà* for the midpoint on the horizontal surface.

Object with flat surfaces



The object does not have to rest on the ground, however, to take *gúíbítì*. The underside of tables and lids are also described using *gúíbítì*.

4 Interior and Exterior Terms

The terms for interior and exterior surfaces and interior space differ according to whether or not the object is container-like and whether or not the object is solid.

4.1 Exterior Surface

All exterior surfaces can take *bèsètì* including both solid and container-like objects. However, for horizontal surfaces *ímíjǎ̀* and *gúíbítì* are preferred for top surface and bottom surface, respectively.

4.2 Interior Space

For interior space objects can take either *sánúyàkù* for container-like objects and *sánú* for solid objects. *sánúyàkù* refers to the free space within a container-like object such as a cup, a bowl, a bag or a hole.

To refer to the interior of something solid, such as the interior of a fruit, the ground or water, the term *sánú* is used.

4.3 Interior Surface

To refer to the interior surface of objects the terms *sánútì* and *sánúyàkùtì* are used similarly to what was outlined in the section above. *sánútì* is used to refer to the interior surface of things that are not container-like and do not contain open space such as the interior cover or pages of a book and the interior surface of clothing. *sánúyàkùtì* refers to the interior surface of objects which are container-like such as cups, bowls, hats, boots and bags.

5 Structural properties

Most of the terms shown above contain the suffixes *-rùrù* and *-tì*. Given the properties of these terms I propose that these terms mean roughly *near* and *surface area* of the proceeding word respectively. This is supported by the fact that all the terms discussed above that include both *-rùrù* and *-tì* are free words.

For example *yíjàrùrù* which is used for the bottom half of vertical objects connected to the ground breaks down to *yíjà* meaning *ground* and the suffix *-rùrù*. Therefore, *yíjàrùrù* would translate to roughly *near the ground*. Similarly *sànbì* in *sànbìrùrù* translates to *point* or *tip*. Therefore *sànbìrùrù* would translate to roughly *near the point*.

The same holds for the *-tì* constructions. For example, the *bèsè* of *bèsètì* translates to *outside*. Therefore *bèsètì* translates to roughly *the surface area outside*.

In the term *sánúyàkù* *sánú* translates to *inside* and *yàkù* to *hole*. As discussed above, *sánúyàkù* is used for container-like objects. Looking at the

structural components of sánúyàkù it can be broken down to mean roughly *inside a hole*. sánúyàkù can be interpreted as meaning inside a hole-like object or, in other words, inside a container-like object.

Radial Directionals

Grace Neveu

August 19, 2012

1 Introduction

Motion goals and sources in Máǰǰìkì are defined by modifying a reference point. When no modification is used the reference point is also the goal or source. There are several ways to modify the reference point to define a new goal with respect to that reference point with both nominal and verbal suffixes.

There appear to be no directionals in Máǰǰìkì and that the only way to express motion to and from locations is to modify reference points for goals and sources. When asked for sentences with *hacia* ‘towards’ consultants gave translations such as those in the examples below where the reference point was modified to express a goal relative to the reference point. When asked about paths that extended toward one location and then diverged to another location LMM and LTN could not give translations and simply responded that there was no way to express this. Both acknowledged that it was possible to use *hacia* in Spanish for such paths but could not provide a translation into Máǰǰìkì. None of the constructions below were accepted for these paths.

2 Goals and Sources

If the reference point is the goal, or part of the goal, the verb *sai* ‘ir, irse’ is used to express motion in the direction of the reference point. When the reference point is also the goal, there is no modification to the reference point, as in (1).

(1) Kelsey Robertina wè sáíkó

Kelsey Robertina we sai -ko
Kelsey Robertina house go -3f.PRES

‘Kelsey va a la casa de Robertina.’ (E.AMM.GKN.28jun2012)

There are no distal restrictions on this construction, however, there may be restrictions based on the combined spacial knowledge of the speaker and the interlocutor. When asked about goals that did not form part of the combined spacial knowledge of the speaker and himself, LTN responded that constructions like that in (1) were ungrammatical. For example, because LTN is unfamiliar with the area referred to in the sentence in 2a it was judged as ungrammatical and that instead the sentence in 2b should be used. ¹

¹-ro and its properties will be discussed in section 3.3.2

- (2) a. *Grace wè sáyí
Grace we sai -yi
 Grace house go -1sg.PRES
 *‘Estoy yendo a casa de Grace.’ (E.LTN.GKN&LDM.11jul2012)
- b. Grace bàirò sáyí
Grace bai -ro sai -yi
 Grace house -LOC.NOMZ.NVIS go -1sg.PRES
 ‘Estoy yendo donde vive Grace.’ (E.LTN.GKN&LDM.11jul2012)

When the reference point is the source the construction VERB STEM – ATEL.NOMZ – NOMZ.FEM/MASC is required after the reference point. This translates roughly to ‘who was doing X.’ This can be with any verb to describe the action of the subject at the source. Even when not specifying a specific action that was being performed at the source *bàichikò* is required. Either the verb *sai* ‘ir, irse’ or *dai* ‘venir’ can be used when the reference point is the source, depending on whether or not the subject is moving toward the speaker.

- (3) a. Kelsey Abilio wè bàichikò Robertina wè sáikó
Kelsey Abilio we bai -chi -ko Robertina
 Kelsey Abilio house exist-ATEL.NOMZ -NOMZ.FEM Robertina house
we sai -ko
 go -3f.PRES
 ‘Kelsey estaba en la casa de Abilio y ahora esta yendo a la casa de Robertina’
 (E.AMM.GKN.28jun2012)
- b. Mámàsò Abilio wè àò kwàkòchikò Robertina wè sáikó
Stephanie Abilio we ao kwako -chi -ko Robertina
 Stephanie Abilio house food cook -ATEL.NOMZ -3f.PRES Robertina
we sai -ko
 house go -3f.PRES
 ‘Stephanie estaba cocinando en la casa de Abilio y esta yendo a la casa de Robertina’ (E.HMR.GKN.4jul2012)

Sentences such as the above can be grammatical without VERB STEM – ATEL.NOMZ – NOMZ.FEM/MASC after the reference point, however, this is only permitted when the subject has not yet left the source. The sentences in 3 contrast with those in 4 in that the subject has already left the source in 3 while the subject is still at the source in 4.

- (4) Amalia Abilio wè dáikò
Amalia Abilio we dai -ko
 Amalia Abilio house come -3f.PRES
 ‘Amalia esta viniendo cerca la casa de Abilio’ (E.LMM&AMM.GKN.7jul2012)

3 Modification of Reference Point

Goals and sources can also be expressed in Májìkì by attaching certain suffixes which modify the reference point. This creates a new goal or source relative to the reference point. There are both nominal modifiers and verbal modifiers which encode information about the spatial relationship, the proximity and the visibility of the source or goal.

3.1 Nominal Modifiers

The following nominal modifiers can be added to inanimate nouns to create goals and sources.

3.1.1 -rari

If the goal or source is known to be close to but not in or at the reference point than the suffix *-rari* is used. *wèràrì* was often translated as ‘el patio’ or ‘la tierra afuera de la casa’ by speakers and seems to mean a part very closely associated with the reference point but not actually inside or at.² *-juru* (discussed in section 3.1.2) was also excepted by some speakers but not preferred for goals which took *-rari*. Note that, unlike *-juru*, *-rari* can be on either side of the reference point. *-rari* seems to be permitted on any inanimate noun. In 5a the reference point is a goal in 5b the reference point is a source.

- (5) a. Abilio wèràrì sáyí

Abilio we -rari sai -yi
Abilio house -PROX.RP go -1sg.PRES
‘Voy al patio de la casa de Abilio’ (E.LTN.GKN.4jul2012)

- b. Abilio wèràrì bàìchikì dáyì

Abilio we -rari bai -chi -ki dai -yi
Abilio house -PROX.RP exist -ATEL.NOMZ -NOMZ.MASC come -1sg.PRES
‘Parte de la casa de Abilio estoy viniendo’ (Spoken by a male)
(E.AMM.GKN&LDM.2jul2012)

Note that when *-rari* was added to locations such as cities there appear to be two possible interpretations. 1) That the goal is very near the reference point or 2) That the path passed through the center of the reference point.

3.1.2 -juru

If the goal is further away from the reference point than *-rari* the suffix *-juru* is used. *-juru* is not permitted for any paths which cross the reference point for goals or sources. If the path crosses the reference point than *-juru* was not permitted and another construction must be used to indicate that the reference point was passed to reach the goal. Some consultants permitted *-juru* on goals or sources that normally took *-rari* however this was

²Here I am glossing *-rari* as PROX.RP for ‘proximal to reference point’ to indicate that it is used for the most proximal goal.

not preferred.³ However, *-rari* can refer to a goal on either side of the reference point with regards to the path while this is not true of *-juru*. In 6a the reference point is the goal and in 6b the reference point is the source.

(6) a. Abilio wèjùrù sáyí

Abilio we -juru sai -yi
Abilio house -MED.RP go -1sg.PRES

‘Estoy yendo en direction de la casa de Abilio’ (E.LTN.GKN.3jul2012)

b. Abilio wè bàichìkì dáyì

Abilio we bai -chi -kì dai -yi
Abilio house exist -ATEL.NOMZ -NOM.MASC come-1sg -1sg.PRES

‘Más lejos de la casa de Abilio estoy viniendo’ (E.AMM.GKN&LDM.2jul2012)

3.2 táyòjùrù

táyòjùrù is the counterpart to *-juru*. If the goal was past the reference point than the construction *táyòjùrù sáyí* is used to indicate that the reference point had been passed as either a source or as a goal. In other words, this is used for paths that cross the reference point for either sources or goals.

(7) Jesusa wè táyòjùrù sáyí

Jesusa we tayo -juru sai -yi
Jesusa house pass -MED.RP go -1sg.PRES

‘Pasando su casa de Jesusa estoy yendome’ (E.LTN.GKN.13jul2012)

3.2.1 -ruru

The suffix *-ruru*, when added to a reference point, refers to anything upriver of the reference point. In this case there is no specified goal or source except for the restriction that the goal or source is upriver from the reference point. Because it refers to anything upriver, *-ruru* can be either before or after the reference point depending on whether or not the reference point is upriver or downriver of the deictic center.

I did not encounter a downriver counterpart to *-ruru*. When asked about goals that were downriver of the reference point consultants offered *-juru* or *táyòjùrù* (depending on the deictic center).

3.3 Verbal Modifiers

The following verbal modifiers can be added to verbs to create a nominalized clause as the goal or source. These can be more literally translated to ‘the place where Y is X-ing.’

³Here I am glossing *-juru* was MED.RP for ‘medial to reference point’ to indicate that it is a medial goal relative to the reference point.

3.3.1 -rari

When the locative nominalizer *-rari* is added to a verb there is a visual restriction that the goal or source must be in sight of the speaker at the time of utterance. There is no entailment of social interaction nor is there entailment that the speaker will be performing the same action as the goal. There does not seem to be any restriction on what kind of verb can take *-rari* or on the kind of subject the verb can have as it is permitted with both inanimate and animate subjects as seen in 8a and 8b.⁴

- (8) a. Mámàsò ótéràrì sáyíyí
Mamaso ote -rari sai -yi
Stephanie dance -LOC.NOMZ. VIS go -1sg.PRES
'Estoy yendo donde Stephanie esta bailando (puedo verla)'
(E.LMM.GKN.6jul2012)

- b. sùkíñì níkáràrì sáyíyí
sukiñi nika -rari sai -yi
tree lie -LOC.NOMZ.VIS go -1sg.PRES
'Estoy yendo donde esta parado el arbol' (E.NMM.GKN&LDM.12jul2012)

3.3.2 -ro

The locative nominalizer *-ro* is a counter part to *-rari* with the visual restriction that the goal must be out of sight at the time of utterance.⁵ Like *-rari* there is no entailment of social interaction or that the speaker will be performing the same action as the goal. There appears to be no restriction on what kinds of verbs can take *-ro* however, when *-ro* is added to *bàì* with an animate subject it gets the reading of 'where X lives' as in 9b below. In sentences with *bàirò* it is not necessary that the subject of the nominalized clause be at the goal.

- (9) a. Mámàsò ótéró sáyíyí
Mamaso ote -ro sai -yi
Stephanie dance -LOC.NOMZ.NVIS go -1sg.PRES
'Estoy yendo donde Stephanie esta bailando (no puedo verla)'
(E.LMM.GKN.6jul2012)

- b. Mámàsò bàirò sáyíyí
Mamaso bai -ro sai -yi
Stephanie exist -LOC.NOMZ.NVIS go -1sg.PRES
'Estoy yendo donde vive Stephanie'

- c. sùkíñì níkáró sáyíyí

⁴I am glossing *-rari* as LOC.NOMZ.VIS to indicate that it is a visible locative nominalizer

⁵I am glossing *-ro* as LOC.NOMZ.NVIS. to indicate that it is a non-visible locative nominalizer

sukiñi nika -ro sai -yi
 tree stand -LOC.NOMZ.VIS go -1sg.PRES

‘Estoy yendo donde esta parado el arbol’ (E.NMM.GKN&LDM.12jul2012)

4 People as Reference Point

When a person is the reference point there is a animacy restriction in that they cannot take the nominal modifiers discussed in section 3.1. However, the accusative suffix *-re* can be attached to the noun or a verb describing an action or state of the source.

4.1 -re

The accusative suffix *-re* can be added to a person name to create a goal and may not be added to inanimates. It can also be added to verbs describing an action or state of the source. In this case there is no spatial, visual or stative information encoded in the utterance. Interestingly, it appears that this also entails social interaction with the goal. Sentences such as those in example 10a were often translated as ‘Voy visitar Stephanie’ (E.LTN.GKN.5jul2012) or even ‘Estoy yendo ver mi compañero Stephanie’ (E.RTT.GKN.30jun2012).

(10) a. Mámàsòrè sáyí

Mamaso -re sai -yi
 Stephanie -ACC go -1sg.PRES

‘Estoy yendo donde Stephanie esta’ (E.LTN.GKN.3jul2012)

b. Mámàsò ótékóré sáyí

Mamaso ote -ko -re sai -yi
 Stephanie dance -3f.PRES -ACC go -1sg.PRES

‘Estoy yendo donde Stephanie esta bailando’ (E.AMM.GKN.7jul2012)

Spatial Nominals and Positional Verbs

Grace Neveu

July 20, 2012

1 Introduction

This module is a report on the data collected using the Topological Relations Picture Series (TRPS) stimuli taken from Levinson et al (2003). This stimuli is series of seventy-one line-drawings “each representing a topological spatial relation, covering large range of spatial relations that would be coded in English using such prepositions as on, in, under, over, near, and against, as well as complex prepositions like inside, on top of, in the middle of, and such like” (Levinson 2003).

In this module I posit that Májìkì has no adpositions but instead uses what Levinson refers to as ‘spatial nominals’¹ and ‘positional/locative verbs’ to encode spatial relations between objects. I will also discuss the fact that spatial relations can be encoded, in certain cases, in Májìkì without either a spatial nominal nor a positional/locative verb by use of a what I will call ‘default positions.’

2 Spatial Nominals

The spatial nominals in Májìkì are *ímíjàì*, *gùbì*, and *sànù* which correspond roughly to the “basic ‘topological’ notions” described by Levinson et al (2003) as ON, UNDER and IN. These spatial nominals are often optional depending on the spatial relationship of the two objects being described and whether or not the expected spatial relationship between the two objects holds. The concept of an ‘expected spatial relationship’ will be discussed further in section 4.

2.1 *ímíjàì*

ímíjàì encodes the “basic ‘topological’ notion” ON as well as OVER which are collapsed in Májìkì. Due to the collapse of these two notions *ímíjàì* can be used both for contact between the two objects, such as a cup on a table, and no contact, such as a lamp hanging over a table or a cloud over a mountain. *ímíjàì* can also be used with either a posture verb which encodes no spatial information between the two objects or with *tui-*, one of the specific spatial/positional verbs discussed in section 3

¹The fact that these are nominals elements was determined by their tonal behavior and that they can take classifiers .

- (1) a. toatitaga nétòtò ímíj̀àì déj̀ì
toa -tita -ga ne -toto imijai de -j̀ì
 fire -wake.up -CL:seed thing -CL:flat.surface on hang -3m.PRES
 ‘El foco esta colgado encima de la mesa’ (E.LTN.GKN.02jul2012)
- b. neugu nétòtò ímíj̀àì túj̀í
ne -ugu ne -toto imijai tui -j̀ì
 thing -CL:container thing -CL:flat.surface on be.on -3m.PRES
 ‘La taza esta puesto encima de la mesa’ (E.LTN.GKN.02jul2012)

2.2 g̀ùb̀ì

g̀ùb̀ì encodes the “basic ‘topological’ notion” of UNDER in Máj̀ìk̀ì. It is used for both attachment to the ground² object as well as without attachment. Therefore *g̀ùb̀ì* can be used for both a piece of gum attached to the underside of table and for a cat sitting underneath a table. Interestingly, *g̀ùb̀ì* can not be used with a spatial/locative verb because there is no spatial/locative verb encoding UNDER, due to this it seems, at this stage, that *g̀ùb̀ì* is always obligatory.³

- (2) a. baiyiri nétòtò g̀ùb̀ì s̀h̀j̀ì sap table under be.attached -3m.PRES ‘El copal esta pegado a la mesa’ (E.LMM.GKN.06jun2012)
- b. míchì nétòtò g̀ùb̀ì ñúj̀í
michi ne -toto guibi ñui -j̀ì
 cat thing -CL:flat.surface under sit -3m.PRES
 ‘El gato esta sentado abajo de la mesa’ (E.LMM.GKN.06jun2012)

2.3 s̀àǹù

s̀àǹù encodes the “basic ‘topological’ notion” of INSIDE in Máj̀ìk̀ì. It can be used for complete, partial, visible and non-visible containment. Like *ímíj̀àì* there are spatial/locative verbs that also encode the notion INSIDE, therefore *s̀àǹù* is often optional and instead one of the spatial/positional verbs is used.⁴

- (3) yáíj̀òỳì néòg̀ù s̀àǹù ñ̀ùj̀ì
yaijoyi ne -ogu sanu ñui -j̀ì
 dog thing -CL:container in sit -3m.PRES
 ‘El perro esta sentado en un envase’ (E.LTN.GKN.27jun2012)

²Note, however, that though *g̀ùb̀ì* is used for attachment to the ground object, a specific verb is used to encode this attachment.

³‘Default positions’ will be discussed in section 4, however, I have not yet come across any instance where the expected spatial relationship between the two objects is such that one is under the other.

⁴This is discussed further in section 3.2.

3 Positional/locative Verbs

Máíjìkì has several positional/locative verbs which are *túí-* ‘be on’, *áyà-* ‘be inside’, *be-* ‘be inside’, *dé-* ‘hang’, *sì-* ‘be attached’ and *jù-* ‘be encircled with full contact’⁵ These verbs can be used with or without one of the spatial nominals discussed above, however, they cannot be used with a contradictory spatial nominal. *túí-*, *aya-*, *bej-*, *de-*, *sii-* and *juij*

3.1 *túí-*

túí- is a positional/locative verb in Máíjìkì translating roughly to ‘be on.’ It can be used with or without the spatial nominal *ímíjà* and, as mentioned above, it cannot occur with any other spatial nominal as that would be contradictory. It appears as though both *ímíjà* and *túí-* is preferred when the spatial relationship between the two objects is not expected. *túí-* also seems not to be preferred when the subject is animate in which case a posture verb with or without *ímíjà*, depending on the expected spatial relationship, is used to express the notion ON.

- (4) *nétòtò kíògù tújí*
 ne -toto kí -ogu tui -jí
 thing -CL:flat.surface metal -CL:container be.on -3m.PRES
 ‘En la mesa esta el posillo de metal’ (E.SRO.GKN.25jul2012)

3.2 *áyà-* and *be-*

áyà- and *be-* both translate roughly to ‘be inside’ in Máíjìkì. As with *túí-* because there is a spatial nominal which corresponds to these verbs they can co-occur or appear separately. The use of *sànù* followed by another verb, such as a posture verb, versus one of these spatial/locative verbs often seems to be optional. So far the only example of *sànù* being obligatory while *áyà* and *be-* were rejected is below in example 5.

