Warekena

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Introduction

0.1 General data. Warekena belongs to the Northern subgroup of Maipuran. It is spoken in nine communities on the Xie river (a tributary of Upper Rio Negro, Brazil): Vila Nova, Campinas, Yuku, Nazaré, Kumati-cachoeira, Tumi, Umanisiwa, Tobana, Anamoin - by a few dozen people, most of them over fifty (see Map). All the speakers of Warekena are bilingual in Nheengatu (Língua Geral), and no longer use Warekena for everyday communication (in spite of its having been their first language). Many of them also speak Spanish, Portuguese and Baníwa of Iquana or Kurupáko. The linguistic status of Warekena can be characterized as a typical language death situation. Linguistically, Warekena of Xie is a dialect of Baníwa of Guainia spoken in Venezuela. Minor dialectal differences exist between different Warekena-speaking communities. Warekena of Anamoin is closer to Baníwa of Guainia than are the dialects of other communities of the Xie river. The communities upstream on the Xie river were founded by Baníwa-speaking migrants from Venezuela in the early twentieth century.

The present study is based on the materials collected during three fieldtrips to the Upper Rio Negro region in 1991, 1994 and 1995 from speakers of three communities: Nazaré, Anamoin, Campinas. My corpus contains approximately 200 pp. of texts, including traditional stories, life stories of the consultants, and gospel stories volunteered by the consultants, besides word lists and transcripts of conversations with consultants.

The Warekena language (phonologically: Wailekena) is also known by the names Uarequena, Uerekina, Warekena, Warikana, Ariqueina, Guarequena (see Anonymous 1913: 29; Locatelli 1968: 131; Galvão 1979: 146; Payne 1991: 364). The translation of the name is 'star people' (cf. wa'ii - 'star' in Baníwa of Iquana, Tariana - 'star' in names of clans in Baníwa of Iquana from Proto-Maipuran *karı-hi/; Payne 1991; cf., among others, Bare khenne - 'people').

There is strong evidence in favor of a fairly recent appearance of the present day Warekena language on the Xie river which ousted the "old", or "real" Warekena. The latter belongs to the Iquana-Vaupes subgroup of Northern Maipuran. It is still spoken by several old people on the Xie river in Brazil and by
Locations of Warekena and some neighboring language groups

The presence of the Warekena was attested on the Ícupa river and on the mouth of the Xie in 1759 (Brüzzì 1977: 20-23). According to Wallace (1853), Warekena lived on the Vaupes. The contacts between Warekena and Tariana are reflected in myths and legends of the Tariana, according to which “cannibal” Warekena used to be Tariana slaves, and accompanied the Tariana when the latter moved from the region of the Ícupa river to the Vaupes. Later, as the result of some sort of “disagreement” with the Tariana, the Warekena were expelled from the Vaupes and found refuge on the Xie.

There is, however, a certain discord in the existing literature concerning the status, migrations and origins of the present-day Warekena and their language in Brazil.

Koch-Grüngberg (1911:38-39) points out that the “old” Warekena used to be spoken on the rivers Ícupa and Xie. The first evidence of the speakers’ migration to Venezuela (San Miguel, Tiriquire) and to upper Orinoco goes back to Sgrucce, in 1854 (see Martius 1867:619) and Schomburgk in 1839 (see Schomburgk 1841). Warekenas had been displaced from their habitat several times since late eighteenth century (see Aikhenvald and Amorín 1995), so that

Heute findet man Warekena in spärlichen Resten hauptsächlich am Guainia, wo sie die Dörfer Tomo und Guaimán Blanco, das alte San Miguel de Dávila, bewohnen, ferner neben Barú in den Ortschaften Tiriquire und am Atabapo in den Dörfern Balazaar und Corona. Man begegnet ihnen auch noch am Xie, in ihrer alten Heimat, wo aber sie bereits mit Indianern von Ícupa (Karitana) stark gemischt sind. [Now just a few Warekenas are found mainly on the Guainia River, where they live in the villages Tomo and Guaimán Blanco, former San Miguel de Dávila, and also near Bare in the regions of Tiriquire and in the villages of Balazaar and Corona on Atabapo. They are also still found on the Xie river, their old homeland, where they are already strongly mixed with the Indians of Ícupa (Karitana).][Koch-Grüngberg 1911:39]

It is noteworthy that Koch-Grüngberg says nothing about the presence of today’s Warekena - a dialect of Baniwa of Guaima - on the Xie river. This may mean that the migration of Baniwa-speaking Warekena back to Xie must have taken place later:

Nimendají (1982: 175-176) says:

Warekena - Esta língua está hoje quase extinta, pois os poucos sobreviventes desta tribo habitam esparsos na maioria em território venezuelano, na Guainia (Guaimán Blanco e vizinhãs) e adotaram a língua Baniwa verdadeira [i.e., Baniwa of Guaima - A.A.] dessa região ou a castelhana. No rio Ícupa não existe nehum representante
beginning of the last century. Towards the beginning of the twentieth century the majority of Warekena had moved to Venezuela, where they switched to a different language - Baniwa of Guiania. In spite of having changed their language, these Warekena preserved their ethnic name and the story of their origins from Xie. Some of them moved back to their "proto-home" on the Xie river in the early 1920s.

The only previous work on Baniwa of Guiania (which displays minor dialectal differences from Warekena of Xie) is: (a) short word lists in Crévaux et al. (1882), Grasserie (1892), Civrieux and Léaly (1950); (b) a short grammatical sketch in Grasserie (1892) and a little morphological data in Monosoy (1908).

0.2 Typological characteristics. Similar to the vast majority of Malagasy languages, Warekena is head-marking, agglutinating, with a few elements of fusion, mainly suffixing, with a few prefixes. Since it is a language in a language death situation, there must be a huge degree of morphological reduction, which accounts for the relative simplicity of its morphology as compared to Baniwa of Içana. Warekena shows great structural similarity to Bare (see Alkenwald 1954a), which may be due to long-term contacts between these two languages.

SYNTAX OF THE SENTENCE OR CLAUSE

1 Constituent order

The syntactically distinct clause types depend on the following classes of predicates (following the terms of Dixon 1994): transitive (with two arguments: A and O), intransitive active (with the only argument: S), intransitive passive (with the only argument S0), intransitive of state/condition (with the only argument S0), and verbless (sect. 7). As I show in sect. 18.4, the majority of predicates are assigned to one class. There is a certain overlap between the class of transitive verbs and intransitive, due to the existence of A=S and S=O ambi-transitive (see sect. 18.4.1). Intransitive verbs which denote state/condition may be treated as intransitive passive, with a semantic difference explicated in sect. 18.4.1. The marked constituent order in Warekena is AVO, VSO, SSv, SVO, illustrated below (see sect. 22.4.5 on the syntactic function of the prasal marker -4). Characteristics of constituent order in subordinate clauses are described in sect. 14.4.

AVO:

(1) wa-haŋ wafj yutif-aha ñema then-PAUS jaguar kill-PAUS tapir
'Then the jaguar killed the tapir.'
An oblique argument can follow the O or S<sub>0</sub> argument in the case of a repetition for clarification, as in (9). The oblique argument always follows the O or S<sub>0</sub> constituent (see (33) and examples in sect. 15.1).

(9) wa-hi yu-wiya-mia-hi i-jumia
then-PAUS 3sgf-die-PERP-PAUS 3sgf-wife+FEM
yu-wiya-mia-hi i-jumia
3sgf-die-PERP-PAUS 3sgf-wife+FEM from him
'Then his wife died, his wife died from him.'

Usually a clause contains only one oblique argument or indirect object. In the rare examples of two oblique arguments in one clause the locative one, as in (10), or the temporal one, as in (11), always follows the other oblique.

(10) ni-weya-hi ni-fa-palu ima-hi ima Diutu emu-wa
3pl-want-PAUS 3pl-go-PURP with-PAUS with God sky-DIR
'They wanted to go with him, with God to heaven.'

(11) wa-fia yuma uma-la
then-live 3sgf+with long.time-EMPH
'And then he lived with her a long time.'

In verbless clauses, the locative or temporal oblique argument can occupy clause-initial position if it is emphasized, as in (64) (sect. 7.1); otherwise it is used clause-finally, as in (12).

(12) ni-yi-hi ni-yama-npe yaliwa
2pl-PAUS 1sg-child-PL now
'You are my children now' (said the witch to the abandoned children).

Left dislocation of arguments into the pre-predicate position is discussed in sect. 9.1.

2 Parataxis

Juxtaposition of verbs linked by a non-final intonation is quite common. It must be distinguished from serial verb constructions and repetition (see criteria in sect. 9.3 and sect. 18.8).

(13) wa-nede-hi yamadu wa-were-hi
then-1sg+perceive-PAUS Yamadu there-EL-PAUS
A serial verb construction and a simple verb can be juxtaposed:

(14) ni-yeleta nída-há nida wíyus-mia-há 3pl-arrive 3pl+perceive-PAUS 3pl+perceive Die-PERF-PAUS
"They (turtles) arrived to see, they saw him (the deer) dead."

Juxtaposition of classes in sometimes used instead of relativization:

(15) yaikwa wa-fa wa-há rúl malayu wíyus-mia-há now 1pl-go 1pl+eat-PAUS DEM.PER deer die-PERF-PAUS
"Now let’s eat the deer who died (lit.: the dead deer)."

(16) wa: fa-mia-va epuna-wa ema then go-PERF-NONACC road-PERL tapír
epuna numa-va ema fa-va
read mouth-PERL tapír go-NONACC
"Then he (the turtle) went after the tapír, he went by the road (by which the tapír went)."

Juxtaposition is sometimes used to indicate causal, temporal, or locative relations between two clauses, especially when this relation is clear from the context of the narrative.

(17) na-yuncí, ipeta-mia-na yúfi ipata-na 1sg-kill+PAUS beat-PERF-1sg beat-1sg
"I will kill him (rabbit), (because) he beat me (much), he beat me much" (said the jaguar).

(18) kulukú fámali, kulukú payalu mía-fa wa-há drink people drink all blood then-PAUS
yúfun-há fámali yóe-há tale bulede kill-PAUS people 3sgf-for-PAUS tongue be long
'(When) he (Evil spirit) sucks people, he sucks all the blood, so he kills people, (because) he has a long tongue (lit.: to him a tongue, it is long).'

(19) wa yu-na yue-há ya-pi-he-pía pi-yúfína then 3sgf-say to-PAUS NEG-2sg-can-NEG 3sgkill
mawaya fuji-li yue-há sye-te ibu-há make big-ADJ to-PAUS seven head-PAUS
"Then she said to him, ‘You cannot kill the big snake, (because) he has seven heads.’"

(20) wa paya laguna ni-kulua-fí weni then one lake 3pl-drink-REP water
paya:la-ci kausi-nawi wali ni-kulua-hí weni all-3pl game-PL where 3pl-drink-PAUS water
"There was a lake (where) all of them, the animals frequently drank water, where they drank water."

Juxtaposition is the most frequent way of coordinating noun phrases (see sect. 8).

3 Ellipsis

3.1 Ellipsis in discourse. Warekena discourse is highly elliptical. Transitive clauses with two full NPs as arguments are rare. Pivot restrictions and ellipses are considered in sect. 3.2.

The following arguments can be elided, if they are recoverable from the previous text:

(i) indirect objects:

(21) wayatá puñí yá-pí-da-pía-ná speak monkey NEG-2sg+see-NEG-1sg
"The monkey spoke (to the jaguar), ‘Do not eat me’.

(ii) the second component of a serial verb construction:

(22) wa-atulapi-muhí yá-mia-be-pía-wa then-full-PERF+PAUS NEG-PERF-can-NEG-NONACC
'He (jaguar) is fall, he cannot (eat) more.'

(23) dalina-mia yá-mia-be-pía-wa faint-PERF NEG-PERF-can-NEG-NONACC
ya-mia-be-pía-wa malayu NEG-PERF-can-NEG-NONACC deer
'He (deer) fainted, he could no more, the deer could (run) no more.'
(iii) part of a predicate of a verbless clause:

(24) peya-hā awakunna-hā  
    one-PAUS the.wild.one-PAUS  
    'Another one (evil spirit), his name is) Awakuna (lit.: the wild one).'

Usually, a participant is introduced with a noun phrase and wa-hā, wa 'presentative' (see sect. 9.2), and then referred to only by cross-referencing affixes, unless the fuller form is needed for the sake of disambiguating the referent. Usually, the participants are recoverable due to pivot restrictions within a clause (see sect. 12.2). (25) illustrates the elliptic character of Warekena narrative. 'Children' has been introduced earlier, and so is referred to in (25) by the 3p cross-referencing prefix. Then wiwa-ha 'male child' (italic) has to be reintroduced, since the narrative focusses on his actions, and then he is referred to by a 3s cross-referencing prefix.

(25) ni-fa-wa ni-fa-wa a-te  
    3pl-go-NONACC 3pl-go-NONACC until  
    ni-waletu-hā tawawe tawape mina-t uwa-hā wiwa-ha  
    3pl-come-PAUS jungle jungle on climb-PAUS child  
    uwa-hā atapi mina-t atapi mina-t uwa-hā  
    climb-PAUS tree on tree on PAUS climb-PAUS  
    eda-palau dha-ha yapa uwa-ha  
    perceive-PURP where-PAUS mountain climb-PAUS  
    ya-eda-pia-hā benefiti wa juduna-ha  
    NEG-perceive-NEG-PAUS NEG what then come-down-PAUS  
    juduna wa ni-fa-ti-wa  
    come.down then 3pl-go-REP-NONACC  
    'The (male) child climbed on the tree to see where is the hill. He climbed and saw nothing. Then he came down, he came down, they went again.'

3.2 Ellipsis and pivot restrictions. Warekena has a mixed pivot (Dixon 1994) which combines the properties of an S/O and an S/A type. The Equi-NP deletion in clause coordination (or predicate coordination: see sect. 8) tends to operate in terms of an S/O pivot, if the two co-referential constituents are 3rd person singular (both either feminine, or non-feminine), or both plural. There are no pivot restrictions for the 1st and 2nd person subject, as in (26). This can be accounted for by the fact that a 1st or 2nd subject cannot be omitted, in the sense that it is obligatorily cross-referenced on the predicate anyway, unlike third person singular subjects which often have a null realization (see sect. 18.4.1).

(26) wa-hā wa-fa-si fisli-li  
    then-PAUS then-take big-ADJ  
    wa-nu-fa mua-fisli mua-muduka  
    1sg-PAUS fisli PAUS one crocodile big-ADJ 1sg-shoot  
    e-ha mua-fisli mua-fa mua-weya-ha  
    DEM-PAUS fisli PAUS fisli PAUS  
    mua-yama-ia-wa ya-me-la wa-wetlil una-ia-wa  
    1sg-bite-PAUS spring mouth-PELF 1sg-PAUS  
    'And then there was a big lake, I went, I found a big crocodile, I shot and killed him, I went, I intended to hunt, far away by the mouth of a spring.'

The S/O pivot can be illustrated with the following examples:

O of the first clause = S of the second clause:

(27) ena-eda wafi pula-mia  
    man perceive jaguar run-FERF  
    'A man saw a jaguar and (jaguar) ran.'

(28) ema panu-ha kulanu iliko-na-mia-wa  
    tapir step-PAUS turtle bury-REFL-FERF-NONACC  
    'Tapir stepped on the turtle, and it (the turtle) sank (into the mud).'

O of the first clause = O of the second clause:

(29) nu-yufika-li inama-ni-palau-hi  
    1sg-kill-REL stingray 1sg+take-PURP-PAUS  
    nu-nama-ti-wa nu-para-palau puli nu-we-ha  
    1sg-bite-POSS-PURP 1sg-get-PURP game 1sg-leave-PAUS  
    pwa-pi we-wetlil we-we-ha  
    shore-PAUS spring 1sg-leave-PAUS  
    'When I killed the stingray to take it as bait, to get game, I left (it) on the shore, I left.'
S of the first clause = O of the second clause:

(30) wa-hâ wayulu ena tuwava abida wa-yugia-palu
then-PAUS agouti tapir caittitî pig lpl-kill-PURP
"Here is all the game, agouti, tapir, caittitî (kind of pig), pig, it is for us to kill."

(31) wa ma-kale-mia-hâ ena waâji muftita-mia-hâ
then NEG-breathe-PERF-PAUS tapir jaguar bite-PERF-PAUS
"Then the tapir grew tired, and the jaguar bit (him)."

The omission of the coreferential constituent is not obligatory, cf. (115) and
(273). The coreferential constituents are not omitted when the identity of the
participants has to be emphasized.

(32) shows how the language tends to avoid Equi-NP deletion of A=S type
in coordination (cf. (27) above):

(33) enami eda-hâ waâji pala-mia enami
man perceive-PAUS jaguar run-PERF man
"The man saw a jaguar, and the man ran."

S0 behaves similarly to S1 in the way it undergoes coreferential deletion (31).
The S/O pivot is also found in Bure (Aikhenvald 1995a). The pivot in Warekena
is mixed, because in a number of syntactic contexts, there are either no pivot
restrictions for coreferential deletion at all, or S/A pivot operates. The following
constructions operate in terms of S/A pivot in Warekena:

(i) purposive clauses (sect. 14.2), temporal clauses (sect. 14.4), locative clauses
(sect. 14.5);
(ii) serial verb constructions operate in terms of the same subject constraint
(A=S).

Among subordinate clauses, S=O coreferential deletion is obligatory only in
complement clauses (sect. 14.1) and coreferential relative clauses (sect. 14.3.1).
In the following constructions there appear to be no pivot restrictions at all:

(i) syntactic causatives (sect. 6);
(ii) non-coreferential relative (converbal) clauses (sect. 14.3.2).

In coordination, when the presentative conjunction wa (pausal wa-hâ) is used,
S/A pivot operates in clause coordination. Thus, wa, wa-hâ can be considered as
a kind of pivot-changing marker, e.g. A1=S1 (18), S1=A1 (33):

(33) wa-hâ ja wa neta-hâ peya neyawa
then-PAUS go then ask-PAUS one woman
i-jumia-wa wa apahya-yu pane-waba
3sgf-wife + FEM then bring-3sgf house-DIR
"Then he went, then he asked another woman to be his wife, then he
brought her home."

4 Reflexives, reciprocals, unspecified arguments

Reflexives, reciprocals, and other voice distinctions in Warekena are discussed in
sect. 18.5.

Warekena has the following ways of indicating impersonal arguments:

The fourth person prefix ba-/pa- 'impersonal!' is used on prefixed verbs to
indicate a generalized, or impersonal A/S0, as in the following examples. There
is no special marking for impersonal O/S0, since there is no corresponding
impersonal pronominal clitic.

(34) yanetta-pia-hâ pa-ma-hâ bita-hâ
NEG+good-NEG-PAUS IMP-do-PAUS hammock-PAUS
kalanu tepa-ba-mia-lehâ
caran-palm hard-AUG-PERF-ADJ+PAUS
‘Caranâ palm is not good to make hammock; (it) is too hard.’

Impersonal is often used in serial constructions of the modal type (sect. 18.8).

(35) ya-ba-be-bris-hâ pa-ma-hâ
NEG-IMP-can-NEG-PAUS IMP-do-PAUS
kalanu-tua-li bita-hâ
caran-made-of ADJ hammock-PAUS
‘One cannot make a hammock of caranâ-palm.’

In serial constructions of modal type, if ba- is used on the first predicate, lpl wa-
can be used on the second one, since the impersonal marking is often understood
as close to the first person, as is the case in many other Maipuran languages.

(36) ba-be-hâ wa-ma-hâ bita-hâ dumeje-tua-li
IMP-can-PAUS lpl-do-PAUS hammock-PAUS tucum-made-of ADJ
‘One we can make a hammock of tucum.’
Impersonal marking is often used with the verb eđa ‘perceive, see/hear,’ similarly to a negative existential (see sect. 12.3):

(37) ya-beda-pia-hâ mîna-liana pani-fî
NEG-IMP + see-NEG-PAUS body-MASC house-NPOSS
‘The house owner was not there (lit.: was not to be seen).’

3rd person sgMASC can have an impersonal reference, as illustrated in (38) below. The jaguar was looking for someone to do the cooking for her, and so 3sgMASC cross-referencing is used in the second clause, to indicate an impersonal (indefinite) referend (see note 2):

(38) anetu ni-fa pîms pi-pune-waba
good 1sg-go 2sg + with 2sg-house-DIR

wa-la-pâla pe-pi-fî
cook-PURP 2sg + est-OBJFOC
‘Good (said the rabbit), I shall go with you to your house, to cook your food (as someone to cook your food)’ (said the rabbit to the jaguar).

Warekena has a number of morphologically Sa verbs, which refer to natural phenomena, such as time, weather etc. and physical states. They may take Sa = O clitics, and then a participant is implicated. Otherwise, they behave as zero-place, or impersonal predicates. (39), (41) and (42) show the use of jawâ ‘be late’, fibuma ‘(spend) night’, alîwa ‘wake up, be early’ with a personal argument (the verbs are in italic). The impersonal use of the same verbs is illustrated in (40) and (43).

(39) wa jawâ-mi-a ni ni-bimâ-mi-hâ
then late-PERF-3pl join-sleep-PERF-PAUS
‘Then they were late, they slept.’

(40) wa ni-fa-wa ni-fa-wa ato jawâ-mi
then 3pl-stay-NONACC 3pl-stay-NONACC until late-PERF
‘Then they stayed until it was late.’

(41) jawâ-mi-hâ fibuma-mi-a ni
late-PERF-PAUS night-PERF-3pl
‘It was late, they spent the night.’

(42) alîwa-mi-a alîwa-mi-a
wake up-PERF-3pl wake up-PERF-3pl
‘They woke up, they woke up.’

5 Passives
As will be shown in sect. 18.5, Warekena has no passive. Reflexive-reciprocal derivation in -ns can be sometimes used as agentless passive (see sect. 18.5.2); however, this use may be the result of some sort of influence of Portuguese.

6 Causatives
Warekena has morphological causatives (see sect. 18.5.1) and syntactic causatives discussed here. Syntactic causatives in Warekena are formed with the help of verbs we ‘to leave, to let’, wawâ ‘to order’, ta ‘give’ and a second verb. The A of we, wawâ or ta is cross-referenced on this verb, and the A or Sa of the second verb is cross-referenced on the second verb. The difference between syntactic causatives and serial verb constructions is that, in the syntactic causative construction, there is no same subject constraint (45–49); both verbs can receive an independent aspectual marking (46); no other constituents may intervene between the verb of causation and the second verb, except clitical O pronouns (48). If a syntactic causative is formed on an intransitive verb, the 3 constituent of the second verb is placed after the verb (48).

(43) jawâ-mi-hâ wa-hâ, fibuma-mi-a-hâ
late-PERF-PAUS then-PAUS night-PERF-PAUS
wa, wa-hâ alîwa-mi-hâ
then then-PAUS dawn-PERF-PAUS
‘It was late then, it was night then, then it dawned.’

Intransitive verbs which refer to physical states usually do not take cross-referencing affixes, and can only be used impersonally:

(44) alâwa-mi-hâ mu-numuweene
bubble-PERF-PAUS 1sg-mouth + EL
‘I was bubbling, bubble came out of my mouth’
(Lit.: ‘It bubbled from my mouth’.)

(45) wa-hâ ni-we fîa-wa ba-buwa yâ-fupa
then-PAUS 3pl-leave stay-NONACC one-CL.TIME much
wa eta-mi-a wa-pâlu wa-hâ ni-we-mi-hâ
then burn-PERF-NONACC all then-PAUS 3pl-set-PERF-PAUS
(46) we-wia alita-nil ni wagi leave-PERF tie-PERF jaguar
‘He (the rabbit) left the jaguar tied up.’

(47) wa-ja wa-we-ke 1pl-go 1pl-leave-PAUS cold-ADJ water
‘Let’s make the water cool.’

(48) wa-ke we-mu mu ni-fia-wa fiani-pa then-PAUS leave-PERF 3pl leave-PERF 3pl-stay-NONACC child-PL
‘Then he let them stay, his children.’

If a syntactic causative is formed on a transitive verb, and both arguments are present in the surface structure, there are two possibilities of marking them:

(a) The order V1-V2-O-(underlying) A, and no marking on either nominal constituent:

(49) nu-ta-ha kula weni nu-tani 1sg-give-PAUS drink water 1sg-child
‘I gave water for my son to drink,’ or ‘I made my son drink water.’

(b) The order V1-V2-O-(underlying) A, and the A constituent is marked as an indirect object by the preposition yoe ‘for, to’:

(50) nu-ta-ha kula weni nu-tani yoe 1sg-give-PAUS drink water 1sg-child for
‘I gave water for my son to drink,’ or ‘I made my son drink water.’

Both orders seem to be in free variation, and are rather rare, since Warekna, similarly to other Northern Mairiran languages, avoids expressing overtly two arguments of a transitive verb in one clause. The underlying A is very frequently omitted (51, 52).

(51) mu-ja mu-ya-fa fiani-pe wafl 1sg-go 1sg-kill child-PL jaguar

nu-wa-la-pa lu-ta-pa e-ha fiani-pa 1sg-cook-PURP 1sg-give-PURP eat-PAUS child-PL
‘I am going to kill jaguar’s children, by cooking (them), by giving the children (to the jaguar) to eat the children (i.e., by letting the jaguar eat her own children).’

(52) wa-ke yalanavi wa-fu-ka ni-wa ni-ya-wa enala kavayu then-PAUS white-man order 3pl-go 3pl-bring two horses
‘Then the white man ordered (his soldiers) to bring two horses.’

In a syntactic causative, either verb can be a part of a serial verb construction:

(53) wa ja we ni-ya-lut-a wa then go leave 3pl-lie-NONACC
‘The (deer) was going to leave them (turtles) to lie.’

(54) wa-ke wa-fu-ka ni-ma ni-ma ona mima then-PAUS order 3pl-go 3pl-call man
de-fi-bula yu-fiya yu-fiya mawaya the.one who kill-REL 3sgf+ from snake
‘Then he ordered them to go and call the one who killed the snake from here.’

Syntactic causatives can be formed with S, verbs (45, 48), S verbs (47), and transitive verbs (49), unlike morphological causatives which cannot be formed on transitive verbs. The main semantic difference between syntactic and morphological causatives of intransitive verbs is that the morphological causative implies direct causation, and the syntactic causative implies indirect causation:

(55) nu-ya-pa ta fiani 1sg-enter-CAUS dog
‘I made the dog come in.’

(56) nu-wa-ba yapa-wa fiani pani-fiya 1sg-let-PAUS enter-NONACC dog house-NPOSS +LOC
‘I let the dog come into the house.’

An interesting property of syntactic causatives, which makes them different from serial constructions and complement clauses, is the greater degree of phonological cohesion between the second verb and its argument(s). In all the examples of syntactic causatives, only the first verb can take a prasal form, whereas the second verb never takes it and the stress on it is weakened, this is not the case in serial constructions.
7 Copular clauses, including comparatives and equatives

7.1 Existential/locative and equational copular clauses. There is no special copular verb in Warekena. Warekena uses verbless clauses to express the following meanings: existential/locative and equational.

Positive locative/existential clauses may consist of just one word, as is the case of the main clause in (57) (italics). They frequently contain the presentative wa- (58). (58) is also an example of two juxtaposed verbless clauses. To indicate the temporal/aspectual reference, aspectual clitics are used, and they undergo attraction to the presentative wa 'then' (60, 63). In (60) the verbless clause is part of a subordinate clause. Locative clauses may contain an indication of spatial or temporal location (51).

(57) alipe-hâi walla yihu a-tapi thick-jungle-PAUS where fall tree
"It is thick jungle where the tree fell."

(58) wa peya a-tapi peya a-tapi dilibe-li then one tree one tree curved-ADJ
"Then there is a tree, a curved tree."

(59) wa-fâ-wa uyoba-li ate wa-bintika bupaniwe 1pl-go-NONACC slow-EMPH until 1pl-go mouth + LOC
wabupi bupani wabupi wa flamali
spring mouth spring then people
"We went slowly until we went out to the mouth of a spring, and there were people."