- (5) a. *tóyátìkà tókà sànù újí*
 toya -tika tókà sanu ui -jí
 write -CL:stick cloth under lie -3m.PRES
 ‘El lapicero esta abajo de la toalla’ (E.LTN.GKN.19jul2012)
- b. **toyatìkà tókà áyàjì*
 toya -tika tókà aya -jí
 write -CL:stick cloth be.inside -3m.PRES
 ‘*El lapizero esta abajo de la toalla’ (E.LTN.GKN.19jul2012)
- c. **toyatìkà tókà beji*
 toya -tika tókà áyà -jí
 write -CL:stick cloth be.inside -3m.PRES
 ‘*El lapizero esta abajo de la toalla’ (E.LTN.GKN.19jul2012)

⁵Note that *jù-* can also mean ‘to wear’.

3.2.1 áyá-

áyá- is a spatial verb translating roughly to ‘be inside.’ It contrasts with *be-* in that *áyá-* without the spatial nominal *sànù* is only used for incomplete inclosure or partial containment. This can be containment without a cover or containment where the object is only partially inside the container. As with *túú-* because there is a spatial nominal which corresponds to these verbs they can co-occur or appear separately. In the case of *áyá-*, it appears that the use of *sànù* cancels out the partial containment meaning of *áyá-* and therefore *sànù áyá-* can be used for full containment in a closed container. However, when the container is upside-down, both *áyá-* and *sànù áyá-* were judged ungrammatical.

- (6) *ákwébì tótòdèdè áyájí*
 awkebi totodeo aya -ji
 fruit bowl be.inside -3m.PRES
 ‘El fruto esta en el tazón’ (E.GKN.LMM.14jun2012)

3.2.2 be-

be- is a spatial verb which contrasts with *áyá-* in that *be-* entails complete inclosure. *be-* and *sànù be-* were used both for closed containment as well as containment where the container was upside-down. *be-* also appears to be accepted for two dimensional complete containment such as a complete fenced enclosure, however, not all consultants accepted this reading⁶.

- (7) a. *sìsì turibi bejì*
 sisi turibi be -ji
 possum cage be.inside -3m.PRES
 ‘El zorro esta en jaula’ (E.AMM.GKN.22jun2012)
- b. *yáíjòyì níkose bejì*
 yaijoyi nikose be -ji
 dog fence be.inside -3m.PRES
 ‘El perro esta en cerco’ (E.JMM.GKN.23jul2012) (E.NMM.GKN.24jul2012)

3.3 dè-

dè- is a positional verb in *Máíjìkì* translating roughly to ‘hang.’ It can be used with both objects that have been placed to hang as well as more fixed hanging objects. It can often be used without a spatial nominal to mean ‘hanging from’ or with one of the spatial nominals when a more specific spatial relationship needs to be communicated such as in 8b.

For instance, none of the consultants used a spatial nominal during the naming task for the coat hanging from a hook or a fruit hanging from a branch, whereas all the consultants used both *ímájà* and *dè-* for the lamp hanging above the table.

- (8) a. *ákwébì sùkínìkà dèjì*
 akwebi sukini -ka de -ji
 fruit tree -CL:branch hang -3m.PRESS
 ‘El fruto esta en la rama de árbol’ (E.AMM.GKN.22jun2012)

⁶LTN rejected example 7b.

b. *tóàtítágà nétòò ímíjài dèjì*

toa -tita -ga ne -toto imíjai de -jì
 fire -wake.up CL:seed thing -CL:flat.surface on hang -3m.PRESS
 ‘El foco esta colgado encima de la mesa’ (E.LTN.GKN.02jul2012)

3.4 *sì-*

sì- is a positional verb in Máíjìkì translating roughly to ‘attached.’ This could be fixed attachment, such as attachment to a wall with a nail, or attachment by resting, such as a spider on the wall. This was often used without a spatial nominal. If something was stuck to or pinned to the underside of an object, such as gum on the underside of a table, both *gùbì* and *sì-* were used to express this relationship.

(9) *baiyiri nétòò gùbì sìji*
 sap table under be.attached -3m.PRESS
 ‘El copal esta pegado a la mesa’ (E.LMM.GKN.06jun2012)

3.5 *jù-*

jù- is a positional verb in Máíjìkì expressing encirclement with full contact through a solid object.⁷ *jù-* was never used with one of the spatial nominals and was never used for encirclement without contact. For instance, a piece of fruit with a stick through it took *jù-* while a candle with a piece of ribbon tied around it did not.

(10) *ákwébì néñàkà jùjì*
akwebine -ñaka jui -jì
 fruit thing -CL:sharpened.point be.through -3m.PRESS
 ‘El fruto esta sartado’ (con palo afilado) (E.AMM.GKN.23jun2012)

4 Default Positions

In Máíjìkì there appear to be what I will call ‘default positions’ where the use of one of the above spatial nominals or positional verbs is not obligatory given that the expected spatial relationship between the two objects in question holds. During the initial elicitation with the stimuli there were often instances where the consultant did not provide a spatial nominal and only after further questioning did they produce a sentence using one of the spacial nominals discussed above. It appears as though the spatial nominals and, to an extent, the positional verbs are only obligatory when the spatial relationship between the two objects is unexpected.

It is important to note that it is the expected relationship between the two objects that creates the ‘default position’ and not simply the ground. For instance, many objects of

⁷This is certainly not a complete definition.

containment have the default position of IN, however, a different reading can occur even without the use of one of the spatial nominals if the expected relationship between the ground and the object is not IN. The examples in (11) illustrate the different readings one can get with the ground object *bioto* ‘bag’ without the use of a spatial nominal or positional/locative verb.

- (11) a. *tóyáìkà bioto bàìjì*
toya-tika bioto bai-jì
 write -CL:stick bag exist -3m.PRES
 ‘El lapizero esta en la bolsa’ (E.LNT.GKN.19jul2012)
- b. *yáíjòyì bioto bàìjì*
yáíjòyì bioto bai -jì
 dog bag exist -3m.PRES
 ‘El perro se encuentra en la bolsa’ (E.LNT.GKN.19jul2012)

Interestingly, though you get the reading of IN the bag in 11b with the verb *bai-* the same reading does not hold when the posture verb *ñúí-* is used in 12a and instead you get the reading ON. When the spatial/locative verb *túí-* is used with *yáíjòyì* ‘dog’ as the subject the reading of ON holds without the use of a spatial nominal as seen in 12b.

However, when the subject is a pen LTN judged the sentence **toyatika bioto tújí* to be ungrammatical and instead offered the sentence in 12c. Similarly the sentence **toyatika bioto újí* was judged ungrammatical by LTN and instead the sentence in 12d was offered. This is interesting in that it is infelicitous to use *úí-* to express containment. Therefore, it appears as though the expected spatial relationship between a pen and a bag is strong enough that a spatial nominal is necessary to override this relationship.

- (12) a. *yáíjòyì bioto ñùjì*
yáíjòyì bioto nui-jì
 dog bag sit-3m.PRES
 ‘El perro esta sentado encima de la bolsa’ (E.LTN.GKN.19jul2012)
- b. *yáíjòyì bioto tújí*
 dog bag be.on -3m.PRES
 ‘El perro esta sentado encima de la bolsa’ (E.LTN.GKN.19jul2012)
- c. *toyatika bioto ímíjàitújì*
 write -CL:stick bag on be.on -3m.PRES
 ‘El lapicero esta encima de la bolsa’ (E.LTN.GKN.19jul2012)
- d. *toyatika bioto ímíjài újí*
 write -CL:stick bag on lie -3m.PRES
 ‘El lapicero esta encima de la bolsa’ (E.LTN.GKN.19jul2012)

As hinted at in the examples discussed above, it appears as though the expected relationship between the two objects is more important than simply the expected relationship of the ground object. This was most striking in LTNs judgements of sentences with the *wè* ‘house’ as the ground. When the object was inanimate and a spatial/locative verb was used without a spatial nominal LTN interpreted the spatial/locative verb as describing a spatial relationship between the subject and another convert ground object within the house.

- (13) a. *toyatika wè tújí*
toya -tika wè túí -jì
 write -CL:stick house be.on -3m.PRES
 ‘El lapicera esta en la casa (encima de algo)’ (E.LTN.GKN.19jul2012)
- b. *toyatika wè áyàjì*
toya -tika wè aya -jì
 write -CL:stick house be.inside -3m.PRES
 ‘El lapicera esta en la casa (adentro de algo)’ (E.LTN.GKN.19jul2012)

Additionally, with an animate subject these readings varied slightly where the use of *túí-* did get the reading of ‘on to of the house’ however the reading with *aya-* remained the same.⁸

- (14) a. *yáíjòyì wè tújí*
yáíjòyì wè túí -jì
 dog house be.on -3m.PRES
 ‘El perro esta encima de la casa’ (E.LTN.GKN.19jul2012)
- b. *yáíjòyì wè áyàjì*
yáíjòyì wè aya -jì
 dog house be.in -3m.PRES
 ‘El perro esta en de la casa (adentro de algo)’ (E.LTN.GKN.19jul2012)

Lastly, it may be interesting to note that LTN did not always accept the verb *báí-* for these spatial relationship when there was no spatial nominal. The pattern that seems to be emerging is that *bàì-* is not accepted for animate subjects when the default spacial relationship is ON. This may be due to the fact that *bàì-* is often rejected for animates over a posture verb. This would explain why *bàì-* was accepted for animate subjects when the expected relationship was IN because this would imply that the subject was not visible and therefore the postural information is unknown.

⁸LTN rejected the use of *be-* for both the examples in examples ?? and ??, however, it is unclear why this was.

Spatial Relations in Máíj̀k̀

Grace Neveu

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1 Introduction

In this module I discuss the different spatial relationships that are encoded in Máíj̀k̀ by use of a variety of spatial nominals and positional/locative verbs. All the spatial nominals discussed in this module, except for *gunu*, which is discussed in section ?? have inherent tone and can take classifiers. None of the spatial nominals contain any information about contact between the figure and the ground, instead it is the verb following the spatial nominal which encodes information about the contact or lack of contact between the figure and the ground.

I will also discuss the obligatoriness of the spatial nominals and positional/locative verbs in what I will call ‘default positions.’ These are spatial positions which do not require either a spatial nominal or a positional/locative verb provided that the spatial position between the figure and the ground is expected.

2 Vertical positions

Máíj̀k̀ distinguishes between five different types of vertical spatial relations. These are 1) figure above ground with contact, 2) figure above ground without contact, 3) figure below ground without contact and 4) figure below ground with contact. A variety of spatial nominals and positional verbs are used to encode these different types of spatial relationships.

2.1 Figure above ground with contact

A figure above ground with contact is encoded in Máíj̀k̀ by using the positional/locative verb *túí* or the spatial nominal *ímáj̀à̀* followed by *túí* or another verb describing a state of the figure, usually a posture verb. The spatial nominal *ímáj̀à̀* does not by itself encode contact so it is necessary to use a verb encoding contact between the figure and the ground.

There is a contrast in Máíj̀k̀ between figure above ground with contact at the highest point and figure above ground not at the highest point. *ímáj̀à̀* is necessary to encode the meaning that the figure is at the highest point, while *túí* only encodes figure above ground but not at the highest point. The examples in (??) illustrate the possible combinations of *ímáj̀à̀*, *túí* and a posture verb.

- (1) a. *mìà s̀úkí̀nì ímáj̀à̀ túkó*

mia *sukiñi* *imjai* *tui* *-ko*
 small.bird tree on be.on -3m.PRES

‘El pájaro esta sentado encima punto de árbol’ (E.AMM.GKN.02aug2012)

b. *mìa* *súkíñi* *túíkó*

mìa *sukiñi* *tui* *-ko*
 small.bird tree be.on -3m.PRES

‘El pájaro esta sentado en el palo’ (E.AMM.GKN.02aug2012)

c. *násò* *súkíñi* *ímájàì* *nùjì*

naso *sukiñi* *imjai* *nui* *-i*
 woolly.monkey tree on sit -3m.PRES

‘El chorro esta sentado encima del árbol’ (E.AMM.GKN.02aug2012)

d. *násò* *súkíñi* *nùjì*

naso *sukiñi* *nui* *-i*
 woolly.monkey tree sit -3m.PRES

‘El chorro esta sentado parte las ramas’ (E.AMM.GKN.02aug2012)

The contrast with *ímájàì* and *túi* discussed above is not apparent when there is no highest point of the ground. For surfaces such as tables, *ímájàì*, *ímájàì túí* and *túi* were all both accepted and produced by consultants.

(2) a. *néògù* *néòtò* *ímájàì* *tújì*

ne *-ogu* *ne* *-toto* *imjai* *tui* *-jì*
 thing -CL:container thing -CL:flat.surface on be.on -3m.PRES

‘La taza esta puesto encima de la mesa’ *TRPS #1* (E.LTN.GKN.02jul2012)

b. *tóyátòtò* *tújì* *tóyápí*

toya *-toto* *tui* *-jì* *toyapi*
 write -CL:flat.surface be.on -3m.PRES book

‘Encima de la mesa esta el libro’ *TRPS #8* (E.JMM.GKN.09jul2012)

2.2 Figure above ground without contact

As mentioned above, *ímájàì* does not encode contact between the figure and the ground. Therefore, it is also used for figure above ground without contact, however, it is necessary for *ímájàì* to be used in combination with a verb that encodes the lack of contact such as *dé* ‘hang’ or more simply *bàì* ‘exist’.

(3)

a. *tóàtítágà* *néòtò* *ímájàì* *déjì*

toa -tita -ga ne -toto imijai de -ji
 fire -wake.up -CL:seed thing -CL:flat.surface on hang -3m.PRES
 ‘El foco esta colgado encima de la mesa’ *TRPS #13* (E.LTN.GKN.02jul2012)

b. *ímìtìtì ímíjàì ókógàrà bàìjì*

imititi imijai okogara bai -ji
 hill on rain.cloud exist -3m.PRES
 ‘Encima del cerro esta el nube’ *TRPS #36* (E.AMM.GKN.22jun2012)

2.3 Figure below ground without contact

To encode figure below ground the spatial nominal *gùìbì* is used. There is no verb that alone encodes figure below ground, therefore, *gùìbì* is always obligatory for spatial relationships with the figure below the ground. As with *ímíjàì*, *gùìbì* itself does not contain any information concerning contact between the figure and ground, therefore it is the verb following *gùìbì* that encodes information about contact.

(4) *míchì nétòtò gùìbì ñùjì*

michi ne -toto guibi ñui -ji
 cat thing -CL:flat.surface under sit -3m.PRES
 ‘El gato esta sentado abajo de la mesa’ *TRPS #31* (E.LMM.GKN.06jun2012)

2.4 Figure below ground with contact

As mentioned above, *gùìbì* does not contain information about the contact between the figure and the ground, therefore a verb is used to encode this contact which follows the spatial nominal *gùìbì*, such as *sìì*. The sentence in example (??) cannot have the meaning that the sap is stuck to the floor underneath the table and only gets the reading that it is stuck to the underside. The reading that the sap is on the underside of the table and not on the floor is due to entailments of the verb *sìì* with will be discussed in section ??.

(5) *báyìrì nétòtò gùìbì síjì*

bayiri ne -toto guibi si -ji
 sap thing -CL:flat.surface under be.attached -3m.PRES
 ‘El copal esta pegado a la mesa’ *TRPS #53* (E.LMM.GKN.06jun2012)

3 Containment

Máìjìkì distinguishes between several different types of containment with the use of a spatial nominal *sànù* and two positional/locative verbs *áyà* and *bé*. The distinctions of containment marked by these two verbs is partial enclosure (marked by *áyà*) and complete containment or containment with a side opening (marked by *bé*).

3.1 Figure contained in partial enclosure

The positional/locative verb *áyà* is used only for containers in which the opening of the container is at the top of the container. *áyà* has the additional restriction that the container be open. *áyà* may be used for containers on their side only if the inherent orientation is such that the opening is at the top of the container. For example, a cup that is on its side can still take *áyà* as long as the cup remains open. The example of a hat provides the opposite case, though the opening of a hat is not inherently positioned on the top of the hat, containment within a hat takes *áyà* so long as the hat is upside down (i.e. the opening is at the top).

- (6) a. ákwébì tótòdèò áyàjì
awkebi totodeo aya -jì
 fruit bowl be.inside -3m.PRES
 ‘El fruto esta en el tazón’ *TRPS #2* (E.LMM.GKN.14jun2012)
- b. tóyájàù márò áyàjì
toya -jau maro aya -jì
 write -CL:leaf hat be.inside -3m.PRES
 ‘El papel esta adentro del sombrero’ (E.LMM.GKN.08aug2012)

When the spatial nominal *sànù* is added before *áyà* the sentence gets the reading ‘bien adentro.’ *sànù* could only be used when the figure was completely contained and maximally distal from the opening of the container. For example, with the container *dòrù* ‘panero’, *sànù* was only used when the figure was at the bottom of the panero. For the container *yóù* ‘canoe’, *sànù* was only used for figures that were on the floor of the canoe (contrasting with being in the canoe on the seat).

- (7) a. jàsò dòrù áyàjì
jaso doru aya -jì
 yuca panero be.inside -3sg.PRES
 ‘La yuca esta en panero (No esta bien adentro)’ (E.AMM.GKN.02aug2012)
- b. jàsò dòrù sànu áyàjì
jaso doru sanu aya -jì
 yuca panero inside be.inside -3sg.PRES
 ‘La yuca esta en panero (bien adentro)’ (E.AMM.GKN.02aug2012)

The spatial nominal *ímíjàì* can also be used with *áyà* to indicate containment near the opening of a container. In the case of *ímíjàì* followed by *áyà*, the figure is not restricted to the highest point as was discussed in section ?? as this construction can either be for containment where the figure is the closest object within the container to the opening or where the object is near the opening for another reason (e.g. the container is on its side). The example in (??) was given both for an upright cup where the paper was the topmost object within the cup as well as with a cup lying on its side where the paper was simply placed near the opening.

(8) tóyájàù néògù ímíjàì áyàjì

toya -jau ne -ogu imijai aya -jì
 write -CL:leaf thing -CL:container on be.inside -3m.PRES
 ‘El papel esta encima del vaso’ (E.LTN.GKN.07aug2012)

3.2 Figure contained in complete enclosure

When a figure is contained in a complete enclosure, the positional/locative verb *bé* is used. In Májìkì a complete enclosure that can take *bé* is defined as an enclosure that is complete on the top horizontal plane. Therefore, containers which would normally take *áyà* can take *bé* as long as the container is closed in some way. Additionally, containers with a side opening also take *bé*, even when the container is incomplete due to the fact that the horizontal plane remains complete.

The spatial nominal *sànù* can be added before *bé* similarly to what was discussed regarding *áyà* in section ?? wherein the figure is interpreted to mean at the bottom of the enclosure when *sànù* comes before the verb. However, when *bé* is used for containers with side openings, there is no difference between *sànù bé* and *bé*. This is similar to what was discussed in section ?? where *ímíjàì* is optional if there is no highest vertical point. The examples in (??) were judged to be the same by speakers.

(9) a. kóbè nétùrì bėjí

kobe neturi be -jì
 weasel cage be.completely.inside -3m.PRES
 ‘El manco esta en jaula’ (E.LTN.GKN.07aug2012)

b. kóbè nétùrì sànù bėjí

kobe neturi sanu be -jì
 weasel cage inside be.completely.inside -3m.PRES
 ‘El manco esta adentro de jaula’ (E.LTN.GKN.07aug2012)

ímíjàì bé can only be used when the container’s inherent orientation is such that the opening is at the top, similar to what was discussed in section ?. In other words, *ímíjàì bé* is only permitted when it was alternate with *ímíjàì áyà*, depending on whether not the enclosure is complete or partial. When *bé* is being used for a container with a side opening, however, *ímíjàì bé* is not permitted. The sentences in example ?? were judged as ungrammatical.

(10) *kóbè nétùrì ímíjàì bėjí

kobe neturi imijai be -jì
 weasel cage on be.completely.inside -3m.PRES
 (E.LTN.GKN.07aug2012)

Complete enclosures also include solid grounds. The example in (??) illustrates the use of *bé* with a solid ground object, here a book. In this case the paper was closed inside the book at the spine. Similarly to figures with a side opening, there was no difference in the reading of the sentence below with or without *sà̀nù̀*.

(11) *tóyájà̀ù̀ tóyápf̣ sà̀nù̀ béj̣í*

toya -jau toyapí sanu be -j̣í
 write -CL:leaf book inside be.completely.inside -3m.PRES
 ‘El papel esta adentro de cuaderno’ (E.LMM.GKN.08aug2012)

bé was accepted and produced by certain consultants for a figure inside an upside-down enclosure. However, others rejected the use of *bé* and instead used the verb *jábéyó* ‘cap’ for a figure contained in an upside-down enclosure. Though this use of *bé* varied across speakers, it remained consistent speaker internally.¹

There are a few exceptions to what I have outlined above concerning *bé*. These are that a hole in the ground, *gójé*, cannot take *áyà* and must take *bé*, despite the fact that it is open on the top horizontal plane. Additionally, *wè* ‘house’ cannot take either *áyà* or *bé*. Interestingly, though *wè béj̣í* is rejected for meaning ‘Inside the house’, *wè áyàj̣í* was accepted by certain speakers with the reading that there was an additional level of containment within the house as shown in example (??).

(12) *yáíjòyì wè áyàj̣í*

yaijoyi we aya -j̣í
 dog house be.inside -3m.PRES
 ‘El perro esta adentro de algo adentro de la casa’ (E.LTN.GKN.19jul2012)

3.3 Figure outside a container

The spatial nominal *bèsè* is used for figure outside a container. Unlike the other spatial nominals discussed in this module, *bèsè* does contain information regarding contact between the figure and the ground and cannot be used for contact. Instead the derived form *bèsètì* is used even when the verb following also encodes contact.

(13) a. *dìrì ókóúkuògù bèsè túrùj̣í*

dìri okoukuogu bese turu -j̣í
 fly drinking.cup outside fly -3m.PRES
 ‘El mosco esta volando al conto de vaso’ (E.AMM.GKN.03aug2012)

b. *yáíjòyì wè bèsè ñù̀j̣í*

yaijoyi we bese ñui -j̣í
 dog house outside sit -3m.PRES
 ‘El perro esta sentado afuera de la casa’ *TRPS #6* (E.JMM.GKN.09jul2012)

¹LTN and JMM accepted *bé* for upside-down enclosures while AMM and LMM rejected this use.

c. jíjí ókóúkuògù bèsètì sàìkò

jìjì okóúkuogu bese -ti sù -ko
 spider drinking.cup outside -surface be.attached -3m.PRES

‘El araña esta apegado atras del vaso. Màs abajo.’ (E.AMM.GKN.03aug2012)

bèsè can only be used when the container is hollow in some way. Even if the ground can take *bé* to express figure inside ground, this does not necessarily mean that figure outside ground will take *bèsè*. For example, as seen in example (??), paper inside a book is expressed using the verb *bé* however as seen in example ??a, it is ungrammatical to use *bèsè* to express the relationship of figure outside ground when the ground is solid. Instead, the construction in ??b is used.

(14) a. *tóyájàù tóyápí bèsè újí

toya -jau toyapí bese úi -jì
 write -CL:leaf book outside lie -3m.PRES

(E.LMM.GKN.08aug2012)

b. tóyájàù tóyápí gùnù újí

toya -jau toyapí gunu úi -jì
 write -CL:leaf book beside lie -3m.PRES

‘El papel esta al costado de cuaderno’ (E.LMM.GKN.08aug2012)

4 Two Dimensional Containment

Speakers rejected the use of both *áyà* and *bé* for two dimensional containment. Instead constructions such as those below were used to express two dimensional containment. In the examples below, a piece of paper was placed in the middle of a circular piece of string.

(15) a. tóyájàù bíchímè gámàsè jórà újí

toya -jau bichime gama -se jora úi -jì
 write -CL:leaf encircle -NOMZ middle lie -3m.PRES

‘El papel esta puesto en medio de circulo de sogá’ (E.AMM.GKN.02aug2012)

b. tóyájàù gàbà újí

toya -jau gaba úi -jì
 write -CL:leaf ring lie -3m.PRES

‘El papel esta puesto donde esta rosca’ (E.LTN.GKN.07aug2012)

5 gunu

I am giving *gunu* its own section in this module because it behaves differently from all the other spatial nominals discussed above. Unlike the other spatial nominals, it does not have inherent tone and instead behaves like a class III suffix or the second element of a noun

compound. It is also the other other spatial nominal that can co-occur with another spatial nominal. Alone, it encodes meaning of figure beside ground. It does not by itself contain any information about the contact between the object and the ground. It is also used when the figure is in free space beside the ground. Unlike *bèsè gunu* can be used both with solid grounds or with containers. However, example ??c with *bèsè* and ??c contrast in that ??c is only for the outside surface near the top edge of the cup as opposed to ??c which is just the outside surface without any vertical restrictions.

(16) a. ñítù tóà gùnù ñùjì

ñitu toa gunu ñui -jì
boy fire beside sit -3m.PRES

‘El niño esta sentado al lado de la candela’ *TRPS #38*
(E.AMM.GKN.22jun2012)

b. òkóúkuògù gùnù túrùjì

diri okoukuogu gunu turu -jì
fly drinking.cup beside fly -3m.PRES

‘El mosca esta volando al canto de vaso’ (E.AMM.GKN.03aug2012)

c. jíjí ókóúkuògù gùnù sùkò

jìjì okoukuogu gunu sù -ko
spider drinking.cup beside be.attached -3m.PRES

‘El araña esta apegado por canto del vaso’ (E.AMM.GKN.03aug2012)

As mentioned above, *gunu* is the only spatial nominal which can be combined with other spatial nominals. Combinations with *ímájàì*, *gùbì*, *sànù* and *bèsè* were accepted by AMM and LGF. When used in combination with these spatial nominals, *gunu* changed the meaning to mean near the edge of the ground or in the case of the combination with *sànù* on the inside edge.

(17) a. jíjí wè ímájàì gùnù sù

jìjì we imajai gunu sù
spider house on beside be.attached

‘El araña esta pegado encima de la casa pero al costado’
(E.LGF.GKN.03aug2012)

b. jíjí wè gùbì gùnù sù

jìjì we imajai gunu sù
spider house under beside be.attached

‘El araña esta pegado debajo de la casa de la costada’ (E.LGF.GKN.03aug2012)

c. jíjí wè bèsè gùnù sù

jìjì we bese gunu sù
spider house outside beside be.attached

‘El araña esta pegado afuera de la casa pero al costado’
(E.LGF.GKN.03aug2012)

gunu is also the only spatial nominal besides *ímíjà* that can be used with the positional/locative verb *túí*. Similar to the example in ??a it also means near the edge or near the corner of the top surface .

(18) ókóúkuògù nètòtò gùnù tújí

okoukuogu ne -toto gunu tui -jĩ
 drinking.cup thing -CL:flat.surface beside be.on -3m.PRES
 ‘El vaso esta en la canto de la mesa’ (E.AMM.GKN.03aug2012)

6 Positional/locative Verbs

Apart from the positional/locative verbs *túí*, *áyà* and *bé* discussed within the sections above, *Máíjìkì* has three additional verbs that I will be defining as positional/locative verbs which are *jùì*, *dè* and *sìì*. The criteria I have used to determine the class of a these verbs is as follows: During the sorting task with the initial TRPS stimuli the majority of consultants sorted cards which were later labeled with *jùì*, *dè* and *sìì* into their own groups.

6.1 *jùì*

jùì is a positional/locative verb in *Máíjìkì* expressing encirclement with full contact through a solid object.² *jùì* was never used with one of the spatial nominals and was never used for encirclement without contact. The ground object must be solid and the surface broken in some way for the relationship to be described using *júí*, for instance, a piece of fruit with a stick through it (TRPS #70) took *jùì* while a tree trunk with a hose draped around it (TRPS #55) or a candle with a piece of ribbon tied around it (TRPS #4) did not.

(19) ákwébì nēñàkà jùjì

akwebi ne -ñaka juwi -jĩ
 fruit thing -CL:sharpened.point be.through -3m.PRES
 ‘El fruto esta sartado’ (con palo afilado) TRPS #70 (E.AMM.GKN.23jun2012)

6.2 *dè*

dé is a positional/locative verb in *Máíjìkì* meaning ‘to hang’ where one section of the figure is fixed to a ground object and the rest of the figure is hanging down. *dè* can be used with both animate and inanimate figures. *dè* can be used with or without a spatial nominal which provides a difference in meaning. When no spatial nominal is used, *dè* has the meaning of ‘hang from’ the ground object. Certain objects, such as a table, required a spatial nominal even when the figure was attached to the ground object. The examples in ?? show the different uses of *dè* with and without a spatial nominal as well as the ungrammaticality of *dè* after the ground object ‘table.’ Note that in ??c, the rope is fixed to something above the table and not the top of the table itself. If the figure, in this case the rope, is fixed to the top of the ground, in this case the table, the spatial nominal *gunu* is used as in ??e.

²Note that *júí* can also mean ‘to wear’.

- (20) a. ákwébì sùkínìkà dèjì
akwebi sukini -ka de -ji
 fruit tree -CL:branch hang -3m.PRES
 ‘El fruto esta en la rama de árbol’ (E.AMM.GKN.22jun2012)
- b. *bíchímè nétòtò dèjì
bichime ne -toto de -ji
 rope thing -CL:flat.surface hang -3m.PRES
 (E.LMM.GKN.09aug2012)
- c. bíchímè nétòtò ímájàì dèjì
bichime ne -toto imjai de -ji
 rope thing -CL:flat.surface on hang -3m.PRES
 ‘Encima de la mesa esta colgado una sogá’ (E.LMM.GKN.09aug2012)
- d. bíchímè nétòtò gùbì dèjì
bichime ne -toto guibi de -ji
 rope thing -CL:flat.surface under hang -3m.PRES
 ‘La sogá esta colgado debajo de la mesa’ (E.LMM.GKN.09aug2012)
- e. bíchímè nétòtò gùnù dèjì
bichime ne -toto gunu de -ji
 rope thing -CL:flat.surface beside hang -3m.PRES
 ‘La sogá esta colgado por conta de la mesa’ (E.LTN.GKN.07aug2012)

6.3 śí

śí is a positional/locative verb in Májìkì expressing figure fixed to ground. This contrasts with *dè* in that *śí* requires that one complete side of the figure is fixed to the ground. As with *dè*, *śí* can be used with both animate and inanimate figures. *śí* has the restriction that it cannot be used with figures to express attachment on the ground or the floor. *śí* was rejected even with a figure that is completely fixed to the ground or floor. The restriction does not, however, apply to all top horizontal surfaces as *śí* was excepted for tops of tables, for example. When asked about a figure fixed to the floor, consultants offered *újì* ‘to lie’ and providing the explanation that ‘ya no esta pegado.’

śí also works differently with spatial nominals than what we saw with *dè*. Sentences with no spatial nominal were excepted, however, no spatial information - except that the figure was not fixed to the floor - was encoded. When used with ímájàì, the figure has the meaning of attached to the top of the ground instead of attached above. To get the meaning attached above, consultants provided the following nominals: ímírùrù (LMM), ímájàìrùrù (LMM) and ímì (LTN), however, ímájàì was never accepted to mean ‘above.’

The examples below illustrate the different meanings of *śí* when used with a spatial nominal. Note that in ??b, only the meaning that the figure, in this case sap, is attached

to the underside of the ground, in this case a table, is possible due to the restrictions on *síí*.

- (21) a. báyírì nétòtò ímíjài sííjì
bayiri ne -toto imijai sii -jì
 sap thing -CL:flat.surface on be.attached -3m.PRES
 ‘El copal esta pegado encima de la mesa’ (E.LMM.GKN.09aug2012)
- b. báyírì nétòtò gùùbì sííjì
bayiri ne -toto guibi sii -jì
 sap thing -CL:flat.surface under be.attached -3m.PRES
 ‘El copal esta pegado a la mesa’ *TRPS #53* (E.LMM.GKN.06jun2012)

7 Default Spatial Positions

In Májìkì there are what I will call ‘default spatial positions’ where the use of one of the above spatial nominals or positional verbs is not obligatory given that the expected spatial relationship between the two objects in question holds. During the initial elicitation with the stimuli there were often instances where the consultant did not provide a spatial nominal and only after further questioning did they produce a sentence using one of the spacial nominals discussed above. The spatial nominals and, to an extent, the positional verbs are only obligatory when the spatial relationship between the two objects is unexpected.

It is important to note that though the verb can affect the reading of the relationship depending on the restrictions to the particular verb in question (e.g. *úí* ‘lie’ cannot be used for containment) even positionally agnostic verbs can be used without a spatial nominal to express spatial relationships. The examples in (??) illustrate the different spatial relationships that are expressed when only the ground is changed and the positionally agnostic verb *ñùù* ‘sit’ is used.

- (22) a. yáíjòyì nétòtò ñùùjì
yaijoyi ne -toto ñui -jì
 dog thing -CL:flat.surface sit -3m.PRES
 ‘El perro esta sentado en la tabla’ (E.JMM.GKN.23jul2012)
- b. yáíjòyì nétúrí ñùùjì
yaijoyi neturi ñui -jì
 dog cage sit -3m.PRES
 ‘El perro esta sentado adentro de jaula’ (E.JMM.GKN.23jul2012)

In order to express a relationship that is unexpected, a spatial nominal or a positional/locative verb are obligatory. For instance, the sentence in ??b can never get a different reading than the one offered. In order to express the the dog is on top of the cage, the sentence such as that in example (??) is needed, using the positional/locative verb *túí* for figure above ground with contact.

(23) yáíjòyì nètúrí tújǐ

yaijoyi neturi tui -jǐ
dog cage be.on -3m.PRES

‘El perro esta echado encima de jaula’ (E.JMM.GKN.23jul2012)

Cómo anzuelemos I

Contado por Tímí, Alberto Mosoline Mogica, 14 junio 2012
Transcrito y editado por Máibàrò, Christine Beier, julio 2012

Introductory comments. The translations provided here are the author's own, with little editing by me thus far. At this stage, I have made the lines very short, so that the clauses are easier for us to read and parse, element by element. My comments, clarifications, and additions as editor are provided in parentheses.

- (1) Bàì nògì sáíjì mání dòè,
Cuando (si) vamos (íbamos) a ir a anzuelear antes,
Note: Should the first three elements be written as one?
- (2) ákwégà jíárè, nògìyì.
buscado (encontrado) el huayo, anzuelemos.
- (3) Yéké tèà dèkà, ánù nùkùrè jíárè, nògìyì.
Otro suri también, ese suri de plátano buscado (encontrado) para anzuelear (anzuelemos).
- (4) Jíárè bàì,
Buscado (encontrado) el peje,
- (5) jéá d̀̀sòj̀̀ d̀̀àìj̀̀ nògìyì [nògìj̀̀].
venimos botando anzuelo para anzuelar.
Note: In the recording, AMM said *nògìhè*, but upon reviewing the text, he chose to change it to first person, to be consistent with the rest.
Note: This *d̀̀sòỳ̀* seems to be a pluractional form of *d̀̀oỳ̀*.
Note: Should this be a single word: *jéád̀̀sòj̀̀d̀̀àìj̀̀*?
Note: It seems unlikely that the first *-j̀̀* would be oral while the second *-j̀̀* would be nasal.
- (6) Nògìrè dárè wè, j̀̀rèyì.
Hemos anzueleado y traído (el peje) a la casa, destripamos.
Note: A better translation might be *Anzueleado y traído...* unless the *hemos* is somehow “borrowed” from *h̀̀rèỳ̀*? Compare lines (7-8).
- (7) Jírèrè, kwàkòyì.
Ya destripado, cocinamos.
- (8) Kwàkòrè, áyí.
Ya cocinado, comemos.
- (9) Késò bàìyì máí,
Cuantos estamos en la casa,

- (10) *béobèsè áńísàòyì, késò bàiyì ítì wè.*
todos comemos, (los) cuantos que estamos en una casa.
Note: In this line and the previous one, *késò* is not an interrogative element, but *cuantos* it is the word AMM chose. I added *(los)* here for greater fluidity in the spanish gloss.
- (11) *Kàmà áísé mání.*
Así hemos comido.
Note: This seems to be a *-jé/-sé mání* ‘Conditional Construction’ as described by LDM, but the translation is AMM’s own.
- (12) *Kásò jà ítì k̀̀.*
Todo es esto, el cuento.
Note: This line, and especially its final element, *k̀̀*, need refinement. I will ask him again on another day. According to LMM, the noun *cuento* is also *k̀̀áyí*, identical to the utterances *Voy a contar* or *Yo cuento*.
- (13) *Jànà castellano, ák̀̀ j̀̀k̀̀.*
Ahora en castellano.

Tóádàrèyàì àg† El tigre negro

por Liberato Mosoline Mogica, Sàbà Dèi ƒyì
Tipeado por Christine Beier, Máibàrò
Julio 2012

(1)

Tóádàrèyàì dáìk† ágáj†:

El tigre negro viene llamando:

(El tigre negro, *tóádàrèyàì*, es del tamaño más grande pero no tiene pinto.)

Note: Upon consultation with SJF, I have written the name *tóádàrèyàì* as a single word, based on its prosodic realization; please note that LMM wrote it as *tóá dàrè yàì* in the original notebook.

(2)

"Tóá tóá dámá, tóá yáyájòg†."

"Trae candela, ya se apagó."

(La gente en la comunidad piensa que viene gritando otra gente que se fueron a mitayar y están volviendo sin luz, pero en verdad es el tigre negro.)

(3)

"Dàrè dàrè, ñìgò ñìgò."

(El sonido del tigre negro llamando.)

Note: *ñìgò* here is sound symbolism for moving your tail back and forth; the verbs *dareyi* (walk like a duck) and *ñigoyi* (wag your tail, wiggle) also exist, but LMM says these elements are exclusively sound symbolism.

(4)

"Já, íchijàimà tóá, yáyáj†g†rè, ágáyí."

"Anda, dale candela, ya se apagó, por eso están llamando." (dice la gente)

Note: *-g†rè* must be a past tense reason construction.

(5)

"Máká sáíchík†nà dáìj† ágáyí."

"Los que se han ido al monte vienen gritando." (dice la gente)

(6)

"Tóá yáyájòg†rè ágámàyì?"

"Estarán llamando porque se apagó su candela?"

Note: LMM says the difference between *yáyáj†g†rè* and *yáyájòg†rè* is only pronunciation, not meaning; note that the tones are different from above in *yáyájòg†*.

Note: In this question form, the *mà* is low tone.

(7)

Ásàrè íchíyìk̀t̀ sáj̀t̀.

Sabiendo (que se apagó la candela), se van a darles (candela).

Note 5: A reasonable, and perhaps preferable, alternate translation would be: “Escuchando (al tigre)...” since there actually is no *candela* 'que se apagó'.

(8)

"Tóá tóá tóá dámá, d̀àrè d̀àrè, ñìgò ñìgò."

“Candela, trae candela.” (Lo que canta el tigre negro.)

(9)

Tóá íchíyìk̀t̀ sáichìk̀t̀ dáímáj̀t̀.

Lo que se ido con candela no ha vuelto más.

Note: The tone is different here in *sáichìk̀t̀* compared to above.

(10)

"Tóá tóá tóá dámá, d̀àrè d̀àrè, ñìgò ñìgò."

“Candela, trae candela.” (Lo que canta el tigre negro.)

(11)

"J̀àná p̀é̀b̀t̀ àk̀t̀nà sáij̀t̀."

“Ahora vayan entre dos.” (dice la gente.)

(12)

"Yék̀t̀ j̀étérùrù sáí àg̀t̀."

“El otro que vaya más atrás.”