(60) ni-yvete-la hâi (tapi fihodu) walla wa-mia-hâi alapi 1pl-arrive-PAUS edge field where then-1pl-arrive-PAUS tree
"They arrived to the edge of a field where there are trees."

(61) yaliwa e-ba-mia-li now DEM-AUG-PERF-EMPH
"Now it is finished, this is just that." (a typical end of a narrative)

(62) yaluwa a-tapi wa alipe alipe fall:1NONACC then thick-jungle thick-jungle
"The tree fell, and there is thick jungle."

The verbless locative clauses can have the meaning of 'appearance' (63):

(63) pi-fâ nauiwa wa-mia mawaya 2sg-go 1sg+from then-PERF snake
"Go away from me, the snake securing has appeared already."

As is shown in sect. 12.3, Warekena has a special negative locative/existential predicate ya-beda-pia 'there is not' (NEG-IMP+perceive, see/hear-NEG), i.e., with an impersonal form of ada 'perceive'.

(64) wañi-hâi ya-beda-pia-hâi umeni here-PAUS NEG-IMP+perceive-NEG-PAUS snake
"There are no snakes here."

An opposition between an affirmative and a negative locational clause is illustrated with (63):

(65) ya-mia-beda-pia e-pi NEG-IMP+perceive-NEG eatOBJFOC
wa fimapie-pe-mi ema
then bone-PL-PEF tapir
"There is no food, there are tapir's bones."

Equational verbless clauses, also used for pointing, consist of two juxtaposed NPs. The first of them occupies the subject slot, and the aspect clitics can occur with it if the clause has a non-present reference. This is illustrated with the following examples:

(66) teta nhlabalh
DEM child
"This is a child."

(67) waya-hâi crenti wa-PAUS evangelical
"We are evangelicals."

In (68), the first constituent occupies the predicate slot:

(68) wa-hâi benefi wa-te-li wani mundwe then-PAUS NEG+what 1pl-know-REL here world+LOC
"Our knowledge (what we know) is nothing here in the world."

Attributive clauses have an S0 verb in the predicate slot. S0 verbs are italicized in (69):
Comparatives are a subtype of attributive clauses. They can be formed in two ways:

(i) by juxtaposing two attributive sentences:

(70) waţi juţi pu̠sî pu̠lapiamu
gar big monkey thin
'The jaguar is bigger than the monkey.'
(Lit.: jaguar is big, monkey is thin.)

(ii) by using a serial verb construction:

(71a) wa-sa weda damâli juţi-li pala-hâ
1pl-go 1pl-perceive who 3sgf-ADJ run-PAUS
'Let's see who is stronger in running
(lit.: who is strong to run).'

Attributive clauses with the So predicate papeya 'similar, another' are used to express similarity:

(71b) ma-tani papeya muna
1sg-child similar 1sg+with
'My child is similar to me.'

7.2 Possessive clauses. Possessives sentences can be marked in three ways:

(a) possessive verb deka 'to have' is used when possession is in focus:

(72) seyava ma-li tupe yu-deka tupe
woman make-REL mat 3sgf-have mat
'The woman made a mat, it is hers.'

(b) preposition -yoe 'for, to' is the most frequent means:

(73) p[i] i-yoe-hâ p[i] i-yoe-hâ talu
tail 3sgf-for-PAUS tail 3sgf-for-PAUS tongue

8 Coordination

8.1 Coordination of NPs. Warakena usually has no special morphological marking for coordinated NPs or coordinated modifiers, e.g., (78). Coordination is characterized by a special enumerating intonation (rising of the last word of each phrase, as in (79)) and, unlike repetition, no component except for the very last one can take a prusal form:

(78) juţi-li niwe-li atapi
big-ADJ tall-ADJ tree
'a big and lofty tree'
(79) wa: ni-jia-wa peya amuji-ami peya weni-ami
then 3pl-stay-NONACC one sun-AFF one water-AFF
'Then they stayed a summer and a winter.'

(80) tiulula kanitu aise-na-wa
trousers shirt put.on-REFL-NONACC
'Their trousers and shirt.'

Occasionally, the coordinating conjunction e (a loan from Portuguese) is used:

(81) i-jumisa 3sgf-wife +FEM and three
e telephi ni-pa
child-PL
ni-ja-wa ni-ja
3pl-go-NONACC 3pl-go
ni-suma-ha
3pl-tear-PAUS
'His wife and three children went to tear (manioc).'

8.2 Clause coordination. There is no special device for marking clause or verbal phrase coordination (see sect. 2. on parataxis), and it occurs mainly by juxtaposition. The following examples (82, 83) illustrate coordination of two final subordinate clauses by juxtaposition:

(82) piya-ha ni-yalitua pi-ja pi-teluka atapu pi-ma-palu
you-PAUS 1sg-brother 2sg-go 2sg-cut tree 2sg-do-PURP
wa-yiwa wa-kawvu-ta-palu wa-da-le
smoking-grid 1pl-smoke-CAUS-PURP 1pl-prey
'You, brother, go and cut tree to make a smoking grid, to smoke our stock.'

(83) nuya-ha epi eni-ha peya wa-yalitua wa-ja
1-pl-PAUS with DEM.PR-PAUS one 1-pl-brother 1-pl-go
wa-tana-ha wa-tana-ha wa-da-le wa-butuka-palu
1-pl-cook-PAUS 1pl-cook-PAUS 1pl-prey 1pl-take-PURP
wa-yiwa-palu i-kiwa wa-kawvu-ta-palu
1pl-take-PURP belly 1pl-smoke-CAUS-PURP
'I shall go with one of my brothers to treat the game to take the inside, to smoke (them).'</n
A juxtaposition of two verbless existential/locative clauses is illustrated in (84):

(84) wani-ha wa-ha jepe keji
here-PAUS then-PAUS much game
wa-wayula ena payalu keji wa-ha
then-agenci tapir all game then-PAUS
'There is much game, there is agenci, tapir, all the game.'

A juxtaposition of several main clauses is illustrated below:

(85) mi-ple-ha dwevi ni-musaika e-ha
1sg-find-PAUS crocodile 1sg-killi DEM-PAUS
mi-yafa e-ha wa-nu-ja-wa
wa-kepi nana-za
1sg-killi DEM-PAUS then-1sg-go-NONACC spring-mouth-PEEL
'I found a crocodile, I killed him, I killed him and went by the mouth of the spring.'

The adversative relationship between two clauses is occasionally marked with the help of a loan conjunction ma 'but' (Portuguese mas):

(86) wa-ha papeya fiamali ni-wa-ya
then-PAUS some people 3pl-want
ma jepe fiamali ya ni-wa-ya-pibeh
but many people NEG-3pl-want-NEG-PAUS
'Then some people wanted (Jesus Christ), but many people did not.'

9 Pragmatic and discourse characteristics

9.1 Discourse organization. Warekena discourse is highly elliptical (see sect. 3). Future topic of the narrative is introduced in the first sentence in O or S function, or as a copula complement of a presentative wa-ha 'then'. A newly introduced topic in S0 (87) or in S1 (88) function occupies a preverbal position. (87) comes from a story which resembles the story of Hansel and Gretel.

(87) wa-ha peya ete-ne yae jepe-teh-ha fiaji-pe
then-PAUS one old-MASC to many-PAUS child-PL
'There was an old man, he had (lit. to him) many children.'

(88) is the beginning of the story about traditional burials of Warekenas.
The participants of a story can be introduced in an oblique function:

(88) peya nu-yaliuna wiyua one 1sg-brother die
"One of my brothers dies."

The participants of a story can be reintroduced, for the sake of identification of referents, A is usually reintroduced in pronominal position, and S and O in postverbal position. This is illustrated by sentences from a continuation of (89):

A:
(90) wa-hâ waţi weya yuʧila-hâ ema then-PAUS jaguar want kill-PAUS tapir
"Then the jaguar wanted to kill the tapir."

S:
(91) wa: pala-mia-hâ ema then run-PERF-PAUS tapir
"Then the tapir was running."

O:
(92) wa: pala-mia ema pauta-hâ naŋitu kulimalu then run-PERF tapir step-PAUS back turtle
ilike-na-mia-wa
be buried-REFL-PERF-NONACC
"Then the tapir was running, he stepped on the turtle's back, and (it) was buried."

A constituent which is either topicalized or becomes a new focus of attention undergoes left dislocation. A dislocated constituent is separated from the rest of a clause by a pause, as is Yamado below. (93) is the beginning of a story about different kinds of evil spirits. It contains pronominal fronting of a subject (yamadu: italicized) accompanied by a pause, and of a direct object in the last clause (italicized).

(93) Wa-hâ telegi biyuli. Peya-hâ, iyina-hâ then-PAUS three evil spirit one-PAUS his name-PAUS
yamadu. Peya, iyina-hâ biyuli. Peya-hâ, awakaluna-hâ. Yamado one his-name-PAUS Biyuli one-PAUS Awakaluna-PAUS
Yamadu, ya-be-pia-hâ eda ʃamali Edu-li-bena ʃamali Yamado NEG-can-NEG-PAUS see person see-REL-WHEN person
yuʧila-hâ, aʃen-hâ yamadu Payahu enami-nawi payahu kill-PAUS angry-PAUS Yamado all man-PL all
neja-wa-nawi payahu withbebe-per payahu ʃimu woman-PL all child-PL all dog
ya-be-pia-wa eda beneji NEG-can-NEG-NONACC see NGO+what
"There are three kinds of evil spirits. The name of one is Yamado, the name of another is Biyuli, the name of another is Awakaluna. Yamado, he cannot see a person, when he sees a person, he kills (him). Yamado is angry. All men, all women, all children, all dogs, he cannot see any of them."

(94) comes from the story similar to the one about Hânsel and Gretel. A snake had come up to the boy (already a grown-up man); man is the topic and left-dislocated:

(94) eyn enami, yue peya mattea DEM man to one knife
"The man, he had a knife."

When a left-dislocated constituent occupies a peripheral role, it is marked for peripheral case (see sect. 15.1):

(95) nu-mina-wa-hâ, bifika myaʃi 1sg-body-PERF-PAUS go out blood
"My body is covered with blood (Lit.: By my body, blood goes out)."

Warekena narratives are repetitive (sect. 9.3). Repetition is frequently used to convey the duration of an action. Left dislocation is widely used in repetitions. (90) is a typical example. Left-dislocated constituents are italicized.

(96) wa: ni-ja-mia-wa teresu numa-wa, then 3pl-go-PERF-NONACC road mouth-PERL
wa-(hā) can be used to mark an unexpected and important action, as in (101); or to attract the hearer's attention to the sequencing of actions (102).

(101) akune mede hā te wa-hā jà mia-wa fear 1sg + see + PAUS until then + PAUS go + PERF + NONACC
  ya-eda-pia-wa
  NEG see NEG 1sg
  "I am afraid of him (the evil spirit) until when he has gone, he did not see me."

(102) wa: yeleta-mia-hā walí ema wa jùpe kūlūvītu
  then arrive + PERF + PAUS where tapir then many vulture
  "Then (the turtle) arrived where the tapir was, then (there were) many vultures."

When wa-(hā) is used to resume a completed stretch of the text, it can appear in a sentence-final position. This occurs frequently in repetition.

(103) kūlimi-hu mupa-mia-wa wàli yunia ema
  turtle arrive + PERF + NONACC where kill tapir
  mupa-mia-hā
  kūlimi-hu wàli yunia ema yeleta-mia-hā
  turtle arrive + PERF + PAUS where kill tapir arrive + PERF + PAUS
  kūlimi-hu wa-hā
  turtle then + PAUS
  "Turtle arrived to where (he) killed the tapir, turtle arrived to where (he) killed the tapir, so the turtle arrived."

9.3 Repetition in discourse. Warekua discourse is highly repetitive. When two verbs are repeated, the subject (A or S) is usually not repeated:

(104) kūlimi-hu ya-bè-pia jà-wa
  turtle NEG can + NEG go + NONACC
  ya-bè-pia jà-wa
  NEG can + NEG go + NONACC
  aleswet-wa
  "The turtle could not go, he could not go quickly."

Repetition has several discourse functions. One of these is clarification, for the sake of more accuracy:
(105) wa ni-yufin ema ni-yufin peya ema peya mukayu
then 3pl-kill tapir 3pl-kill one tapir one deer
'Then they killed a tapir, they killed a tapir and a deer.'

(106) wa-tapia-mia wa-fi napitu-bi napitu ema
then-jump-PERF jaguar back-PAUS back tapir
'Then the jaguar jumped on its back, on the tapir's back.'

Verb phrases or other items may be repeated to emphasize the prolonged character of the action/state:

(107) wa ni-fa-fi-wa ni-fa-fi-wa ni-fa-wa
then 3pl-go-REP-NONACC 3pl-go-REP-NONACC 3pl-go-NONACC
yame-lu yame-lu ni-fa-wa
far-EMPH far-EMPH 3pl-go-NONACC
'Then they (the abandoned children) went again, they went again, they went far, far they went.'

(108) yawapuina kulimalu yame yame
answer turtle far far
'Turtle answered very far away.'

Clauses are frequently repeated to emphasize the gravity of the situation.

(109) is a continuation of (107):

(109) ya-mia-ni-te-pia daba nepuna-ha
NEG-PERF-3pl-know-NEG 3pl+road-PAUS
ya-mia-ni-te-pia daba-ha nepuna-ha
NEG-PERF-3pl-know-NEG 3pl+road-PAUS
ni-fa-fi-wa yame-ha ya-me ni-fa-wa
3pl-go-REP-NONACC far-PAUS far 3pl-go-NONACC
'They (the abandoned children) did not know where their road is, they did not know where their road is, they went again far, far they went.'

Repetition in Warekena has the following grammatical and phonological properties.

In repetition of verbs, aspectual elites and affixes usually appear on every verb, if the prolonged character of an action is emphasized, as in (107) above and (110):

(110) wa-dima-mia-ha dima-mia-ha atulagi-mieb
then-sleep-PERF-PAUS sleep-PERF-PAUS full-PERF+PAUS
'Then he (jaguar) slept, he slept (for a long time), he was full.'

Clitics -wa 'non-accomplished' and -mia 'perfective' appear also on one of the repeated phrases, if the repetition is done for clarification (111)-(116).

(111) eputa-wa jiduna-ha yapi-fi-waba
wake-up-NONACC go-down-PAUS ground-AFF-DIR
fa-wa fa-mia-fi-wa
go-PAUS go-PERF-REP-PAUS
'He (the jaguar) woke up, and came down (the tree); he started going, he went again.'

(112) wa-wayata yalimtu ete-ne-lu ete-ne-li
then-speak brother old-MASC-EMPH old-MASC-ADJ
'Then spoke the really older, the older brother.'

(113) ma-kale-mieb ema-fi ema
NEG-breath-PERF+PAUS cry-REP cry
'He (the deer) was tired, he cried again, he cried.'

(114) wa-ha wa-nima-mia-ha ate aliwa-tei
then-PAUS 3pl-sleep-PERF-PAUS until dawn-REP
aliwa-mia-wi wa wa-fa-mia-wa
dawn-PERF-3pl then 3pl-go-REP-PAUS
'Then we slept until it dawned, it dawned on us, then we went.'

Phonologically, the repeated phrases are independent. The following tendencies can be observed with respect to the way pausal forms are used in repetition. Usually, if the repetition is used to mark a prolonged character of the action, the first occurrence of the verb has no pausal marking, and the second (and third etc., if it is the case) has. In (115), repetition of the first clause means that the jaguar bit the tapir several times; the repetition of jump means that the tapir was jumping away repeatedly, and the repetition of "follow" means the emphasis of the action:

(115) wa muftia-mia ema ibu-pefi, muftia-mia-bi ema
then bite-PERF tapir head-LOC bite-PERF-PAUS tapir
ibu-pefi, wa tapia ema tapia-ha tapia-bi wa bi
head-LOC then jump tapir jump-PAUS jump-PAUS jaguar.
A left dislocated constituent can be repeated in the clause, and then the left dislocation is used as a kind of a stronger reminder, as is the case with *tun* 'dog(s)' in (119).

(119) wa: ni-fa-mia-te-wa wa-wene. Tatsi minni,
then 3pl-go-PERF-REP-NEG ACC then-EL DEM dog
ni-api-mia-ha timu
3pl-take-PERF-PAUS dog
Then they (the abandoned children) went again. The dog(s), they took the dogs.'

Warakana has a cleft construction characterized by: (i) left dislocation of the subject; (ii) -Li 'relative' marker on the verb; (iii) suppression of A/S, cross-referencing prefixes on the verb. A cleft construction is used to mark subject A/S-ha in a contrastive focus. Independent personal pronouns mostly occur in this function. No other constituent can be inserted between the subject and the verb, as shown in (120), where the cross-referencing prefix of 2nd person sg is absent from the verb -te- 'to know', since the subject *piya* 'you' is topicalized and fronted. The left-dislocated subject can attract the aspectual clitics, as is the case in (120).

(120) yaliwa piya-mia-ha, tee-li ijiaema-ha
now you-PERF-PAUS know-REL how-PAUS
pi-ma-ha nepi wa-jahine
2sg-do-PAUS 3pl with 1pl-family
'Now it is you who knows what you will do with the family.'

(121) wa-ha enami, yufa-li maaraya
then-PAUS man kill-REL snake
'This is the man who killed the snake.'

(122) maleri, yufa-li wiyus-li iyu
shaman kill-REL die-NOM with
'It is the shaman who killed with poison.'

Left-dislocation of the subject marked with the help of a personal pronoun can co-occur with right-dislocation for clarification, if the referent of the personal pronoun may not be clear from the previous narrative:

(123) eni-ha epalu yufa-li maaraya eni enami
DEM.PRS-PAUS he kill-REL snake DEM.PRS man
'It is this one who killed the snake, this man (did).'
The use of S/O enclitics for cross-referencing an antitopicalized constituent is discussed in sect. 18.4.2. Negation (see sect. 12) can go either on the left-dislocated constituent, or on the verb, depending on the semantics. In (124), the identity of the subject ('T') is negated, and in (125) the action is negated.

(124) ya-nuy-pia, ma-li
NEG-DEM-REL
'It was not me who did it.'

(125) Afroso, ya-li supa-pia-hā
Afroso NEG-REL come-NEG-PAUS
'It is Afroso who did not come.'

Several cleft constructions can follow each other in a text:

(126) ya-e-pia yufia-li mawaya peya enami yufia-li mawaya
NEG-DEM-NEG kill-REL snake one man kill-REL snake
'It was not he who killed a snake, it was another man who killed a snake.'

(127) ya-e-pia-hā yufia-li mawaya
NEG-DEM-NEG-PAUS kill-REL snake
'It was not he who killed a snake.'

In conversations, there are a few examples of left-dislocation of a locative constituent. The locative case-marking is then omitted:

(128) eni atapi ni-fia-li-wa-hā
DEM.PR tree leg-sit-REL-NONACC-PAUS
'This bench (lit.: tree), I am sitting on.'

The subject in cleft constructions can be occasionally shifted to the right:

(129) wa: ma-li, wilubele-pe, ya:wa-mia-hā
then say-REL child-PL afternoon PERF-PAUS
'Then it was the children who spoke, in the afternoon.'

Relative marker -di is also used in interrogative clauses and complement clauses, where it does not trigger suppression of cross-referencing markers (see sects. 10, 14).

Thus, the contrastive focus of the A/S constituent in Warkena is associated with suppression of cross-referencing prefixes.

Cross-referencing enclitics can co-occur with a full NP in O/S function, when the latter undergoes a right-dislocation (see sect. 18.4.2; Aikhenvald 1998b). Both (130) and (131) come from the story about the abandoned children. The brother had killed a huge snake, and saved the life of a white man’s daughter; the white man summoned his daughter to ask her who had killed the snake. Tani ‘his child (daughter)’ is right-dislocated in a clarifying function, something referred to as an ‘antitopic’.

(130) wa-hā muta-yu yalanari muta-yu tani yata-pala-yu
then-PURS call-3sfg white-man call-3sfg child ask-PURS-3sfg
'Then the white man called her, he called her, his daughter, to ask her (who had killed the snake).'

The cross-referencing S/0 enclitic also occurs when the S constituent is left-dislocated. Thus, both left- and right-dislocated constituents are treated as not properly belonging to the clause.

(131) wa fanamili, ya jaye-ni
then people DEM many-3pl
'Then the people, they were many.'

The neutral sentence, where fanamili ‘people’ is part of the main predication, would be:

(132) wa jaye fanamili
then many people
'Then there were many people.'

9.5 Emphatic -Ju

9.5.1 Emphasis. The clitic -Ju is used to mark a very strong emphasis. It can occur on any word class.

-Ju on a verb may mean intensifying the action expressed by the verb. It can be used with an S/0 verb, as in (133); an S/0 verb as in (134); a transitive verb as in (135). In (134) ‘emphatic’ means ‘I shall indeed go’. This example comes from the story about the abandoned children; the sister expressed her definite decision to go and see the witch.

(133) wani ni-ja ni-wayata-ta ate uma-ma-mia-ju
here 3pl-go 3pl-speak-PURS until long-time-PURS-EMPH
ya:jaya
night
'Here they went to talk until it was late at night.'
(134) nu-ja nu-fa-lu pima ya-pajia-hâ
1sg-go 1sg-go-EMPH 2sg+ with NEG-FUT-PAUS
nu-tenita-pia-hâ nu-fa-lu pima neda-palu
1sg-laugh-NEG-PAUS 1sg-go-EMPH 2sg+ with 1sg+ perceiv-PURP
'I shall indeed go with you, I shall not laugh, I shall go with you for me to see (her).'

If -Ju occurs on a verb, as in (135), it follows the aspectual clitic -mâ.

(135) waya-ne ñina ni-yue-hê jeji-lu
spok-POS poss tell 3pl-for-PAUS much-EMPH
waya-ne diitlua jisalma-hâ wa-fa-wa wani-hâ
spok-POS God know-PAUS 1pl-live-NEGACC here-PAUS
mundiwi-hê payalu ñi wa-ni-te-mia-lu
world+LOC-PAUS all what 3pl-know-PERF-EMPH
ni-te-mia-hâ waya-ne diitlua ni-te-mia-hâ
3pl-know-NEG-PAUS speak-POS God 3pl-know-NEG-PAUS
waya-ne diitlua peya-pe peya-pe enami te-mia-lu
spok-POS God one-PL one-PL person know-NEG-EMPH
waya-ne diitlua peyawa peya-pe te-mia-lu
spok-POS God woman one-PL know-NEG-EMPH
waya-ne diitlua
spok-POS God
'He (Jesus Christ) told them the word of God, really much, how we live here in the world, all what they really knew, they knew of the word of God, they knew the word of God, some of them, some men really knew the word of God, some women really knew the word of God.'

In serial verb constructions, -Ju goes on the first component:

(136) yajiiwa wa-ma-yu wa-ñina pima pi-pu-ñwe
now 1pl-want-EMPH 1pl-sleep 2sg+ with 2sg-house+LOC
'Now we very much want to sleep in your house.'

-Ju can have a meaning which is close to perfective:

(137) wa-hâ wa-ma-lu inapa-wa istoria
then-PAUS 1pl-tell-EMPH finish-NEGACC story
'Then we really told (the story), the story is over.'

-Ju can occur on a nominal modifier, as in (138), (139), and it can co-occur with -Ju 'relativizer/adjunctivizer', in which case it precedes -Ju.

(138) wa ni-wende wa-yue-hê aweni-mia aweni-hê
then 3pl-sell 1pl-to-PAUS dear-PERF dear-PAUS
ni-wende wa-yue-hê wa waya-hê ya-wa-ye-pia-hê jeji
3pl-sell 1pl-to-PAUS then we-PAUS NEG 1pl-to-PAUS NEGACC
palata wa-weninta-palu aweni-ba-mia-lu-li
money 1pl-buy-EMPH dear-AUG-NEGACC-ADJ
aweni-ba-mia-li-hê ya-emia wa-be-pia
aweni-NEG-ADJ-PAUS NEG-NEGACC 1pl-can-NEG
wa-wenita-wu
1pl-buy-NEGACC
'Then they (rich white people) sell (things) to us, it is expensive, they sell to us expensively, and we do not have much money to buy very expensive (things), we cannot buy very expensive (things).'

(139) ube-ma-lu-pajia peya-wa stagi
all-DIV-EMPH-FUT one-EMPH tree
'Only one single tree (very one) (will not fall),' (said the rabbit to the jaguar).

(140) enaba-lu-ni ni-ya-ya-hê
two-EMPH-1pl 3pl-cry-PAUS
'Then they cried, just the two of them.'

-Ju can go on an adverbial modifier, and it can be repeated twice.

(141) ube-ma-ku wa-fa-ma-li te-ta
all-DIV-EMPH-EMPH 1sg-tell-REL this
'Now I have told all (Lit.: My telling is just only this).'

(142) wa ni-fita-mia-hê jeji-ku
then 3pl-fat-NEGACC big-EMPH
'Then they (the abandoned children) became very fat.'
In repetition, forms with -ju and without it can follow each other:

(143) ja-wa yane-ju yane: ja-wa ena go-NONACC far-EMPH far go-NONACC tapir
"The tapir went really far, he went far."

-Ju can be used with presentative wa:

(144) mafita-pi umeni pule-li pule-li umeni bite-2sg snake green-ADJ green-ADJ snake
wa-li umeni eta ya-yue-pia pinta-ji then-EMPH snake DEM-DIST NEG-to-NEG cure-NOM
"If a green snake, a green snake bites you, just then (in this case) there is no antidote."

-Ju can be used on a locative constituent. (145) comes from a text given by the speaker in response to my insistent questions about whether his family originated from the Xie, or if they had come from Venezuela. The use of -Ju bears a distinct nuance of contrast:

(145) mule-kwi weneji-wenyu-ba weneji-wenyu-li 1sg+father Xie-EL die-PAUS Xie+LOC-EMPH
nu-julama weneji-mina-li ny-wenyu-ba weneji-wenyu-li 1sg-mother Xie-body-REL 1sg+die-die Xie+LOC-EMPH
"My father is from Xie, he died exactly on Xie, my mother is from Xie, she died exactly on Xie."

The following example illustrates the clitic character of -ju, since it undergoes attraction to the negative proclitic ya- (see sect. 22.4.1):

(146) ya-li ju-fji-pish NEG-EMPH big-NEG=PAUS "biggish, not excessively big"

9.5.2 Cleft constructions. -Ju can be used on a clefted constituent. This kind of cleft means emphasis 'just and only' (unlike cleft with relative forms in -ji, which implies contrastive focus). The cross-referencing prefixes are then suppressed from the predicate, but the relative -ji marking on the verb is not used:

(147) piya-mia-lo-pa'ja me-ba lalema pi-wala-ba you-PERF-EMPH-FUT know-PAUS how 2sg-cook-PAUS
"You are just the one who knows how to cook," (said the jaguar to the rabbit, after she employed him as a cook.)

(148) nyu-la we-ba yula-ha 1-EMPH let-PAUS fall-PAUS
"It is just me who let (the child) fall down."

(149) nuya-lu tujana 1-EMPH tujana
"I am the chief."

10 Interrogatives

Warekna has no special segmental marker for polar (yes/no) questions. They are marked with a special rising intonation, and the verb occupies the sentence-initial position:

(150) aliwa-pi?
awake-2sg
"Are you awake?" (a morning greeting)

(151) ya-nu-pia-ba pi-yue-ba mawaya?
NEG-cone-NEG-PAUS 2sg-to-PAUS snake
"Did the snake not come to you?"

In content questions, the question word (interrogative pronoun; see sect. 16) occupies the sentence-initial position. Relative -ji marks the predicate when the question constituent is the subject (ji 'what, who, damall 'who, which one'), or the object (ji 'what'), in the same way that it does for subject or object relativization (sect. 14.3).

(152) ji na-li ni kanatu?
who do-REL DEM:PR-basket
"Who made this basket?"

(153) ji pi-yugis-li?
what 2sg-kill-REL
"What did you kill?"
11 Imperatives

Imperative in Warakuma is most frequently the verb stem without aspectual or modal marking. There are both imperatives of transitive, Sa and So verbs, as illustrated below in (160) - (162) respectively. No imperatives of Sio verbs are attested. In imperative sentences, the predicate occupies the first place.

(160) piya-hi ni-ya-litua pi-ja pi-teluksa a-tapi you-PAUS 1sg-brother 2sg-go 2sg-cut tree
"You, brother, go and cut tree!"

(161) ni-ja ni-pi-hi wani-hi 2pl-stay 1sg-find-PAUS here-PAUS
"You stay here, for me to find (you) here!"

(162) manamma-pi be-silent-2sg
"Be silent!"

Aspect marker -wa "unaccomplished, continuous action" can be used in commands with an inchoative meaning (163, 166).

(163) pi-manuts-wa
2sg-stop-NONACC
"Stop (start stopping)!"

Second person imperatives are the most frequent ones; the examples of third person imperatives are shown below. The predicate is in the clause-initial position. It can take an aspectual clitic, e.g., -yu-yu 'yet'.

(164) wa-ja yaliwa we-limani
then-live now 1pl-father
"Then long live our father!"

(165) wa-ja-yu la-ali anetau-li
then-live-YET 2sg-father
"Let all stay well!"

A serial construction with a motion verb -Ja 'go' can be used in a cohortative sense:

(166) wa-ja-wa ni-nawala-waba wa wa-hi wa-ja
1pl-go-NONACC 3pl-village-DIR then-PAUS 1pl-go
"Go to the village! Let all stay well!"
12 Negation

12.1 Predicative negation. Usually predicative negation is expressed by the proclitic ye, which immediately precedes the verb, and enclitic -pia. The proclitic ye attracts the clitics, e.g., aspectual -nis ‘perfective’, -pafia ‘future’, -pa1u ‘purposive’, -di ‘relative, cleft’ (see sect. 18). The proclitic ye precedes the prefixes. The following examples illustrate predicative negation: transitive verb in (167)-(169), Sa in (169)-(170), Sa in (171)-(172), and Su in (173)-(174).

(167) ya-mia ni-piepe wabupi NEG-PERF 3pl-find -NEG spring
They did not find a spring.

(168) awakaluna-haa, awakaluna ya-yufia-pia diamali Awakaluna-PAUS Awakaluna NEG kill-NEG people

(169) kuneh ya-nupa-pia-haa ya-nupa-pia rabbit NEG-comme-NEG-PAUS NEG-comme-NEG rabbit then-PAUS NEG-drim NEG water then-PAUS
The rabbit did not come, the rabbit did not come, he does not drink water there.

(170) ya-yufia yuwa-pia-ni atapi NEG-PFUT fall-NEG-DEM:PR tree
"Only this tree will not fall."

(171) wa: ya-atulapi-pesha ya-atulapi-pesha wafii then NEG-full NEG-PAUS NEG-full NEG-PAUS jangus
Then the jangus was not full, was not full.

(172) ya-mia-ha yu-fia-pia-ya yu-ma-palu matuka NEG-PERF-PAUS strong-NEG-3sgg-3sgg-do-PURP floor
"She (my wife) is not strong enough to make floor."

(173) ya-wa-yu-pia neyupa wa-neyupa-palu NEG-1pl-to-NEG paddle + NOM 1pl-paddle-PURP
"We had no (real) paddle, for us to paddle."

(174) ya-mia yue-pia-kaa nima-kaa e-pi1ia NEG-PERF for-NEG-PAUS 3pl+with-PAUS eat-OBJ FOC
"He had little to eat."

In equative clauses (sect. 7), the negation ye...-pia occurs on the predicate:

(175) eni nu-di1a-li ni-yue-ha ya-mu-waya-ne-pia DEM:PR 1sg-tell-REL 2pl-to-PAUS NEG-1sg-tell-POSS-NEG
"This what I am telling you is not my word."

Occasionally, the proclitic ye can be omitted, especially in repetition:

(176) pi-alila-nya (ya-jm-veya-pia-kaa ni-xiyua 2sg-tie-1sg NEG-1sg-want-NEG-PAUS 1sg-die
"Tie me, I don’t want to tie (said the jaguar to the rabbit)."

In syntactic causatives and serial verb constructions, there is only one negation, which goes on the first component and negates the whole verbal phrase, e.g., (177) (syntactic causative), (178) (serial verb construction). This is one of the criteria for analyzing serial verbal constructions as one construction (sect. 8.8.1).

(177) ya-mia ni-we-pia-ha pe-ha pi-tu1eni NEG-PERF 3pl-let-NEG-PAUS 2sg+eat-PAUS 2sg-food
"They do not let you eat your food any more (or, they let you not eat your food any more)."

(178) yamadu yu-be-pia-ha eda diamali Yamadu NEG-can-NEG-PAUS perceive people
"Yamado cannot see people."

12.2 Emphatic negation (negation in cleft). In cleft constructions, the negation occurs on the left-dislocated constituent, e.g., (179), from the story about the abandoned children. The woman saved by the boy from the snake insists that it was not the ugly soldier who killed the snake:

(179) ya-e-pia-ha yu1ia-li mawaya NEG-DEM-NEG-PAUS kill-REL snake
peya enami yu1ia-li nu1wa mawaya ya-tuludawa-pia-ha one man kill-REL 1sg+from snake NEG-soldier-NEG-PAUS
yufin-li mawaya
kill-REL snake
'It was not he who killed a snake, another man killed the snake from me, it was not the soldier who killed a snake.'

The sentential negation (sect. 12.5) can be used for more emphasis, cf. (180) from the same story:

(180) ya-ha
nuqulwa uguulwani yufia-li mawaya
NEG-PAUS soldier ugly kill-REL snake
'It was not the ugly soldier who killed a snake.'

12.3 Negative existential. beda (he-“impersonal” + e-edo “perceive, see/ hear”) is used as a negative existential (see sect. 7.1 on copular clauses) with the negative ya-...-pia. Then it takes one NP in the function of a copular complement.

(181) ya-beda-pia
wabu-pi wa-kulna-palu weni
NEG-IMP + perceive-NEG spring 1PL-drink-PURF water
'There is no spring for us to drink water.'

(182) ya-mia-beda-pia-ha
a谨nani yaiva
NEG-IMP + perceive-NEG-PAUS sap now
'Now there is no sap any more.'

(183) ya-beda-pia-ha
mira-nilano pani-ji
NEG-IMP + perceive-NEG-PAUS body-MASC house-NPOSS
'The owner of the house was not there.'

(184) ya-pia-bedu-pia
he-pi
NEG-REFL-IMP + perceive-NEG eat-OBJ.FOC
'There is nothing left to eat (for him).'

12.4 Non-predicative negation: other negative words. Benji (bena-ji) is used as a negative pronoun, ‘nothing, nobody’, only if the sentence contains a negative predicate. Benji can be used as a noun (185,186) or as a modifier (187). Very often it is used to recapitulate, as in (93, 190). It is pronounced as benji in a very slow register, as in (188). Benji can have animate (188) or inanimate reference (185).

(185) uwa-ha
ya-edu-pia-ha
climb-PAUS NEG-see-NEG-PAUS NEG + what
'He (the abandoned boy) climbed and saw nothing.'

(186) ya-ova-ne-pia
benefi
NEG-1PL-know NEG NEG + what
'Ve don’t know anything.'

(187) nu-ja-va-ha
yela-mi-na ya-neda-pia
1SG-stay-NONACC-PAUS tired-PERF-1SG NEG-1SG + see-NEG
benefi mawaya
NEG + what snake
'I stayed (there), I got tired, I did not see any snake.'

(188) weihum NAim na ya-degeesia-pia-ha
bena-ji
1PL + father God NEG-despire-NEG-PAUS NEG-what
if weya-li-ha
walama Fence walama Fence
what want-REL-PAUS save save + PAUS
'Our father God does not despair anybody who wants to be saved.'

Negative particle ne is used for emphatic negation; it is prefixed to the negated noun phrase, and the verb is negated. A series of nouns preceded by ne is usually followed by a recapitulating benefi ‘nothing, nobody’. This particle may be borrowed from Portuguese ne ‘neither... nor’; however, a negative particle with a nasal alveolar n is also present in the neighboring Northern Mapuruan languages, e.g., Bare ne, Baniwa name.

(189) ya-nu-yue-pia
na ka'ka
NEG-1SG-to NEG NEG manioc-breadNEG-flour
bena-ji
nu-yue-ha
NEG-what 1SG-to-PAUS
'I did not have either manioc bread or flour, I had nothing.'

(190) ya-upa-pia
na enami ne neyawa benefi
NEG-come-NEG NEG man NEG woman NEG-what
'Neither man nor woman came, nobody.'

Warekena also has a negative prefix na, which is not productive, and is attested in the following cases: two Sa verbs ma-kana ‘be out of breath, breathless’, ma-nuna (NEG-mouth) ‘to be silent, mouthless’, and one Sa verb ma-kuta ‘disappear’ (cf. Tarijana -anda ‘appear, put on light’, ma-kuta ‘disappear, switch off light’).
(191) wa ma-kale-min-hă 

then NEG-breath.PERF-PAUS tapir

"Then the tapir was out of breath."

Possibly, this is the same prefix which appears in the preventative (warning) mood marker ma-te 'lest', discussed in sect. 18.3.

12.5 Sentential negation. Negative word yahă 'no' etymologically is a perusal form of the negative proclitic ya-. (sect. 22.4.1). It is used as a negative answer:

(192) yawaputa wafi ya-hă pi-altha-na daba-ana wa

answer jaguar NEG-PAUS 2sg-tie-1sg first-Perl

pi-altha-na nu-weyya-pia-hă mu-wiyus

2sg-tie-1sg 1sg-want-NEG-PAUS 1sg-die

"The jaguar answered, "No, you tie me first, I don't want to die.""

(193) yawaputa kulimalu yaliwa ya-hă

answer turtle now NEG-PAUS

yaliwa ya-hă ya-wa-ja-pia wa-ala

now NEG-PAUS NEG-1pl-go-NEG 1pl-run

"The turtle answered, "Not now, now no, we will not run.""

If the question contains a negation, the negative answer contains a negative yahă:

(194) ya-nsa-pia-hă pi-yu-hă mawaya

NEG-come-NEG-PAUS 2sg-to-PAUS snake

wa yu-ma-hă ya-hă

then 3sg-say-NEG-PAUS NEG-PAUS

"Did the snake not come?" (asked the father). Then she said, "No (it did not)."

Yahă can be used as a recapitulating word in texts, especially in repetition. (195) comes from the story about various kinds of evil spirits, and it follows the description of how an evil spirit called Yamado does not kill people, he only frightens them. (196) comes from the same text. The variants yahă and yehă are discussed in sect. 22.4.5.

(195) ya-hă ya-wiija-pia namai

NEG-PAUS NEG-kill-NEG people

"No, he does not kill people."

(196) eya-hă ale-hă eya-hă awakaluna

DEM-PAUS so-PAUS DEM-PAUS Awakaluna

ya-ne-pia yehă

NEG+angry-NEG NEG + PAUS

"Such is Awakaluna. He is not angry, no."

12.6 Prohibition (negative command). Negative command is expressed by the construction personal form of the verb -eda 'perceive, see/hear' + the verb + -pi. The verb 'to perceive' is used here as an auxiliary verb (see sect. 18.2.2):

(197) yawaputa kunaha pida pi-yadi-pia-na

answer rabbit 2sg+perceive 2sg-kill-NEG-1sg

"The rabbit answered (the jaguar), "Don't kill me."

(198) roda ne-pia-na

2pl+perceive 2pl+eat-NEG-1sg

"Don't you (pl) eat me."

In emphatic commands, negative proclitic ya- can be used on the negated verb:

(199) wayats puasii ya-pida-pi-pia-na

speak monkey NEG-2sg+perceive-2sg+eat-NEG-1sg

"The monkey said to the jaguar, "Please, do not eat me!"

13 Anaphora

The most frequent form of anaphora is the omission of a noun phrase, which is retrievable from the context and the pivot restrictions (sect. 3). The A/Sa and O/Sa cross-referencing markers have anaphoric functions.

(200) wa ni-ja ni-yeluta nppu-hă malauy malauy

then 3pl-go 3pl-clear 3pl+road-PAUS deer deer

turtle then 3pl-clear 3pl+road-PAUS far-EMP

"Then they went to clear the road, deer and turtle, then they cleared their road a long way."

Demonstrative and third person pronouns also can have anaphoric functions:
14 Subordinate clauses

Warekena has the following types of subordinate clauses:

(i) complement clauses (sect. 14.1).
   Complement clauses occupy the O slot of a verbal argument. The predicate does not have any special marker. The O complement clause immediately follows the predicate of the main clause.

(ii) purposive clauses (sect. 14.2).
   The predicate of purposive clauses takes purposive mood -pa:/u. Purposive clauses usually follow the main clause.

(iii) relative clauses (sect. 14.3).
   Warekena has two types of relative clause: a coreferential type (sect. 14.3.1) and a non-coreferential, or coverbial, type (sect. 14.3.2). The predicate of a relative clause has relativizer -li. A coreferential relative clause usually comes immediately after the coreferential NP if it qualifies. A coverbial relative clause can occupy any position in the clause.

(iv) temporal clauses (sect. 14.4).
   The predicate of a temporal clause is marked by the clitic -li-ben. The subordinate clause has a temporal meaning and can be either pre- or postposed to the main clause, with an accompanying change in meaning.

(v) locative clauses (sect. 14.5).
   The predicate of a locative subordinate clause has no special marker. Locative clauses are introduced with a subordinator wa/*i 'where', followed by the predicate of the subordinate clause. An S/A pivot operates in coreferential deletion.

(vi) terminative clauses (sect. 14.6).
   The predicate of a terminative subordinate clause has no special marker. Terminative clauses are introduced with a subordinator ate 'until, up to', followed by the predicate of the subordinate clause. The coreferential deletion operates in terms of an S/O pivot.

(vii) oblique questions (sect. 14.7).
   Oblique questions usually follow the predicate of the main clause, like complement clauses. Unlike the latter, they contain an interrogative pronoun in clause-initial position.

14.1 Complement clauses. In Warekena, complement clauses can only occupy the O slot. The most frequent type of complement clauses are with verbs of perception, verbs of wanting, and verbs of letting/permitting. The main difference between serial verb constructions and complement clauses is that in the latter there is no same subject constraint, and each predicate can have its own aspect marking. A complement clause can be occasionally introduced with adverb 'how' (587). The constituent order in the complement clause is free. Consider examples below (complement clauses are marked with [ ]).

(203) eda [yuluta-wa]
   see lie-NONACC
   'He (turtle) saw him lie (deer).'

(204) wa-ja weda [wiwua-mia-ni malayu]
   [pl-go lpl+see die-PERF-DEM.PR deer
   'Let us go and see how the deer died.

(205) eda ibu mawaya [yuluta-wa] ibu-mi mawaya
   see head snake lie-NONACC head-PFV snake
   'He saw the head of the snake, which were lying down, the (cut) heads of the snake.'

(206) ya-nu-weya-pa [pa-na]
   NEG-Lsg-want-NEG 2sg+eat-lsg
   'I don’t want you to eat me.'

(207) mu-meta-hi sjiwu [yapa-wa pani-jive]
   lsg-forbid-PARUS dog enter-NONACC house-PPOSS+LOC
   'I forbid the dog to enter the house.'

The predicate of a complement clause can be a serial verb construction:

(208) nada [li-tapa-hi kefuka wabupi]
   lsg+see 3sgaf-go-PAUS cross spring
   'I saw him go across the spring.'

The A constituent of the main clause may follow the complement clause.
(209) wa-hi eda [yu-pawini] yuluuni then-PAUS see [3sg-f-arrest] 3sgf-father  
‘Then her father saw her coming.’  

A subordinate clause in S function is treated as a headless relative clause,  
and the predicate has -zi marker (sect. 14.3):  

(210) wa-te-li wa-hi benezi wa-te-li want  
1pl-know-REL then-PAUS NBG+what 1pl-know-REL here  
mundwe  
world+LOC  
‘Our knowledge is nothing here in the world.’  

14.2 Purposive clauses. Purposive clauses are characterized by the predicate  
in purposive mood (sect. 18.3). They usually follow the main clause (see  
examples in sect. 18.3 and below). Coreferential Equ-NP deletion operates in  
terms of an S/A pivot. There can be several consecutive final clauses. They may  
be subordinated, as in (211), or coordinated, as in (212):  

(211) mu-ja mu-yuqia [jami-pe] wa-fi  
1sg-go 1sg-kill child-PL jaguar  

mu-wala-palu mu-ta-palu o-hi jami-pe  
1sg-cook-PURP 1sg-give-PURP eat-PAUS child-PL  
‘I shall kill jaguar’s child to cook, to give her the children to eat’.  

(212) ni-veya idolu ni-veya idelu-ewi ni-ma-palu ipa-palu  
3pl-want idol 3pl-want idol-PL 3pl-dc-PURP feast all  
ihi ni-ma-palu ni-tama-palu iku-ku-palu yaliaki  
what 3pl-dc-PURP 3pl-dance-PURP 3pl-drink-PURP vodka  
‘They (non-evangelicals) want idols, they want idols to do feasts, all  
they (want) to do, to dance, to drink vodka.’  

Coreferential NP deletion operating with an S/A pivot is illustrated with (213):  

(213) wa ja fa-wa wa-fi  
then go sit-NONACC jaguar  

uluna-palu ena yuqia-palihi  
wait-PURP tapir kill-PURP+PAUS  
‘The jaguar was going to sit there to wait for the tapir to kill him.’  

-pah is often used to mark a complement clause after an imperative:  

(214) pi-ja pi-yanta nu-ya ne jami-pe  
2sg-go 2sg-take 1sg-to 1sg-child-PL  

nu-ta-palu ni-kuhu sini  
1sg-give-PURP 3pl-drink breast  
‘Go and bring my children to me, for me to give them my breast.’  

14.3 Relative clauses  

14.3.1 Coreferential relative clauses. A coreferential relative clause usually  
comes immediately after the coreferential NP it qualifies. Cistic -zi marks the  
predicate of a relative clause. It is the same -zi which is used on stative verbs  
as an adjectivalizer (sect. 15). Only S (S0, S1, S2) and O constituents can be relativized.  
Common arguments between the complement clause and the main clause can be:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>main clause</th>
<th>complement clause</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
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<td>O</td>
<td>S</td>
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<td>Locative</td>
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<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The coreferential constituent can be the S of the main clause and the S of the  
relative clause. This type is comparatively rare. In (215) the shared constituent  
is the S0 of the main clause and the S0 of the relative clause. The predicate -yue  
‘to, for, to belong’ is of an S0 type.  

(215) eya enami yue peya mateta [yu-zi-li]  
DEM man to one knife big-ADJ  

enaba [yu-za-li]  
two dog help-REL-PAUS  
‘The man has a big knife (lit.: to him a big knife) (and) two dogs which  
are being helpful.’  

The coreferential constituent can be the O of the main clause and the S of the  
relative clause. It is S0 in (216) and (217):  

3pl+perceive voice high+LOC sound-REL sound-REL  
‘They heard (perceived the voice) (of a cup) high up.’
  'I am trying the meat (several times) to see if it is soft (lit.: meat which
  is soft).'

The coreferential constituent is the O of the main clause and the S of the
embedded relative clause in (218) and (219):

(218) aie ni-ma yae-hâ wa-woya weda-hâ
thus 3pl-say to.him-PAUS 1pl-want 1pl+see-PAUS

wehâa [tî-li em-waa-ha] 1pl+father stay-REL sky-DIR-PAUS
  'So they said to him, we want to see our father who lives in the sky.'

(219) wa-hâ ni-ma-hâ aji aji ni-wopehâ aji-waa
then-PAUS 3pl-do-PAUS big fire 3pl-throw+PAUS fire-DIR

ni-yisita-miha [wiya-mi-la]
3pl-brother-PERF-PAUS die-PERF-REL
  'Then they make much fire, they throw him into the fire, their
  brother who died.'

The coreferential constituent can be the only constituent of a verbless main
clause and the O of the relative clause:

(220) wa abî-da [abida yufla-li] nuluami
then pig pig kill-REL 1sg+father

wepa-miha tava-pie-ho ya-mi-be-pia a.pi
leave-PERF+PAUS jungle-LOC7+LOC NEG-PERF-can-NEG take
  'And the pig, the pig be killed, my father left (lit) in the jungle, he
  could not take (lit) it.'

(221) may also be interpreted as an equative clause with a headless relative
clause as a predicate:

(221) eni kanau [kanita-li] nuluami-mine
DEM.PR song sing-REL 1sg+father-DEC
  'This song is the one sung by my father.'

The coreferential constituent can be in the O function in both clauses. This
is the most frequent type in my corpus.

(222) wa ja weda-hâ [nu-yana-la-li]
1pl-go 1pl+see-PAUS 1sg-write-REL
  'Let's go and see what I wrote.'

(223) wa: bida eni papera-fe-mi
then 2sg+see DEM.PR paper-PIECE-PEJ

eni [wa-hita-li] mu-yee-hâ duwa
DEM.PR then-send-REL 1sg-to-PAUS God
  '"See this piece of paper which the (traditional) god sent to me?" (said
  the rabbit to the jaguar).'

(224) ni-la nu-kana-ta-hâ [kanita-li nuluami-mine]
1sg-go 1sg-sing-PAUS song-REL 1sg+father-DEC
  'I shall sing a song which my father sang.'

(225) is very often used in a kind of a story-final speech formula. It is
unusual in that the predicate of the main clause follows the subordinate clause.

(225) obe-ma-la [nu-ôna-li] nu-ôna
all-DIR-EMPH 1sg-tell-REL 1sg-tell
  'Here ends the story (lit.: I told all I had to tell).'

Relative clauses are frequently used as attributes. Adjectival modifiers in
Warheka are coreferential relative clauses in an attributive function, with
relative forms of stative (S3) in (226) and you ‘to, for’ in (227, 228):

(226) atapi niâve-li [aji-li]
tree high-REL big-REL
  'a high and big tree (or, a tree which is high and big)'

(227) yalanavi yu-la [aji dei-la]
white.man for-REL much have-NOM
  'a rich white man, a white man who has (lit.: to whom) many belong-
  ing's'

(228) enami yu-la [aji nemira]
man to-REL much liver
  'a courageous man (lit.: to whom much liver)'

Relative clauses may also be used headlessly (see sect. 15.4 on the headless
use of modifiers). In negative clauses, -ji is attracted to the negative proclitic
yâ-, in agreement with the clitic character of -ji.
Relative verbal forms are close to object nominalization when used headlessly:

(230) **ta pie-hä peya ni-yanatu-li-mi go find-PAUS one 3pl-write-REL-PERF**

ni-yanatu-li yalanawi-nawi peya papela 3pl-write-REL white-PL one paper

'Then (the rabbit) found a written one, written by white men, a paper.'

Headless uses of -**ji** relative forms are also considered in sect. 18.6. (231) is frequently used at the end of stories.

(231) eni-bä na-fjina-li ube-ma-mia-hä teta-hä DEM.PR-PAUS 1sg-4sg-REL all-DEL-PERF-EMPH DEM-PAUS 'This is all I tell (Lit.: This is my telling, only that it is).'

The coreferent NP may be a locative constituent of the main clause and of the relative clause, as in (232).

(232) **uwa-hä mina-jä ata-pi yuluta-li-wa climb-PAUS on-DEM-DIST tree lie-REL-NONACC**

'He (Jaguar) climbed on the tree where (on which) he lay.'

In this case the subordinate clause may be introduced by the locative subordinate conjunction **wali** 'where':

(233) **wa-yuleta-mia-wa ja-wa uwa-hä then-come-PERF-NONACC go-NONACC climb-PAUS**

mina-jä ata-pi wali yuluta-li-wa wa yuluta-wa on tree where lie-REL-NONACC then lie-NONACC

'Then he (the Jaguar) went and climbed on a tree where he lay, and he was lying there.'

In a few cases, the predicate of a relative clause of this type has a case marker, as in (234). It is not a locative subordinate clause, since the predicate of locative subordinate clauses (see sect. 14.5) is not marked with **-ji**.

(234) wani pani-ji nu-jja-live-hä here house-NPOSS 1sg-live-REL+LOC-PAUS

'Here is the house in which I live.'

The coreferent NP may be an instrumental constituent of the main clause and the O of the relative clause, as in (235). The personal cross-referencing can be omitted, when the A of the embedded clause is either not important, or is understood from the context. A postposition (e.g., an instrumental in (235)) always follows the relative clause.

(235) wa-wa-ja-mia-wa wa-wene-na-hä then-1pl-go-PERF-NONACC then-from-DEM-DIST-PAUS

mulapewa-mia-hä peya nesupa miyapa-li ina canoe+LOC-PERF-PAUS one paddle borrow-REL with

mina-lisa pani-ji body-MASC house-NPOSS

'Then we went away from there on the boat (and with) a paddle borrowed from the owner of the house.'

Interrogative pronouns can be used as relative pronouns in relative clauses when preceded by **payalu 'all'**. They then provide a restrictive meaning to "all" (236–239). The only example of a relative-like use of an interrogative pronoun **da:gu:na:lu 'who'** following its head (ena:mi 'man') is (24). The use of interrogative pronouns in relative clauses may be influenced by Portuguese.

(236) payalu iji ni-ma-li Diburu ya-woya-pia ale-teta-hä all what 3pl-do-REL God NEG-want-NEG no-DEM-PAUS 'Whatever they are doing, God does not like (it) this way.'

(237) nu-ja na-tina-hä payalu iji wa-patia-hä wa-hä 1sg-3sg go 1sg-reach-PAUS all what 1pl-work-REL then-PAUS 'I shall tell all, whatever we then worked.'

(238) atata-mia-ni payalu enami atata teach-PERF-3pl all man teach

neyawa payalu iji damali weya-li woman all what who want-REL

'He taught them, all the men, taught all the women, (all) who wanted (to learn).'
(239) payahú 1i weda-li wani-hi ma-piši all what 1pl+see-REL here-PAUS do-OBJ-FOC

mulaumú Dušum
1sg+father God
‘All we see is the creation of my father, God.’

14.3.2 Non-coreferential (conversal) clauses. Conversal clauses usually refer to an action which precedes (240, 241) or accompanies (242) the action of the main clause. The predicate of a conversal clause is marked by the relativizer -li. Conversal clauses can either precede or follow the main clause. There appear to be no pivot restrictions.

(240) [mulaumú wanauma-li] wana-hi 1sg+father order-REL 1sg-come here-PAUS
‘After my father having ordered, I came here.’

(241) [peyama peja malaynu ni-yutja-li] one tapir one deer 3pl-kill-REL
wani ni-yuletma-wa here 3pl-return.PERF-NONACC
‘Having killed one tapir and one deer, they returned here.’

(242) wa ni-ja-mia-hi ni-yuleta-hi yu-yuwbah-hi then 3pl-go-PERF-PAUS 3pl-arrive-PAUS 3sgf-towards-PAUS
eyاوي [yu-puži-ma-mata ilka-li payahú yu-puži-hi] old+PERF 3sgf-eye?-skin close-REL all 3sgf-eye-PAUS
‘Then they went, they arrived at the old woman, her eyelid closing her whole eye.’

(243) is an example of a conversal clause with an S10 predicate:

(243) [ne kaka ne-matsuha bena-li] NEG manioc/bread NEG-flour NEG-what
nu-yuži-li ya-mia-yuži-pia-na 1sg-to-REL NEG-PERF-strong-NEG-1sg
‘Having no manioc bread, no flour, nothing, I am not strong.’

The predicate of a conversal clause can have an aspect marker -wa, which follows -li.

(244) wani pe-piši [pi-ja-li-wa] here 2sg+eat-OBJ-FOC 2sg-go-REL-NONACC
‘Here is the food for you to eat while we are going.’

Conversal clauses may be used to emphasize the action expressed by the verb in the main clause:

(245) wa-hi wayata [ma-li] yu-yuwbah mawelite then-PAUS speak say-REL 3sgf-to-PAUS sister
‘Then he (the brother) spoke, saying to his sister.’

A conversal clause may have a concessional meaning:

(246) [papeya šamali yu-yuwbah ma-li] other person 1sg-to-PAUS say-REL
yu-yuwbah piša-fi NEG-to-NEG cure-NOM
‘Whatever another person may say to me, there is no antidote (against snake bite),’

A conversal clause can contain a purposive clause (247, 248).