(13)

Sáík̀t̀ j̀t̀k̀àj̀t̀, "J̀f̀nà tóá."

Yendo él dice (al tigre), "Toma candela.”

(14)

Kàmà d̀èà j̀t̀k̀àk̀t̀rè, 'j̀órità̀t̀.'

Así cuando está diciendo, (el tigre negro brinca sonando así) "j̀órità̀t̀".

Note: *j̀órità̀t̀* is sound symbolism for jumping (people or animals).

(15)

Kàmà yék̀t̀ ásàrè, m̀ónf̀étáj̀óg̀t̀.

Así oyendo, el otro regresó (dando la vuelta).

(16)

Kàmà sáni k̀f̀áj̀t̀, "Tóádàrèyàì àg̀t̀."

Así ha vuelto a contarles, "Tigre negro es."

(17)

Kàmà ásàrè, ñátàg̀rè órápèrèmà màñèyì yáírè g̀ùj̀j̀.

Así sabiendo, al siguiente día parten ripas de huacrapona de miedo al tigre negro.

(18)

Órápèrèmà màñèrè, ǹf̀k̀óétòjànìj̀óg̀ú, tóádàrèyàì áíkàràj̀j̀.

Partido las ripas de huacrapona, cercaron alrededor (de la casa), para que el tigre negro no les coma.

Note: The -kàrà suffix on áíkàràj̀j̀ seems to be a negative reason construction.

(19)

Nàjà nàik̀f̀rè dáik̀t̀ ágáj̀j̀:

Al anochece, otra vez viene gritando:

(20)

"Tóá dámá, dàrè dàrè, ñìg̀ò ñìg̀ò."

"Trae candela (Lo que canta el tigre negro.)"

(21)

Kàmà wè rári g̀ùnù ǹt̀ik̀t̀ ágáj̀j̀.

De esa manera estaba gritando parado (dando la vuelta como perro) al canto de la casa.

Note: ǹt̀ij̀j̀ is only for the way four-legged animals stand/walk; also see (34).

(22)

Kàmà bék̀f̀ ágák̀f̀rè, yékò ñítù ásàrè, 'J̀f̀nà m̀t̀ tóá.' ík̀ó.

Así estaba gritando, y una niña obedeciendo dice, 'Toma tu candela.'

(23)

Kàmà ásàrè, tóá íchík̀òrè.

Así obedeciendo, estaba alcanzando la candela.

(24)

Chìà t̀átò náf̀bòt̀aj̀óg̀f̀ tóádàrèyàì.

Su brazo entero lo desgajó jalándolo el tigre negro.

(25)

Kàmà g̀óòj̀j̀ ñítùrè j̀f̀óétòj̀óg̀ú.

Así de colera le han empujado afuera a la niña.

Note: The covert subject here is *la gente en la casa*.

(26)

Kànù ñátàg̀rè, ñíkò g̀óòkò ñìò d̀t̀òrè ínì, májá kwénìbìyòrè dàg̀ò.

Al día siguiente, la abuela rabiando agarró su hacha, tumbando y juntando trajo harto breá.

Note: Is dàg̀ò separate or joined prosodically?

(27)

Májá dárè kwàkògò.

Traendo la brea ella cocinó.

(28)

kwàkòrè béógàrà nègò yáírè íchíyìkò.

Ya cocinado, se hizo una bola (de brea) para dar al tigre.

(29)

Nàjà nàìkírè dáìkì ágájì:

Cuando estaba haciendo noche de nuevo, viene llamando (el tigre):

(30)

"Tóá tóá dámá, tóá yáyájógí, dárè dárè ñìgò ñìgò."

"Trae candela, la candela se apagó (canto del tigre negro)."

(31)

"Wè gúnù nìtìkì ágájì: "Tóá, tóá dámá."

Alrededor de la casa estaba caminando llamando: "Candela, trae candela."

Note: nìtìjì is only for the way four-legged animals stand/walk; this seems to be a pluractional version of nìjì in (21).

(32)

Kàmà ásàrè, ñìò májá gàrà kwàrùsè gàrà yáírè íchíkò.

Así oyendo, ella ensuavezó la bola de brea para darle al tigre.

(33)

"Wè gúnù nìtìkì jìkàkìrè: "Tóá, tóá dámá."

En canto de la casa estaba caminando hablando (el tigre): "Candela, trae candela."

Note: differences between this and (31); *alrededor* vs *en canto de*; -re on second verb.

(34)

"Jínà mì tóá."

"Toma tu candela." (dice la gente.)

(35)

Tóá tògù júrùrù sìkì.

El tizón estaba pegado adelante (de la bola de brea).

(36)

Kàmà íchíkòrè, máchí nàjà máí jítìpèrè jà íkì góáságí.

Así (la persona) estaba alcanzando, y (el tigre) estaba pensando mal que era brazo de gente.

Note: change in subject; does this make grammatical sense?

(37)

Sàsùk̀t̄ kúníújógf̄ májá g̀rà kwàrùsè g̀rà.

(El tigre negro) prendiendo las garas y mordiendo a la bola de brea bien derritida, se quemó (la boca).

Note: what a wacky sentence in MAI!

(38)

Ñátàg̀rè, ñíàg̀ù yáí kóùmà májá g̀rà júík̀rè, yòb̀t̄ nàñàmàjà tèà.

Al día siguiente, lo vieron quedándose pegado en la bola de brea sus uñas del tigre, y su pelo del labio (o sea, su barba) también.

(39)

Kàmà ñíàrè, ít̄ijùnà j̀k̀àyi:

Así viendo, ellos dijeron:

(40)

"Jànà b̀arób̀t̄rè jíáj̀ànì áyò."

"Ahora vamos a buscar pelejo para comer."

(41)

Kàmà s̀ani, b̀arób̀t̄nàrè d̀agò nèàtò.

Así yendo, ellos han traído pelejos en la tarde.

(42)

Kàmà d̀arè ség̀ù.

Así traendo, lo chamuscaron.

(43)

Kàmà séténí, kwàk̀j̀rè, tèò ñíò b̀arób̀t̄ t̀òmà s̀óég̀ó.

Así chamuscado, lo van a cocinar, y ella (una de las mujeres) sola va a componer las tripas.

Note: If séyì is *chamuscar*, what is séténí ?

(44)

Bábékò s̀óég̀ó, yék̀éjùnà áníj̀èàg̀ù.

En vano la compuso, otros la (tripa) comieron.

(45)

Kàmà g̀òk̀ó jék̀éjùnà áníj̀èàrèrè, békò ásákó mùsù j̀k̀àk̀órè:

Así rabiando porque la comieron los otros, estaba hechada escuchando que el grillo lo decía:

Note: Is the tone wrong on j̀k̀àk̀órè?

(46)

"Máí kàràchík+rè bítí kùmù t́ábèòjògù, tí tí tí tí tí."

“(Él) de lo que la gente tenía miedo está muerto en el hueco del palo grueso.” (canto del grillo)

(El bítí kùmù es el palo grueso que cada persona debe pasar para no revivir; en este caso, el tigre negro está dentro de un hueco pero está muerto [bítí kùmù is like the gate of heaven]).

Note: How exactly does t́ábèòjògù mean *muerto*? And is the tone wrong?

(47)

Kàmà ásàrè ágákó yékéjùnàrè, "Já ásádáimà mùsù kímà j+kàkò."

Así oyendo (ella) llamó a la otra gente, “Vengan a oír qué dice el grillo.”

(48)

"Máí kàràchík+rè bítí kùmù, t́ábèòjògù, tí tí tí tí tí."

“(Él) de lo que la gente tenía miedo está muerto en el hueco del palo grueso.” (canto del grillo)

(49)

"Mùsù, áí bábémàkò?"

“Grillo, no estarás engañando?” (pregunta la gente)

Note: In this question form, the mà is low tone.

Note: What is the áí?

(50)

"Mùsù, m̀ bábémátú, ñátàsè bárób̀ kóríñàgùmà áòyò."

“Grillo, si tú no engañas, mañana comerás las costillas del pejejo.” (dice la gente)

Note: Conditional tú

Note: Is áòyò *comer* or *dar de comer*?

(51)

"Máí kàràchík+rè bítí kùmù, t́ábèòjògù, tí tí tí tí tí."

“(Él) de lo que la gente tenía miedo está muerto en el hueco del palo grueso.” (canto del grillo)

(52)

"Mùsù, bábémàkò, ítidèàyi?"

“Grillo, no estás engañado, es cierto?” (pregunta la gente)

Note: In this question form, the mà is low tone.

Note: What is ítidèàyi exactly?

(53)

Kàmà ásàrè, ñátàg̀rè b́fj̀ ítijùnà wítùmà ásfñfá chíárè sáiyí.

Así oyendo, por la mañana levantaron sus lanzas y sus macanas y se fueron.

(Macana: una arma hecha de pona, utilizado para golpear).

Note: This translation is incomplete.

(54)

Sàni tĩàrè, ʒà n̄mèñiàyi ìti bātí kùmù yàkù.

Llegando al sitio, con cuidado agachan y miran al hueco del palo grueso.

(55)

"N̄mèñiàrè, k̄fájí: "Néágàrà ài bėjí, m̄ kérùrù t̄àtàrà, yi ƒrùrù j̄fòyi."

Agachando lo ven y dicen: "Ahí está hechado el negro, ustedes en esa punta (del palo grueso) van a esperar, yo lo picaré de este lado."

Note: What are the component elements of néágàrà ài?

(56)

Ít̄ijùnà ásàrè, yékérùrù t̄àtàgù, yék̄ wítù gájíj̄, yék̄ ásr̄r̄ gájíj̄.

Ellos oyendo, estaban esperando a la otra punta (del palo), otro agarrando su lanza y otro agarrando su macana.

(57)

Í j̄òk̄rè, bàrimájí, dè júníj̄óḡ.

Él picándolo, no se movió, ya era muerto.

Note: I tried for dèi but LMM insisted on dè.

(58)

Kàmà júníj̄òḡrè ñiàrè, kùmù kwéniyétòrè b̄r̄f̄útáb̄ tóádàrèyàirè.

Así viendo que estaba muerto, lo huequearon al palo y lo jalaron para sacar al tigre negro.

Note: is the tone wrong on júníj̄òḡrè?

(59)

B̄r̄f̄útàrè, góòj̄ kwénīt̄éjéàb̄ írè béóbèsèmàkà.

Jalando lo sacaron, de colera comenzaron a cortarle todo su cuerpo.

(60)

Jànà kàmà yój̄ bàisérè bàiyi yàri yáínà, ñi mājàyè sàkàsè tóádàrèyài.

De esa manera sucedió que ahora existen todo tipo de tigre, los que brincaron de su sangre del tigre negro.

(61)

Kásò j̄à, chíbàyi.

Eso es todo, gracias.

Biyàbàrò àgò
El pelejo mantecoso

por Liberato Mosoline Mogica, Sàbà Dèi òyì
Tipeado por Christine Beier, Máibàrò
Julio 2012

(1)

Bfájùnà yíò sájìrè, ágáyí ñíjùnà:

Cuando sus padres se fueron a la chacra, sus hijos gritaron:

(2)

"Jàkìrè sákì? Jàkìrè sákì? Jàkìrè sákì?"

"Papá, ya te has ido? Papá, ya te has ido? Papá, ya te has ido?"

(3)

Kàmà ágájìrè, biyàbàrò dákò.

Así cuando gritaron, vino el pelejo mantecoso.

(4)

Kàmà nánì wè kákàrè, wè jórà gàbì dèkò jìkàkò:

Así llegando y entrando a la casa, y se colgó en la solera y dijo:

(Solera: la madera central de la casa)

(5)

"Yì náñà tóásúòmà."

"Préndame la candela en mi pelo."

(6)

Kàmà ásàrè, tóásúòbì ítijùnà ñíò náñà.

De esa manera escuchando, ellos lo prendieron la candela en su pelo.

(7)

Ñíò náñà ùkì báì méájì, kàmà méákìrè jìkàkò:

Quemaba su pelo y comenzaba a gotear manteca, así cuando goteaba, (ella) dijo:

(8)

"Jàsò bórè, tátéáímá yì báì."

"Asan su yuca, y comen echando con mi manteca."

(9)

Ásàrè, ó jàò óàbì ítijùnà.

Oyendo, tendieron la hoja de plátano ellos.

(10)

Ítijùnàrè jìkàkò:

A ellos habló (ella):

(11)

"Áó bórè tátéáímá, yì náñà úk̀t̀ báì méák̀rè."

"Comida (plátano o yuca) asada comen echando, quemando mi pelo gotea manteca."

(12)

Nàjà b́ájùnà yìò sáj̀rè ágáyì:

Cuando sus padres se fueron a la chacra, gritaron:

(13)

"Jàkòrè sákò? Jàkòrè sákò? Jàkòrè sákò?"

"Te has ido, mamá? Te has ido, mamá? Te has ido, mamá?"

(14)

Kàmà ágáj̀rè dáìkò, "Káyò, káyò, káyò."

Así gritando vino (el pelejo): "Káyò, káyò, káyò."

(15)

Kàmà b́arób̀t̀ báì àkwèj̀t̀, ítijùnà òt̀gònèj̀t̀, śyijè̀yì, áó áímáyì.

Así comiendo manteca del pelejo, ellos tenían diarrea, se enflaquecían, y no comían la comida (preparada por sus mamá.)

(16)

Ítijùnàrè nánì b́ákò góòkò, "í̀gèrè áíj̀t̀, áó áímàyì ḿsájùnà?"

A ellos, llegando su mamá, reclamaba, "¿Qué comen, por qué no comen ustedes?"

(17)

Kàmà góòkò kwèkò ñiàkòrè ítijùnà ókóràkà bàì táj̀t̀, "Kàrò gè̀yì báì?"

Así rabiando y buscando encontró manteca rebalsando en su agua de ellos, "¿De dónde esta manteca?" (pregunta ella).

(18)

Nàjà ñátàg̀rè yìò sáyìyì, só sáímágú dá b́àjùnà.

Al día siguiente otra vez sus padres se van a su chacra, pero no yendo lejos.

(19)

Wè gúnù kátìb̀t̀ ñíàyòj̀t̀.

Al canto de la casa se escondieron para que vean.

(20)

Ñíjùnà nàjà b́íj̀t̀ ágáyì, "Jàkòrè sákò? Jàkòrè sákò? Jàkòrè sákò?"

Los niños otra vez levantándose gritan, "Mamá, te has ido? Mamá, te has ido? Mamá, te has ido?"

(21)

Kàmà kátìrè, ñíàj̀rè dà b́àjùnà, biyàbárò dáìkò, "Káyò, káyò," íkò.

Así escondidos, sus padres viendo, el pelejo mantecoso viene, "káyò, káyò" dice.

(22)

Kàmà ñíàj̀rè, b̀àj̀ùnà nánì j̀k̀à̀yì, “M̀f̀r̀á ỳí̀k̀í ñíj̀ùnà áó méááj̀è̀k̀ò àgò.”

Así viendo, los padres dicen viniendo, “Tu eres que das a comer a mis niños para que mates.”

(23)

“M̀r̀è j̀ànà m̀áníj̀ò̀yò.”

“Ahora te matamos a ti.”

(24)

“Ỳr̀è m̀áníj̀ò̀tù, m̀ ñíj̀ùnà j̀új̀új̀è̀yò.”

“Si me mates, tus hijos van a morir.” (responde el pelejo.)

(25)

Ñíj̀ùnà b̀àk̀t̀ g̀óòk̀t̀ á́sá́k̀t̀à ñí á́s̀f̀r̀t̀ kẁá̀r̀è m̀áníj̀ò̀g̀t̀.

Y su papá rabiando sin hacerlo caso, agarró su macana matándolo.

(26)

M̀áníj̀ò̀r̀è g̀óòk̀t̀ t̀k̀àmàñèj̀ò̀g̀t̀ f̀j̀àdèà k̀ànò̀m̀àñà, t̀k̀àt̀t̀éj̀è̀g̀t̀.

Matándolo, rabiando, lo cortó partiendo en pedazitos chiquitos de carne, cortando en pedazitos.

(27)

Kàmà t̀k̀àt̀t̀éj̀è̀g̀t̀r̀è í́tí s̀àk̀àchík̀òñìnà, b̀árób̀t̀ m̀áj̀à̀yè b̀à̀yì j̀ànà b̀árób̀t̀nà ỳà̀rìb̀à̀rò j̀áib̀à̀rò.

Así cuando ha picacheado completamente, de esa sangre que ha saltado ahora hay pelejos blancos (chicos) y pelejos grandes.

(28)

K̀ásò j̀à, chíb̀à̀yì.

Eso es todo, gracias.

Cogiendo irapay I

Contado por Tímí, Alberto Mosoline Mogica, 14 junio 2012

Transcrito y editado por Máibàrò, Christine Beier, 04 julio 2012

- (1) Yì kíáyí jàná,
Voy a contar ahora,
- (2) Yíkí yòjì dònè mífí títéjì bàisè.
cómo hicimos antes para coger el irapay.
Note 1: Sense of *cómo* must come from *bàisè*.
Note 2: Apparently *yòjì* and *títéjì* are subordinate to *bàisè*.
- (3) Mífí títéyó íjì mání,
Si queremos coger el irapay,
Note 3: Text example of LDM's 'Same Subject Conditional Construction' with *íjì mání*; note 1PL.FUT inflection *-yo* on *títéyó*.
Note 4: In the recording, the variant *ání* is audible, but AMM corrected it (as he always does) to *mání*.
- (4) máká sání,
nos vamos al monte,
Note 4: This is AMM's translation; I think the *sání* would be more faithfully rendered as *habiendo ido*; see line (8).
- (5) mífí níkáràrì jíárè,
encontrando dónde hay irapay,
Note 5: This is AMM's translation; I think the *jíárè* would be more faithfully rendered as *habiendo encontrado* or just *encontrado*; see line (8).
- (6) títéyí.
cogemos.
- (7) Títé tíní, yíoyí.
Terminando de coger, juntamos.
Note 6: This is AMM's translation; I think the *tíní* would be more faithfully rendered as *habiendo terminado* or just *terminado*; see line (8).
- (8) Yíórè, dárè,
Juntado y traído,
- (9) bàinàrè gèkèyì, gèkèrè.
amarramos en bultitos (cargitas) 'de huanganas', amarrados.
Note 7: According to AMM, a *bàiná* is a specific size and type of bundle of irapay which resembles a tied-up *huangana*, or *bàì*, which is why it is translated as 'cargita de huangana'. Each of these bundles is the number of leaves of irapay necessary for a single *crizneja*.

- (10) Nà jété jáíjò géórè.
De nuevo después una carga grande hemos amarrado.
 Note 8: A *jáíjò* is specifically a large bundle composed of small bundles of irapay as described in Note 7.
 Note 9: The verbs *gèkèyì* and *géóyí* may be a pluractional pair.
- (11) Ká súárè, bèhà dáyí.
Hechado el huato (a la carga), lo traemos cargando en la espalda.
- (12) Bèhà wè dárè,
Cargando en la espalda hemos traído a la casa,
- (13) wè dárè, jíkòpèrèmà màñèrè,
Hemos traído a la casa, hemos partido las ripas de pona,
- (14) ḿí méyí, ítì míínòà bàìjàyè.
el irapay tejemos para que sean criznejas.
- (15) Kámà yòhà néyí ítì wè [gà].
Así le hacemos esa casa.
 Note 10: AMM clearly says in the recording, and told me, ‘*Sí, se puede decir,*’, but he insisted on deleting it from the text. I left it in this version for your edification.
- (16) Kánù nérè,
En ese tiempo hemos hecho,
- (17) kámà nésè,
así hemos hecho,
- (18) mání wè sísòyì.
así techamos la casa.
 Note 11: Lines (17) and (18) are AMM’s translations. There is a long pause between these two lines in the recording. I wonder if *nésè mání* is actually a ‘Same Subject Conditional Construction’.
- (19) Wè sísòsìrè,
Techada completamente la casa,
 Note 12: What exactly is this *-sì* before the *-rè*?
- (20) kásò jà ítì.
eso es todo (de techar la casa).
- (21) Kásò jà.
Eso es todo (del cuento).