(247) [nu-yužiš-le inamaln napų-paš-hi 1sg kill-REL stingray 1sg+take-PURP-PAUS
nu-manša-wa nu-pata-paš puži] 1sg-bait-POSSL-REL 1sg-get-PURP game
‘When I killed the stingray to take (it) as bait, to get game’

(248) [wa-nuta-li-wa wa-yužiš-paš kušiš-yi] yaliwa then-call-REL-NONACC 1pl-kill-PURP game now
wa-yužiš-mia-hi wa-yužiš-mia-hi suši-li 1pl-kill-PERF-PAUS 1pl-kill-PERF-PAUS big-EMPH
‘He (our cousin) having ordered to kill the game, now we killed (game), we killed a lot’.

14.4 Temporal clauses. The predicate of a temporal clause is marked with the clitic -li-bena (see sect. 18.6.2). Coreferential deletion operates in terms of an S/A pivot. The order of subordinate and main clause depends on the meaning of the predicate of the subordinate verb. When the subordinate clause is postposed to the main, the action of the subordinate clause precedes the action of the main
clause (249–253). When the subordinate clause is preposed, it has a temporal meaning, and indicates a simultaneous state or action, as in (254) and (255).

(249) ne-hâ payalu sâ-ma iâ kawyu-fi matnuka
3-pl+eat-PART all lack-NOM smoke-NOM flour
ne-hâ payalu ni-bifika-li-bena-miâ-hâ
3-pl+eat-PART all 3sg-go.out-REL.when-PERP.PAUS
ukupi-wene-hâ
room-REL.PAUS
'They (the menstruating girls) eat all, smoked meat, flour, manioc bread, they eat all, as soon as/after they come out of their room (ritual seclusion).'

(250) eni kaanu kana-tii nufihi-mini
DEM.PR song sing-REL 1sg+fafter-DIM
ni-komple-tii-bena ni-skayu-ne nexe-pe
3-pl-complete-REL.when 3-pl-year-PL woman-PL
'This is the song my late father sang after women came of age (lit.: completed their years).'

(251) ale nga benamiti ni-wiyua-li-bena-hâ
thus 3-pl+see long.ago 3-pl-die-REL-when-PAUS
yanamami-nawi
Yanamami-PL
'So they did (performed) long ago, after Yanamami people had died.'

A postposed subordinate clause marked with -li-bena can have a causal nuance of meaning:

(252) nu-yubu-hâ yame-ku jâ bifika fubuhulive
1sg-dig-PART far-EMP go go.out field+LOC
nu-mifiyu-palu-paâ jiwa waâ nu-yugis-li-bena-hâ
1sg-hide/escape-PURP-PURP from jaguar 1sg-kill-REL-when-PAUS
fian-ke
child-PL
"I am digging (a hole) far away, it will go out far away, for me to escape from the jaguar, after/because I killed her children," (said the rabbit)."

(253) ni-jâ ni-tunna-hâ aâ ni-ka-palu
3-pl-go 3-pl-tear-PART manioc 3-pl-make-PURP
ka-ka ne-piâ ni-ka-palu ka-ka
manioc.bread 3-pl+eat-OBJ.FOC 3-pl-make-PURP manioc.bread
matnuka fиеâ ne-palu kawyu-hâ
manioc.flour tapioca 3-pl+eat-PURP smoke-NOM
ni-yelata-li-bena-hâ nelima-pe
3-pl-arrive-REL-when-PURP cousins-PL
'They went to tear manioc to make manioc bread to eat, to make manioc bread, manioc flour, tapioca to eat, smoked meat, after the cousins come.'

(254) uwa-li-bena-hâ nunaâlî ya-be-pia-hâ
quipec
climb-REL-when-PURP people NEG-can-NEG-PURP kill
'When (a person) climbs a tree, he (evil spirit) cannot kill (a person).'

(255) elita-li-bena-hâ ya-bafaka-pia-hâ
nibble-REL-when-PURP NEG-tear-NEG-PURP
'When he (evil spirit) nibbles (at cattle), he does not tear (it).'

The -li-bena construction is rarely used when the complement clause has an inanimate 3, and the main clause has an animate A/S. Then parataxis is used, as in (256). An example of -li-bena is (257).

(256) niwe-miâ amufi ni-ka-ku-wa
high-PERF sun 3-pl-go-REP-NONACC read mouth-PERL
'When the sun was high they went by the road.'

(257) ni-yelata wa-hâ melulua-li-bena-hâ amufi
3-pl-arrive when-PURP morning-REL-PURP when-PURP sun
'They arrived after it was midday.'

-li-bena can be used with designations of time:

(258) wa-yue-hâ melikana ya-yelata wa-nawa-awe-hâ
1pl-to-PURP American 3sg-f-come 1pl-village+LOC-PURP
wa-yue-hâ en 1950-li-bena en 1950 wa-hâ ya-uma
1pl-to-PURP in 1950-REL when in 1950 then-PURP 3sg-arrive
corroborated by the fact that they are found only in repetition, as in (265). The left dislocated A constituent is italicized.

(265) peya nemana ja-wa iwapiw awabpi one week go-NONACC shore+LOC spring

tə yeleta wali yufia wali ema wali waj安全 yufia ema until arrive where kill jaguar tapir where jaguar kill tapir

'The American (woman) arrived among us in our village in 1950, she came to tell the word of God.'

14.5 Locative clauses. Locative subordinate clauses are expressed by the subordinating marker wa-li ‘where’ (which etymologically may go back to wa- ‘presentative’ and -li ‘relativizer’). They can refer to either location or direction. Locative subordinate clauses follow the main clause, and the head is usually omitted from the main clause. The constituent order is wa-li V Sₐ (259, 260), wa-li V SO (261), wa-li VO (262, 263), and wa-li VOA (264). In coreferential deletion, an S/A pivot operates (263).

(259) wa yeleta-ha wali inapa-wa tepepu then arrive-PAUS where finish-NONACC road

Then he came to where the road finished.’

(260) peya puqi nepsa-wa yeleta wali ja waji one monkey 3pl+road-PERL arrive where stay jaguar

'A monkey arrived at their road where the jaguar was staying.'

(261) yeleta-mia-ha wali mala-mia waabpi arrive-PERF-PAUS where shallow-PERF spring

'He arrived where the spring is shallow.'

(262) peya laguna wali ni-kuhia-ha wesi one lake where 3pl-drink-PAUS water

paya-ju ni-kuhia-ha wesi all game-FL 3pl-drink-PAUS water

(There is) a lake where all the animals drink water, they drink water.’

(263) kulimatma napa-mia-wa wali yuhia ema turtle arrive-PERF-NONACC where kill tapir

'Turtle arrived to where (he) killed the tapir.’

(264) pronto-mia-ha wali yubia yufje kunebu ready-PERF-PAUS where dig ground rabbit

'It is ready, where the rabbit was digging the ground.’

The A constituent of the locative clause can undergo left dislocation if it is the focus of attention (sect. 9), and then it can be proposed to the predicate. However, these cases are rare and very marked; their marked character is

In one case a coreferent locative constituent stagi ‘tree’ was not omitted from the main clause:

(266) uba-ma-lu-piaja peya-ju stagi ani-ha wali all-DEL-EMPH-FUT one-EMPH tree DEM-PR-PAUS where

ulupia na-fia-wa ya-piaju yuhiu-pia-ha foot-LOC leg+stand-NONACC NEG-FUT fall-NEG-PAUS

'Only one tree, the one near which I am (lit. where its foot I am) will not fall.’

Wa-li may take a pronominal case-marker -wa, as in (267). This example is also unusual because the predicate of the locative clause precedes the subordinate wali.

(267) wa-ha wa ni-texata-mia-(ha)-yu then-PAUS then 3pl-poth-PERF-(PAUS)-3sgf

yu-yuvalma wali-wa-ha 3sgf-go.round where-PERL-PAUS

'Then they (the abandoned children) pushed her (the witch) where she was going around (the pan with boiling water).'

14.6 Terminative clauses. Terminative clauses are marked with the loan subordinating conjunction ate, te ‘until’ (used with a temporal or spatial meaning). They usually follow the main clause. Coreferential deletion in terminative clauses functions in terms of an S/O pivot (268–271).
(269) ni-wa-peta
    ni-ya:ma-te te pelu pelu jũ-fĩ yama-ʒi
    3p-larrange 3pl-bag-POSS until full full big bag-NOM
    'Then they arranged the bag until it is full, a big bag is full.'

(270) e-mia
    paina ena ate inapa inaphẽ
    eat-PERF liver tapir until finish finish +PAUS
    'Then he (jaguar) ate tapir's liver until it finished, finished.'

S₀ = S₁:

(271) wa-fĩ wa-fĩ ate yela-mia
    then-sit jaguar until tired-PERF
    'The jaguar sat until he became tired.'

The S₀, S₁ and O constituent always follows the predicate in a terminative clause:

O:

(272) wani ni-mu:ʃĩ-ta-mehẽ ni-mu:ʃĩ-ta-mehẽ
    here 3pl-bite-PERF+PAUS 3pl-bite-PERF+PAUS
    ate ni-bu:jũka (tapir)
    until 3pl-burst belly
    'They (turtles) bit him (the tapir), until they burst his belly.'

S₂:

(273) kunu:lu ipeta-ha wa-fĩ ate ya--java-yu:ʃi-pie
    rabbit beat-PERF jaguar until NEG-PERF-strong NEG jaguar
    'The rabbit beat the jaguar until the jaguar had no more strength.'

(274) wa-fĩ wa-fĩ wa-fĩ wa-fĩ wa
    wa-fĩ wa-fĩ wa-fĩ wa-fĩ wa
    ate niwe-mia-ha
    then-stay-NONACC then-stay-NONACC until high-PERF-PAUS
    amu:ʃi
    sun
    'Then he stayed until the sun was high.'

S₃:

(275) kunu:lu ipeta-mia ipeta ipeta ate dalina-mia wa-fĩ
    rabbit beat-PERF beat beat until faint-PERF jaguar
    'The rabbit beat the jaguar until the jaguar fainted.'

(276) mu:ʃĩ-ta pu:ʃi ate baku:la-mia-wa ata
    bite monkey until eat-PERF-NONACC rope

wakwëna-mia-wa
wakwëna-mia-wa
unti-PERF-NONACC unti-PERF-NONACC
'The monkey bit it (the rope) until the rope tore, it (the rope) got unified.'

A left-dislocated constituent which constitutes a focus of attention can be placed in front of the predicate of a terminative clause. Such an example is (277), in which the left-dislocated constituent S₃, mawawa 'snake' marked with emphatic intonation, is italicized.

(277) wa-fĩ wa-fĩ wa-fĩ yuma neyawa
    then-PERF then-PERF then-NONACC 3sg+with woman
    te mawawa jũ-gl-li mawa-mia-ha
    until snake big-ADJ arrive-PERF-PAUS
    'And so then he stayed with the woman until the big snake came.'

Te, ate 'until, up to' can also be used as a preposition, possibly under Portuguese influence:

(278) wa-fĩ wa-fĩ wa-fĩ wa-fĩ wa
    wa-fĩ wa-fĩ wa-fĩ wa-fĩ wa
    ate niwe-mia-ha
    then-stay-NONACC then-stay-NONACC until high-PERF-PAUS
    amu:ʃi
    sun
    'So I am evangelical, until now I live well.'

(279) ate wa na-fĩ-nana inti:la-ne kunu:lu epi wa-fĩ
    until then 1sg-tell-PERF story-POSS rabbit with jaguar
    'Up to here I tell the story of a rabbit with a jaguar.'

The sequence ate da:fi can also be used to introduce terminative-locative clauses (280, 281). It is very similar to ate wa-li (see below).

(280) wa na-fĩ na-kunata-ha ate da:fi nare
    then 1sg-sing-PERF until where 1sg-know
    'I will sing until where I know (the song).'

(281) wa-fĩ wa-fĩ wayata kulimahu yali:wa na-fĩ epuma-wa
    then-PERF speak turtle now 1sg-go road-PERF
    ena ate da:fi no-pie-ha mu-mu:ʃĩ-ta-palĩ:bi
    tapir until where 1sg-find-PERF 1sg-bite-PURP+PAUS
    'Then the turtle spoke, "I shall go by the tapir's road, until I find him, i.e., the tapir to bite (him)".'
Terminative clauses may be preceded (282) or followed (283) by locative clauses introduced by wa/ where.

(282) ale wa-jia-wa waya-hi
so 3pl-live-NONACC we-PAUS

waya walli wa-jia-wa ate nu-tima
we where 1pl-stay-NONACC until 1sg-tell
'We lived this way where we are staying now, until the moment of my speech.'

(283) wa-jia-wa yane-in ate wa-yeleta-mia-bi
1pl-go-NONACC far-EMPH until 1pl-arrive-PERF-PAUS

wali jufi-mia wabopi
where big-PERF spring

'We went far until we arrived (to the place) where the spring was big.'

Ate and wali can co-occur forming a compound conjunction 'until where'.

(284) ninapa-wa kulima-bu
3pl+finish-NONACC turtle

ate wali ninapa-mia-wa tenepu
until where finish-PERF-NONACC road
'The turtles were spread (lit.: the turtles were finishing) until where the road ended.'

A locative clause may be embedded in a terminative clause:

(285) wa-pala-bi ate yeleta-mia wabopi wali
then run-PAUS until arrive-PERF spring where

tupia-mia ema wabopi-waha-bi unita-palu
jump-PERF tapir spring-DIR-PAUS swim-PURP
'Then he (jaguar) ran until he arrived at the spring, where the tapir jumped, to swim into the spring.'

14.7 Oblique questions. Oblique questions (also sect. 16.5) are introduced with the help of interrogative pronouns. They usually follow the main clause, like complement clauses. The predicate has no special marker.

(286) peya niamai jupa-li ni jia-wa mana Diutsu
other people many-REL 3pl-stay-NONACC near God

nida-palu ijalema waya-ne
3pl+see how any-POSS
'Many other people stayed near God to see how his word was.'

(287) atapi minai-ki wa-la bana-bi yapa
tree on-PAUS climb-PAUS see-PURP where-PAUS kill
'The child climbed on the tree to see where the hill is.'

(288) yaliwa nu-ja nu-qiia-ma-bi
now 1sg-go 1sg-tell-PAUS

ijalema neda-bi emi-bi kuupira
how 1sg+perceive-PAUS DEM.PR-PAUS evil.spirit
'Now I shall tell how I saw the evil spirit.'

SYNTAX OF PHRASE TYPES

15 Noun phrase structure

15.1 Marking for case. Similarly to the vast majority of Mairupuran languages, Warekana does not have any case marking on core constituents (i.e., A, S or O in terms of Dixon 1994), but has a number of cases used to mark peripheral constituents. This is also characteristic for other Northern Maiupuran languages of the region, e.g., Bare, which is structurally very close to Warekana, and Baniwa of Iguna. Peripheral case markers usually occur on the head of possessive, adpositional or adjectival NPs. Warekana has the following peripheral cases:

- Locative is marked with the suffix -iwe. Its locative meaning is illustrated with (289, 290). (289) shows an opposition between elative and locative.

(289) Pedro napa-bi venesuela-we ne ma-bi
Pedro arrive-PAUS Venezuela-EL do-PAUS

pani-fi venesueva-bi
house-POSS Xie+LOC-PAUS
'Pedro arrived from Venezuela (and) made a house on the Xie river.'

(290) dati mutshs-pi wamen pi-apia-bi
where bite-2sg snake 2sg-hand+LOC-PAUS
Locative case can mean direction and location:

(291) mu-nupa numewew tenepu
1sg-arrive mouth+LOC road
'I arrived at the beginning of a road.'

Locative case can have causal meaning, as shown in (292), instrumental meaning, as in (293), (294), and comitative meaning, as in (295).

(292) ya-wyn-yu-hi neyaya yalawiwe
3sgf-faint-RED-PAUS woman whisky+LOC
'A woman is drunk because of whisky.'

(293) atena-ai waya-newe-hi Dumu
1sg-teach-3pl say-POSS+LOC-PAUS God
'He taught them with his word, God's.'

(294) mu-yaanta-na-wa karawiwe
1sg-paint-REFL-NONACC acheite+LOC
'I painted myself with acheite.'

(295) mu-wa-jata kafe lehjewi
1sg-mix coffee milk+LOC
'I mixed coffee with milk.'

There is, possibly, another locative affix, -gifi (on the variability of ẹ and ọ in Warekna see sect. 22) 'on', which has restricted occurrence. It occurs with body parts, e.g., nawa 'my leg', nawa-ẹ 'on my leg', i-ọpe ẹ 'his foot', i-ọpe-ẹ 'on his foot'; certain nouns referring to location, e.g., ọpe 'foot' (of a mountain), ọpe 'jungle', ọpọla 'cerrado; dense jungle', and interrogative dẹ-ẹ 'where?'. Possibly, this affix is also present in the adposition mini-ẹ 'on' (290), cf. mini 'body'. These nouns, illustrated in (296)–(299), usually do not take locative case suffix -ẹ, tawape-ẹ in (290) is an exception. Directional case marker -wawa and perative/transformativie case marker -wa can go either on the noun stem, as in (297), or on the noun stem which contains -gifi, as in (299). The occurrence of different vowels in two otherwise identical forms containing -ẹ, -ẹ in (299) is explained in sect. 22.4.5.

(296) ni-fa-mi-ẹ wawa yame-hi tawape-ẹ
3pl-go-REFL-NONACC far-EMPH jungle+LOC

It is difficult to decide about the synchronic status of the suffix -gifi as a location marker, in the context of language obsolescence.

Directional is marked with suffix -wawa: (300, 301).

(300) wa-ni-fa-ẹ wawa awi-wa-hi
3sgf-return-REFL-NONACC headwaters-DIR-PAUS spring
'And then I went on, towards the headwaters of a spring.'

(301) pey-hi pala-hi anepi-wa-hi peya pala-hi ganu-wa
one-PAUS run-PAUS right-DIR one run-PAUS left-DIR
'One (horse) ran to the right, the other one ran to the left.'

The difference between directional case and locative which combines directional and locative meaning, as in (291), is that the latter means 'go towards a location and stay there', whereas the former means 'go towards a location'.

Elative is marked with suffix -wene. It means both 'from', as in (302), and 'from out of', as in (303).
(302) wa: ni-bejeka-mih ni-yapi-hi uunu-mi peya-hi
then 3pl-tear-PERF=PAUS 3pl-take=PAUS leg-PEL one-PAUS
peya kawayu api garu-wene-hi peya uunu peya kawayu api-hi
one horse take left-EL-PAUS one leg one horse take-PAUS
apepulu-wene-hi
right-EL-PAUS
‘Then they tore him (the bad soldier) apart, one horse took one leg from the left, another horse took another leg from the right.’

(303) kulimsiku ya-be-piis bititiya yatipe-wene
turtle NEG-can-NEG go.out ground-EL
‘The turtle could not come out of the ground.’

(304) wa:hi wepa juri a:li numewene eka-hi
then-PAUS let fire big mouth+EL DEM:DIST-PAUS
yenepemi tiapulu-wene wepa-hi juri ilu-li
devil behind=EL let-PAUS big red-ADJ
‘Then the devil let big fire come from out of his mouth and big red (fire) from inside his behind.’

Occasionally the vowel a of the noun root becomes e before -wene ‘elative’, as in numewene ‘from the mouth’, cf. numa ‘mouth’. This phonological process (see sect. 22.2) could indicate that the underlying form for the elative suffix is -ive. However, the form numa-wene ‘from the mouth’ and such forms as wa-wene ‘from there’, da-wene ‘from where?’ indicate that -wene ‘is the underlying form. The variation of numewene and numa-wene may be due to an analogy with locative -ive, cf. numuna (numa-ive) ‘in the mouth’.

Perlocative transformative is marked with suffix -wa. It has the following meanings:
(a) With nouns denoting location -wa means ‘along’ with motion verbs and ‘near, at’ with stance and posture verbs (305, 306). With terminative motion verbs, the -wa case means ‘here’ (307).

(305) pala-hi waa iwa:pi-wa wabupi
run-PAUS jaguar shore-PEL spring
awesantu-waba-kii wabupi
headwaters-DIR-PAUS spring
‘The jaguar ran by the shore of the spring to the headwaters of the spring.’

(306) yaliwa na:fa nu:we pi-yuluta-wa tenepu nihwa-wa
now 1sg-go 1sg-leave 2sg-lie-NONACC road mouth-PEL
‘Now I shall leave you to lie near the mouth of the road.’

(307) ni-yelewa yapa-wa
3pl-arrive hill-PEL
‘They (children) were coming near the hill.’

-wa may also mean ‘until’ with a terminative verb, or a verb marked with perfective aspect.

(308) wa ni-fia-wa ni-tipulya-ta-mis-la ni-kawayu
then 3pl-sit-NONACC 3pl-turn=CAUS-PERF-PAUS 3pl-smoked.meat
pani-wa ya:ja:mu
mid-PEL night
‘Then they sat down to turn the smoked meat until midnight.’

(299) illustrates a combination of -fl ‘locative’ and -wa ‘perlocative’.

(b) With time nouns, -wa means ‘during, by’.

(309) yu:ja-wa pepu:si-wa
3sg-go-NONACC day-PEL
‘She traveled during the day.’

(c) Other meanings of -wa are: ‘for’ (310, 311); and ‘as, in order to acquire a quality of’ (312–314).

(310) nu-yufia-wa inamalu nu-mama-la-wa
1sg-hunt-NONACC stingray 1sg-bait-FOSS-PEL
nu-pata-palii pali
1sg-get-PURP game
‘Then I killed the stingray for my bait to get game.’

(311) na kaka yawa:yi:pi:waa
3pl+eat manioc.bread early-NOM-REL-PEL
‘They eat manioc bread for breakfast.’

(312) wa: na yaa kumemhyya ru:na:ya peya enami
then say to rabbit 1sg-want one man
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mu-ya-lina-wa was-pa-mu mu-ya-ke-ke mu-pi

lsg-companion-PERL cook-PURP lsg-for-PAUS lsg+eat-OBJ FOC

'Then she (the jaguar) said to the rabbit, "I want a man as a companion

to cook food for me."'

(313) na-lake-ca-wa ke-sin-er-nwa

lsg+dress-lsg-NONACC cook-PERL

'I dressed myself as a cook.'

-Wa case is used to mark the second argument (a copular complement) of
verbs of becoming, transforming, etc.

(314) malu-li le-te-wa enan-yem-peni-wa

shaman transform-CAUS-NONACC man devil-PERL

'The shaman transformed the man into an evil spirit.'

-Wa case is not used to mark tensi constituents; the unmarked form of the
noun is used:

(315) patata te-yama mulupa

work guide+AG canoe

'He works as a guide of a boat.'

Unlike neighbouring Northern Maipuran languages, Warekona does not have
double case marking. Unmarked forms of nouns which prototypically denote
location, e.g., wa-bupi 'spring', pani-wa 'house' can be used in the locative mean-
ning without any special marking (316). In (106) and (92) the unmarked form of
a body part, napit 'back', is used in a directional or locative sense.

(316) bukuku-li sa-wa pani-wa

owl sit-NONACC house-NPOSS

'An owl sat on the house.'

pani-wa 'house' is used with the locative case marker when it has a more
specific meaning, as in (317), where pani-wa means 'at home'.

(317) mya-hi no-fa-wa wani-hi

I-PAUS lsg-stay-NONACC here-PAUS

pani-wa

mu-fa-pa-ha-mi miyuli-waba

house-NPOSS+LOC lsg-go-PURP PUT-PAUS garden-DIR

'I shall stay at home to go to the garden.'

Nouns unmarked for case can be used in the corresponding meaning if the
NP has already been marked with a case in the preceding clause (318), or if the
meaning is clear from the context e.g., i-juiniawa 'his wife' in (319).

(318) wu-ni-qua-ma ni-ni-qua-ma niqua-wi

then-arrive-PAUS near-PERL 3pl-arrive-PAUS pig-PL

ni-ta-pa-hi mana

3pl-walk-PAUS near

'Then they (pigs) arrived near him (the jaguar), the pigs arrived, they
walked near (him).'

(319) wa apu-ma-ya i-juiniawa pane-waba

then take-PERF-3sgl 3sgf-spouse+f his house-DIR

'Then he took her as his wife to his house.'

15.2 Possession (genitives), gender, classifiers and number

15.2.1 Possession (genitives), Similarly to other Northern Maipuran languages,
Warekona has an opposition between inalienable and alienably possessed nouns.
cross-referencing prefixes (see Table 1) are used to mark possessor on a noun.
As shown in sect. 18.4.1, cross-referencing prefixes are also used to cross-ref-
erence A and Sa on verbs, and cross-referencing enclitics cross-reference O and
So. The set of cross-referencing prefixes is identical for all nouns, all adposi-
tions and verbs. cross-referencing enclitics are used exclusively with verbs.

Table 1. Cross-referencing prefixes and enclitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>prefixes</td>
<td>enclitics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>pi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>yu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>bi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IMPP ba.

Inalienable possession is marked by the possessive cross-referencing prefixes
(see examples below) without any suffixed marker of possession. Inalienably
possessed nouns have no possessed form. Inalienably possessed nouns consti-
tute a closed grammatical class, and include all body parts, e.g., pi-ninima-bana
(lsg-belly)'your belly', napi (lsg+hand) 'my hand'; nufana (3sgf-voice) 'his
voice, language, word', nufatana 'my voice, my language, my word'; all
kinship nouns, e.g., nu-fahamu 'my mother'; bi-fabane 'his family, household',
u-ke-ba 'my household', b-ke 'his child', n-ke 'my child', and a few
other nouns; e.g., epuna 'road, path'. This is a very small class of items, all,
apparently, of Proto-Maipuran origin, most of which contain a fossilized derivational suffix; e.g., $\beta$-ma$\kappa$.ke-'his nest', mu-makaka-$\lambda$-ke-'my nest', $\beta$-juk.ili, $\beta$-juk.ili-'his pan', mu-juk.ili, mu-juk.ili-'my pan'. (See also sect. 15.4.1.)

Allative possession is marked by the possessive cross-referencing prefixes and a suffixed marker of possession. Some of the allomorphs of possessed forms have a non-personal possessed form. Allomorphs of possessed forms fall into three subclasses (i-iii below) which are partly semantically motivated. They reflect definite traces of Proto-Maipuran heritage (see Payne 1991). The distribution of alienably possessed nouns in different groups may be explained (at least partly) as a subcategorization device, similar to possessive classifiers (see Aikhenvald 1994a), at least in the proto-language.

(i) Non-personal possessed form $\beta$, possessed $\kappa$.

This is a closed class, in the sense that no new members are accepted. Deverbal nominalizations belong here, e.g., pina-$\beta$ 'medicine', mu-pina-'my medicine'; navale-$\beta$ 'village community', mu-navale-'my village'; tmuneni-$\beta$ 'lunch food', mu-tmuneni-'my food'; deka-$\beta$ 'possession', mu-deka-'my possession', mine (see sect. 15.4.1), on $\beta$ as a marker of deverbal nominalizations; and a few cultural items, e.g., nenuna-$\beta$ 'wall', nenuna-'my wall'; tawitu-$\beta$ 'bow', mu-tawitu-'my bow'; talama-le-$\beta$ 'a traditional head cover', mu-talama-le-'my traditional head cover'. The word pani-$\beta$ 'house' displays vowel alternation in the second syllable of the root: mu-pani-'my house'.

(ii) Non-personal possessed form $\kappa$, possessed $\beta$.

This is a closed class which includes the majority of artifacts; e.g., neyupa 'paddle', mu-neyupa-$\kappa$-'my paddle'; mukupa 'canoe', mu-mukupa-$\kappa$-'my canoe'; yucwita 'firestick', mu-yucwita-$\kappa$-'my firestick'; bima 'hammock', mu-bima-$\kappa$-'my hammock'.

(iii) Non-personal possessed form $\kappa$, possessed $\kappa$ or $\text{-te}$.

This is an open class, because it can accept new members e.g., loan-words, such as mukawa 'riffe', ka$\text{s}$atu 'basket' (loans from Nheengatu), bala 'bullet' and kapinga 'bat' (loans in Portuguese) belong here. This class comprises a wide range of semantic groups of nouns, including some artifacts; e.g., pajkia 'bench', wa$\text{j}$i 'straw door'; natural phenomena and substances; e.g., afl $\text{fine}$, pecpi $\text{day}$, miyu$\text{l}$i 'garden', minu 'honey'; animals and birds; e.g., ti$\text{nu}$ 'dog', wa$\text{j}$i 'jaguar', binga $\text{game}$, u$\text{f}$ite 'bird'. Nouns belonging to this class can take either possessive marker $\kappa$ or $\text{-te}$. These are portmanteau morphemes which combine a function of possessive marker with deictic reference. The suffix $\text{-te}$ is used when the object is closer to the speaker, and the suffix $\text{-te}$ is used when it is at a certain distance from the speaker and is closer to the hearer. Consider the examples below:

-mukawa 'riffe' nu-mukawa-$\kappa$ 'my riffe' (right here)
pi-mukawa-$\beta$ 'your riffe' (over there)

Occasionally, nouns which form their possessed forms with $\kappa$, also have a form in $\text{-te}$, and the semantics of the opposition of the two is similar to that of $\text{-ne vs. -te}$; e.g., mu-mukupa-$\kappa$ 'my boat, my boat right here', pi-mukupa-$\beta$ 'your boat over there'. This is rare, and it looks like a regularization, probably to be interpreted as a language death phenomenon.

The semantics of possessive suffixes in Warekena may shed some light upon the semantics of noun grouping in accordance with the possessive suffixes they combine with in Maipuran languages in general (see Payne 1999:378).

Possessive NPs in Warekena are formed by juxtaposition of the components and display the constituent order Possessed-Posseessor which is highly unusual for Maipuran languages. This is the unmarked order in 'part-whole' constructions, as shown in (320)-(323). The inherent gender and number of the possessor are marked on the possessed noun, as illustrated in (322):

(320) Napu$\text{n}$ kumal$\text{n}$
back turtle 
'turtle's back'

(321) istur$\text{ia}$-ne
ku$\text{ma}$l$\text{ia}$ ema
story-POS:PR turtle
tapr jaguar
'a story of a turtle, a tapir and a jaguar'

(322) kalokena ya$\text{ku}$pe yupina
gum
break+AG ground 3SGF+name dog
'The name of the female dog was "Break-ground".'

An example of a chain of possessive NPs where one of the possessor constituents is a possessive NP is (323). Yupana 'voice, language, word' is an insensitively possessed noun, and the marking for 3SGF possessor is $\beta$.

(323) wa-weya we$\text{da}$
yupana waya$\text{ya}$-ne
Dinatu
1PL-want 1PL+perceive voice say-POS 1PL+father God
'We want to hear the sound of the words of our father God.'

When a genitive construction bears the meaning of 'made out of', the inverse order Possesor-Possessee is preferred, as illustrated in (324, 325) below.

(324) ma$\text{wa}$lu weni
pineapple water
'pineapple juice'
(325) du:li kawye:si crocodile smoke:MEAT-NOM
  'smoked meat of crocodile'

Usually an adjectival NP is used to convey the meaning 'made out of', and the
compound suffix -niu-li is used on the noun.

(326) ka:iri a:ji-tua-li drink manioc-MADE.OF-ADJ
  'manioc drink'

(327) weni mawialu-tua-li water pineapple-MADE.OF-ADJ
  'pineapple water, water made with pineapple flavour'

The order Possessor-Possessed for part-whole relationship regularly occurs
with the inalienably possessed noun numa 'mouth, beginning of', in a locational
sense, as illustrated below in njabaduli numa-wa 'beginning, entrance of the field'.

(328) The usual order Possessed-Possessor is preserved in twiwiwe njabaduli 'the
  edge of the field' (edge+LOC field) from the same text. Apparently, this exception
  may reflect an archaic feature (see below, on the order in adpositional phrases), and
  it also indicates the possibility of a flexible constituent order in possessive NPs in
  the earlier stages of the language (as is the case in Bauwa of Iqnu: see Aikhenvald
  1995b).

(328) ni-yelota-hii njabaduliwe-hii twiwiwe njabaduli
  3pl-arrive-PAUS field+LOC-PAUS edge+LOC field

ni-fa-wa njabaduli numa-wa
  3pl-go-NONACC field mouth-PEARL
  'They arrived to the field to the border of a field, they went by the
  entrance of the field.'

In conversations, numa can also be used in the genitive constructions with the
order Possessed-Possessor:

(329) mu-mupa numewe tenepu
  1sg-arrive mouth+LOC road
  'I arrived at the edge of the road.'

(330) is a rather rare example of a complex genitive construction which
contains both orders: Possessed-Possessor (epupa numa 'the road of the tapir')
and Possessor-Possessed (epupa numa 'the mouth of the road').

(330) Ja-wa teleti ajiita ja-wa epupa numa-wa oma
goa:NONACC three month go:NONACC road mouth-PEARL tapir
  'He (the turtle) went for three months, be went by the edge of the road of
  the tapir.'

Modifiers can refer to any part of the genitive construction. They are adja-
cent to the constituent to which they refer.

(331) yuhua:wa ibu-ni mawaya sugi-li
  lie-NONACC head-PEARL snake big-ADJ
  'The cut head of a big snake was lying (there).'

(332) wa-bi zenyta peya ibu mawaya
  then-PAUS take one head snake
  'Then he took one head of the snake.'

Discontinuous possessive NPs are comparatively rare in discourse. They
usually occur when the possessor constituent undergoes a left-dislocation as a
contrastive focus:

(333) peya-bi ilma-hii biyuli
  other-PAUS name-PEARL biyuli
  'The other one (evil spirit), (his) name is Biyuli.'

Examples like (334) can also be considered as cases of discontinuous possess-
ive NPs. The possessor constituent is prepended to the possessor:

(334) mufita-mia-bi ema ibu peyi
  late-PEARL-PAUS tapir head on
  'Lie (turtle) hit the tapir on the head.'

The structure of possessive sentences is discussed in sect. 7.2.

15.2.2 Gender. Warkenena, like most other Maipuran languages, has two gen-
derers, feminine and non-feminine (or masculine). Gender is marked in cross-ref-
erring prefixes, enclitics and independent pronouns of the third person
singular (see Table 1 in sect. 15.2.1 and Table 3 in sect. 15.3.4). The gender
opposition in singular demonstratives is maintained only in the Anamol dialect.
There are no gender distinctions in plural. For animate beings, masculine
and feminine genders relate to sex distinctions. Nouns with an inanimate refer-
et are treated as belonging to masculine gender. Thus, masculine gender can be
considered as unmarked.

The opposition of two genders is maintained in a few nouns, and the deriv-
ational suffix -biwa or -wa is used to mark feminine; e.g., e-te-ne 'old man',
et-yawa ‘old woman’; yalitua, yalitua-na ‘male companion’, yalitua-wa ‘female companion’, patra ‘master, patriko’, patra-wa ‘female master, patra’; neya-wa ‘woman’; eju-mi-yawa, jumyawa ‘female spouse, wife’. The gender opposition is also maintained in the suffix masc. -mi-ne ‘deceased’, as in ma.ju.na.mi-ne ‘my late father’, fem -myawa (underlying form mi-yawa), as in na.ju.na.mi-miwa ‘my late mother’. However, the language death phenomena result in a certain degree of morphological variation, and regularization of some morphological phenomena. As shown below, the comparatively regular adjectival feminine marker is -yawa added to the masculine form; so occasionally the speakers would treat the suffix -miw in the same way, and form the feminine -mi-yawa instead of -mi-wa. Gender agreement with demonstratives and predicates in predicate-argument constructions is obligatory:

(315)  
zyuta  
DEM.DIST.FEM  woman 3sgf-come-RED  
‘This woman is coming.’

(336)  
eta  
enami  tapa-pa  
DEM.DIST.MASC  man  come-RED  
‘This man is coming.’

The agreement in gender with adjectives in attributive NPs is marked with -yawa ‘feminine’, of ‘masculine’. The agreement in feminine gender is optional, as shown in (337) and (338). The masculine form of the adjective is used as the unmarked one.

(337)  
neyawa  wedufa-ii-yawa  
woman  good-ADJ-(FEM)  
‘a good woman’

(338)  
enami  wedufa-li  
man  good-ADJ  
‘a good man’

15.2.3 Classifiers. Warekena has a system of six numeral classifiers. This system is best preserved in the dialect of Anamoin where the use of classifiers appears to be obligatory. It is also the case in Banua of Guainia spoken in Venezuela. Classifiers are used only with numerals one and two, which are of Maispran origin. Numerals from three onwards are loan words from Portuguese: te.lofi, kwatu, sinku etc. The system is based upon the following semantic characteristics: human feminine, human masculine, animals, fish, curvilinear objects, periods of time (day, night) (Table 2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2. Numerals classifiers (Anamoin dialect)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>semantics</td>
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<tr>
<td>human masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>human feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>animals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>curvilinear objects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>periods of time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Classifiers are difficult to analyze. We can separate pe/pa(pa)- as the stem for ‘one’, and -na, for ‘two’. Classifiers, then, are suffixed to ‘one’ and prefixed to ‘two’, which is very unusual for a Maispran language.

When the classifiers are lost, the human masculine form of the numbers one and two is used for all the nouns. The loss of classifiers in the Nazard dialect of Warekena is shown in (339), (340) and (341). In (339) and (340) the numeral classifier for period of time is used with the numeral ‘one’. In (341) the human masculine form of the numeral ‘one’ is used in the same context. Both examples are taken from different texts told by the same speaker.

(339)  
mi-fu.na-ha  ba-buya  pepefi  ninapa-mis  
3pl-cut.PAUS one-CL-TIME day 3pl-finish-PERF  
“They cut the tree during one day, and stopped.’

(340)  
wa-ha  ni-wa  jia-wa  ba-buya  ya.ha  
then-PAUS 3pl-depart stay-NONACC one-CL-TIME night  
‘Then they stayed the night.’

(341)  
wa  jia-wa  peya  pepefi  
so stay-NONACC one-CL.MASC 3mg  
‘He stayed (there) one day.’

Some of the classifiers can be used similarly to derivational affixes, e.g., pa-buya-pe (one-CL-TIME-PL) ‘several times’.

The loss of gender and classifiers is a typical language death phenomenon. The process of the loss of gender is also attested in Bare (my field data; Aikhenvald 1995a). The loss of gender agreement and numeral classifiers can also be partly due to the influence of Nibengatu, which is actually the most widely spoken language on the Xie river. Thus, Warekena is an example of a language which combines numeral classifiers with gender opposition and gender agreement, and thus has two agreement systems within NPs (a situation of this kind is labelled ‘split agreement’ in Aikhenvald 1994a).
15.2.4 Number. Number is not obligatory in Warekena. Warekena distinguishes between unmarked and plural (optionally marked) forms. Different plural affixes are used depending on the semantics of the noun (countable/un-countable, animate/inanimate). There are three groups of plural meanings: simple plural, emphatic plural, and collective.

(a) Simple plural denotes more than one thing, and is marked with one of the following affixes:
(i) -pe, used with names for artifacts, e.g., mulupa-pe 'canoes', punu-ji-pe 'houses', etc.; nominalizations, e.g., deka-fi 'belonging' also with nouns with human referents, e.g., man, 'woman', 'child', and all kinship nouns, as illustrated below.

(342) wa-hi nelema-pe ni-jia-mia-wa
then-PAUS cousin-PL 3pl-go-PERF-NONACC
ni-jia-mia-wa
3pl-go-PERF-NONACC road mont-PERL
'Then the cousins (of the road) went by edge of the road.'

(343) ja muta ja-bine-pe
go call family-PL'
'He asked the members of his household.'

In (344), deka-pe is a possessed form of deka-fi 'belonging', and this accounts for the absence of the suffix -fi (see sect. 15.2.1, type (i) of alienably possessed nouns).

(344) yue jafi deka-pe
to.him big possession-PL'
'He has many things.'

Plural suffix -pe can have collective meaning, e.g., fiani 'child', fiani-pe 'children, family'; fabine 'family, household', fabine-pe 'all the members of a household'.

If the noun contains one of the following two homophonous suffixes, the plural suffix -pe precedes -mi:
- mi 'human' (non-productive): ena-mi 'man, person', pl. 'men, persons' ena-pe-mi, muda-mi 'my father', my father's brother', pl. muda-pe-mi 'my father's family, my father's brothers';
- mi 'possessive' (productive): fimapie-mi 'a thrown away or left over bone', pl. fimapie-pe-mi 'thrown away bones' (345).

(345) wa-hi fimapie-pe-mi ema
then-PAUS bone-PL-PEJ tapir
'There were (only) (left over) tapir's bones.'

neyawa 'woman' has a semi-suppletive plural formation: neye-pe 'women'.

(ii) Plural marker -ne is used with nouns with animate non-human referents, e.g., fimu 'dog', fimu-ne 'dogs', and a few other nouns, e.g., akayu 'year', akayu-ne 'years' (250).

(b) Emphatic plural is marked with -navi, used with countables (human as well as non-human and uncountables. It denotes 'very many indeed, a whole group of', as in (346), (347) or 'many members of different groups', as in (348), and can be used with animate and inanimate nouns. -Navi may be related to Baniwa and Tartana naviti 'people'.

(346) ni-fuduna-mi-hi
kuluwu-nawi
3pl-come.down-PERF-PAUS vultures-PL
'A group of vultures came down (to eat the body of a dead tapir).'

(347) wa ja taluka teluka atapi-nawi
then go cut tree-PL
'Then he (the rabbit) went to cut (a great many) trees.'

(348) paya:ha kuso-nawi ni-kulu-hi weni
all game-PL 3pl-drink-PAUS water
'All different animals went to drink (there).'

(c) Collective plural is marked with -nasfali 'collective inanimate', e.g., ipasa-nafi 'lot of stones, a set of stones'; mina-pi 'banana tree', mina-pi-nasi 'a bush of banana trees'. -Nasi can also have a locative meaning, e.g., weni 'water', weni-nasi 'much water, a place with much water'; wiwi 'wind', wiwi-nasi 'a windy place' (see sect. 15.4.1).

-peji is used to mark collective plural on nouns with an animate non-human referent.

(349) fimu-peli ni-yujiia
dog-PL 3pl-kill
'The dogs (a group of dogs) killed (him, i.e., the snake).'

Warekena has double plural marking, when the plurality of a referent has to be particularly emphasized, as seen in the forms for 'women' and 'men' (in italic) in (350).
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(350) wa-ateta-ni ni-nawalowe-hè anetua ajulu
then-teach-3pl 3pl-village+LOC-PAUS good happy

eda-ni fimamali-nawi payahu neyepa-nawi payahu payalu
see-3pl people-PL all woman-PL-PL all all

ena-pe-mi-nawi payahu ste-ne payahu etayawa ajulu eda-ni Jesu
man-PL-nf-PL all old-nf all old +f happy see-3pl Jesus

Kritu eni fimamali-nawi
Christ DEM people-PL
'Then he (Jesus) taught them in their village, he saw them well and
happy, all the people, all the women, all the men, all the old men, all the
old women, Jesus Christ saw these people happy.'

One of the speakers gave the following ‘hierarchy’ with respect to the
meaning of simple plural, emphatic plural and double plural:

*abida-pe* (pig-PL) ‘many *abida-nawi* ‘very many
*pigs, about 2-6’* *abida-pe-nawi* ‘very many pigs indeed, so many one
cannot count them’

When a plural referent has once been introduced, the plural marker is not
repeated on further occurrences of the same referent:

(351) ni-à a-pte a-bida a-bida ni-yufa-hè
3pl-go 3pl-find pig-PL pig 3pl-kill-PAUS

telefì a-bida ni-nawita
three pig 3pl-shoot.arrow
'Then they went, they found pigs, they killed three pigs with arrows.'

A few nouns, e.g., *famaï* ‘people, person’, and names of tribes, usually do
not take a plural marker (352).

(352) yà-be-pia-hè eda fimamali
NEG-can-NEG-PAUS see people

*He (the evil spirit) cannot see people.’

A noun marked with *-nawi* triggers plural agreement on the verb when it is
in A/S function (353). The plural marker *-nawi* is used if the plurality of
referents has to be stressed. *Fimamali-nawi* means ‘very many people’, as in
(353), or ‘very many different peoples’, as in (354).

(353) ja muta-hè fimamali-nawi ni-miyaa-pahu
go call-PAUS people-PL 3pl-eat-PAUS

yuwah-bè ne-palù
and eat-PAUS

ne-palù-pa’i

ima
to-PAUS

3pl + eat-PAUS 3pl + eat-PAUS-PUT with him

‘He will call many people to eat with him.’

(354) ale-wayata ni-yaw-hè Jesu Kritu eni fimamali-nawi
so-speak 3pl-to-PAUS Jesus Christ DEM.PR people-PL

‘Then Jesus Christ spoke to them, these many different people.’

(355) aie neda benamfi ni-wiyaa-li-bena-hè
thus 3pl-perceive long.ago 3pl-die-REL-when-PAUS

yanamami-nawi
Yamamami-PL

‘So they behaved long ago, when the Yamamami people died.’

Plural agreement with quantifier *fupè* ‘many’ is more frequent with nouns
with human referents; cf. (356) with (357) and (358).

(356) tsulutava-pe fupa
soldier-PL many

‘many soldiers’

(357) wa fupa kuluwitu
then many vulture

‘There were many vultures.’

(358) wa yue-hè fupa anu atapi
then to.him-PAUS many arm/branch tree

‘Then he (the boy) had many twigs.’

Nouns with a collective meaning, e.g., *fimamali* ‘people’, *fimoui* ‘children’, do not
usually take a plural marker if accompanied by the quantifier *fupa*, unless
an exceptionally big quantity is implied, e.g., *fupè fimamali* ‘many people’; *fupa
fimoui* ‘many children’. Uncountable nouns never take a plural marker if
accompanied by the quantifier *fupè* ‘much’:

(359) wa: ni-yunsu foji palatala
then 3pl-take much money

‘Then they (white people) get much money.’
Plural agreement is optional with the quantifier paya as 'all' (see sect. 15.3.2). If it is introduced once, it is not repeated (93, 350). Plural is generally not used with the interrogative quantifier 'pi-ne' 'how many, how much'.

(360) *pi-ne pi-tu-ni-hi
how many 2sg-child-PAUS
"How many are your children?"

Nouns in NPs composed of a non-personal noun with a numeral usually have no plural marking, e.g., te-leaf i-low 'three heads'. Nouns with personal reference are usually marked for plural, e.g., (361, 362), but not always (363).

(361) eni manala yue-bi kwatu nelina-pa
DEM.PR head-to-PAUS four cousin-PL
'This head had four cousins.'

(362) eni kwatu kalimalu-nawi kwatu kalimalu-nawi
DEM.PR four turtle-PL four turtle-PL
ni-jia wa awipem-wa-wabupi
3pl-go-NONACC headwaters-DIR spring
'The four turtles went to the headwaters of a spring.'

(363) eni telegi kalimalu ni-jia wa
then DEM.PR three turtle 3pl-go-NONACC
'Then the three turtles went.'

15.3 Modifiers. Warekena has the following classes of modifiers: adjectives (sect. 15.3.1), quantifiers (sect. 15.3.2), numerals (sect. 15.3.3) and demonstratives (sect. 15.3.4).

15.3.1 Adjectives. There are no underived adjectives in Warekena. Adjectives are derived from stative (Sv) verbs with the addition of the adjectiveizing nom-phrase -ji, which is also used to form deverbal relative forms and nominalizing constructions (see sect. 15.4.1 and 18.3), or -ni. A list of stative verbs is given in sect. 18.4.1.

Examples of adjectives derived from stative verbs: *li-ne 'to be red', *li-jii 'red'; *ali-ne 'to be white', *ali-jii 'white'; *atenea 'to be good', *atenea-jii 'good'; *abene 'to be afraid', *akene-jii 'fearful'; *fipu 'to be numerous', *fipu-jii 'numerous'. Some adjectives are derived from nouns: akunene 'the frightening one' (to fear + AG. NOM), akunene-jii 'being frightening'; *alene 'old (man)', *alene-jii 'old'.

Adjectiveizer -ni is not productive, but is found in a few adjectives formed on stative verbs: *awini 'to be cold', *awini-ni 'cold'; *afene 'be angry', *afene-ni 'angry'; and one adjective is formed on an inalienably possessed noun: *galuna 'belly', *galaunen-jii 'big-bellied' (see sect. 15.4.1, on the prefix a-). A few adjectives contain a non-productive suffix -mi and no other adjectiveizer; they also do not distinguish between attributive (365) and predicative (366) use. These adjectives are: awalapefja-mi 'poor', *liisa-mi 'big', pulapisa-mi 'thin'.

(364) wa wa awalapefja-mi
we poor-AFF
'We are poor.'

(365) wa eni liisa-mi
sloth big-AFF
'a big sloth'

In addition to the regular adjectiveizer -ji, adjectives in Warekena have the following derivational suffixes:
-tu 'diminutive, used in the sense of 'very' with respect to reducing a quality and a quantity' (also used with nouns):

(366) napi kalewi-tu-ju
1sg+hand thin-DIM-ADJ
'my very thin hand'

(367) enami buwa-tu-ju
man low-DIM-ADJ
'a small man'

-ba-mu- 'augmentive, used in the sense of 'very' with respect to augmenting a quality and a quantity' (also used with nouns and verbs, see sect. 18.6.3):

-bu-ju- 'made of':

(368) pani-ju tusipe-tu-ju
house-NPOSSE straw-MADE.OF-ADJ
'a house made of straw'

Gender agreement in adjectival NPs is optional (see examples in sect. 15.2.2); feminine suffix -yuwa follows -ju. If, however, an adjective is formed on a noun which already contains -yuwa as a derivational suffix, it is followed by -ju, as in the following examples:

(369) yalituwa epe-mu-li
brother old-of-ADJ
'his elder brother'
(370) yaliya etyawa-ji
sister old + ADJ
‘his elder sister’

The same root may be used as an adjectival modifier and as an So verb. In the former case it will have the adjectivizer -ji, and in the latter case the adjectivizer will be omitted. (371) illustrates the opposition between adjectival modifiers and stative predicates.

(371) yeletsa ulupe-ji peya atapi anetua-ji atapi anetua-ji
arrive foot-LOC one tree good-ADJ tree good-ADJ
anetua atapi niwe niwe-ji atapi
be good tree be high high-ADJ tree
‘He (the rabbit) arrived at the foot of a good tree, a good tree. The tree was good. High (it was), a high tree.’

There is a tendency to distinguish between adjectival modifiers and stative and non-verbal predicates by constituent order. Adjectival modifiers would usually follow the head, and stative and non-verbal predicates usually precede the subject (So), in agreement with the tendency for unmarked constituent order stated in sect. I. This is illustrated in (371) with the phrases atapi anetua-ji ‘a good tree’ vs anetua atapi ‘the tree was good’. However, this is only a tendency, since adjectival modifiers can be fronted and consequently prepended to the NP, if they are emphasized. This is also illustrated in (371), with the final phrase niwe-ji atapi ‘a high tree’, and again in (372), where the particular qualities of the tree are important for the further development of the story, and the adjectives jufidi-ji ‘big’, niwe-ji ‘lofty’ are prepended to the head noun atapi ‘tree’. There is a pause between the two adjectives.

(372) ja-wa
nupa-ba-ji atapi jufidi-ji
go-NONACC come-PAUS-REL tree big-ADJ
jufidi-ji niwe-ji atapi
big-ADJ tall-ADJ tree
‘He went, having arrived at a big tree, a big and lofty tree.’

Adjectives can be used headlessly (373).

(373) aveni-ka-mia-ji-hi
yn-mia wa-be-pia
dear-AUG-PERF-ADJ-PAUS NBO-PERF 1pl-can-NEG

wa-wenita-wa
1pl-buy-NONACC
‘We cannot buy expensive (things).’

An NP can contain more than one adjectival modifier. Usually both follow the head noun, and only the last one is marked with the adjectivizer -ji. Dimension adjectives tend to be placed closer to the head (374).

(374) nu-tehuka nu-tehuka imropi dwili jufi mia-ji
1sg-cut 1sg-cut neck crocodile big-old-ADJ
‘I cut the neck of the big old crocodile.’

Examples of this type are rather rare. All the speakers seemed to prefer to repeat the head noun (375).

(375) wa ni-yeleeta-mia-hi ni-ja-wa
then 3pl-arrive-PERF-PAUS 3pl-go-NONACC
waliya-wabeha ni-kawyu-ta-palu peya e-ma peya
smoking-grid-DIR+PAUS 3pl-smoke-CAUS-PURP one tapir one
malayu malayu jufidi-lu malayu malayu ila-di
deer deer big-ADJ deer deer red-ADJ
‘Then they arrived (to a spring), to put on smoking grid and smoke a tapir and a deer, a big deer, a red deer.’

If the adjectivizer -ji is omitted from a value or physical property adjective, the root is used adverbially; e.g., the final anetua ‘good’ in (376), and tapa ‘right’ in (377) (in italics).

(376) wa-ha niyu crenti ate yaliwa ni-jia-wa
then-PAUS 1 evangelical until now 1sg-stay-NONACC
anetua-ji anetua-ji ni-jia-wa anetua nu-jia-wa
good-ADJ good-ADJ 1sg-stay-NONACC good 1sg-stay-NONACC
ate yaliwa
until now
‘Now I am evangelical until now, I live as a good (man), as a good (man) I live, well I live up to now.’

(377) kunshu alita-mia wafi payalu
rabbit tie-PERF jaguar all
anu is-ripala alita-mia-wa reya
arm is-jgi-f-le-ak is-PERF-NONACC-tight
'The rabbit tied the whole jaguar (to the tree), he tied his arms and his legs tightly.'

*Dimension adjectives* sufi-li 'big', allef-li 'small' can be used as quantifiers 'much' and 'little', but in this usage -li is omitted. Quantifiers are usually prefixed to the head (see sect. 15.3.2 for examples).

Adjectival -li behaves as a clitic (see sect. 22.4.1 for a classification of morphemes in Warekena). It follows tense-aspect-marking clitics, as illustrated in (378), and undergoes attraction to the negative particle sa, as illustrated in (379). Another piece of evidence in favour of the clitical character of -li is that the pronominal marker -AT (see sect. 22.4.4) can be inserted before it, as shown in (372).

(378) ate wa-biŋka-hä peya wabupi-waba until 3pl-go.out-PAUS one spring-DIR
wabupi sufi-mia-li wabupi spring big-PERF-ADJ spring
'(We walked) until we came out to a spring, to a spring which was big.'

(379) eni enami ya-li anetu-pis-hä DEM-PR man NEG-REL good-NEG-PAUS
'This man was not good.'

Nouns can be occasionally used as modifiers. Then they follow the head. The only nouns which have been attested in this function are the nouns with reference to gender: neyawa 'woman' and enami 'man', mainly used with kinship nouns. I suspect this is an innovation, and these nouns are used as modifiers when the actual gender form of a corresponding kinship term has been lost, e.g., na-matamåhë enami 'father-in-law', na-matamåhë neyawa 'mother-in-law'; na-tani enami 's son' (lit.: child-man), na-tani neyawa 'daughter' (lit.: child-woman). The modifier follows the head noun, and if it refers to the possessor of a genitive NP, it follows the whole NP: tani muku enami 'nephew' (child uncle man, i.e., a male child of an uncle).

15.3.2 Quantifiers. Quantifiers constitute a closed class of modifiers denoting quantity. Unlike adjectival modifiers, quantifiers usually precede the head of the NP (they may occasionally follow it, under conditions described below). They do not contain the adjectivizing morpheme and do not take classifiers or agree in gender. The use of quantifiers meaning 'much, many' tends to depend upon countability/non-countability of the referent. Quantifiers in Warekena are listed below:

*(380)* nu-ja ni-wenita sufi deka-jë payalu
3pl-go 3pl-buy much have-NOM-ALL
ni-wenita-li-wa-hä 3pl-buy-REL-NONACC-PAUS
'They (rich white people) go and buy a large quantity of goods, all is what they buy.'