Cómo hacemos una chacra

Contado por Tímí, Alberto Mosoline Mogica, 04 julio 2010

Transcrito por Mámàsò, Stephanie Farmer, julio 2010

Editado por Máíbàrò, Christine Beier, julio 2012

- (1) Máíj̀̀k̀̀i yík̀̀i j̀̀k̀̀i j̀̀à.
(El idioma) máíj̀̀k̀̀i es nuestro idioma.
(The language) máíj̀̀k̀̀i is our language.
- (2) Yíò nées̀yò í jánígá yík̀̀i sánì,
En donde vamos a hacer chacra, nosotros vamos,
To the place where we will make a chacra (swidden) we go,
- (3) káró yíò bàìj̀̀à d̀̀r̀̀i, sánì jíáyí.
vamos para buscar (encontrar) dónde va a ser el lugar de la chacra.
we go to find where the place of the chacra will be.
- (4) Jíárè, nánì nà ítì yíò tíyòrè, ñátàsè sánì tétóyí.
Encontrado (el lugar), y habiendo vuelto otra vez de donde hemos señalado la chacra, el mañana (o sea, el día después) vamos a rozar.
Having found (the place), and having returned again from where we have made edges for the chacra, the next day we go to clear (the land).
- (5) Tétórè, tétósàòjòrè nà jètè kwéyí yàr̀̀iñiàmàñà kwénìsùbàrè.
Rozado, hemos terminado de rozar, otra vez después cortamos, cortando los palos delgados primero.
Thus cleared, having finished clearing (the land), again later we cut, cutting the small trees first.
- (6) Nà jíáñià kwénì, kwénìsàòjòrè táñúsàòrè.
Otra vez cortando los palos gruesos, se ha terminado de cortar (los gruesos), terminando de derribar todo.
Later (again) cutting the big trees, we will have finished cutting, finished felling everything.
- (7) Dóékù máníñiàg̀̀r̀̀è tèi máì bàk̀̀r̀̀è, íóyí.
Habiendo demorado esperando un tiempo de un mes, quemamos.
Having waited for a month, we burn (the land for the chacra).
- (8) Íóyí.
Quemamos.
We burn.

- (9) Tóà níòj̀r̀è, íkí nínísà̀nì úújí.
Prendiendo la candela, prendido va quemándose solo.
Lighting the fire, once lit it goes on burning by itself.
- (10) Úújóg̀r̀è yíoyí.
Terminado de quemar, juntamos.
Having finished burning, we gather (debris).
- (11) Yíórè, yíóúúj̀è̀r̀è béóbè̀sè, kà̀nù tátè̀yì.
Juntado, juntado y quemado todo, en ese momento vamos a sembrar.
Gathered, everything gathered and burned, at that point we will plant.
- (12) Tátèsà̀òr̀è, áó béóbè̀sè máí ígè áórè áíyí.
Terminado de sembrar, toda (variedad de) comida que es nuestra comida vamos a comer.
Having finished planting, all (kinds of edible) plants that are our food we will eat.
- (13) Kájònà j̀à, j̀àsò j̀à, ó j̀á, yókò j̀à, íchì j̀à, yéké j̀ànù, béà j̀à.
Mandi, yuca, plátano, caña, piña, con otros, (como) maíz.
Mandi, yuca, plantain, sugarcane, pineapple, and others, like corn.
- (14) Béóbè̀sè tátèsà̀òyì máí ígèrè áíj́ b̀à̀yì.
Toda (comida) sembramos, lo que comemos nosotros para vivir (o sea, lo que vivimos comiendo).
We plant all (cultigens), that which we consume to live.
- (15) Kásò j̀à.
Eso es todo.
That is all.

Sókósàni sáísè (Viaje a Sucusari)

Escrito por Tímí, Alberto Mosoline Mogica, julio 2012

Editado por Máíbàrò, Christine Beier, agosto 2012

- (1) Yì jànà kááyì Sókósàni sáísè.
Ahora voy a contar del viaje a Sucusari.
Now I will recount my trip to Sucusari.
- (2) Yì Sókósàni sájì.
Yo me fui a Sucusari.
I went to Sucusari.
- (3) Yì dòikí jànù sájì.
Yo me fui con mi hermano.
I went with my brother.
- (4) Tĩñájáì Sókósàni náitíkírè tè jítidèà máì síkírè.
Hemos llegado a Sucusari a la 5 de la tarde.
We arrived in Sucusari at 5 in the afternoon.
- (5) Máijùnà bàidàrì tĩñájáì.
Hemos llegado donde vive la gente.
We arrived where the people lived.
- (6) Jètè ñámì áó ájì.
En la noche hemos comido.
Later in the evening we ate.
- (7) Ñátàgìrè jájìùnà ñíí jìkàyì bábá míánù ñíí jìkàbì.
El día siguiente (mucha gente) hemos reunido para tres días del Congreso.
The following day we all gathered for three days of the Congress.
- (8) Ñámì jájìùnà ñíí gónó òtèbì.
Por la noche (mucha gente) hemos reunido para bailar (con masato).
At night we gathered to dance (with masato).
- (9) Ítìnú dájì Tòtómíò Máíbàrò jànù.
En ese tiempo vino Michael con Cristina.
At that time Michael attended with Cristina.
- (10) Tèà dájì yékìná bóàkìná.
También vinieron otros mestizos ('gente blanca').
Other 'white people' (mestizos) also attended.

- (11) Kánù ñíńítájí máíjùnà jáíjùnà.
En ese tiempo ha terminado el Congreso.
At that point the Congress ended.
- (12) Kásò jà.
Eso es todo.
That is all.

Tóméjúníjóniàsè
(*Casi me muero cayendo subiendo*)

Escrito por Tímí, Alberto Mosoline Mogica, julio 2012

Editado por Máibàrò, Christine Beier, agosto 2012

- (1) Jànà kíáyì yì tóméjúníjóniàsè súkíni míkì.
Ahora voy a contar (cómo) casi me muero cayendo subiendo al árbol.
Now I will recount how I almost died falling climbing a tree.
- (2) Kànù ìtinù yì jàkà yirè jìkàgì:
En ese momento mi papá me dijo:
At that time my father said to me:
- (3) “Mà jànà yájé jìyemà.”
“Ahora vas a coger ayahuasca.”
“You now will harvest ayahuasca.”
- (4) Kànù ìtinù yì jàkà yìò sájì yájé jìyèyíkí.
En ese momento me he ido a la chacra de mi papá para coger ayahuasca.
At that time I went to my father’s chacra (swidden) to harvest ayahuasca.
- (5) Jìyèrè móníkì dáíkì bàò tútùrè ñiàbì, ìò jèjàkórè.
Cogiendo regresando, he visto un huapo que estaba brincando.
Having harvested and returning, I saw a huapo (monk saki monkey) that was jumping branch to branch.
- (6) Bàò tútùrè jásóbí, ìò jùimágó.
He baleado al huapo, pero no ha muerto.
I shot at the huapo, but it didn’t die.
- (7) Ìò jítipèrè jásótíyóbí, ímí súkíni túíkó.
En su brazo le ha chancado la bala del tiro y se ha quedado (sentado) en el alto del palo.
The shot had broken its arm and it remained sitting in the top of the tree.
- (8) Kànù ìtinù yì súkíni míjì bàò tútùrè nátoyìkì.
En ese momento yo subí en el palo para agarrarlo al huapo.
At that moment I climbed the tree to grab the huapo.
- (9) Chìa tĩàmábí ìò túidàrì,
Todavía no he llegado donde (el huapo) estaba sentado,
Not yet having arrived where (the huapo) was sitting,

- (10) tĩ̀nàtííkì kábì píkàsèkà néábí.
cerca para llegar he agarrado una rama seca (podrida).
close to arriving I took hold of a dry (rotten) branch.
- (11) Nàìbòtākì tóméjóbí sùkíñì píkàsèkà.
Agarrando la rama seca, se ha despegado para caerme.
Grabbing and thereby removing the dry branch, I fell from the tree.
- (12) Kànù ìtinù tómébí, tómékì yíàyà,
En ese momento me he caído en el agua,
At that moment I fell, falling in the water (river),
- (13) tómédùjì yòù yómè yì jítìpèrè tómétíyíbí, yì jítìpèrè tàrà.
cayendo (sumiendo) sobre el bordo de la canoa, mi brazo se ha chancado, el hueso
de mi brazo.
and falling onto the edge of the canoe (while sinking) my arm broke, the bone of
my arm.
- (14) Kànù ìtinù yì jítìpèrè bàrìgòñómàgì.
En ese momento me brazo no podía mover.
At that moment, my arm could not move.
- (15) Kànù ìtinù tèà yì jítì yórì dòàgòñómàgì.
En ese momento tampoco mi mano no podía agarrar el remo para remar.
At that moment my hand could not hold the paddle to paddle (the canoe).
- (16) Kànù té jítì dòàkì móníbí wè kírò dájì.
En ese tiempo con una sola mano bogando he regresado parte a la casa.
At that time paddling with just one hand I came back toward (my) house.
- (17) Tĩ̀nàdájì yì jàkì wè nàìkírè.
He llegado a la casa de mi papá por la tarde.
I arrived at my father's house in the afternoon.
- (18) Kànù chìa dèi bàràmagí yì jítìpèrè.
Todavía no me dolía mucho mi brazo.
My arm did not hurt very much yet.
- (19) Jètè ñámì jùrùdèà núí bàràgì.
Luego a la medianoche me dolía por demás (el dolor).
Later at midnight the pain was extreme.
- (20) Kànù ñátàgìrè ákì néràkà júàgì, kànù dèi áchímágí.
El día siguiente me han puesto un ampolla y en ese momento me ha calmado el
dolor.
The next day they gave me a shot and at that time the pain subsided.
- (21) Kànù dèirà ásábí yì jítìpèrè bàràsè.
En ese momento me ha pasado el dolor de mi brazo.
At that time the pain of my arm passed.

- (22) Kànù ìtìnù yì jítìpèrè nẹ̀gánìkòà mébí yì jítìpèrè.
En ese momento a mi brazo le han puesto una esterita (tejido de hueso de aguaje) para (sostener) mi brazo.
At that time they wove a sling (a mat of stiff aguaje fronds as support) for my arm.
- (23) Kànù ìtìnù dúékù békí táyògì yì jítìpèrè t́yísè.
En ese momento ha pasado por mucho tiempo (para sanarme de) la quebradura del hueso de mi brazo.
At that time the break in my arm lasted for a long time (until it healed).
- (24) Kásò jà. Chíbàyì.
Eso es todo. Gracias.
That is all. Thank you.

Bítí bíákòrè kíásè
(*Cuento del callucallu mama*)

Escrito por Sábà, Liberato Mosoline Mogica, 2012
Editado por Máíbàrò, Christine Beier, agosto 2012

- (1) Ímì ní nájòrè jéósàkì ñámì tèòrè, bàì júchìkì ñátàkìrè.
*Un hombre le deja a su mujer sola en la noche, para pucunear al amanecer.
A man leaves his wife alone one night, in order to hunt by blowgun at dawn.*
- (2) Kàmà jéósàkìrè bèkò káíkó, ásákó bítí dàìkò tátàkòrè.
*Así dejada (ella) cuando se queda durmiendo, escucha que viene cayendo el
callucallu.
Thus left while she lies resting, she hears the leech coming falling.*
- (3) Ñìò jìkàkò ñìò màmákìrè májàyìrè,
*Ella lo dice a su hijo mayor,
She says to her eldest son,*
- (4) “Ígòbà dàìkò tátákó, píkátù gíátù.”
*“Qué viene cayendo, parece un palo podrido.”
“What is coming falling, it seems like a rotten log.”*
- (5) Ñìò jàjà ñíbáárè ñùkò jìkàkò.
*Ella, recién habiendo dado luz, estaba sentada hablando.
Recently having given birth, she is sitting talking.*
- (6) Kàmà ásàrè yékéjùnà étábí.
*Así oyendo, han corrido (se han escapado) las demás personas.
Thus hearing, the rest of the people ran away (escaped).*
- (7) Ñìò ñíbáárè ñùkò, étámágó.
*Ella, sentada por haber dado luz, no corrió (no se escapó).
But she, sitting because she had given birth, did not run away (escape).*
- (8) Kàmà dàìkò tátákó ñìòrè táníméájórè, ñìò májàyè úkúsàdójógó.
*Así viniendo cayendo, a ella lo apretó y lo mató, y chupó toda su sangre.
Thus coming falling, (the leech) crushed her and killed her, and sucked out all of
her blood.*
- (9) Ñìò màmákì jà báchìkìrè tèà táníméájógó.
*A su hijo recién nacido lo apretó y lo mató también.
It crushed and killed her recent-born son too.*

- (10) Kàmà úkúsàòjórè mónìkò jìkàkò,
Así tomando todo (la sangre), al regresar dice, (el callucallu),
Thus drinking all (of her blood), while returning (the leech) says,
- (11) “Yìrè yòòjì mání ígèrè yòòyì, pèrútùmàkà gwìbàgò, ñíjá góásáyí,” íkó kíákó.
“A mí qué me van a hacer, solo la lanza me da miedo (o sea, con eso sí me pueden matar), de esa pienso,” cuenta ella.
“What could they do to me, I am only afraid of the lance (that is, only with the lance can I be killed), of that I am thinking,” she says.
- (12) Ñátàgìrè íjì dáikìrè, kíábí yékéjùnà,
Al día siguiente, cuando llegó su marido, le han contado otras personas,
The next day, when (the woman’s) husband arrived, the other people told him,
- (13) “M̃ ńjòrè bítí táníméájórè, sákò ñìò májàyèrèà úkúsàòjógó.”
“A tu esposa el callucallu lo apretó y lo mató y se fue chupando pura sangre.”
“The leech crushed and killed your wife, and it left upon sucking all of her blood.”
- (14) Kàmà ásàrè, góòkì ñí wítù kwágí ásírì tèà, ságì.
Así oyendo, él rabiando agarró su lanza y su macana también, y los llevó.
Thus hearing, with rage he grasped his lance and his club as well, and took them.
- (15) Ñìò dáikò tátásèmà, ñiàkì túkì, kàmà túkì tiñàrè ñiàgì ñéà chitàrèà táikòrè.
Por donde ella venía apretando, él mirando lo siguió, así siguiendo llegó y vió un pozo de agua negra y allí estaba rebalsando.
Via the way she had come crushing, seeing (the way) he followed, thus following he arrived and saw a deep pool of black water and there she (the leech) was floating.
- (16) Kàmà góòkì ñí wítù tótábèòjógí, májàyèdàkà, ńjò bàchìkò májàyè.
Así rabiando, con su lanza lo picó y lo reventó, lleno de sangre, la sangre de su mujer que era.
Thus in a rage, with his lance he stabbed and burst her, full of blood, the blood of his wife that was.
- (17) Kàmà tótábírìrè góòkì ñìòrè, tìkàtítéjógí bítìrè.
Así lo picó y lo jaló (picando el cuerpo del callucallu con su lanza), y rabiándolo, picacheó al callucallu.
Thus he stabbed and pulled (her, piercing the body of the leech with his lance), and in a rage, he diced up the leech.
- (18) Kàmà sàkàchìkònà bàyì jànà yàribítínà.
Así los que han saltado (del picacheo) existen ahora los callucallu chicos.
Thus from the pieces that leapt forth, now exist the small leeches.
- (19) Kàsò jà, chibàyì.
Eso es todo, gracias.
That is all, thank you.

Bíbí àgò (*El bufeo*)

Contado por Jéó (Jorge Gonzales Santamaría)
Escrito por Pírí (Lizardo Gonzales Flores), junio 2012, Tótóyà
Editado por Békótù (Amalia Horan Skilton), agosto 2012

- (1) B́b́rè kíáyì.
Del bufeo voy a contar.
This is the story of the river dolphin.
- (2) Dòèbèsè téòñì bàìkò áíbàgò.
Antes, sóla vivía una anciana.
In the old days, an old woman lived alone.
- (3) Íò wè ñámì bótóbèyò, áíbàgò káídàrì dání jìkà, “Bótóbèyò! Mì míájù!”
En la noche, el tohuayo venía a su casa, donde dormía la anciana, para decir
“Tohuayo! Tu sarta!”
One night, the tohuayo came to her house, where the old woman slept, to sing,
“Bótóbèyò! Your string of fish!”
- (4) Áíbàgò ásákò yábíjò.
La anciana, de escuchar (tanto), se cansó.
The old woman got tired of listening to him.
- (5) Bótóbèyòrè jìkà, “Ígèrè jìkà, ‘Mì míájù!’?”
Al tohuayo le dijo, “Qué quieres decir, ‘Tu sarta!’?”
She said to the tohuayo, “What do you mean, ‘Your string of fish!’?”
- (6) “Yàribái jù já sání íjài.
“A ver, anda, traer la sarta de pescado.
“You go and get the string of fish.
- (7) “Máità áyò.”
“Vamos a comer.”
“We’re going to eat.”
- (8) Ásàrè kwéyòjò.
Escuchando, se calló (el tohuayo).

Hearing (her), the tohuayo was silent.

- (9) *Áíbàgò káníjò.*
La anciana se durmió.
The old woman went to sleep.
- (10) *Yábé kákárè ìò tóbì útárè, bèo káíkò.*
(El tohuayo) escondido entró y sacó su ropa de ella, (así que) dormía desnuda.
Hiding, (the tohuayo) came in and took off her clothes, so that she was sleeping naked.
- (11) *Íò gànì í m̀fòyò bákì sàò.*
Estaba tingando con su dedo su cuerpo (de ella).
He kept flicking her body with his finger.
- (12) *Íò gànìjò ímì bàisè, “Sói” náútájò.*
(El tohuayo sacó) de encima su piel (de la anciana, con el sonido) “Soi!” le sacó.
(The tohuayo) removed her skin from the above, with the sound “Soi!”
- (13) *Mósádàrè ímì jéótìò.*
Le botó (la piel de la anciana) encima de un tronco de achioté.
He threw it on top of an achioté tree.
- (14) *“Jànà já ñà!”*
“Ahora, mírale!” (dijo la gente).
“Look at this!” (said the people).
- (15) *Mósìò àgò wésàgà jínòtá étá.*
Ha vuelto en jovencita con seno recién brotado.
She had turned into a young girl whose breasts had just begun to stand up.
- (16) *Gáèrè yàribáì kòkòkò.*
Ella se levantó y estaba cocinando el pescado.
She got up and cooked the fish.
- (17) *Íò mámákò dání j̀kà, “Jàkò mì kímà yò?”*
Sus hijos vinieron a decirle, “Mamá, usted, cómo se hizo?”
Her children came to say, “Mama, how did you do this?”
- (18) *“J̀kàbàì mì yéké bíákì jànà yìrè dèbàchìkò.”*
(Dijo la anciana), “No digas nada. Tu padrastro ahora a mí me arregló.”
(The old woman said,) “Don’t say anything. Your stepfather has transformed me now.”

- (19) “Jí,” jìkà ìò māmákò.
“Bueno,” le dijeron sus hijos.
“Yes,” her children said.
- (20) Ìò yéké bíákì bíbí àgì.
Su otro padrastro era bufeo.
Their stepfather was a river dolphin.
- (21) Kè úkèsàgù ñiákì ñùì.
Con la nariz grande, (él) estaba sentado mirando.
He, with his big nose, was sitting there looking at them.
- (22) Béóbèsè ànìsàdòjò.
Todos terminaron de comer.
Everyone finished eating.
- (23) Dòè m̀aniñià, bíbí dá jìkà, “M̀isájùnà dòè báyò í.”
Un rato pasó, y el bufeo les dijo (a los hijos), “Ustedes quieren vivir largo tiempo.”
A while later, the dolphin said to them, “You want to live for a long time.”
- (24) Jìkà, “M̀ì bíákò jànà ñámì sáyì yíàyà s̀anù.
Dijo, “Ahora a tu madre en la noche voy a llevar, dentro del agua.
He said, “I’m about to take your mother (with me) tonight, underwater.
- (25) “Yì sáíkì ágákí, tíñó.
“Cuando voy llamando, contéstame.
“When I come calling, answer me.
- (26) “Máí g̀iàkò nébáìkò bàì.¹
“Cuando seas vieja, vas a renacer para vivir.
“(In this way), when you’re old, you’ll be reborn to live (again).
- (27) “Tíñómàkò m̀ani, m̀ìkò békò ásákò.”
“Si no (me) contestas, usted sólo vas a sufrir.”
“If you don’t answer (me), you’ll suffer alone.”
- (28) Ásàrè ñámì káí.
Escuchando por la noche dormían.
Listening, they slept through the night.
- (29) Ñámìjùrù sáíkì ágákì, “Yìbàgò m̀ì jàkòrè sájóyì.”
A la medianoche se iba y llamaba, “Hija, a tu madre ya estoy llevando.”
At midnight he came and called out, “Daughter, I’m taking your mother away

¹Más lit., “Cuando estás parecido a la gente, vas a renacer para vivir.” (More lit., “When you look like people, you’ll be reborn to live.”)

now.”