*supe* 'many, much' is used with countables, as in *supe hama-li* 'many people'.

*381* wui-hä wa-hä supe kusji boro-PAUS then-PAUS many game
'there are many animals.'

(382) yw supe-hä tayi-pe for him many-PAUS child-PL
'The old man had many children.'

The use of plural with quantifiers is outlined in sect. 15.2.4. *Supe* and *sufi* can be used with the same nouns, and then the semantics is different: *supe ipa* 'many (single) stones', *sufi ipa* 'large quantity of stones'. *Supe* 'much' is also used with uncountable nouns, mainly with substances: *supe kafe* 'much coffee', *supe weni* 'much water'. *Akunena* 'many' is used with countable noun. It is the only quantifier derived from a stative verb, *akuna* 'to be numerous' with the addition of the suffix -ena used to form agent nominalizations: *akunena manufèla* 'many bananas'.

*tui, tui-tu* 'little' and *allef*, *allef-tu* 'little, not sufficient' (also an adjective: 'little') are used with countables; *supe* 'little, few, not many' can be used both with countables and uncountables. Quantifiers meaning 'a little' can contain diminutive -tu. As I noted above, quantifiers are formed on adjectival roots without the adjectivizing morpheme. (383) and (384) illustrate the opposition between an adjectival modifier *tui-tu-li* 'being little' and quantifier *tui-tu* 'a little'. The use of *allef* is illustrated in (385).

*(383)* wa-wenita tui-tu 1pl-buy little-DIM
'We buy a just a little.'
yu-yanita went traut-l-hi
3pl-take water little-ADJ
'She (wife) takes a little water.'

(385) suk-s-hi mu-yoe sre-lfi pala
1-PAUS 1sg or little money
'I have little of money.'

ipali 'how much, how many' can have a rhetorical use meaning 'every' with countables and uncountables.

(386) ipali pepu-mi mu-neta ima ima Dusnu
ey every day 1sg-pray with God
'I pray to him, I pray to God every day.'

Payahu 'all' also belongs to quantifiers. It can be used with countable nouns, as in (387), and uncountables, as in (388). In the latter case and in (389) it is used in the sense of 'whole'.

(387) ni-nte-ta payahu simape-pe-bi
3pl-join-CAUS all bone-PL-PEF
'They put together all the bones (of a dead man).'

(388) uba-ma-lku kula sihmi kula payahu mita
all-DEL-EMPH drink people drink all blood
'Every time he (evil spirit) sucks people, he sucks all the blood.'

(389) wa-ha yanta-mia jajapal ciya payahu nenitana
then-PAUS take-TRANS lungs tapir all heart
'Then he (the jaguar) took the lungs of the tapir, the whole heart.'

Payahu differs from other quantifiers in that it can take cross-referencing O, S, or in a non-predicate function, as shown in (390). Other quantifiers take cross-referencing clitics only when used as predicates and treated as stative verbs (see sect. 18.4.1). Payahu is used with cross-referencing clitics in the following cases, which agree with general rules of the use of cross-referencing clitics in O, S, function outlined in sect. 18.4.2. A cross-referencing clitic is never used in repetition (392). Clitics can refer to A (390), O (391) or S (392). In (390), the head noun has an animate referent and is omitted ('ni '3pl refers to A).

(380) ne-mia ne-mia-ha payahu-ni sei maalaya
3pl+eat-TRANS 3pl+eat-TRANS-CAUS all-3pl DEM,PF deer
'They (turtles) ate, all of them ate the deer.'

(391) telefi nu-nimika nu-hufia payahu-ni
three 1sg-shoot 1sg-kill all-3pl
'I shot three (birds), I killed them all.'

The head noun may undergo right dislocation (392).

(392) ni-yulpa-pafrica payahu-ni a tapi, payahu a tapi,
3pl-fall-CAUS all-3pl tree all tree
payahu ni-yulpa-pafrica-ba
all 3pl-fall-TRANS-CAUS
'They will fall all (of them), all the trees, all will fall.'

Payahu can be used headlessly (391, 392), especially to recapitulate the enumerated references (394, 395).

(393) e-mia-ha payahu inapa-mia e-ha
eat-TRANS-CAUS all finish-TRANS eat-TRANS
'Then he (jaguar) ate all, he finished eating.'

(394) ni-alita pi-anu pi-aavai payahu
1sg-tie 2sg-tie 2sg-tie all
'I have tied your arms and legs - all.'

(395) wa yalanavi ni-apia-mia-ha" malayna ati-ha
then white people 3pl-take-TRANS-CAUS paiqaba cipö-vine-PAUS
payahu
all
'Then the white people take paiqaba, cipö-vine - everything.'

Payahu is also used as the head of a relative clause (see sect. 14.3):

(396) payahu li ni-ma-li Dusnu ya-weya-pia sie-teta-ha
all what 3pl-do-REL God NEG-want NEG so-DEM-PAUS
'All that they do, God does not want (it).'

The head noun of the NP with a quantifier as a modifier can be omitted. (397) contains an example of a headless NP with a quantifier and adjective, the sentence-final sufli is-lh-hi 'big red'.

(397) wa-ha wepa sufli aji numebwene eta-ha
then-PAUS let big fire mouth +EL DEM,DIST-PAUS
It can be used with countable and uncountable nouns; this use may be a calque from Portuguese (403).

(403) wa uwa-há eda-há peya šišili then climb-PAUS see-PAUS one smoke
   'He (the boy) climbed and saw smoke.'

15.3.4 Demonstratives. Warekena has a two-term opposition of proximate and distant spatial demonstratives. Some demonstratives distinguish between feminine and masculine forms in the singular and have special plural forms. The system of demonstratives is given in Table 3.

Table 3. Demonstratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anaphoric</th>
<th>Spatial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>just mentioned</td>
<td>near distant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>previously mentioned</td>
<td>sg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

öff e eya, eni eni nemi, eta anita naita
fam e eya, eni ayupalu nemi, ayuta anita naita

Special feminine forms of demonstratives and the plural forms naita, anita are used only in elicitation or when, in conversation, the speaker has been reminded of them. Masculine (non-feminine) is used for feminine as the unmarked form in texts and spontaneous speech: eni nejawa ‘this woman’, eta nejawa ‘that woman’; but in elicitation feminine forms are used: ayupalu nejawa ‘this woman’, ayuta nejawa ‘that woman’. This agrees with a general tendency of losing gender agreement in head-modifier constructions in Warekena.

E, e-há is an anaphoric pronoun which is used to indicate a referent just mentioned in the text and to emphasize its identity. The referent can be animate or inanimate. This pronoun can be used both as a modifier and headlessly.

(404) e-há fušti šipana fušti
   he-PAUS big hair big
   'This very one (evil spirit), (his hair) is long, his hair is long.'

(405) wa-há mu-pie-há walhti
   then-PAUS big-find-PAUS sloth
Spatial demonstratives are *eni* 'proximate: the one just here (frequently accompanied by pointing)' and *eta* 'distal, that one over there', often accompanied by the adverb *yame* 'far away'. Both are independent clitics (see sect. 22.4.1). Their use as clitics (enclitics or proclitics) or as independent phonological words depends on the emphasis they receive in discourse. They are also used as anaphoric pronouns in texts (411, 412). *Eni* is used similarly to a definite article and is also used to mark the topic of the discourse, in the meaning 'this very one just mentioned, the one we are talking about'. The article-like uses of *eni* are illustrated with (416) and (417).

(411) ya-liwa nu-∫a nu-∫ina-∫a now 1sg-go 1sg-tell-PAUS

i∫ale ma-∫a eni-∫a ku∫ipira how 1sg+see-PAUS DEM.PR-PAUS cur∫ipira

'Now I shall tell how I saw this evil spirit.'

(412) wa-∫a pala-∫a pala-mia-∫a n∫ija then-PAUS run-NONACC run-PERF-NONACC 3pl+from
eni-∫a enami ud∫ibulu-∫i pala-mia n∫ija DEM.PR-PAUS man bad-ADJ run-PERF 3pl+from

sómali-nawi yame-wa-∫a ya-ye-∫a-∫a eda-∫a people-PL far-DIR-PAUS NEG-want-NEG-PAUS see-PAUS

eni-∫a Di∫u DEM.PR-PAUS God

'Then the bad man (just mentioned) ran from them, he ran from the people far away, he did not want to see this God.'

This use of a demonstrative may be influenced by Portuguese. The proximate spatial use of *eni* is illustrated by (413) and (414). In (413) *eni* is used heedlessly.

(413) mpa-∫a wa∫i yunu∫a wa: bida eni come-PERF jaguar towards then 2sg+see DEM.PR

papera-∫i-∫a eni wa∫atu-∫i mu-yu-∫a-∫a di∫u paper-PIECE-PEJ DEM.PR then-send-REL 1sg-to-PAUS God

'He (the rabbit) came up to the jaguar. "Do you see this piece of paper. This (piece of paper) is the one God sent to me."'
(414) wa-hâ pi-sîta-na wani-ihi minaši-mi atapi then-PAUS 2sg-to-1sg here-PAUS en-DEM.FR tree
‘Tie me here, on this very tree.’

The following examples illustrate how the proximate demonstrative eni is used to mark the topic of the discourse. (415) and (416) come from the text about a running competition between a deer and a turtle. Malauy ‘deer’ is specified by the proximate demonstrative when he is the main participant:

(415) wa-hâ wiyu-mia-ni-hâ malyu wiyu-mia-ni then-PAUS die-PERF-DEM.FR-PAUS deer die-PERF-DEM.FR
malyu
deer
‘Then the deer died, the deer died.’

When the turtle becomes the main participant, it is marked with the proximate demonstrative:

(416) ema-ni kuîmulau wa yawapotâhî peya kuîmulau cry-DEM.FR turtle then answer=DEM.FR one turtle ‘The turtle cried, then another turtle answered.’

In (417) ‘deer’ has the proximate demonstrative, and this is appropriate within the direct quote context, even though the turtle is still the topic of that part of the discourse.

(417) yaliwa wa-ja wa-e-hâ eni malyu now 1pl-go 1pl-eat-PAUS DEM.FR deer
wiyu-mia-hâ wayata ni-yu-e-hâ eni sâbine die-PERF-PAUS speak 3pl-to-PAUS DEM.FR family
‘Now let’s eat the dead deer’, he (the turtle) spoke to the (turtle’s) family.

Eni has a plural form neni, which is occasionally used:

(418) ni-yu-e-hâ payalu nemi-hâ Jesu Kniitu 3pl-to-PAUS all DEM.FR.PL-PAUS Jesus Christ
wayata ni-yu-e-hâ ateta-li ima eni payalu speak 3pl-to-PAUS study-REL with DEM all

As is shown in (419), the use of neni is not obligatory:

(419) wa-nî-ja-wa ni-kuloala-nawî then-3pl-go-NONACC DEM.FR.turtle-PL
‘Then the turtles went away.’

Two demonstratives, the spatial eni and the anaphoric e, can co-occur in the same phonological word:

(420) yaliwa e-mia-ni-hâ ma-ta-mia pi-yu-e-hâ now DEM-PERF-DEM.FR-PAUS 1sg-give-PERF 2sg-to-PAUS
‘Now this one here (i.e., the catch of game), I give (it) to you.’

The use of eša ‘that’ as a deictic pronoun is illustrated in (421).

(421) walli umeni eša yu-yue-pia pina-jî where snake DEM.DIST NEG-to-NEG cure-NOM
‘That snake over there, there is no antidote for it’.

Eša can also be used anaphorically, and then it means ‘that one, already mentioned (distantly)’:

(422) ñoñ pi-madoska maweya mupa-mia-hâ maweya big wave snake arrive-PAUS snake
ynjothâ yu-yuwa-hâ eša neyawa arrive-PAUS 3sgl-towards-PAUS DEM.DIST woman
ynjota-piši swallow-OBJ.FOC
‘A wave was big, the snake was coming, he arrived near that woman to swallow her.’

(423) wa-hâ eša enami yu-e-hâ mateša-ne then-PAUS DEM.DIST man to-PAUS knife-POS
ñuñ-ii yue big-ADJ to
‘Then that man has a big knife.’
15.4 Delocated nominals. Action and object nominalization in War-er for example, is formed by means of the following productive rules:

(a) (arg1) to (arg2)

(b) (arg1) to (arg2)

(c) (arg1) to (arg2)

(d) (arg1) to (arg2)

(e) (arg1) to (arg2)

(f) (arg1) to (arg2)

(g) (arg1) to (arg2)

(h) (arg1) to (arg2)

(i) (arg1) to (arg2)

(j) (arg1) to (arg2)

(k) (arg1) to (arg2)

(l) (arg1) to (arg2)

(m) (arg1) to (arg2)

(n) (arg1) to (arg2)

(o) (arg1) to (arg2)

(p) (arg1) to (arg2)

(q) (arg1) to (arg2)

(r) (arg1) to (arg2)

(s) (arg1) to (arg2)

(t) (arg1) to (arg2)

(u) (arg1) to (arg2)

(v) (arg1) to (arg2)

(w) (arg1) to (arg2)

(x) (arg1) to (arg2)

(y) (arg1) to (arg2)

(z) (arg1) to (arg2)

15.5 Nominalizations. Action and object nominalization in War-er are formed by means of the following productive rules:

(a) (arg1) to (arg2)

(b) (arg1) to (arg2)

(c) (arg1) to (arg2)

(d) (arg1) to (arg2)

(e) (arg1) to (arg2)

(f) (arg1) to (arg2)

(g) (arg1) to (arg2)

(h) (arg1) to (arg2)

(i) (arg1) to (arg2)

(j) (arg1) to (arg2)

(k) (arg1) to (arg2)

(l) (arg1) to (arg2)

(m) (arg1) to (arg2)

(n) (arg1) to (arg2)

(o) (arg1) to (arg2)

(p) (arg1) to (arg2)

(q) (arg1) to (arg2)

(r) (arg1) to (arg2)

(s) (arg1) to (arg2)

(t) (arg1) to (arg2)

(u) (arg1) to (arg2)

(v) (arg1) to (arg2)

(w) (arg1) to (arg2)

(x) (arg1) to (arg2)

(y) (arg1) to (arg2)

(z) (arg1) to (arg2)
15.4.2 Other nominal derivational devices. Warekena has two productive derivational devices (nouns from nouns):

- mi ‘pojorative, worsen’: lalu ‘head’; lalu-mi ‘cut off head’; fimapite ‘bone’; fimapite-mi ‘thrown away bone’.

-tui ‘diminutive’: atapi-tui ‘a small tree’, neyawa-tui ‘small woman’.

-Mi always is the word-final morpheme and it follows even the inflectional affixes (e.g., plural). The pojective and diminutive devices are also used with adjectives (see sect. 15.3.1).

There are a number of non-productive suffixes in Warekena which are used to derive nouns from nouns:

- ami ‘season, time of the year’: ami-tami ‘summer, the season of the sun’, weni-ami ‘winter, the season of water, flood’;

-bumi ‘pejorative (used with human): etyawa-bumi ‘an ugly old woman’;

-je object: fidali-je ‘wall’; talanale-je ‘a traditional head cover’;

-tui ‘diminutive’:

-je object: alipe-tui ‘thick jungle’ (cf. alipe ‘thick jungle’), fyu-je ‘pan’;

-liana ‘masculine’: inia-liana ‘owner, master’ (cf. mina ‘body’); this affix may consist of two morphemes: -li and -ian;


-na ‘human’: na-mi-tua ‘-na ‘male companion’ (cf. nu-yali-tua ‘brother’);


-ne ‘masculine’: e-je (old-MASC) ‘old man’

-je piece: papa-je ‘a piece of paper’;

-nua ‘masculine’: nu-yali-tua ‘my brother’;

-ya ‘feminine’: nu-yali-ya ‘my sister’;

-yawa ‘feminine’ (also used as an optional gender marker on adjectives, see sect. 15.2.2): neyawa ‘woman’, etyawa ‘old woman’, una ‘wife’.

Suffix -da is occasionally used to form adjectives from verbs: wiyu-nya ‘faint, get drunk’, wiyu-nya-ta-da ‘drunk’.

Two affixes can co-occur, e.g., wiyu-nya-ta-da-mi ‘drunk and useless’, papa-je-mi ‘piece of paper thrown away’.

Possibly, Warekena has a prefix fa. ‘feminine’ used in two kinship nouns: fulami ‘mother’ (from fa + -lami ‘father’); for boundary processes see sect. 22.5), fulami ‘female spouse’ (from fa + -ami ‘husband, male spouse’ + yawa ‘feminine’).

15.4.3 Nominal compounding. Nominal compounding in Warekena is not very productive. There are two types of nominal compounds:

(i) possessive type: two nouns in a genitive relation, which directly corresponds to a possessive NP; the difference between a compound and an NP is that the...
comparand is a single phonological word and no other constituent can be inserted between its components: pana-ta-li (house:POSS-oven) 'kitchen; house of oven'.
(ii) deverbal type, which consists of a verbal root and an S or O constituent preposed to it, e.g., S: mawatäl-fa (snake-live) 'the place where the snake lives' (a traditional name of São Gabriel da Cachoeira); O: pana-tama-li (house:POSS-dance-REL) 'house of dance, longhouse'.

There is a certain variation as to whether these constructions are treated as compounds or as two independent words; the pause form of pana-tama-li can be either pana-tama-li-li, or pana-lii tama-lii. In the latter case, it is not treated as a compound.

16 Pronoun system

16.1 Independent personal pronouns. Personal pronouns of the 1st and 2nd person and 3rd person plural pronouns in Warekena are formed with the help of an emphatic suffix -ya attached to the cross-referencing prefix: nu-ya 'I', pi-ya 'you sg', wa-ya 'we', ni-ya 'you pl, they' (see sect. 18.4.1 on verbal cross-referencing). The use of the same form for the 2nd and 3rd person plural is an innovation of Warekena. Third person singular pronouns are cognate to demonstrative pronouns and contain the suffix -pah: e-pah 'he', au-pah 'she'.

Since the pronominal constituents are expressed by cross-referencing on the verb, independent personal pronouns are rarely used, and only under the following conditions:
(a) When the constituent expressed by a personal pronoun is in a contrastive focus, as in (437) (in italics), or clefted, as in (438) (see sect. 9.4 for cleft constructions).

(437) wa-nu-ya ni-jia-palu ni-yamula-wa
then-call-3pl 3pl-go-PURP 3pl-hunt-NONACC
ni-yuwa-pala wa-yge-h kweji nuja-hi ni-jia-wa
2pl-kill-PURP 1pl-for-PAUS game 1PAUS 1sg-stay-NONACC
wani-hi pani-jire
here-PAUS house-NPOSS +LOC
"He (the toad) called them (his cousins) to go, 'You hunt, to kill game for us, I shall stay at home'."

(438) wa-hi nuja-hi Humerto nuya na-tani
then-PAUS 1sg-PAUS Humerto 1 1sg-child

Arminu Judilson Bernadete Lindino ways eda-ii
Arminu Judilson Bernadete Lindino we see-REL
'Then I, Humberto, 1, my child (daughter), Arminu, Judilson, Bernadete, Lindino, it was we who saw him (the evil spirit).'

(b) when the participant expressed with the personal pronoun is one of several that are enumerated:

(439) wata-ripa-ma-wa-ni
maluma-mine
then +full-FERP-NONACC-1pl 1sg +father-DEC nf
nu-ya-hi nuya-hi tele-fi-wi
1sg-brother-PAUS I-PAUS three-1pl
'We have become full, my late father, my brother, me, the three of us.'

(c) in equational verbless clauses (see sect. 7):

(440) wa-hi nuya crenti
then-PAUS I evangelical
'So I am evangelical.'

(d) in command sentences:

(441) piya-hi nu-ya-hi pi-ja pi-teluka atapi
you-PAUS 1sg-brother 2sg-go 2sg-cut tree
'You, brother, go and cut a tree.'

Warekena has no independent possessive pronouns.

16.2 Indefinite pronouns. Numerical 'one' is used in the sense of an indefinite pronoun 'another', as illustrated below:

(442) ya-e-pa yuva-hi mawaya peya enami yuva-hi mawaya
NEG-DEM-NEG kill-REL snake one man kill-REL snake
'It was not he who killed a snake, it was another man who killed a snake.'

(443) peya-hi jina-hi yamado peya jina-hi biyuli
one-REL name-PAUS Yamato one name-PAUS evil spirit
'One (evil spirit), his name is Yamato, another one, his name is Biyuli.'
Numeral 'one' in this use can take plural marker -pe, and then it means 'some'.

(444) peya-pe ilamali ilamali-nilwa ni-yuleta-mia-wa 
  nyawa some people people-PL 3pl-return-PERF-NONACC from-him
  'Some people went away from him.'

Indefinite pronoun peya-pe is usually preposed to the head noun, but can also be postposed, in repetition:

(445) peya-pe enam bi-mia-lu waya-ne Ditusu
  one-pl person know-PERF-EMPH speak-FOSS God

neyawa peya-pe ilamali ilamali-nilwa waya-ne Ditusu
  woman one-pl person know-PERF-EMPH speak-FOSS God
  'Some people do know the word of God, some women do know the word of God.'

Papeya means 'somebody, some people'. It can be analyzed as containing a prefix pa- 'some' and peya 'one'. This pronoun does not show number or gender agreement:

(446) papeya ilamali ni-yoe-ha ma-li
  some people 1sg-to-PAUS say-REL
  'Somebody told me (about the medicine).'

(447) wa-ha papeya ilamali ni-weya
  then-PAUS some people 3pl-want
  'Then some people wanted (to become Christians).'

Pronoun imalu 'the other one of a set of similar objects' is illustrated below:

(448) nupa-ha imalu-la enam
  arrive-PAUS other-DEM.DIST man
  'The other man (of the same family, or kind) is coming.'

16.3 Negative pronouns. Negative pronoun ne'na 'nothing, nobody' is composed of lena 'negation' and interrogative jì 'what' (see sect. 12.4). It can be used as the head of an NP (185), and as a modifier in an NP, both with an animate referent (187), and an inanimate referent (189). The negative marking on the predicate is obligatory.

16.4 Demonstrative pronouns. Demonstratives are discussed in sect. 15.3.4. Demonstrative locative adverbs are formed by joining spatial demonstratives to the presentative wa 'then': want 'here', want 'there'. Allative adverbs contain the directional suffix -ba (cf. nominal allative -waba): wa-ba 'to here' (also: wina), want-ba 'to there'. We hypothesize that the nominal directional marking -waba goes back to double case marking (-wa 'perlative' + -ba 'directional'). Elative adverbs contain the elative suffix -wene: wa-wene 'from here, from there'.

16.5 Interrogative pronouns. Interrogative pronouns are used in direct question constructions.

Interrogative pronouns are:

jì 'what, who, why?'

jì-ni-dalu 'why, for what reason?'

jìlema, jì-lema 'how?' (composed of jì 'what?' and lema 'how' (rarely used))

da-ma-li 'who?' (composed of da- 'interrogative' and a relative form of the verb ma 'do')

dafíla 'who?'

da-ba 'where to?'

da-dali 'where (location)?'

di-wene 'where from?'

tepil 'how many, how much?'

umulheha 'when?'

The stem da- which can be separated in most interrogatives may be cognate to demonstrative da- in Bari. Interrogatives can also be used in embedded indirect question clauses, as illustrated below. In (449–452) an interrogative pronoun is first shown as an interrogative and then as an indirect question. The compound interrogative pronoun jìlema in an indirect question is illustrated in (453).

(449) dabá-ha 
  ya-jìa-wa
  to.where-PAUS 3sgf-stay-NONACC 3sg-child
  'Where is your child going to stay?'

(450) ya-mi-ni-ni-pia-ha 
  dabá 
  jìa-wa
  NEG-PERF-3pl-know-NEG-PAUS where go-NONACC
  'They did not know where to go.'

(451) dabí 
  pi-jìa-wa?
  2sg-stay-NONACC
  'Where do you live?'

(452) wa-ni 
  jìa
  nu-kalita-hi 
  ste 
  dafí 
  ni-
  then 1sg-go 1sg-sing-PAUS until where 1sg-know
  'Then I shall sing until where I know.'
17 Adpositional phrase structure

The adposition is the head of the NP. Person, number and gender are cross-referenced on the adposition with prefixes (see Table 1 in sect. 15.2.1). Most adpositions can be used both as prepositions and postpositions. Prepositions in Warekena are statistically more frequent than postpositions in elicitation, conversation and texts. The placement of adpositions depends on several factors, which will be listed below. Adpositions are used to express peripheral roles, such as: (a) instrumental, comitative: epi ‘with (comitative)’, ima ‘with’ (comitative, instrumental); and (b) spatial: minaji ‘on, on top of’, pisu ‘in front’, epusa ‘after (space)’. The only exception is yue ‘for, to’ which is used to mark a core constituent. It is used to mark possessive relationship in possessive sentences (see sect. 7.2), and to mark an Sp constituent, functioning as a dative subject (see sect. 18.4.1):

(457) yue-yue neyawa telefe fimani-pe
3sgf-to woman three child-PL
'The woman has three children (Lit.: To the woman three children).'

(458) yu-yue yawali
1sg-to hungry
'I am hungry.'

Occasionally, the locative case marker -iwa can be used as a postposition, with a cross-referencing prefix.

(459) yâiwa [eja-te-wa] kopu ya-miia beda-pia
now dry-CAUS-NONACC glass NEG-PERF IMP+perceive-NEG
weni iwe
water LOC
'Now the glass is dried, there is no water in it.'

The following adpositions can be used both as prepositions and postpositions: ima ‘with’, by; epi ‘with’; yue ‘to, for’; yuwa ‘towards’; pulu-wa ‘out of’; minaji ‘on’; iyiwa ‘from’.

In (460) yue is used as a postposition:

(460) yamun Ju-wa neda-hâ i-tapa-hâ
Yamun go-NONACC 1sg+perceive-PAUS 3sgnif-come-PAUS
The use of the same adposition as a preposition and a postposition is linked to the status of a non-pronominal argument in discourse: a newly introduced, or a focused participant is likely to occur with a postposition. This is illustrated with the adposition mina‘i ‘on’. Mina‘i is used as a postposition if its argument is in focus. In (461), ata‘i ‘tree’ is focused, since it plays an important role in the narrative:

(461) ja-wa napa-hə-li ata‘i ju‘udi go-NONACC find-PAUS-REL tree big-ADJ
ju‘udi niwe-li ata‘i wa-hə uwa-hə uwa-hə big-ADJ tall-ADJ tree then-PAUS climb-PAUS climb-PAUS
api-hə matu-le matu-le uwa-hə ata‘i mina‘i take-PAUS cup-POSS cup-POSS climb-PAUS tree on
‘He (the old man) went and found a big tree, a big lofty tree, then he climbed (it), he climbed, he took his cup, his cup, he climbed on (this very) tree.’

Mina‘i is used as a postposition in (462), where tawape ‘jungle’ is contrasted to other locations where the abandoned children subsequently arrived.

(462) ni-ja-wa ni-ja-wa ni-teye-le-ha tawape 3pl-go-NONACC 3pl-go-NONACC until 3pl-arrive-PAUS jungle
tawape mina‘i jungle on
‘They went until they arrived in the jungle.’

Mina‘i is used as a preposition in the argument, not in focus:

(463) wa ni-teye-le-ma-ha tawape wa uwa-ha mina‘i ata‘i them 3pl-arrive-ERP-PAUS jungle then climb-PAUS on tree
‘Then they came to the jungle, then he climbed on a tree.’

Epi and ina ‘comitative’ are mainly used as prepositions. Epi means ‘together with, with the full participation of’.

(464) ema mai-na-wa epi epi wa‘i tapir flight-REFL-NONACC with with jaguar
‘The tapir fought with him, with jaguar.’

(465) yaliwa piya-mia-ha te-li now you-PERF-PAUS know-REL
jaleza-ha pi-ma-ha nepi wa-fahine how-PAUS 2sg-do-PAUS 3pl + with 1pl-family
‘Now it is you who knows how to do together with our family.’

This adposition is also used in a sense close to that of a coordinate conjunction ‘and, with’:

(466) inapa-wa istoria-no kulimalu epi ema finish-NONACC story-POSS turtle with tapir
‘The story of the turtle and tapir ends.’

Ina means ‘with, with the help of, with a partial participation of’:

(467) ja muta-ha famali-nawi ni-epe-palu go call-PAUS people-PL 3pl-conj-PURP
yuwaba-ha ne-palu ne-palu-paja ina to-PAUS 3pl + eat-PURP 3pl + eat-PURP-FUT with
‘He will call many people to eat with him.’

In (468), ina means ‘with’, but without the implication of ‘together with, in the same house’:

(468) niya-ha ni-yama-pe yaliwa wa ni-fa-wa numa 2pl-PAUS 1stg-child-FL now then 2pl-live-NONACC 1sg + with
‘You are my children, now you will live with me.’

Ina and epi are sometimes interchangeable:

(469) ni-fa-wa ni-kata-palu yuma ata-ha 3pl-go-NONACC 3pl-marry-PURP 3sgf + with DEM-DIST-PAUS
neya’wa ni-kata-ha ni-kata-ha epi yu-kata-palu woman 3pl-marry-PAUS 3pl-marry-PAUS with 3sgf-marry-PURP
(474) maileli wiyua-ta-mia-ha wiyua-li iyu shaman die-CAUS-PERF-PAUS die-NOM with 'The shaman killed (someone) with poisem.'

The following adpositions are used only as prepositions or with person-marking prefixes (475-480): piatu-(waba) 'in/on front, before'; epine 'under'; amagahua 'in the middle'; putewa 'over'; niwe 'up'; epine 'under, below'; medinga 'after (reference to time)'; epuna 'after (reference to space)'; ale 'like, as'; ijwa 'from'.

(475) amani ale leiti wa walehê wa tepa-miêhê sap like milk then cook+PAUS then hard-PERF+PAUS

\[\text{jiwa} \text{ale} \text{ji} \text{kali-ic} \text{stay-NONACC like wall-AFF} \]

'Sap is like milk, one cooks (it), and it will become hard like a wall.'

(476) mu-ja nawa-ma ta mu-isi na piyatu weni lag-go 1sg+g-get-CAUS lag-clothing-POSS before rain

'I shall go and get my clothing before it rains.'

(477) wa-ha nyovwa-ma siti epine-ha waliya then-PAS 3pl+blow-PERF fire under-PAS smoking grid

'Then they blew the fire under the smoking grid.'

ijwa 'from, away from' has the primary meaning 'away from' implying movement away, abandoning (478). It can have a malefactive nuance (479, 480).

(478) payai-nil wa ni-yula-emia all-3pl then 3pl-return-PERF

\[\text{ijwa mina-llina puni-ji} \text{ni-pane- waba} \text{from body-MASC house-NPOSS 3pl-house-DIR} \]

'Then all returned, they returned away from the house of the owner to their homes.'

(479) wu-wiyua-mia-ha i-juwiawa \text{ijwa} 3sgf-die-PERF-PAUS 3sgf-wife+FEM from \text{His wife died (lit.: from him).'}

(480) tepa-ba-mia-hu \text{ijwa hard-AUG-PERF-EMP} from \text{It is too hard for him.'}
The main difference between elative case -wene and preposition ḳala in their spatial uses is that the basic meaning of the former is 'from inside of', and of the latter 'away from'.

Pejë 'on' is used only as a postposition:

(481) wa mufita-mis ena bhu pejë
then bite-PERF tapir head upon
'The he (the turtle) hit the tapir on the head.'

The semantics of some adpositions seem to be influenced by Portuguese. In (482), miska 'borrow' is used with ima 'with' (cf. empessar com 'borrow with' in Portuguese), and in (483) the use of ima 'comitative, instrumental' with the verb 'to get used to' may be influenced by Portuguese acostumar com.

(482) wayate nulama-mine yue mine-haana
speak 1sg+father-DEC nf to body-nf

pari-ji miska ima mulupa
house-NPOSS borrow with canoe
'My late father spoke with the owner of the house, he borrowed a canoe from him.'

(483) yupukua-wa numa
get used to-NONACC 1sg+with
'He (the dog) is getting used to me.'

The use of mika 'on, over' with the verb ima 'to tell' is also influenced by Portuguese contar sobre 'tell about' (Lit.: tell on) (425).

Most adpositions have a nominal origin. They have special spatial forms, similar to locative cases formed on nouns. Unlike nouns, adpositions do not have a locative case formed in -we (however, some adpositions contain -we as a fossilized marker). Directional case is expressed by the suffix -wabu, e.g., mu-platuhabu 'towards in front of me (direction)', mu-platu 'in front of me (location)'. Platu 'front' can be used as a noun. Elative case is formed by the addition of -wene to the adposition:

(484) Dominicio ja-wa minka-wene mesa
Dominicio go-NONACC on-EL table
'Dominicio went away from on the table (describing a child getting off a table).'

Body parts are often used as spatial adpositions. They are proposed to the argument, in agreement with the constituent order in possessive NPs:

(485) wa Jimila-wa mana-ha malayu
then 3pl-kis-NONACC near-PAUS deer
'Then they (turtles) lay down near the deer (lit.: at deer's side).'

(486) mu-taiki nupa-ha na-taiki-wene
1sg-child come-PAUS 1sg-back-EL
'My son comes from behind me.'

It is not easy to distinguish a bodypart from a 'true' adposition, e.g., mana 'side, near':

(487) mu-taiki nupa pi-mana-waba
1sg-child come 2sg-side-DIR
'My child came near you (or: to your side).

Adpositions which have their source inalienably (optionally) possessed nouns do not always require pronominal prefixes. They take the cross-referencing prefix only if they have a pronominal argument, e.g., mu-minka 'on me'; mu-platu 'in front of me'. When there is an NP argument either preceding or following, they do not take the prefix. See (462, 463) for these cases of minka 'on'. Adpositions which have their source in inalienably (obligatorily) possessed nouns take the cross-referencing prefix if they have a pronominal argument (487), (488), or are proposed to a non-pronominal argument (490). The argument has usually already been introduced in the previous discourse. The cross-referencing prefixes usually mark the number/gender/person agreement with a non-pronominal argument.

(488) jufi julawi i-yue-ha
big claw 3sgn-to-PAUS
'He has big claws (Lit.: To him big claws).'

If the argument is new, the adposition is postponed to it, and no cross-referencing prefixes are used. (489) and (490) illustrate the contrast between a preposition and a postposition. (489) is the first sentence of the story about the abandoned children, and all the participants are being introduced. The postposition Yue is used with etone 'old man', and it has no agreement markers:

(489) wa-ha peya ete-me yue yupe-ha jsii-pe
then-PAUS one old-MASC to many-PAUS child-FL
'Then an old man had many children (Lit.: To an old man many children).'
(490) is the second sentence of the same story. Epi ‘with’ is prepused to its argument, fisipe ‘children’, and it has the cross-referencing prefix:

\[(490)\text{wa-b} \text{ fia-wa n} \text{epi fisi-pe} \text{ then-PAUS live-NONACC 3pl-+with child-PL} \text{’So he lived with children.’}\]

Plural agreement with prefixed prepositions is optional with collective nouns, e.g., fisipe ‘children’:

\[(491) \text{ja-mia-wa epi fisi-pe enaba go-PERF-NONACC with child-PL two-nf} \text{’He (the old man) went with two children.’}\]

The interrelation between cross-referencing of the argument on the adposition and its position with respect to the NP is reminiscent of Baniwa of Ìcana. Baniwa of Ìcana (see Alkhoven 1995b) uses a special indefinite person-marker i-, with neutralization of person/number/gender opposition, which is otherwise obligatory in cross-referencing prefixes, on the arguments of adpositions under conditions similar to those of Warekena. Unlike Warekena, Baniwa uses the same cross-referencing i- on the head noun in a possessive NP and predicates, if the Agent (A/Sa constituent) or Possessed noun has to be focused. Warekena shows only traces of this system (see sect. 18.4.2 for further details), possibly due to language obsolescence phenomena.

18 Verb and verb phrase structure

18.1 Tense. Similarly to other Malipuran languages, Warekena has no obligatory tense markers. Usually, the unmarked verbal form is used, with obligatory cross-referencing morphemes (see sect. 18.4), and adverbial phrases and time expressions are used to specify the time reference if necessary, as in (492), (493).

\[(492) \text{yafia ni-tapa-ka yele-mia-na yesterday 1sg-walk-RED tired-PERF-1sg} \text{’Yesterday I walked, I am tired.’}\]

\[(493) \text{benami-ja wa-pata ta amani stringa wa-pata paya lu long-ago 1pl-work sap rubber 1pl-work all} \text{’Long ago we worked on sap and rubber, we all, many of us worked, we worked for the white people.’}\]

The unmarked form is widely used in conversations and narratives:

\[(494) \text{wa-b} \text{ ma lo yaya yue-ba kukulimulu then-PAUS speak to-PAUS turtle} \text{’The turtle spoke to the turtle, he spoke, said to the turtle.’}\]

A number of optional elastics are used for tense reference when it has to be stressed. Criteria for elastics are given in sect. 22.4.1. The tense elastics are used when the tense reference has a particular importance, for example, in sequencing of events, as in (495), or it has to be underlined that the action refers to a particular period, as in (495). These elastics are: -yale ‘remote past’, -pafla ‘future’.

\[-yale ‘remote past’. This clitic does not co-occur with other aspect markers (see sect. 18.2), and can only be used once in a clause (495, 496).\]

\[(495) \text{wa-pata-yale benami-ja amani ipl-work-REMP long-ago sap} \text{’Long ago we worked on sap (we are not doing it now any more).’}\]

\[(496) \text{mu-fia-yale Barewe wefipa nu-fa weneji-waba 1sg-live-REMP Manaus +LOC after 1sg-go Xie-DIR} \text{’I lived in Manaus long ago, after that I went to Xie.’}\]

-\text{pafla} ‘future’ is used to emphasize a general future reference (see below on -peta for immediate future). -\text{pafla} is used with reference to a future action, as in (497), (498). -\text{pafla} can be used more than once in a clause, as illustrated in (497), if the future happenings have to be emphasized. This example comes from the story about a jaguar and a rabbit, where the rabbit is forestalling the future. It can co-occur with perfective aspect -\text{mi} and inchoative -\text{wa}. (497), (498) illustrate the clitical character of \text{pafla}, which may undergo movement to the clause-initial stressed word, e.g., pulla ‘now’ (497), or to the negative proclitic \text{yu}- (498).

\[(497) \text{yaliwa-pafla-ba inapa-mia-wa munudu now-FUT-PAUS finish-PERF-NONACC world} \text{’Now the whole world is finished.’}\]

\[(498) \text{ni-yuha-pafla puya lu ni atapi puya lu atapi puya lu 3pl-FLU-FUT all-3pl tree all tree all} \text{’The whole forest was cut down.’}\]

\[(499) \text{ni-yuha-pafla-hi ube ma lu-pafla paya lu atapi 3pl-FLU-PAUS all-DEL-EMPH-FUT one-EMPH tree all} \text{’The whole forest was cut down.’}\]
(498) ya-pāisana-hā
NEG-FUT-PL
all people

ne-ya-ni-pia-hā
NEG
NEG-FUT
all things

‘I shall not laugh.’

-paĩa follows the purposive -paũu.

(499) ja mata-hā
in front-LOC
ne-ya-ni-paũu
NEG
people-PL

‘He called many people to eat, to eat (in future) with him.’

-paĩa follows -wa ‘non-accomplished’, if the two co-occur in the same word:

(500) ya-liwa ina-paũa-ya-paĩa-hā
finish-NONACC-FUT-PL
有一定目的

now µuνu-ɭuunu-paũa-ya-paĩa-hā
a few things

‘Now the world will start coming to an end’, lied (the rabbit) to the jaguar.

In serial verb constructions, -paĩa attaches to the second verb:

(501) wa-ja
then
wa-paũa-ya-paĩa-hā
people-PL

‘Let’s run later.’

18.2 Aspect. Warakena has eight aspectual enclitics and suffixes, all optional. They are: -mi ‘perfective’, -wa ‘nonaccomplished, continuous’, -ni ‘change of state’, -peta ‘intensive or immediate action’, -ya ‘yet, more’, -dekana ‘going back and forth’, -ľi ‘habitual’, -ľi ‘repetitive’. Aspectual meanings can also be expressed by serial verb constructions (see sect. 18.8.1).

18.2.1 -mi ‘perfective aspect’. It is used with the following meanings.

(a) to mark the result of an action, as in (492) and (502).

(502) ja-bine pe ja-mutu-nr wa ni-nya-mi-hā
family-PL go call-3pl then 3pl-come-PERF-PAUS

ja-bine pe yuwa-hā
family-PL towards-PAUS

‘He (the turtle) called his family, then his family came to him (as the result of his calling).’

-mi is often used with this meaning in embedded clauses which contain the conjunction ate ‘until’:

(503) piyatu-waha pala malayu pala
in front-DIR run deer run

pala pala ate ya-mi-ňu-pihih
run run until NEG-PERF-strong-NEG + PAUS deer

‘He (the deer) ran in front, he ran, ran, until the deer had no strength.’

(b) -mi may mean simply an accomplished action, or state:

(504) wa ya-mi-ni ni-tiina-mi-hā
then late-PERF-3pl neg-PERF-PAUS

ni-tiina-mi-hā
ate aliwa-mi-ni aliwa-mi-ni wayatas
3pl-sleep-PERF-PAUS until dawn-PERF-3pl dawn-PERF-3pl speak

malayu
deer

‘Then they were late, they slept, they slept until they woke up, they woke up, (then) the deer spoke.’

(505) wa pala malayu pala malayu ỹiya-mi dainu-hā
then run deer run deer die-PERF faint-PAUS

malayu ya-mi
deer

yuñi-pihi
NEG-PERF strong-NEG + PAUS

ya-mi-yuñi-pihih
malayu
NEG-PERF strong-NEG + PAUS deer

‘The deer ran, he died, he fainted, the deer, the deer had no more strength.’

-mi means something like ‘already’ in (506), or ‘any more’ if used with negation (507).
(506) yawaputa kulimala piasti-waba-mia
answer turtle in-front-DIR-PERF
'The turtle answered, he (the turtle) was already in front (of the deer).'

(507) yaliwa ya-mia-hā yue-pia pi-fian-i-pe
now NEG-PERF-PAUS to-NEG 2sg-child-PL
'Now he (the rabbit) does not have your children any more (since the
jaguar has eaten them).'

(mia is used to mark first plural imperative which refers to an action that
has already started, or has been planned in advance. (508) comes from the story
about a running competition between a cunning turtle and a naïve deer. The deer
is urging the turtle to start the competition which has already been planned.

(508) wa-fa-mia wa wa-pala-hā
1pl-go-PERF then 1pl-run-PAUS
'Let's go, let's run,' (said the deer).

The command in (509) refers to a series of actions three turtles have to
undertake to prepare the food:

(509) wa-hā wa-fa-mia wa-teinkiuk a:ta:pi ma-palu wa-liya
then-PAUS 1pl-go-PERF 1pl-cut tree do-PURP smoking grid
'Then let's go and cut trees to make a smoking grid.'

(with the verb of perception eda 'perceive, see/hear,' -mia means 'a sudden
result, unexpectedly':

(510) wa barvita-mia wa yu-yanita-wa mawilite
then shoot-arrow-PERF then 3sgf-laugh-NONACC sister
wa: yaita-mia yu-pu-li-hā eyawasa
then 3sgf-open-PERF 3sgf-eye-PAUS old+FEM
yed-mia-ni wa-yan-ma-hā ni-yue-hā
3sgf-see-PERF-3pl then 3sgf-say-PAUS 3pl-learn-PAUS
'He (the boy) shot an arrow, the sister laughed, then the old woman opened
her eyes, and saw them (unexpectedly), and she said to them . . . '

(511) wa-fi eda-mia kunehu ja yuwa-ba wāji
jaguar see-PERF rabbit go to jaguar
'The jaguar (all of a sudden) saw the rabbit, he (the rabbit) was going to
the jaguar.'

-Mia is not used with the verb of perception eda 'perceive/see/hear, under-
stand' if there is no implication of 'unexpectedness' (512). It is also not used
with verbs of speaking, such as "say", "speak", "answer" (see 504, 505, 510).

(512) ni-yelata nida-hā nidā
3pl-have 3pl-say-PAUS
'Vee the turtles arrived, they saw him (deer) dead.'

Examples such as (507) show the clitic character of -mia; it always undergoes
attraction to the negative proclitic yo-.

18.2.2 -wa 'non-accomplished action'. -wa is a suffix, since it does not un-
dergo attraction to the negative proclitic yo (521). It follows the negative -pi-
in (22), (23). It is used with (yo-) in the following meanings:

(a) unfinished action: either inchoative, i.e., the beginning of an action
(513–515), or continued action (516–518):

(513) atulapi-mia-ni wa ni-yulita-wa mana-hā malayu
ful-PERF-3pl then 3pl-learn-NONACC near-PAUS deer
'They (the turtles) were already full (as the result of having eaten the
dead deer), they lay down near the deer.'

(514) wa-hā afia-wa uli-pe-fi-ta atapi
then-PAUS stand-NONACC foot-LOC=DEM.DIST tree
'Then he (the rabbit) stood (quietly) at the foot of the tree.'

-...-wa in this inchoative meaning is very often used with motion verbs. It can
also co-occur with -pa/ia 'future'.

(515) ni-fa ni-yubus yu-fripe ni-yapa-wa-palu-pa-fi-hā
1sg-go 1sg-dig ground 1sg-enter-NONACC-PURP=FUT-PAUS
'I shall go and start digging the ground for me to enter.'

The following examples illustrate the inchoative meaning of -wa:

(516) ni-yulita-wa ba-buya pepuja
3pl-dig-NONACC one-CL.TIME day
'They (the turtles) lay for one day.'

(517) wa ni-fa-wa ate aliva-mia-ni ni-fa-wa
then 3pl-see-NONACC until dawn-PERF-3pl-see-NONACC
'They sat until it dawned.'
(318) wa-hi  nida  peya neyawa  yu-yaya
then-PFV 3pl-i-perceive  one  woman  3sgf-weep
yu-fa-wa
3sgf-stay-NONACC
'Then they (abandoned children) saw a woman, she was weeping.'

The inchoative and continuative meanings are not always easy to distinguish, especially when -wa is used with motion verbs. In repetition, the inchoative meaning is more linked to the beginning of a discourse, and the continuative to the following sentences of discourse, as can be illustrated with (319):

(319) wa-ni-fa-wa  ni-kulimalu-na
then-3pl-go-NONACC  DEM.PERL-turtle-PL

tenepu numa-wa  ni-fa-wa  uyuba-lu
road  mouth-PERL  3pl-go-NONACC slow-EMPH
'Then the turtles started going, they went (and went) slowly by the edge of the road.'

(b) -wa can also occur on the predicate of a dependent complement clause:

(320) ya-lili nu-fa  ni-yiulut-a  tenepu numa-wa
now 1sg-go  1sg-leave  2sg-lie-NONACC road

'Now I shall leave you to lie at the edge of the road.'

(c) -wa is used to express immediate action, and even immediate future. (521) shows the contrast between -wa used to express immediate action in a serial verb construction, and the predicate without -wa, which indicates a permanent state of affairs.

(321) kulimalu  ya-be-pia  ja-wa
turtle  NEG-can-NEG go-NONACC

ya-be-pia  ja-wa  alebota-wa  ya-be-pia
NEG-can-NEG go-NONACC quickly-NONACC NEG-can-NEG

pala-ha  ja-wa  uyuba-lu
run-PFV go-NONACC slow-EMPH
'The turtle could not start going (immediately), it could not go quickly, it could not run (at all), it started going slowly.'

Immediate future meaning of -wa is illustrated in (522).

(522) wa:  yu-ta  ni-yu-hi  peya pani-fi
then 3sgf-give 3pl-for-PFV woman

ni-fa-pali-wa
3pl-live-PURP-NONACC
'Then she (the witch) gave them (the abandoned children) a house to live in.'

-wa can mean unexpected, unplanned action when used with active (S1) or transitive verbs (but not with the verb of perception).

(523) wa  yu-wita-mia  wa  yu-yeita-wa
mawilite  then  shoot-arrow-PERF  then  3sgf-laugh-NONACC sister

'she shot an arrow, the sister laughed (suddenly).'  

(524) wa  nu-yu-fa-wa
inamalu
then-1sg-kill-NONACC stingray

'Then I (suddenly) killed the stingray.'

(d) -wa can express immediate imperative:

(525) wa-ya  ni-iye-hi  wa-ja  wa-ya-uya ku-e fi
then-say  3pl-to-PFV 1pl-go-NONACC 1pl-go 1pl-kill game

'He (the turtle) said to them (his cousins), "Let's kill game right now!'"

-wa can occur with either component of a serial verb construction, but never with both; see sect. 18.5.3 for criteria for serial verb constructions and how they differ from a series of predicates. In (526), -wa occurs with fia 'to sit', and gives that verb an inchoative meaning (also (528)). In (527), -wa occurs with the verb of movement fia 'to go', and it gives it an inchoative meaning. -wa specifies the action of either component of a serial verb construction independently, and so it belongs to nuclear, and not to core, serialization (see Foley and Olson 1985).

(526) wa  ja  fia-wa
then go sit-NONACC jaguar

'The jaguar went to sit there.'

(527) ni-fa-wa  ni-fi-ima-hi  ate  aliva-mia
3pl-go-NONACC 3pl-sleep-PFV until dawn-PURP-3pl

'They went to sleep, until they woke up.'
(528) nu-ja nu-weya-bå ni-yamala-wa
lag-go lag-want-PAUS lag-hunt-NONACC
'I went, I intended to start hunting.'

-måa 'perfective, resultative' and -wa can co-occur, in either order: -måa-wa
and -wa-måa, with the following semantic difference: -måa-wa means 'a continuative action the result of which is important; gradually attaining the result', as is illustrated by (529–530); -wa-måa means 'the result of a started action' (531).

(530) wanebå ninapa-måa ne-bå
here+PAUS 3pl+finish-PERF 3pl+eat-PAUS
ni-malayu wa inapa-måa-wa malayu
DEM.FR-deer then finish-PERF-NONACC deer
'Then they finished eating the deer, then the deer was coming to an end.'

-måa-wa can be used with reference to the future:

(531) yaliwa-ña-a-bå inapa-måa-wa mundu
now-PUT-PAUS finish-PERF-NONACC world
"Now the world will be coming to an end," (said the rabbit to the jaguar).

wa ni-fia-wa-måa-bå mana-bå wallya
then 3pl-at-NONACC-PERF-PAUS near-PAUS smoking.grid
ni-kawuu-ta-palu ni-du-le
3pl-smoke-CAUS-PURP 3pl-stock
'So they settled down (sat and stayed there) to smoke the stock.'

The typical ending of most stories shows an alternation of -måa-wa and -wa:

(532) yaliwa inapa-måa-wa isturia-ye malayu epi
now finish-PERF-NONACC story.POSS deer with
kulumalu wa-bå inapa-måa-wa isturia inapa-wa
turtle then-PAUS finish-PERF-NONACC story finish-NONACC
"Now it is finishing the story of the deer with a turtle, it is finishing, the story is ending.'

(533) illustrates the contrast between -wa-måa and -måa-wa:

(534) illustrates the semantic difference between -wa and -måa-wa:

(535) ale alehå bayata-ni ate ninapa-wa
so so+PAUS spread-3pl until 3pl+finish-NONACC
ninapa-wa kulumalu ate walli inapa-måa-wa
3pl+finish-NONACC turtle until where finish-PERF-NONACC
ni-fia-måa-wa ni-yuleta-måa-wa
3pl-go-PERF-NONACC 3pl-return-PERF-NONACC
ni-yuleta-måa-bå ulupe-waba ya-pa wa
3pl-return-PERF-PAUS foot-DIR hill then
ni-yuleta-måa-wa kulimala-nawri
3pl-lie-PERF-NONACC turtle.PL
'So they (turtles) started and finished scattering themselves, they returned to the foot of a hill, then the turtles finished lying down.'
tenepu
road
'So he spread them until they were finishing, the turtles were finishing, until where the road was coming to an end.'

The contrast between -ma±a and -wa±a is neutralized in the context of negation, since -ma undergoes attraction to the negative proclitic, and -wa does not:

(536) ya-me-hu ni-yetuma neguna-ha
far-EMPH 3pl-clear 3pl+road-PAUS
pa:la pa:la ya-ma be-pia-wa malayun
run run run NEG-PERF can-NEG-NONACC deer
'They made their road far, he (the deer) run, and he could (run) no more.'

18.2.3 -ma 'change of state; inchoative.' This morpheme is used with S powsta verbs to make them S (see sect. 18.4.1).

(537) wa-ha enaba wiiru ni-fa ni-yetuma weni
then-PAUS two child 3pl-go 3pl-get water
wa: ate pah-ma-ha hili
then until full-INCH-PAUS pan
'Then the two children went to fetch water until the pan became full.'

-ma 'inchoative' can co-occur with -ma, to express a resultative meaning, as in (538), and with -wa to express continuative meaning, as in (539):

(538) ya-ma ni-te-pia-ha daba-ha
NEG-PERF 3pl-know-NEG-PAUS where-PAUS
ni-yaleta-wa ni-pi-pi-nia-ma-ha
3pl-arrive-NONACC 3pl-be.lost-INCH-PERF-PAUS
'So they (the abandoned children) did not know where to go, they have become lost.'

(539) waya-ha wa-pi-pi-nia-wa
wa-PAUS 3pl-be.lost-INCH-NONACC
'Ve (my father and I) were getting lost (in the jungle).'

18.2.4 -peta 'intensive or immediate action.' These two meanings of -peta are illustrated with (432), (540)-(542).

(540) nu-yamo(p)a-peta kaka we-pahu
1sg-bring-INT manioc bread 1pl+eat-PURP
'I shall bring manioc bread (=cookies) immediately, for us to eat.'

(541) wepeli yaya-peta
baby weep-INT
'The baby is crying very much.'

(542) nu-fisammi yu-piwa yu-piwa-peta
1sg-mother 3sgf-smoke 3sgf-smoke-INT
nu-fuma-ha
1sg-suffocate-PAUS
'My mother smokes, she smokes very much, (so that) I get suffocated.'

18.2.5 -yuha 'yet, more'. This meaning of -yuha is illustrated with (543-546).

(543) ma nu-fa-yaha nu-yamba ya:nippe
say 1sg-go-Yet 1sg-dig ground
'(The rabbit) said, "I shall go and dig the ground a bit more (since I have some time to spare)".'

(544) ninapa-mia ne-ha ni-waya-yaha
3pl+finish-PERF 3pl+eat-PAUS 3pl-speak-YET
ate umina-mia yafapa
until late-PERF night
'They finished eating, they talked more until late at night.'

-yuha is a clitic, since it undergoes attraction to the negative proclitic ya-

(545) ya-yaha yue-pia i-fumawu
NEG-YET to-NEG 3sgf-wife+FEM
'He is a bachelor (he has no wife yet).'

-yuha contrasts with perfective -ma in dialogues:

(546) pi-waya-yaha ya-ha ya-mia nu-waya-pia
2sg.want-YET NEG-PAUS NEG-PERF 1sg.want-NEG
'"Do you want some more (food)?" "No, I don't want."'

-yuha precedes the person-marking enclitic:
(547) trume-yaha-ni jiani-pe
  alive-YET-3pl child-PL
  'The children (of the jaguar) were still yet alive.'

18.2.6 -dekana 'going back and forth'

(548) yu-pataa-ha neyawa yu-kulas-dekana
  3sgf-work-PAUS woman 3sgf-drink-BACK.AND.FORTH
  kalibe
  manioc.liquid
  'The woman is working, she is drinking manioc liquid going back and forth.'

18.2.7 -fiili 'habitual'. Both -fiili and -dekana have not been attested with negation, so it is difficult to decide whether they are clitics or affixes. -fiili precedes both -mia and -wa in a verbal form. This, however, is not a sufficient piece of evidence in favour of or against the affixal status of this morpheme, since -fi 'relativizer', apparently, an enclitic, also precedes -wa (see sect. 18.2.2), and follows -mia.