- (30) Mámákò tíńómàkò.
Sus hijas no contestaban.
Her daughters didn't answer.
- (31) Ásàrè jó tíńókò, àǎnà téà tíńó, sùkíĩnì téà tíńó.
Eschuchando, el sapo contestaba, la vibora también contestaba, el palo también contestaba.
Listening, the frog answered; the snake answered too, and the tree.
- (32) Í góòkì jìkà, “Máí gǎkò tíńó mísájùnà.”
Él rabiando decía, “Ustedes contestan parecido a la gente.”
Getting angry, he said, “You answer like people.”
- (33) Yíàyà tóménúnìjò sánìjò.
En el agua se cayeron (el bufeo y la mujer) y se fueron.
(The dolphin and the woman) dove into the water and went away.
- (34) Yíàyà tóménúnìjò.
Cayeron en el agua y se hundieron.
They dove into the water and sank.
- (35) Íò māmákò bìbì dáíkò ñiàkò.
Su hija corriendo vino a ver.
(One) daughter came running to see (what had happened).
- (36) Yíàyà chà tòà.
El agua todavía fue como olla.
The water was still churning like a pot.
- (37) Téà tóménúnìjò bíbí nésànìjò.
También se cayó en el agua y se transformó en bufeo.
She too dove into the water and turned into a river dolphin.
- (38) Ókókàkà dá jìkà, “Jàkò yì kímà néjàkì?”
La sharara (que fue su hija) le dijo, “Mamá, qué voy a hacer?”
The sharara bird (who was her daughter) said to her, “Mama, what am I going to do?”
- (39) “Béjá sádùì yíàyà.”
(Su madre dijo,) “Bótate al agua lo más rápido.”
(Her mother said), “Dive into the water right away.”

- (40) Ásàrè sádùù yíàyà.
Escuchando, se botó al agua.
Obeying, she dove into the water.
- (41) Dáo tèà sádùù yíàyà táíkì bábá.
El ponponcito también se botó (al agua) y rebalsaba sobre el agua.
The ponponcito duck also dove in and floated on top of the water.
- (42) Tótójìò dá jìkà, “Jàkò yì kímà néjàkì?”
La panguana le dijo, “Mamá, yo como voy a hacer?”
The panguana bird said to her, “Mamá, what am I going to do?”
- (43) “Já sádùù yíàyà.”
(Ella le dijo,) “A ver, bótate al agua.”
(She said), “You dive into the water.”
- (44) “Ókó júékàrá, kàrè gwìyì.”
(La panguana contestó), “Ahogarme en al agua, tengo miedo de eso.”
(The panguana replied,) “I’m afraid that I’ll drown in the water.”
- (45) Ásàrè ñìò bèà bàisè yíàyà gùnù jéá bógójèà.
Escuchándolo, agarró su maíz y le regaba en la orilla del río.
Hearing this, (his mother) took her corn and poured it on the bank of the river.
- (46) Ñìò māmákì tótójìò békì áí.
Su hijo, la panguana, (hasta ahora) vive comiendo (eso).
Her son, the panguana, (still) lives by eating that (corn).
- (47) Kámà yòkì tótójìò yíàyà gùnù bíákò ñíàkò bíyó.
Por eso la panguana, en la orilla del río, mirándole su madre, silba.
That’s why the panguana still whistles on the riverbank, looking at his mother.

Gógóbàì máí ñákò
(*El diablo del monte robó gente*)

Contado por Jéó (Jorge Gonzales Santamaría)
Escrito por Pírí (Lizardo Gonzales Flores), mayo 2012, Tótóyà
Editado por Békótù (Amalia Horan Skilton), agosto 2012

- (1) Já ñátàkì gíjébì yì.
Al amanecer, cantaba el paujil.
One day at dawn the curassow was singing.
- (2) Í níò dá jìkà, “Yítà gíjébì jújàchì.”
A su mujer le dijo, “Voy a pucunear el paujil.”
A man said to his wife, “I’m going to hunt the curassow.”
- (3) Sáikì nà kèrà sáikì yì.
Yendo, más allá se iba cantando.
As he went along, the curassow sang farther and farther away.
- (4) Dòè ñátàkì báyrì yáyò.
Ya amanecía, y el hombre apagó su luz del copal.
Now dawn was coming, and the man put out his tar torch.
- (5) Gíjébì téà kwéyò.
El paujil también se calló.
The curassow also stopped singing.
- (6) Níkákì ñátà.
El hombre parado, amaneció.
As the man stood there, dawn came.
- (7) Dòè níkákì í jététàrà níkàràkò.
Un rato estaba parado, y por detrás de él, (la gógóbàì) vino a parar.
He was standing there for a while, and the gógóbàì came to stand behind his back.
- (8) Írè jìkà, “Náì tútìbùtì dá móníñàmà.”
Le dijo (la gógóbàì), “Nieta, voltea más para ver el nido de avispa.”
She said to him, “Grandson, turn around more, so that you can see the wasp nest.”

- (9) Ásákìtá nǐká.
Él, escuchándole, estaba parado.
He listened to her, standing up.
- (10) Í ábé nǐákì nǐkákì jíyókì sáíkì.
Él, por donde miraba parado, se iba quebrando (las ramas).
Breaking branches, he went along the path that he had looked down while standing up.
- (11) Násórè júájàkì.
Encontró una manada de choros.
He found a troop of woolly monkeys.
- (12) Násórè tèirè júkì.
Pucunéo a uno choro.
He shot a single woolly monkey.
- (13) Íòrè íchìrè násórè bèkò.
Le dio el choro (a la gogobai), y ella lo cargaba.
He gave (the gogobai) the woolly monkey, and she carried it.
- (14) Dòè í nìò dárè gósà kwésètù.
Antes a su mujer le trajo para cortar quiruma de ungarahui.
Earlier, he had brought his wife to cut down stumps of ungarahui palm.
- (15) Íkì gósákì jìkà, “Ígè yì mà.”
Él pensando decía, “Este es mi camino.”
Thinking, he said, “This is my path.”
- (16) Nèni nǐkádàrì ímíbòèni téádàrì nǐká.
Al lado del tronco del aguaje, estaba parado juntamente un tronco de huasaí.
A huasaí palm was standing right next to an aguaje tree.
- (17) Gábà nérè ímì mǐnǐjò.
Hizo un lazo y subió arriba (en el aguaje).
He used a noose to climb up (the aguaje tree).
- (18) Íò dá jìkà, “Béa gáèmà.
Ella le dijo, “Bájate ya.
She said to him, “Get down right now.
- (19) “Kárò mǐnǐjò?”
“Adónde has subido?”
“Where have you climbed to?”

- (20) Yìà níkákò ágákò.
Ella estaba parada en la tierra llamando.
She was standing on the ground, calling out.
- (21) Nè kànìsè áíkì káníjò.
Comiendo aguaje maduro, quedó durmido.
Eating ripe aguaje, he fell asleep.
- (22) Ñátàrè níimèñià béóràrì.
De mañana se agachó a ver, y (ella) no estaba.
In the morning he got up (on all fours) to look, and she wasn't there.
- (23) Gáèjò í wè dákì.
Se bajó y vino a su casa.
He descended and came to his house.
- (24) Í níò dá jìkà, “Káró sání bésí?”
Su mujer le dijo, “Adónde te fuiste errado?”
His wife said to him, “Where did you go, getting lost?”
- (25) “Bésímà, gógóbài ñánójò.”
(Él dijo,) “No me he errado, la gógóbài me robó.”
(He said,) “I didn't get lost, the gógóbài stole me.”
- (26) Í níò dá jìkà, “Mà yíò áó néjàyò.”
Su mujer le dijo, “Vamos a la chacra a traer comida.”
His wife said, “Let's go to the garden to bring back food.”
- (27) Í dá jìkà, “Mátà,” sáníjò.
Su marido le dijo, “Vamos pues,” y se fueron.
Her husband said, “Let's go, then,” and they left.
- (28) Béóbèsè ókótù gàèrè ábì.
Todos bajaron al puerto y bañaban.
Everyone went down to the port and bathed.
- (29) Gógóbài dáíkò jìkàkò, “Náinà tútíbùtì dá móníñiàmà.”
La gógóbài venía y dijo, “Nietos, volteen a ver el nido de la avispa.”
The gógóbài came and said, “Grandchildren, turn around so you can see the wasp nest.”
- (30) “Ñíkò kébùtì?”
(Contestaron,) “Dónde está el nido, abuela?”
(They answered,) “Where's the nest, grandmother?”

- (31) Jáíyìyà móníñià ñià bésíjò.
(Los muchachos) voltearon a mirar un río grande, y mirando se perdieron (y robaron).
They turned around to see a big river, and while they were looking, they got lost (and were stolen).
- (32) Ítìjùnà óità.
Ellos lloraban.
They cried.
- (33) Íògà jóràgàyà níkákò.
Ella (la gógóbàì) estaba parada en medio del río.
(The gógóbàì) was standing in the middle of the river.
- (34) Ágákò, “Náinà béá dáí.
Llamaba, “Nietos, vengan rápido.
She was crying, “Grandchildren, come quick.
- (35) “Gíòèjèmà, dùimá.”
“Ni llega al tobillo.”
“This isn’t deep, it’s ankle-deep.”
- (36) Bíákì yíò bàchìkì dánì ñià béódàrì.
Su padre vino de la chacra a ver (la casa) vacía.
Their father came from his garden to see (the house) empty.
- (37) Í jìkà, “Gógóbàì ñánójò yì māmákìnà.”
Él decía, “La gógóbàì robó a mis hijos.”
He said, “The gógóbàì stole my children.”
- (38) Kwèkì yábíjò.
Buscando, se cansó.
After searching (for them), he got tired.
- (39) Írè kárò ñànòjò kárò sáíkì ásákì.
A donde le robó a él, por allí, se iba y escuchó.
He went to the place where she had stolen them, and there he listened.
- (40) Óíkì ágákì ásàrè sáíkì júájàkì.
Lloraba y llamaba, se fue escuchando y les encontró a sus hijos.
Crying and calling out, he went along listening and found his children.
- (41) Í māmákì írè ñiákì núí ágá.
Sus hijos, mirándole a él, más gritaban.
When his children saw him, they called out louder.

- (42) *Í jítà bàõñákà túnà.*
Todavía (mientras lloraban,) él preparaba el birote.
At the same time (as they were crying,) he was preparing a blowgun dart.
- (43) *Túnàrè jú sáyàrè gógóbàì ñákò júkì.*
Ya envuelto (en algodón), lo metió en la pucuna y al ojo de la gógóbàì le pucuneó.
When he had wrapped it (in cotton), he put it into his blowgun and shot the gógóbàì in the eye.
- (44) *Íò jìkà, “Nútà júákò.”*
Ella dijo, “Tabano (me) pica.”
She said, “A horsefly is biting (me).”
- (45) *Tóménùnjò.*
Se cayó en el agua.
She fell into the water.
- (46) *Nà étàràimà.*
Ya no salió.
She didn't come out again.
- (47) *Tínùnjò.*
Para siempre se hundió.
She drowned forever.
- (48) *Í ñijùnà gàsòrè jùgù jíyórè chisè.*
A sus hijos les hizo bajar, quebró un ramita, y les venteaba.
He made his children get down, broke off a branch, and fanned them with it.
- (49) *Í wè dá.*
A su casa les trajo.
He brought them back to his house.
- (50) *Jàmánù írè chà ñámà.*
Era el primero que (la gógóbàì) le robaba.
He was the first who (the gógóbàì) had stolen.
- (51) *Nèkwárù sáikò nè míkákò.*
(Más antes,) por el aguajal andaba, sacando masa de aguaje.
(Earlier,) she had walked through the aguaje grove, collecting aguaje flesh.
- (52) *Í túíkì tírò sáikò.*
Él le seguía, y ella se iba sin dirección.
He followed her as she went along with no direction.

- (53) Kánù dáíkì ìrè ñà̀nòjò.
De ahí, vino a robarle a él.
After that, she came to steal him.
- (54) Kásò jà, gógóbàì sáójò.
Eso es todo, terminó (el cuento de) la gógóbàì.
This is the end, (the story of) the gógóbàì has ended.

Bóúàkò àgì (*El gabilán nocturno*)

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Escrito por Pírí (Lizardo Gonzales Flores), abril 2012, Tótóyà
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- (1) Bóúàkò tíró àkì dákì.¹
Bóúàkò vino de otra parte.
Bóúàkò came from another place.
- (2) Dáni Sárì dóíkò bàkì.²
Vino a vivir con su hermana de Sárì.
He came to live with Sárì's sister.
- (3) Já ñátàkì jú kwàrè sákì.
De mañana, Bóúàkò agarró la pucuna y se fue.
One morning, Bóúàkò took his blowgun and left.
- (4) Bíákì dá jìkà, “Ígè gósàrè dáókì?”
Su padre le dijo, “Qué pensando andas?”
His father said to him, “What are you thinking about while you walk?”
- (5) “Tìtò sáísètòñà àkòrè dáókì ñàyì.”
(Le contestó,) “Su cáscara de la cumala se convirtió en mujer, eso ando mirando.”
(He replied,) “The rind of the cumala fruit turned into a woman, and I’m walking along looking at that.”
- (6) Bíákìrè góòkì jìkà.
Rabiando con su padre, le dijo (así).
He said this because he was angry with his father.
- (7) Néátò áóbìtì dárè ñámì í níò kótìbì jéótìò.
Vino por la tarde trayendo un pedazo de comida, y en la noche le botó en el pecho de su mujer.
In the evening he came, bringing a little piece of food, and that night he threw it

¹Bóúàkò ahora es nombre de un gabilán nocturno. Antiguamente este gabilán fue hombre, pero no se llamaba Bóúàkò. (Today Bóúàkò is the name of a kind of nighthawk. In the old days this hawk was a man, but it wasn't called a *bóúàkò*.)

²Sárì es otro nombre del heroe Máínèò. (Sárì is another name for the hero Máínèò.)

on his wife's chest.

- (8) Dòè j̀̀kà, “Kébitì yì áóbìtì?”
Después (de un rato), preguntó, “¿Dónde está mi comida?”
After a while, he asked, “Where is my food?”
- (9) Góòkì mónìrèkì ñátàkì jú kwàrè sánìjò.
Rabiando, se volteó, y en la mañana agarró la pucuna y se fue.
Angry, he turned around, and in the morning he took his blowgun and left.
- (10) Dóíkìrè j̀̀kà ìò, “Ígè áó dárè ñámì yìrè jéótìò?”
Ella le dijo a su hermano, “¿Qué comida, que traje en la noche, botó (él) en mi (encima)?”
(His wife) said to her brother, “What food, that he brought in the night, did he throw on me?”
- (11) Kwèñià ìò dóíkì dá j̀̀kà, “Mì í jà túníñià.”
Buscaron y no encontraron, y su hermano le dijo, “A ver, a tu marido, sígale y mire.”
They searched for it but didn't find it, and her brother said to her, “Go follow your husband and look at him.”
- (12) Sání júàjàkò ìò í.
Se fue y le encontró a su marido.
She went and found her husband.
- (13) Sìajànì í í nóégà útàrè tòtòkì gónèkì.
Cuando ella llegó (pero no acercó), su marido sacó su pene, sacudía y orinaba.
When she was there, her husband took out his penis, shook it off, and urinated.
- (14) Í níò dá gàkò.
Su mujer se reía.
His wife laughed.
- (15) “Ígèrè dánì gàkò?”
(Él dijo,) “¿Por qué has venido para que te ríes?”
(He said,) “Why did you come to laugh?”
- (16) Bàò náútàrè júí tótóbì júnítiyèjèà.
Sacó su birote y pucuneaba la aleta hasta que se quebró.
He took out a blowgun dart and shot the buttress root (of a tree) until it broke.
- (17) Góòkì mónì ìò jétè dákò.
Rabiando, volvió, y ella vino después.
Furious, he returned (home), and she came back later.

- (18) Kánù sáimà ná ñátàkì jù kwárè sánìjò.
En ese día no se fue, pero de mañana otra vez sacó su pucuna y se fue.
He didn't leave that day, but in the morning he took his blowgun again and left.
- (19) Íò dóíkì dá jìkà, “Ígèrè gàkò? Ítà yòyì.”
Su hermano le dijo (a ella), “Porque te ríes? Déjale que haga.”
(The woman)'s brother said to her, “Why are you laughing? Leave him (to urinate) in peace.”
- (20) Ná sání tòtò ìò gàmàò jítà yòkì.
Otra vez se fue para sacudir; ella no se rió todavía hacía.
He went again to shake himself off; she didn't laugh while he was doing it.
- (21) Máí júníjò jèyàrù bíá étàràkò jù kwárè jèkì.
El puente que la gente cruza cuando se muere salió del agua, y él agarró la pucuna y cruzó al otro lado (por el puente).
The bridge which people cross when they die came out of the water; he grabbed his blowgun and crossed to the other side of the river (on it).
- (22) Íò māmákì kwárè bìbì sákò dèè núníjò.
Ella agarró a su hijo y corriendo se fue; ya se había hundido (el puente).
She grabbed her son and went running; (the bridge) had already sunk.
- (23) Í kímà yò ìò téà yòkò.
Como hacía él, ella también hacía lo mismo.
She did the same as he had done.
- (24) Íò nóébà pòpòkò gónèkò.
Golpeaba su vagina y orinaba.
She struck her vulva and urinated.
- (25) Náó étádàkò jèkò.
El mismo (puente) salió y ella cruzó.
The same (bridge) came out, and she crossed.
- (26) Jèni ñiàkò ó sòàsè.
Cruzó y miró plátano maduro.
She crossed and saw ripe plaintains.
- (27) Bótàrè ákwékò.
Arrancándole, comía.
Taking some, she ate.
- (28) Mámákì bítóbì kúkúmañè tóyákò ménìyò.
Mordiendo (un huayo de) leche caspi, le partió y pintaba a su hijo como motelo.

Biting open a fruit of the leche caspi tree, she painted her son like a motelo tortoise (using the juice).

- (29) Wè kákájàikò báì dá jìkà, “Yì báò dáíkò.”
Cuando entraron en la casa, su suegro dijo, “Mi nuera está viniendo.”
When they entered the house, her father-in-law said, “My daughter-in-law is coming.”
- (30) Nàì kúárè chíbàkì.
Marcando a su nieto, le cariñaba.
He rocked his grandson and caressed him.
- (31) Bóúàkò mè kwé.
Bóúàkò estaba tumbando la chacra.
Bóúàkò was clearing his garden.
- (32) Chàjítà kwéyòjò.
Todavía (cortaba,) se calló.
Before long, he (stopped cutting,) becoming silent.
- (33) Báò sònù yábé.
A su nuera le escondió en el cuarto.
(The older man) hid his daughter-in-law in a room.
- (34) Í nàì kúárè jáírì békì.
A su nieto le marcó y estaba echado en hamaca.
He rocked his grandson and lay down in a hammock.
- (35) Bóúàkò dánì jìkà, “Ígèrè yòkì chíbàkì?”
Bóúàkò vino a decir, “Qué haces cariñando?”
Bóúàkò came and said, “What are you doing caressing (him)?”
- (36) Bíákì dá jìkà, “Yì náìrè chíbàyì.”
Su padre le dijo, “A mi nieto estoy cariñando.”
His father said, “I’m caressing my grandson.”
- (37) Jú kwárè júí jìkà, “Já, ñà m̀ nàì yè.”
Agarrando la pucuna, pucuneaba y dijo, “A ver, mira la sangre de tu nieto.”
Grabbing his blowgun, (Bóúàkò) shot (the child) and said, “Now look at your grandson’s blood.”
- (38) Nà móníjò.
Otra vez regresó.
He went back again.

- (39) *Íò bájùnà ó tíyórè ǹ̀ǹ.*
Sus familiares cortaba plátano y acarreaban.
Her relatives had cut plantains and were hauling them.
- (40) *Náú tòtò étórè k̀̀tì j̀̀éá.*
Sacudiendo el mismo, hizo salir (el puente) y cruzaba al otro lado.
Shaking himself off again, he made (the bridge) come out and crossed to the other side.
- (41) *Íò bájùnà dá j̀̀k̀à,* “*M̀̀sá áó sáó d̀̀ǹì b̀̀.*”
Sus familiares (de la mujer) le dijeron, “Cuando termina su comida (los platanos que agarraron), venga a vivir.”
The (woman’s) family said to her, “When your food (the plantains which you took) runs out, come to live (with us).”
- (42) “*T̀̀í d̀̀ǹì d̀̀ỳò ỳ̀k̀íj̀ùnà,*” *j̀̀k̀àk̀ò ìò.*
“Cuando nosotros venimos, venimos (para vivir con ustedes) siempre,” dijo ella.
“When we come, we’re coming to stay,” she said.
- (43) “*D̀̀è màniñià,*” *j̀̀k̀àk̀ò ìò,* “*M̀̀, t̀̀í s̀̀ǹì b̀̀ỳò.*”
“Después de un rato viviendo (acá),” dijo ella, “vamos a vivir (allá) para siempre.”
“After a while living (here),” she said, “we’ll live (there) forever.”
- (44) *Íò dóijùnà s̀̀k̀ò.*
Llevaba a sus hermanos.
She took her siblings.
- (45) *Ǹ̀òrè tòtò étórè j̀̀k̀ò s̀̀ík̀ò.*
A ella misma golpeando, hizo salir (el puente), cruzó y se iba.
Striking herself, she made (the bridge) come out, crossed it, and went away.
- (46) *Jáinèkwàrù néjò.*
Se hizo un aguajal grande.
She made a big grove of aguaje trees.
- (47) *Jíóbàì³ báíkwàrù ìò dóík̀.*
En ese aguajal pucucural había su hermano.
Her brother was in that grove of aguajes, which was infested with pucucura ants.
- (48) *S̀̀r̀ì dá j̀̀k̀à,* “*M̀̀á móníyò.*”
S̀̀r̀ì le dijo, “Vamos a volver.”
S̀̀r̀ì said to her, “Let’s go back.”

³El *jíóbàì* o hormiga pucucural es un tipo de hormiga que pica muy duro. (The *jíóbàì* or pucucura ant is a type of ant that bites very hard.)

- (49) Bóúàkò í yìò dèè sájò.⁴
Bóúàkò ya llevó la chacra.
Bóúàkò had already taken his garden away.
- (50) Móníkì dá jìkà “Í māmákì ígè áó áóyò?”
Regresando, (Sárì) le dijo, “A su hijo (de Bóúàkò), qué comida vamos a dar de comer?”
Returning, (Sárì) said, “What food are we going to give (Bóúàkò’s) son to eat?”
- (51) “Máità ìrè dèbàjò.”
“Vamos a transformarle.”
“We’re going to transform him.”
- (52) Bíákò dá jìkà, “Já dèbà.
Su madre le dijo, “A ver, transfórmale.
His mother said, “Go and transform him.
- (53) “Ígèrè néyò?”
“Qué le vamos a hacer?”
“What are we going to do to him?”
- (54) “Máità ìrè mùsù kónè nééyò.”
(Él le dijo,) “Vamos a hacerle un carpintero.”
(He said,) “We’re going to turn him into a woodpecker.”
- (55) Ásàrè bírí gúí níùjì.
Escuchando, el colmillo de la huangana le limaba.
Listening, he filed a white-collared peccary tooth.
- (56) Í jéónàkà né.
Hacía pico de carpintero.
He made it into a woodpecker beak.
- (57) Dòè màniñià mùsù kónè néjò.
Después de un rató, (el hijo) se formó un carpintero.
After a while, (the son) turned into a woodpecker.
- (58) Í jáíkàñà sàsà Sárì dá dèbàchìkì jìkà, “Míákì m̀rè júítù kímà dáyóyì?
Su pluma salió, y Sárì, que le transformó, decía, “Tu padre, cuando te pucunea (otra vez), como te vas a escapar?”
His feathers grew, and Sárì, who had transformed him, said, “As for your father, when he shoots you (again), how are you going to escape him?”

⁴Bóúàkò había usado un palo para levantar y enrollar en bulto la tierra de su chacra. Este bulto ya llevó. (Bóúàkò had used a tree to lift up the land of his garden and roll it into a bundle. He had already taken this away.)

- (59) “Yítà mìrè júchì.”⁵
“Yo te voy a pucunear.”
“I’ll shoot you myself.”
- (60) Túbì jìkà míó jú kwárè júí.
Dijo y le levantó en una quiruma, agarró la pucuna y le pucuneaba.
He spoke, lifting him onto a tree stump, and then took his blowgun and shot him.
- (61) Tírùrù sàkà mònè.
Por otra parte brincaba, esquivándose.
He kept jumping around, trying to escape.
- (62) Yémà Sárì júítù.
Lo que pucuneaba, Sárì no chupaba.
Sárì didn’t hit what he had tried to shoot.
- (63) Sárì dá jìkà, “Dèirá m̀̀nì̀nì̀a.
Sárì le dijo, “Está bien.
Sárì said, “This is good.
- (64) “Míákì júítù, mì ábé d̀̀ỳỳì.
“Cuando tu padre te pucunea, así te vas a esquivarte.
“When your father shoots you, you’ll escape in this way.
- (65) “Jànà míákì yìò já jíájàì.
“Ahora anda, busque la chacra de tu padre.
“Now go and look for your father’s garden.
- (66) “Máírùrù sái.”
“Véte por arriba.”
“Go upriver.”
- (67) Ásàrè sánìj̀.
Escuchando, se fue.
Obeying, he went.
- (68) Bábáñ̀òà káíkì síàdákì.
Después de tres días durmiendo, llegó.
After three days sleeping (on the road), he arrived.
- (69) “Míákì yìò jíáchìkì títóàsò,” jìkà Sárì.⁶
“Cuando encuentras la chacra de su padre, golpeas para escuchar,” dijo Sárì.

⁵Sárì estaba entrenando al hijo de Bóúàkò para escapar cuando su padre le pucuneaba. (Sárì was training Bóúàkò’s son to escape when his father shot him with his blowgun.)

⁶Sárì no estaba en camino con el carpintero, pero podía conversarle de lejos. (Sárì wasn’t traveling with the woodpecker, but he was able to talk to him from far away.)

“When you find your father’s garden, peck,” said Sárì.

- (70) *Írè mùsù kónè, “Jànà gáèrùrù sái.”*
Al carpintero (le dijo), “Ahora, anda por abajo.”
(He said) to the carpintero, “Now, go downriver.”
- (71) *Ásàrè sánìjò.*
Escuchando, se fue.
Obeying, he left.
- (72) *Néátò síàràkì.*
Por la tarde llegó.
He arrived in the evening.
- (73) *Ñátàkì Sárì títóàsò, “Tókódòrù tó tókódòrù!”*
De mañana, a Sárì le hizo escuchar golpeando, “Tókódòrù tó tókódòrù!”
In the morning, he pecked and made Sárì hear the sound, “Tókódòrù tó tókódòrù!”
- (74) *Sárì dá jìkà, “Yíò jíárè tìkà, mà!”*
Sárì le dijo, “Ya encontró la chacra, por eso está golpeando, vamos!”
Sárì said, “He’s pecking because he’s found the garden, let’s go!”
- (75) *Í mùsù kónè dá sáákì.⁷*
El carpintero le llevaba.
The woodpecker took him.
- (76) *Bíákò káídàrì túbì sìkì kái.*
Apegado en palo, (el carpintero) dormía donde dormía su madre.
Perching on a stump, (the woodpecker) slept where his mother slept.
- (77) *Gírírèà síàjákì títóòmìni sánìjò.*
Cuando llegaron cerca (a la chacra), golpeó, voló y se fue.
When they were close (to the garden), (the woodpecker) pecked, flew up, and went away.
- (78) *Bíákì yíò júisètù síàjákì.*
Llegó en un palo seco en la chacra de su padre.
He landed on a burned-out tree in his father’s garden.
- (79) *Títóàsò, “Tókódòrù tó tókódòrù!”*
Golpeó para que escuche, “Tókódòrù tó tókódòrù!”
He pecked, making the sound, “Tókódòrù tó tókódòrù!”

⁷Esto quiere decir que Sárì y su hermana seguían en camino al carpintero volando. (This means that Sárì and his sister followed on foot while the woodpecker flew.)

- (80) Sárì ásàrè bìbì.
Sárì, escuchando, corría.
Hearing (the sound), Sárì came running.
- (81) Í bíákì Bóúàkò jìkà, “Ígékìrò kónè dání jìkà?”
Su padre Bóúàkò dijo, “Qué clase de carpintero vino a decir?”
His father Bóúàkò said, “What kind of woodpecker has come to speak (to me)?”
- (82) Néàrè júi.
Agarrando (la pucuna), pucuneaba.
Taking (his blowgun), he shot him.
- (83) Yémà.
No chupaba.
He didn’t hit him.
- (84) Náíñi sàkà mònèjèàkì jìkà, “Júnígànìnià.”
Él mismo se equivocaba y volteaba para decir, “Me cansó de pucunear.”
He himself jumped around and turned around to say, “I’m tired of shooting.”
- (85) Túbì kwàrè yìa tótàrè níká.
Agarrando una palanca, en la tierra le prendió y se paró.
Taking a stick, he stuck it in the earth and stood up.
- (86) Sárì síajákì. “Káró sáákì yìò áóísè?”⁸
Sárì llegó. (Él dijo,) “Adónde llevas la chacra, miserable?”
Sárì arrived. (He said,) “Where are you taking my garden, you scrooge?”
- (87) “Jànà mì Bóúàkò bàì.”⁹
Ahora usted vas a ser el gavilán llamado “bóúàkò.”
“Now, you’ll be the nighthawk called the bóúàkò.”
- (88) “Mágì, kái bàchì,” sánìjò.
(Bóúàkò contestó,) “Señor, eso voy a ser,” y se fue.
(Bóúàkò answered,) “Sir, that I will be,” and left.
- (89) Bíákò dá jìkà, “Yìgà ígèò bàchì?”
Su madre le dijo, “Yo, qué voy a ser?”
(Bóúàkò’s) mother said to him, “As for me, what will I be?”
- (90) “Mì ñiàkò íchì tótóàkò bàì.”
(Sárì dijo,) “Usted vas a vivir como piña carachupa.”

⁸Un *áóísè* es una persona que mezquina todo lo que tiene. (A *áóísè* is a person who is stingy and jealous with everything they have.)

⁹Antes, Bóúàkò fue hombre y no tenía el nombre Bóúàkò. Después de este momento fue el gavilán. (Before, Bóúàkò was a man and didn’t have the name Bóúàkò. After this moment, he was a nighthawk.)

(Sárì said,) “You’ll be the pineapple armadillo.”

- (91) Í chàjònà sánìjò.
Ella y su marido juntos se fueron.
She and her husband went away together.
- (92) Í yéké bíákò jìkà, “Yìgà ígèò bàchò?”
Su madrastra dijo, “Y yo, qué voy a ser?”
His stepmother said, “And as for me, what will I be?”
- (93) “Mí ñiàkò kàmì bàì.”
(Le contestó,) “Usted serás cangrejo y vivirás así.”
(He said,) “You’ll be a crab and live like that.”
- (94) “Mágì, káò bàchò,” yíàyà tóménùnì sánìjò.
“Señor, eso voy a ser,” (ella dijo,) y cayó al agua.
“Sir, that I will be,” (she said,) and fell into the water.
- (95) Sárì áó jíákì yòkì.¹⁰
Sárì estaba buscando comida.
Sárì was looking for food.
- (96) Kásò jà.
Eso es todo.
The end.

¹⁰Antiguamente no había mucha comida. Esta oración quiere decir que Sárì hizo todo esto para agarrar los plátanos que ellos habían traído. (In the old days there wasn’t much food. This sentence means that Sárì did all these things in order to get the plantains which the others had brought.)

Kóbìrò máí ñákò áíchìkò
(*Kobiro, el diablo que comió ojo de gente*)

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- (1) Dóèàkì máí ímì.
Un hombre antiguo era.
Once there was a man.
- (2) Sáíkì bàì níkàrà jíárè móníjò.
Yendo (al centro del monte), encontró una posa en que había pescado, y volvió.
Going (deep in the forest), he found a spot where there were fish, and came back.
- (3) Í bájùnà jìkà, “Bàì níkàrà jíábì.
A sus familiares les dijo, “Encontré una posa en que hay pescado.
He said to his relatives, “I found a spot where there are fish.
- (4) “Máítà éní mèàjò báyò.”¹
“Vamos a echar barbasco para matarlos.”
“Let’s put barbasco in it and kill them.”
- (5) “Màtà,” jìkà í bájùnà.
“Vamos,” le dijeron sus familiares.
“Let’s go,” his relatives said.
- (6) Ásàrè éó gúní útàrè í bájùnà béóbèsè sánìjò.
Escuchando, cavando sacaron el barbasco, y se fueron todos sus familiares.
Listening, they dug in the ground and pulled up barbasco, and all of his relatives went.
- (7) Síàjàkì éníjò.
Llegaron y echaron barbasco.

¹El barbasco (éó) es una planta que antiguamente se usó mucho para pescar. Se saca la raíz de la planta, se machuca y se echa en el agua. Cuando los pescados lo toman, se paralizan y uno puede matarlos. (Barbasco (éó) is a plant which was traditionally used in fishing. You dig up the root of the plant, mash it and put it in a body of water. When fish drink it, they become paralyzed and you can kill them.)

When they arrived, they put barbasco in the river.

- (8) Yàribàì úkùrè júí.
Tomando (el barbasco), los pescados morían.
Drinking (the barbasco), the fish were paralyzed.
- (9) Yàribàì báìjì ìtìjùnà í báìjùnà.
Al pescado mataban esa gente, que eran sus familiares.
They, who were (the man's) relatives, killed the fish.
- (10) Jáìbàìyàrù tótàrè né.
Prendieron y hicieron una pacera grande.
They set up and lit a big smoking-fire.
- (11) Yàribàì kòkòrè áí.
Después de cocinar los pescados, comían.
After cooking the fish, they ate it.
- (12) Í ímì dá jíáchìkì í níò jìkà, “Yítà yì páñà gúí ìjàchì.
El hombre que encontró (la posa) a su mujer le dijo, “A ver, yo voy a recoger la muela del pez páñà.
The man who had found (the fishing spot) said to his wife, “Well, I’m going to pick up the páñà fish tooth (that I left behind).
- (13) “Yì bàò chisòyì.”
“Voy a raspar mi birote (con esa).”
“I’m going to sharpen my blowgun dart (with it).”
- (14) Níò dá jìkà, “Mì màmákì sá.”
Su mujer le dijo, “Llévale a tu hijo.”
His wife said to him, “Take your son with you.”
- (15) “Yìkì tòi sáchi.”
(Él contestó,) “Yo sólo voy a ir.”
(He answered), “I’m going to go alone.”
- (16) Sáíkì ásákì ágákò.²
Yendo, él escuchaba que llamaba una mujer (a los animales).
While he was going (along), he heard a woman calling out (to the animals).
- (17) “Bè,” póká.
“La maracana!” Había silencio.

²Esta mujer era la madre de los animales, la cual vive en el monte y los cuida. (This woman was the mother of the animals, who lives in the forest and takes care of them.)

(She called out,) “Maracana parrot!” There was silence.

- (18) “Má,” póká.
“El guacamayo!” Había silencio.
“Macaw!” There was silence.
- (19) ”Békó,” póká.
“El ushpa loro!” Había silencio.
“Ushpa parrot!” There was silence.
- (20) Tùì “Tékè, tékèrè.”
El chuito (contestó,) “Tenque, tenquere.”
The chuito parrot (answered), “Tenke, tenkere.”
- (21) Téó tíñókò.
Uno no más contestó.
Only she answered.
- (22) Dá yúàkò jìkà, “Yì jójáyùnà yòsèjùnà téájàyè màniñlà.”³
La barredora dijo, “Mis animales, lo que les mataron, a sí mismo le van a pasar.”
Sweeping, the woman said, “The ones who killed my animals will have the same thing happen to them.”
- (23) Jìkàkò, yàribàì tóná yúàkò jìkàkò.
Decía; ella, barriendo la escama de pescado, decía.
She spoke; sweeping up the fish scales, she spoke.
- (24) Í ímì ásàrè móníjò.
El hombre escuchó y regresó.
After the man heard her, he went back.
- (25) Dáíkì jáírì jósèrè ímì géórè míníjò.
Viniendo, desató la hamaca, subió en el alto y lo amarró.
When he came, he unpacked his hammock, climbed up to a high place and tied it.
- (26) Í níò dá jìkà, “Yàribàì áímàkì?”
Su mujer le dijo, “No vas a comer pescado?”
His wife said to him, “You’re not going to eat fish?”
- (27) “Ñátàrè áchì,” jìkà.
“Mañana voy a comer,” dijo él.
“I’m going to eat it tomorrow,” he said.

³Esta mujer que estaba barriendo era la madre de los animales. Acompañaba a la gente. (This woman who was sweeping was the mother of the animals. She was with the people at their camp.)

- (28) *Áímàkì kánijò, kání títádàkì.*
No comió, y durmió; después de dormir, se levantó.
He didn't eat, and he went to sleep; after he slept, he got up.
- (29) *Ñámijùrù dáikò kò bíchíkò.*
A medianoche venían (las kobiros), sus garras sonando.
At midnight (the kobiros) came, with their claws making noise.
- (30) *Bàiyárù dá tómédàikò ñiàkò.*
Por la ahumadora pasaban, bajaban y miraban.
They passed by the fish-smoker, going down and looking around.
- (31) *Ítìjùnà ñákò bàisè útàrè ákwékò.*
Sacaban los ojos que eran de la gente y los comían.
They pulled out what had been the people's eyes, and ate them.
- (32) *Jìkàkò, "Kéyà jíoyàì yì ñiàsèyà ñákò?"*
(Una kobiro) dijo, "Dónde está ese ojo más grande que yo miré?"
(One kobiro) said, "Where is that bigger eye that I saw?"
- (33) *Ímì bíàñiàkò.*
Volteó para mirar arriba.
She turned around and looked up.
- (34) *Jìkà, "Kátótà í bérò."*
Decía, "Allá está echado él en la hamaca."
She said, "That's the place where he's lying in his hammock."
- (35) *Ñátàtìjùrù dè sáikò.*
De madrugada, ellas ya estaban yendo.
In the early morning, (the kobiros) were already leaving.
- (36) *Chàjònà sáikò jáí miàbì kákákò.*
Juntamente (las kobiros) se iban y entraron en un hueco de un shungo grande.
They went off together and entered a hole in a fat tree.
- (37) *Jìkàkò, "Í bájùnà óikì ígètà yìrè yòkì yòyì?"*
(El diablo que ha hablado antes) decía (al hombre), "Si tiene pena a sus familiares, qué cosa a mi me puedes hacer?"
(The demon who had spoken before) said (to the man), "If you miss your relatives, what can you do to me?"
- (38) *"Dìò mánì yìrè yétémà.*
"La hacha a mí no me entra.
"The axe doesn't hurt me.

- (39) “Kíúrì mání tèà yétémà.
*“El machete también no me entra.
 “The machete doesn’t hurt me either.*
- (40) “Ígètà yìrè yòkì yò?
*“Qué cosa a mí me pueden hacer?
 “What can you do to me?”*
- (41) “Ásè bíà yìrè jáítù gwírà bágòñì ásáko.”
*“Ay, cuando me avientan con ají, tengo miedo de eso un poco.”
 “When they fan me with the smoke of peppers, then I feel a little afraid.”*
- (42) Í dá j̀̀kà túíchìkì ásàrè íò j̀̀kì móníjò.
*Él que le ha seguido, escuchando lo que dijo ella, regresó.
 The man who had followed her, when he had heard what she said, went back.*
- (43) Móníkì ásákì í bájùnà títàrè j̀̀kà, “Yíkì ñákò kímà nèèjò?”
*Regresando, escuchó a sus familiares levantándose y diciendo (entre ellos), “Qué se hicieron nuestros ojos?”
 As he was returning, he heard his relatives waking up and saying, “What happened to our eyes?”*
- (44) Í téà j̀̀kà, “Yì ñákò téájàyè bàì.”
*Él también dijo, (mintiendo,) “Mis ojos también está igual.”
 He too said, (lying,) “My eyes are the same.”*
- (45) Í dá j̀̀kà, “Mà sáyò máí wè sání j̀̀yò.”
*Él (mismo) le dijo, “Vamos a nuestra casa, vamos a morir.”
 (The same man) said, “Let’s go to our house, let’s go to die.”*
- (46) J̀̀tì néàrè sái.
*Agarrándole de la mano, se iban.
 Joining hands, they went.*
- (47) Yàrìyá j̀̀kì k̀̀bì, j̀̀nì níkò k̀̀bì.
*Cruzando la quebrada por el palo caído (el puente), le soltaron (en medio) del palo.
 Crossing the creek by a fallen tree (a bridge), they fell in the middle of the bridge.*
- (48) Bàk̀̀kì tóménùnì.
*Sacudían (el puente), pero se cayeron y hundieron.
 They shook the bridge (with their feet, trying to hold on,) but they still fell and sunk.*

- (49) Ókónìngà chíàré dórójàògà, ìtìjùnà ñákò jéó sísò.⁴
Juntando el huayo del bajo con el pantalón huayo, los botó a esa gente y los hizo pegar en sus ojos.
Tying a small fruit together with a fruit of the pantalón huayo plant, (the man) threw (the two fruits) at them and made them stick in their eye (sockets).
- (50) Jìkà, “Jàná mísájùnà bàimá àkò bàì.”
Decía, “Ahora ustedes van a ser lobos marinos.”
He said, “Now you will be lobo marino otters.”
- (51) Yékéjùnà jìkà, “Mísájùnà yàò bàì.”
A otra gente le dijo, “Ustedes van a ser nutria.”
He said to other people, “You will be river otters.”
- (52) Ítìjùnà jìkà, “Mágì, káò bàchì.”
Ellos dijeron, “Señor, eso vamos a ser.” (Ya se convertían.)
They said, “Sir, that we will be.” (They were already transforming.)
- (53) Jìkàsàò yékéjùnà gáèrùrù sánìjò.
Al otros le mandó por abajo y se fueron.
He told the other ones to go downriver, and they went.
- (54) Yékéjùnà máírùrù sánìjò.
Otra gente se fueron por arriba.
Other people went upriver.
- (55) Yòrè móníjò í wè.
Después de hacer todo eso, regresó a su casa.
After doing all of this, he returned to his house.
- (56) Bía dánì júá.
Vino a sartar el ají.
He came to put peppers on a string.
- (57) Yékéjùnà máí sánì kíájàkì.
A otra gente se fue para avisarle.
He went to other people to warn them.
- (58) Jìkà, “Máítà kóbìrò bíà jáímèàjò.”
“Vamos a la kobiro para aventarle con ají y matarle.”
“Let’s go to the kobiro, to fan her with pepper smoke and kill her.”

⁴Cuando los huayos estaban pegados en los ojos de la gente, les servían como ojos y ellos recibieron la vista. (When the fruits stuck in the people’s eye sockets, they served them as eyes and they were able to see.)

- (59) Ásàrè jáí.
Escuchando, aventaban.
Obeying, they fanned the smoke.
- (60) Jáíkì kóbìrò bèèbì bíchí.
Aventado a la kobiro, (el hueco) en que (ella) estaba sonaba.
As they fanned the kobiro, (the hole) which she was in made noise.
- (61) Dòè màniñià kwéyòjò.
Pasó un rato y se callaron.
After a while, it became silent.
- (62) Jétè kwénì yétò.
Después, cortando (el hueco) le rompieron.
Afterward, they cut (the hole) open.
- (63) Kóbìrò júnijóchìkò útárè, ná kwékì ítìkà kóbìrò màmákò bàikò.
Sacaron la kobiro muerta y otra vez cortaban en su rama, (en donde) la hija de la kobiro estaba vivo.
They took out the dead kobiro and cut again, in the (tree's) branches, where the kobiro's daughter was alive.
- (64) Útárè yékì áibàgì dá jìkà, “Yì ìorè sàrè bàáyì.”
Le sacaron (la hija) y otro viejo decía, “Yo voy a llevar a ella para vivir con ella.”
They took her out, and an old man said, “I’m going to take her to live with her.”
- (65) Yékì dá jìkà, “Yòkì áí nèèkò m̀rè áchò.”
El otro le dijo, “Cuando sea grande, ella te va a comer.”
Another man said to him, “When she grows up, she’s going to eat you.”
- (66) Í dá jìkà, “Íò kò t̀yèjèàkì bááyì.”
Él le dijo, “Trozando sus garras, yo voy a tenerle.”
He said, “I’m going to trim her claws and keep her.”
- (67) “Jí,” dá jìkà.
“Bueno,” dijeron los demás.
“Sure,” they said.
- (68) Ásàrè í wè sá.
Escuchando, le llevó a su casa.
Listening, he took her to his house.
- (69) Dòè bàikì nómiò tèorè màmákò bájò.
Después de un tiempo viviendo, una hija mujer tuvo.
After they had lived (together) for a while, she had a baby girl.

- (70) Jítà áchì yòkò.
Todavía quería comerle.
She still wanted to eat her.
- (71) Yékéjùnà kwárè sárè dèbàjò.
Otra gente le agarró, le llevó y le crió.
Other people picked her up, took her away and raised her.
- (72) Áí néeskò í békò.
Cuando era grande, tuvo marido.
When she grew up, she had a husband.
- (73) Mámákì téà bákò.
También tenía hijos.
She also had children.
- (74) Mámákì dèè áí, bíákò dá jìkà, “Míñkò já ñíàjàì.”
Cuando sus hijos eran grandes, su madre les dijo, “Anda, pasea a tu abuela.”
When the children were grown up, their mother said to them, “Go and visit your grandmother.”
- (75) Ásàrè sákì í ñíkò wè síàjàkì.
Escuchando, se fue a la casa de su abuela, y llegaron.
Obeying, they went to their grandmother’s house, and arrived.
- (76) Jìkà, “Ñíkù, káró sákì?”
Dijeron, “El abuelo, a dónde se fue?”
They said, “Where did grandfather go?”
- (77) Néátò nà jìkà, “Ñíkù káró sákì dáímàkì?”
Más tarde otra vez le preguntaron, “El abuelo, a dónde se fue que no viene?”
Later, they asked again, “Where did grandfather go that he hasn’t come?”
- (78) Í ñíkò dá jìkà, “Míñkù tótóàkò ñíjùnà jíáchìkì jítà dáíkì.
Su abuela les dijo, “Tu abuelo, porque encontró a la carachupa con cria, él no viene.
Their grandmother said, “Because your grandfather found an armadillo with its litter, he isn’t coming.
- (79) “Gúíkì ñátàkì.
“Cavando, amaneció.
“He was digging until dawn came.
- (80) “Ñátà máítà dáchì.”
“Mañana todavía va a venir.”

“He’ll come soon, tomorrow.”

- (81) *Íténìàrè nàìjò.*
De tanto esperar, se oscureció.
They kept waiting, and it became night.
- (82) *“Jàná káyò.”*
(La abuela dijo,) “Ahora vamos a dormir.”
(The grandmother said,) “Now we’re going to sleep.”
- (83) *Í ñíkò dá jìkà, “Nàìná, mósá dáítù yìrè kíájì.”⁵*
Su abuela les dijo, “Nietos, cuando viene el ratón, me avisen.
Their grandmother said, “Grandchildren, when the rat comes, tell me.
- (84) *“Títótàù máníjò.”*
“Golpeando, le voy a matar.”
“I’m going to beat him to death.”
- (85) *“Jí,” tíńó.*
“Bueno,” le contestaron.
“Yes,” they answered.
- (86) *Dòè m̀ànìñ̀ǹà k̀ánìj̀ó t̀ónòk̀ò.*
Al rato, se durmió ella
After a while, she fell asleep.
- (87) *Pé̀b̀ì ák̀ìnà bàtè í̀tìj̀ùnà.*
Ellos eran dos hermanos.
They were two brothers.
- (88) *Ágá, “Ñíkò mósá dáí.”*
Le llamaron, “Abuela, viene el ratón.”
They called out, “Grandmother, the rat is coming.”
- (89) *Tíńómàkò ñìj̀ùnà m̀níníká.*
Ella no contestaba, y los muchachos se paraban.
She didn’t answer, and the children stood up.
- (90) *Í̀ò k̀òk̀òrò chíárè j̀áír̀ì b̀éò.*
Juntaron las ollas y las pusieron en las hamacas.
They tied their pots together and put them in their hammocks.

⁵La palabra *mósá* quiere decir “ratón” solamente en su habla de la kobiro. De costumbre *mósá* refiere al achiote o a una especie de venado. (The word *mósá* only means “rat” in the speech of the kobiro. Normally *mósá* refers to the achiote tree or to a species of deer.)

- (91) *Ítìjùnà bèsè sáétá.*
Ellos salieron afuera.
They went outside.
- (92) *Ménèñì mìnìjò.*
Subieron en un tronco de guaba.
They climbed a guaba tree.
- (93) *Dòè títáràkò ágákò, “Náìnà, náìnà.”*
Al rato se levantó y llamó (la abuela), “Nietos, nietos.”
After a while, the grandmother got up and called out, “Grandchildren, grandchildren.”
- (94) *Tíñómà ágágànìñià.*
No contestaron, de tanto llamar.
She kept calling, but they didn’t answer.
- (95) *Íò ásírì jósèkò.*
Desataba su macana.
She got down her club.
- (96) *Íò nái jáírì yáùkò.*
Golpeaba la hamaca de sus nietos.
She struck her grandchildren’s hammock.
- (97) *Ásírì nénòkò góòkò.*
Le lameaba a su macana y se rabiaba.
She licked her mace and fumed.
- (98) *“Ígè yì kòkòrò tìkàjùàjèàkò?”*
(Ella dijo,) “Por qué mis ollas estoy golpeando y chancando?”
(She said,) “Why am I hitting and breaking my pots?”
- (99) *Góòkò tóà jéátòjànì.*
Rabiando, botó la candela.
Furious, she tossed the firewood around.
- (100) *Íò nái tóà íchì dáíkì báchò játòsàrò ásípèrè gàìkò níkákò.*
Cuando venían sus nietos a recoger candela, para matarles se paró (ella) en la puerta agarrando la macana.
When her grandchildren came to get fire, in order to kill them she stood in the door holding the mace.
- (101) *Ítìjùnà yábè tóàtògù íní ñámì sánìjò.*
Ellos escondidos agarraron el tizón de la candela, y en la noche se fueron.

Hiding, they grabbed the kindling, and they left in the night.

- (102) *Í bíákò sání kíá, “Ñíkò máírè áchò yòkò étábì.”*
Se fueron a contar a su madre, “La abuela nos quiso comer, por eso corrimos.”
They went to tell their mother, “Grandmother tried to eat us, and so we ran away.”
- (103) *Ñátàrè ìò māmákò sáíkò jìkàkò, “Ígè m̀ nái áchò yòkò?”*
De mañana, su hija se fue y le dijo, “Por qué le quiso comer a tus nietos?”
The next day, the daughter went and said (to her mother), “Why did you try to eat your grandchildren?”
- (104) *Ìò dá jìkà, “Yìrè chìchìkàrà étàrè jìkà.”*
Ella le dijo, “A mí (los hijos) me odian, por eso están diciendo que han corrido.”
She said, “(The children) hate me, that’s why they said they had run.”
- (105) *“Jàkò jínà yì māmákì yità ábíjàchì.”*
(La hija dijo,) “Mamá, toma mi hijo, yo voy a bañar.”
(Her daughter said,) “Mother, take my child, I’m going to bathe.”
- (106) *“Jí,” jìkà ìò.*
“Bueno,” le contestó ella.
“Yes,” she said.
- (107) *Dòè ábíkò ìò māmákì óíkò.*
Al rato que bañaba, su hijo gritó.
While she was bathing, her son screamed.
- (108) *Ásàrè dáíkò ìò bíákòrè jìkà, “Kákì yì māmákì?”*
Escuchando venía y a su madre le dijo, “Dónde está mi hijo?”
Listening, she came and said to her mother, “Where is my son?”
- (109) *“Í mékábìkò dání úàòyò sájò.”*
(La abuela contestó), “Su tía vino, quería cantarles y les llevó.”
(Their grandmother answered), “His aunt came, wanted to sing to him, and took him away.”
- (110) *Í mékábìkò ásákò “Kákì yì māmákì?”*
A su tía (su cuñada) le preguntó, “Dónde está mi hijo?”
She asked his aunt (her sister-in-law), “Where is my son?”
- (111) *“M̀ yìrè íchídàkò?”*
(Su tía contestó), “Usted vino a darle a mí?”
(His aunt replied,) “Did you come to give him to me?”

- (112) Ná ìò bíákò jìkà, “Kákì yì māmákì?”
Otra vez a su madre dijo, “¿Dónde está mi hijo?”
Again she said to her mother, “Where is my son?”
- (113) “Bíákì kúàrè sájò.”
(Ella contestó,) “Su padre amarcando lo llevó.”
(She replied,) “His father took him away, rocking him.”
- (114) Nà ìò í ásákò, “Kákì máí māmákì?”
Otra vez a su marido preguntó, “¿Dónde está nuestro hijo?”
Again she asked her husband, “Where is our son?”
- (115) “Mì yìrè íchídàkò?”
(Él contestó,) “¿Usted me vino a darle a mí?”
(He replied,) “Did you come to give him to me?”
- (116) “Míákò bíàrò já bíà ñià.”
“A ver, la olla de ají de tu madre, abre y mira.”
“Go open your mother’s pot of peppers, and look in there.”
- (117) Sáíkò bíà ñiàkò māmákì chíóbì táfki.
Yendo, abrió y miró que la cabeza de su hijo estaba rebalsando (adentro).
Going, she opened (the pot) and saw that her son’s head was floating (inside).
- (118) Íò bíákò néàrè tìkábì báíkò.
A su madre, agarrando un palo, le pegaba.
She took a stick and beat her mother.
- (119) “Ígè yìrè báíkò?”
(Ella dijo,) “¿Por qué a mí me pegas?”
(She said,) “Why are you beating me?”
- (120) “Íákòñi bákò dèbàchikò.”
“Desde pequeña, yo te crié.”
“I cared for you since you were little.”
- (121) Māmákò óíkò jìkàkò, “ígè yì māmákì ánijò?”
Su hija llorando le dijo, “¿Por qué a mi hijo le comiste?”
Crying, her daughter said to her, “Why did you eat my son?”
- (122) Íò wè móníjò ìò í dánì kíákò.
A su casa volvió y a su marido le contó.
She went back to her house and told her husband.

- (123) “Máí m^ámá k^ì d^òè á n^íj^ò.”
“A nuestro hijo ya le comió.”
“She’s already eaten our son.”
- (124) Ó k^ì m^ák^á s^ák^ì.
Llorando, él se fue al monte.
Weeping, he went to the forest.
- (125) Néatò m^ón^ík^ì, j^áí^ãñ^à pé y^íá ó k^ór^àk^à d^áí k^ì t^á.
Por la tarde regresando, viniendo le puso dos huevos de boa en el agua.
Returning in the evening, while he came he put two anaconda eggs in the water.
- (126) Í n^íò j^ìk^à, “M^íá k^ò j^ìk^à pé y^íá ó k^ór^àk^à d^áí k^ì t^á.”
A su mujer le dijo, “Dile a tu mamá que viniendo, yo le puso dos huevos en el agua.”
He said to his wife, “Tell your mother that while I was coming, I put two eggs in the water.”
- (127) Í báò s^áí k^ò ñ^íà k^ò pé y^íá.
Su suegra yendo miró los dos huevos (en el agua).
Going, his mother-in-law saw the two eggs (in the water).
- (128) Néarè j^úá k^ò.
Agarrándole, le revantó.
She grabbed them and broke them.
- (129) J^áí^ãñ^à n^és^àn^íj^ò.
Una anaconda se formó.
They turned into an anaconda.
- (130) Í òrè géó.
(La boa) a ella le envolvió.
(The snake) wrapped itself around her.
- (131) D^è géóm^à íò k^òù s^{ás}ù t^{iy}ò.
No le envolvió bien, con su garra ella le trozó.
It didn’t wrap her up well, and she cut it in half with her claw.
- (132) Í ò bíarò d^íórè k^òk^òk^ò.
En su olla de ají le puso y le cocinaba.
She put it in her pot of peppers and cooked it.
- (133) Ná y^ék^è y^íá d^áí k^ì t^á.
Otra vez viniendo, (el yerno) otros (dos) huevos le puso en el agua.
Coming again, (her son-in-law) put another (two) eggs in the water.

- (134) Ná í báò dákò yía júákò.
Otra vez, su suegra les trajo y los huevos les revantó.
Again, his mother-in-law took them and broke them.
- (135) Ná jáíàñà nésànjò.
Otra vez se formó la anaconda.
Once again the anaconda emerged.
- (136) Jáíkì nékì ìrè tígèjò.
Cuando se hizo grande, a ella le envolvió para siempre.
When it became large, it swallowed her up forever.
- (137) Jàisùkìni míkì māmákò óíkò.
En una lupuna grande (la boa) subía y su hija lloraba.
It climbed onto a big tree, and her daughter wept.
- (138) Bàì jú néàrè júi jáíàñà.
Su yerno, agarrando la pucuna, pucuneaba la boa.
Her son-in-law, grabbing his blowgun, shot the anaconda.
- (139) Bíyókì ìmì yíká tómedèkì néàrè ìmì mínìjò.
Silbando, la boa del alto bajó; en forma de una sabana cayó y colgó; agarrando, subió (otra vez) al alto.
Whistling, the anaconda descended from high up, falling like a sheet; then, grabbing (the tree), it climbed up high (again).
- (140) Māmákò óíkò.
Su hija lloraba.
Her daughter cried.
- (141) Mékà mà yúàkò sáíkò.
Se iba barriendo el camino del curhuince.
She went, sweeping a path made by leafcutter ants.
- (142) Íò bíákò chíóbì táyá sàyàrè ìmì jínìtò.
Del alto metieron la hierba en la cabeza de su madre y le soltaron.
In heaven, they stuffed her mother's head with grass and let go, letting it fall.
- (143) Māmákò ñiàkò óíkò.
Su hija mirando lloraba.
Looking on, her daughter wept.
- (144) Ábé sáíkò mékà góé kákájò.
Cuando (la hija) se iba, en el hueco del curhuince (ella) entró.
When (the daughter) left, she entered the leafcutter ant's hole.

- (145) Mékà bíákò néjò.
En la madre del curhuince le transformó.
She turned into the mother of leafcutter ants.
- (146) Tíímànjò.⁶
Vivía para siempre.
She lived forever.
- (147) Ká yìgò.
Eso es todo.
That is the end.

⁶Se cree que ella vive hasta ahora, criando los curhuince. (It is believed that she is still alive, giving life to the leafcutter ants.)