(549) nu-yufia-fiili-wa fime
  1sg-kill-HAB-NONACC fish
  'I continually killed fish (all my life, and am still doing it now).'

(550) nu-yufia-fiili-mia fime
  1sg-kill-HAB-PERF fish
  'I have always killed fish (but now stopped).'

18.2.8 -fi 'repetitive'. This is illustrated with (20) and (551).

(551) ya-mu-yufiepeh-a wa mu-fa-ni-wa wa-buqi
  NEG-1sg-kill-NONACC fish-NEG-PAUS then-1sg-go-REP-NONACC spring
  numa-wa yame-ju nu-pie-ha puas-fi-nawi nu-muduka-ha
  mouth-PERF far-EMPH 1sg-find-PAUS monkey-PL 1sg-shoot-PAUS
  telefih nu-fa-fi-wa wa-wene
  three 1sg-go-REP-NONACC then-EL
  'I did not kill him (a crocodile), I went again along the mouth of a spring; far, I found a group of monkeys, I shot three, I went again from there (upstream).'

(552) wa-tiima-ha ale-ma-ba-ju-ta ate
  1pl-sleep-PAUS so-DEL-AUG-EMPH-DEM.DIST until
  a1iwa-fi-mia wa fa-ma-fi-dj-wa
  dawn-PERF-REP then 1pl-go-PERF-REP-NONACC
  'We slept just like that (i.e., without any water to drink), until it had dawned again, then we went on again.'

(553) fa-ma-fi-wa e-bi ema
  go-PERF-REP-NONACC eat-PAUS tapir
  wa e-bi e-mia ema
  then eat-PAUS eat-PERF tapir
  'He went again eating tapir and he ate up the tapir.'

-fi means 'further on' in (554)-(556). With this meaning it follows both -mia and -wa in (554).

(554) yawa-mia-ha yuletta-mia-wa-fi pani-fi-wala
  later-PERF-PAUS return-PERF-NONACC-REP house-NPROSS-DIR
  yuletta-mia pani-fi-waba-ha yuleta pani-fiwe
  return-PERF house-NPROSS-DIR-PAUS return house-NPROSS+LOC
  'It was already late, he came back (further on) towards the house, he came to the house, he came home.'

(555) wa ne-fi ne-fi ne-ha
  then 3pl-eat-REP 3pl-eat-REP 3pl-eat-PAUS
  ne-mia malayu
  3pl-eat-PERF deer
  'They (the turtles) ate more and more (of the dead deer), they ate the deer.'

(556) wa ni-fa-fi wa ni-yuleta-mia-ha ni-fa-wa
  then 3pl-go-REP then 3pl-arrive-PERF-PAUS 3pl-go-NONACC
(565) nida yujana ufipie ni-wayata
3pl-perceive voice bird 3pl-speak
'They can hear the voice of birds singing.'

(566) nida-da-ha yujana ufipie ni-wayata
3pl-perceive-RED-PAUS voice bird 3pl-speak
'They can hear the voice of very many birds singing.'

(566) cannot be interpreted as 'very many people can hear the voice of birds'.

(567) ni-wepa-mia ni-tapewa-ne
3pl-leave-PERF 3pl-hat-FOSS
'They left their hats.'

(568) ni-wepa-pa-mia payalu ni-tapewa-ne
3pl-leave-RED-PERF all 3pl-hat-FOSS
'They left all their hats (many hats).' (568) cannot be understood as 'very many people left a hat each'.

(569) mu-weya weni
1sg-want water
'I want water. I am thirsty.'

(570) mu-weya-ya weni
1sg-want-RED water
'I want much water.'

(571) wa kula weni kula-ya weni faflf kulla
then drink water drink-RED water 1sg. drink
'Then the jaguar drank water, (he) drank a lot, he drank much water.'

In one case a reduplicated transitive verb is semantically different in a more basic way from the corresponding non-reduplicated one: "muflita 'bite', muflita-ta 'gnaw'. (572) is an illustration of this semantic opposition from the story about the tapir and the turtle:

(572) wa-ha kulimalu muflita-ta fimapie-ps-mi ena
then-PAUS turtle bite-RED bone-PL-PEJ tapir
muflita-ta fimapie-ps-mi ena kulimalu ya-be-ps
bite-RED bone-PL-PEJ tapir turtle NEG-can-NEG

ya-be-ps-ha muflita
NEG-can-NEG-PAUS bite
'Then the turtle gnawed tapir's bones, the turtle cannot bite.'

Reduplicated intransitive verbs can take the causative suffix -ta in a few cases; e.g., pada 'run', pada-la 'run far away', pada-la-TA 'make run far away'. Reduplication of the causative morpheme is more productive. (573) comes from a story about evil spirits. The evil spirit Awakaruna is described, the reduplication of the causative kune-ta-ta (fear-CAUS-RED) 'he frightens very much' being used to emphasize how frightening he is:

(573) ema-ha kune-ta-patu fimali
shout-PAUS fear-CAUS-PURP people
ya-yufia-pia fimali-na-ba-la kune-ta-ta-mia
NEG-kill-NEG people-DEL-AUG-EMPH fear-CAUS-RED-PERF
kune-ta-ta-na-ba-la fear-CAUS-RED-DEL-AUG-EMPH
'He (Awakaruna) shouts to frighten people. He does not kill people, only frightens them, he frightens them very much.'

In a few cases, reduplicated forms and causatives are homophonous, e.g., yenita 'laugh' (cf. 574, 575); also -nakata 'change', inakata-ta 'make change', or 'change a lot'; mita 'fly', mita-ta 'fly' (many SAs), or 'make fly away'.

(574) yenita-ta-wa
laugh-RED-NONACC on dog
He is laughing a lot at the dog.'

(575) fimu yenita-ta-wa
laugh-CAUS-1sg
The dog makes me laugh.'

Reduplication with intransitive stative and state/condition predicates indicates the intensity of the state or condition, e.g., apa-te 'very cold', apa-te 'very cold' (SA); abaine 'dangerous', abine-NA 'very dangerous' (SA), jefe-je 'very dry', jefe-je 'very dry' (SA). Replication with intransitive active predicates indicates plurality of SAs, and intensity of action (many times):

(576) ufipie ni-mita-wa
bird 1pl-Fly-NONACC
'The birds are flying.'
(577) uojipie ni-mita-ta-wa
bird 3pl-emy-RED-NONACC
"Many birds are flying (to and fro)."

For a number of Sa verbs, the meaning of a reduplicated stem, though clearly linked to the non-reduplicated one, is not totally deducible from it; e.g., tapa ‘go, pass, come’, tapa-ma ‘walk’, wiina ‘die, faint’, wiina-ya ‘faint of drunkenness’ (578).

(578) ni-kulua yalaki ni-wiyu-ya
3pl-drink whisky 3pl-die/faint-RED
ni-mai-ma-ya ni-yugla-ya-ya-ya
3pl-drink-REC-NONACC 3pl-drink-REC-NONACC
They (non-evangelicals) drink whisky, they faint of drunkenness, they quarrel and kill each other.

A few Sa verbs have a reduplicated stem and no non-reduplicated counterpart, i.e., they are inherently reduplicated; e.g., mahita ‘work’, kula-ku ‘shudder, tremble’, yuma ‘weep’. There is one example of an inherent CVCV reduplication in an Sa verb: mu:lamula 'be very wet'.

18.3 Mood/Modality. For the description of imperatives and prohibitives see sects. 11 and 12.6. Apart from this, Warekena expresses the following modal meanings.

Probability is marked with the clitic -jewa. It generally follows aspectual clitics, and undergoes attraction to the negative proclitic ya-. It can be used both in affirmative and in negative sentences, and usually refers to the future, i.e., it does not have any irrealis meaning.

(579) aya:jewa-ya weni
be.absent-PROB-PAUS water
"Water will probably be lacking."

(580) ya-mia:jewa wa-kulua-pia weni
NEG-deferred-PROB 1pl-drink-NEG water
"We shall probably have no water to drink."

Warekena has a purposive mood marked on the predicate of a final subordinate clause (also see sect. 14.2) by the enclitic -paju ‘in order to, so that’. Most frequently -paju means 'in order to'; -paju is never used with Sa or Sb predicates. The subject of the purposive clause does not necessarily coincide with that of the main clause; (581) illustrates A1 = A2; (582) illustrates A1 = A2; (583) illustrates

S3 = A2; (584) illustrates S1 = S2 and (585) illustrates S1 = A2. There are no pivot restrictions, i.e., any possibility of coreferential deletion is grammatical.

A1 = A2:

(581) wa-ba wa-ja wa-yanita payalu abu wa-pansa-palu
then-PAUS 1pl-go 1pl-take all fruit 1pl-plan-PURP
wa-miyualwe wa-yanita aji wa-pansa-palu
1pl-garden + LOC 1pl-take manioc 1pl-plan-PURP
"Then we went to take all the fruit, for us to plant in our garden, we took manioc to plant."

A1 = A2:

(582) mima-lama pani-fa ja yanita-hi
body-MASC house-NPOSS go bring-PAUS
wa-yun-ba ayu-fa wa-palu wa-ja yanita payalu
1pl-for-PAUS lack-NOM 1pl-eat-PURP then-go bring all
axy-fa kaka matuka kawyn-fa wa-palu
lack-NOM manioc bread manioc flour smoke-NOM 1pl-eat-PURP
"The owner of the house went and brought us all we needed for us to eat, he brought all we needed, manioc bread, flour, smoked (meat) for us to eat."

S1 = A2

(583) ya-mia-hi yulpi-pia hu-ma-palu matuka
NEG-deferred-PAUS strong-NEG-3sgf-2sgf-do-PURP flour
"She (my wife) is not strong enough for her to make flour."

S1 = S2

(584) wa-hi Jesu Kritu yap-a wa
then-PAUS Jesus Christ enter-NONACC
pani-fa-wabu-hi pani-fa-wabu-hi i-tapa-palu
house-NPOSS-DIR-PAUS house-NPOSS-DIR-PAUS 3sgf-go-PURP
pae-wa nawa-le-fi
middle-REL village-NPOSS
"Then Jesus Christ entered into a house, into a house, to go in the middle of the village."

S₁ = A₂

(585) wa-fa-wa bina-palu bina-palu eni-hi
then-go-NONACC tell-PURP tell-PURP DEM.PR-PAUS
waya-ne Diutu
say-PASS God
'Then he went to tell, to tell this word of God.'

It may be used with the meaning of 'so that', when the result of the action is emphasized, as illustrated below:

(586) pi-tutu-nil atapi nalita-palu-pi tepa
2sg-see-DEM.PR tree 1sg +tie-PURP-2sg hard
"Hug this tree so that I tie you hard," (said the rabbit to the jaguar).

(587) pida-pa+jia 1sg-perceive-FUT 1sg-read
pida-palu akeru wayata-hi diutu
2sg + perceive-PURP how speak-PAS PAUS God
"You will see, now I shall read, for you to see how God speaks," (said the rabbit to the jaguar).

-Pa+jia is a clitic, since it is attracted to the negative proclitic 1sg (588) (see sect. 22.4.1).

(588) wa-hi pi-alita-na wani-hi mina-fi-nil atapi
then-PAUS 1sg-tie-1sg here-PAUS on-DEM.PR tree
ya-palu nu-wiya-pi+hhi
NEG-PURP 1sg-die-NEG + PAUS
'Tie me here on the tree, so that I do not die.'

-Pa+jia does not combine with -ni 'perfective'. It combines with -ws, which may follow or precede it. It precedes -pa+jia when it has an inchoative meaning (515, 539). Otherwise it follows -pa+jia (522). -Pa+jia may mark the predicate of a complement clause (590).

(589) wa-we-yali+hhi tele+jia
1pl-leave-YET + PAUS three month
fe+jie+pa+lu 1sg+tie+pa+lu a+njaa
dry-CAUS-PURP tree/branch burn-NONACC-PURP well
'We leave (the branches) for three months, for the wood to get dry and to burn well.'

(590) papai wa-fa-palu-wa yele-mia-na nu-yawan-ta
papa 1pl-go-PURP-NONACC tired-PERF-1sg 1sg-answer
'Father, I am tired for us to start going,' I answered.'

-Pa+jia 'future' follows -pa+jia:

(591) nu-yi+hhi ga+yajja ji+njika ji+hhi luwulove
1sg-see -PAS far-SMPH go out field + LOC
nu-mi+jyuta-palu-pa+jia ji+wa wa+jj
1sg.escape-PURP-FUT from jaguar
'I shall dig (a hole), it will go out far away in the field, for me to escape from the jaguar.'

-Pa+jia can be used similarly to -bu+le 'oblique focus' (see sect. 18.5.3.2 on the differences):

(592) ya-wa+yu-pa ne+yupa wa+njai+pa+lu
NEG-1pl-to-NEG paddle 1pl-paddle-PURP
'We had no (real) paddle, for us to paddle.'

-Pa+jia can be used to intensify the action:

(593) yawan-ta mu+jelae pe+i-pa+jia
answer rabbit 2sg-child-PL eat-PURP
pe+i-pa+jia pe+ni+n
2sg-child-PL 2sg + eat-PERF-3pl
'The rabbit answered (the jaguar), "You have indeed eaten your children."'

(594) wa-hi alita-hi bu+le yapa+jia+aplai+pa+lu ma+nja+le
then-PAUS tie-PAUS cup-PASS hang + hang-PURP cup-PASS
'He tied his cup, to hang his cup.'
In serial verb constructions, the verb can be marked only once. It occurs with the first component and refers to the whole construction. Thus, it belongs to core verb serialization.

Mane can be used to warn of bad consequences of an action which are not self-evident or outlined afterwards.

...
(i) Obligatorily transitive verbs always have two arguments; if one of the two is omitted it can be retrieved from the context, following the pivot restrictions as shown in sect. 3. Examples of obligatorily transitive verbs are: eda 'see/hear', understand, look after', mugi-ta 'bite', kubia 'drink', iluka 'cut', s 'eat', pie 'find', pata 'catch', fins 'tell', pata 'hit', weya 'want', dauna 'tie', alita 'lie thoroughly', wakwa 'untie', deka 'have'; yanata 'write', ma 'do, say', we 'let, leave', weya 'leave, throw', yanata 'take', yagafa 'kill, hunt', jata 'ask', wabuta 'order', s 'understand, know', wapata 'attend to', mite 'call', iyunda 'help', pala-ka 'weed', yata 'bite (mosquito)', yubata 'peck', fins 'small', beni 'like', beda 'try' (food), alita 'pick', tutu 'embrace, hug a child who is sitting in one's lap', giga-fafa 'hug', wala-nafa 'save, guard', deka 'hold a child who is standing in one's lap', pila, a-wade 'bury', dekena 'tie, tell lies', fiwa 'slice, drown', wenda 'buy', wende 'sell', yanata 'believe', nata 'pray', mifuta 'hide', yunata 'blow (the fire), mite 'join'.

Transitive verbs of class (ii) are higher on the transitivity hierarchy (Hopper and Thompson 1980) than transitive verbs of other classes. Some of these verbs preferentially take sentential complements, e.g., beni 'like', ne 'know', we 'let, leave'. This class also includes a number of loan verbs, e.g., iyunda, aynes 'help' (Portuguese ajudar, Spanish ayudar), deke 'owe' (Portuguese devedor, Spanish deber), wenda 'sell' (Portuguese, Spanish vender). These verbs are obligatorily transitive in Portuguese and Spanish.

The class of obligatorily transitive verbs can be considered an open class, since it accepts new members - loan verbs.

(ii) A=S ambitransitives are a smallish class of verbs. Examples: yuba 'dig', yaya 'speak, talk, say', kanata 'sing', falwia 'whistle', puteta 'fish', yanata 'burn', baya 'give a canoe', niwata 'answer', niyanta 'wait'.

The following examples illustrate A=S ambitransitives:

(602) wa yubha-ta tumuwa
then dig-PAS nest
Then he (the turtle) dug a nest.

(603) m-yanuha-ku yaone-ja
lg-3sg-dig-PAS fur-EMPH
"I shall dig a long way away," (said the rabbit)."

(604) wa m-utia yaliwa na-ja nuluna kushe
then say jarga now lg-3sg-go lg-3sg-wait rabbit
Then the jaguar said, "I shall go and wait for the rabbit."

(605) wa: ulonia wafla ulonia wafla
then wait jarga wait jarga
Then the jaguar was waiting, waiting (for a long time)."

(iii) S=O ambitransitives are a big class. They include: eva 'burn', paka 'break
in two pieces', bafa-ka 'cut, split, tear (e.g., a thread)', belika 'tear' (into small pieces, e.g., paper, cloth), yanwaka 'trees after having folded', alita 'break' (a pen, a stick), alita 'open, split open, spread (washing)', lika 'close', enita 'be born, give births', tawina 'grow, bring up'; ezeta 'wake up'; ateta 'learn, teach', kudonia 'melt', bokuta 'light' (fire), makuta 'disappear, lose', friza 'fry', wala 'cook', kawata 'smoke' (meat, fish), gika 'crisp', yata 'take, stick, dauna 'drag (a canoe)', 'crawl (a snake)', falu 'scare, scum, surprise', meta 'obey, permit', mbuta 'be surprised, surprise', mawata 'remember, think', ywaka 'lean', wafata 'mix', mafi 'damage, spoil', inata 'finish, end'.

The following examples illustrate S=O ambitransitives.

(606) mu-tawina-kha Wenewjoe
1sg-grow-PAS Xie+LOC.
'I grew up on the Xie river.'

(607) yu-tawina-na mu-uluunu
3sg-grow-1sg 1sg-mother
'My mother brought me up.'

(608) hawyu-ta-mia-wa mifi
1sg-smoke-CAUS smoke-1sg-mother
'Ve have smoked.'

(609) mu-fa mu-kawya-ta mifi
1sg-go 1sg-smoke-CAUS meat
'I am going to smoke the meat.'

(610) mu-fa mu-paka-ku koku
1sg-go 1sg-break-PAS coconut
'I am going to break a coconut.'

(611) paka-ku baya break-PAS glass
'Ve are breaking/breaks.'

(612) maw-wa-mia-kha paya
burn-CAUS-1sg PERF-CAUS PERF-PAS all
'Ve burn everything.'
Transitive verbs and A=S and S=O ambitransitives differ as to the semantics of reduplication (see sect. 18.5.1). Transitive verbs usually do not form causatives (a few exceptions are described in sect. 18.5.1). In a number of transitive (non-ambitransitive) verbs we can distinguish a causative -ta, usually absent from intransitives, which can be considered as a kind of thematic marker of transitive verb stems (see the list of verbs of class I above). This thematic marker is possibly related to -ta 'causative' and denominative -ta (cf. kawuru 'smoke', kawuru 'smoked (food)'); see sect. 18.5.1.

The treatment of -ta as a thematic formative is corroborated by (a) the existence of an etymologically cognate thematic marker of transitive verb stems in Bare (-ata), Baniwa of Ipana and Tariana (-t-a); (b) -ta as a thematic marker corresponds to causative marker -t-a in Banwa of Ipana and Tariana in cognate verbs, e.g., Warekena wapata, Baniwa, Ipana -wapa -t-a 'attend to somebody'; (c) the formative -ta appears in a number of loan transitive verbs, e.g., wchusa 'sell' (Portuguese/Spanish vender), toketa 'touch' (Portuguese/Spanish tocar).

Intransitive verbs also fall into three classes: S-t verbs, S=V verbs, and S-o verbs.

(iv) In S-o type verbs S-o person markers are prefixes. The majority of the S-o verbs can be causativized by adding the causative marker -ta. The causatives of S-o verbs are never S=O ambitransitives; they can be either obligatorily transitive or A=S ambitransitives. All motion verbs belong to the S-o type, some verbs denoting typical activities (paddle, work, play), and some verbs denoting states, e.g., die, fall. Examples of S-o verbs are: jasa 'jump', bifi 'beave, go out', jis 'sit, live, stay', jaya 'center', miwata 'play', pada 'run', yuleta 'return', eina 'cry', mala 'fly', yenita 'laugh', napa 'arrive', yaya 'weep (children)', vijwa 'the', dalina 'find', waa 'bathe', fipata 'get', ajifa 'see', juma 'cough', jumeda 'split', tehi 'blow (snow)', yula 'swell', yamba 'step', waravia 'go round', bami 'be lost', guweka 'bear', bifi 'go out', ajita 'hang', yuleta 'arrive', fiwuna 'crawl', tama 'dance', jutukw a 'get used', dala 'more', bijuda 'escape', fuma 'drawn', tajana 'awake', fikuta 'nicaough', weta 'turn into', naka 'get up', yuma 'float, go downstream', kajika 'go upstream', yata 'put to shore' (canoe), yamana 'surround', mafa 'become wet', buka 'become humid', ilata 'have a name', yululu 'crouch', keliku 'cross', giwma 'sleepy', kerika 'smash', kajika 'have holes', inaka 'change, move', mafa 'stretch', mafa 'crash', toco 'vomit', unata 'swim', meluata 'be tied (of a dog)', mafa 'go out (fire)'.

A thematic formative -ka can be distinguished in the following S-o verbs: bifi 'go out', inaka 'change, move', kerika 'smash', kajika 'have holes', guweka 'bear'. The existence of this formative is corroborated by the reduplication of the kind gowewe-ka 'bear a lot'. However, this is subject to some variation, e.g., bifi-ka 'he went out a lot'. A few S-o type verbs are denominal formations which contain a suffix -ta, e.g., ilata 'to be named, to have a name' (cf. ilata 'name'), and possibly unata 'to swim' (cf. weta 'water'). The verb ilata is, however, problematic as far as its transitivity is concerned; it is closer to copula verbs, since it necessarily takes a copula complement.

The S-o verb tata 'go, walk' is occasionally reinterpreted as an A=S ambitransitive, under the influence of Portuguese/Spanish; see sect. 18.5.1 (658–659).

(v) Verbs of the S-o type in Warekena can denote state, e.g., ula 'be dirty', amana 'be sick', jese 'be dry' or refer to natural phenomena, like alava 'down, to get up early', libuna 'grow dark, spend the night'. They can form causatives which are S=O ambitransitives. S-o type verbs do not take cross-referencing prefixes. Cross-referencing enclitics are used to mark a pronominalized S-o, or a right-collocated S-o expressed by an NP (see sect. 18.4.2). Examples of S-o type verbs are: daba 'drink', yase 'tired', yala 'dirty', amuna 'good, beautiful', atakwati 'full (food)', pela 'full', ascent 'right', u-ala 'soft', toga 'hard', colours: jese 'black', jis 'white', acana 'blue', ame 'rosy', red, uma 'yellow', pela 'green'; mafa 'damp', jese 'dry', ibu 'spend a night, grow dark', yuma 'be late', akuna 'be afraid', gifi 'rotten, ill-smelling', dlwa 'deaf', mafusi 'blind', abula 'half', nawa 'high, lofty', jisi 'big, fat', pelaatuma 'thin', amuna 'ill, sick', takuna 'feverish, akiw hurt', yada 'sickly', kabulo 'quick', bume 'survive, remain alive', kana 'married', alem, akiw 'be this way, mala
causativized. The S0 verbs include: *apute* 'cold', *mawali* 'hungry', *ata* 'warm, hot', *akwii* 'bubble'; names of illnesses: *mabuf* 'bad cold', *maleta* 'malaria'.

A predicate used as S0 denotes a temporary state, or condition, as in (620). The same predicate used as S0 denotes a permanent, or prolonged state, as in (621).

(620) *mu-yue mawali*
1sg-for hungry
'I am hungry (just now).'

(621) *mawali-na*
hungry-1sg
'I am hungry (permanently, or over a continuous time-span).'

(622) refers to the abandoned children who became hungry after wandering in the woods for a long time:

(622) *swi-mia ni-yue-hii mawali*
ache-PERF 1pl-to-PAUS hungry
'They are hungry (Lit.: 'Their stomachs ache, they are hungry').'

(623) refers to the jaguar who has been suffering from hunger for a long time and could stand it no more:

(623) *ya-mia-be-pia*
mawali wa kuluna weni
NEG-PERF-can-NEG hungry then drink water
'He could not (stand it anymore), he was hungry, then he drank water.'

There are a few verbs that can be used as both S0 and S5, but with a semantic difference. An example of this sort is S0: *pula-pia-mi* 'be thin', *pula* 'become thin, lose weight'; cf. the causative of the latter:

(624) *weni pula-ta-hii*
water thin-CAUS-PAUS
'Water makes (one) thin.'

18.4.2 Cross-referencing and discourse. Here I shall discuss the principles of cross-referencing in Warkena of Xai, with special attention to the suppression of verbal cross-referencing as a means of marking discourse-pragmatic properties (see also sect. 9.4). Warkena, like the majority of Northern Maltipuan languages, including Buniva of Igana, has a split ergative pattern for the marking of grammatical relations, expressed by means of cross-referencing prefixes and enclitics. The split ergative pattern works in terms of the semantics of the predicate (see sect. 18.4.1).
Warekena uses cross-referencing prefixes for marking A and Ss, and cross-referencing enclitics for marking O and So. Cross-referencing prefixes are also used for marking the pronominal arguments of adpositions and pronominal possessor in possessive constructions; cross-referencing prefixes and enclitics are given in Table 1 in sect. 15.2.1.

Cross-referencing prefixes are obligatory in predicate-argument constructions, and they encode a pronominal argument, A (625) or Ss (626), and mark the agreement with a full NP: A (627), Ss (628).

(625) **yu-mia-nilu-pia-hi**
    * daba  *ja:wa*
    **NEG-PERF-3pl-know-NEG-PAUS**
    *where go-NONACC*
    *They did not know where to go.*

(626) **yu-wiya-mia**
    **3sgf-de-PERF**
    *She died.*

(627) **wa**
    **yu-wayata yue-hi**
    *i-fumiawa*
    **then 3sgf-spoke for-PAUS**
    **3sgf-wife +FEM**
    *Then his wife spoke to him.*

(628) **yu-wiya-mia**
    **3sgf-die-PERF**
    **1sg-wife +FEM**
    *My wife died.*

The normal ‘3sgf’ marking is zero. The cross-referencing prefix ‘i-’ ‘3sgf’ is used anaphorically when the surface A/Ss/So constituent is absent from the surface structure of the clause, and the A/Ss/So constituent is focused (629, 630, 631; cf. 460, 584).

(629) **wa-ye-hi**
    **awakaluma yapa-qi-waba-hi**
    **i-beni**
    **then-ons-PAUS**
    **Awakaluma hill-LOC-DIR-PAUS**
    **3sgf-like**
    **i-beni**
    **ja:wa**
    **3sgf-like live-NONACC**
    *One (evil spirit), Awakaluma, he likes to live in the direction of a hill.*

(630) **i-tapa-mia**
    **ijadiwa**
    **i-ja-mia-wa**
    **3sgf-go-PERF**
    **from.him**
    **3sgf-go-PERF-NONACC**
    *It was he (the rabbit) (who) went away from him (jaguar), he went away.*

(631) comes from the story about evil spirits. The referent of ‘i-’ ‘3sgf’, an evil spirit, is in focus.
18.5 Voice and valency-changing derivations. Warekena has two valency-changing derivations: causative, a valency-increasing derivation, and reflexive-reciprocal, a valency-decreasing derivation. It also has two more valency-manipulating operations which can be labeled as 'oblique focus' and 'object focus.' It will be shown below that neither of these qualifies as passive.

18.5.1 Causative. Morphological causatives are formed with the help of -sa suffix, added to the stem. Causatives can usually be formed only on intransitive verbs of Sa and Sb types (with a few exceptions to be discussed below). The difference between morphological and syntactic causatives is analyzed in sect. 6.

Causatives of Sa type can be transitive (637–639) or A = S ambitransitives (640–643). They are never S = O ambitransitives. Examples of causatives of Sa verbs are:

- *wa-tebē yawa peșị yuleta-wa*
  - climb-CAUS + PAUS shoulder on return-NONACC
  - 'Then he (the soldier) took one snake’s head, raised (it) on the shoulder and returned.'

- *wa ni-judana-ta-mia-hā ni-jilehē*
  - then 3pl-come.down-CAUS-PERF-PAUS 3pl-pan + PAUS
  - 'Then they put down their pan.'

- *wa kunehē ja yuleta-ta-mia-nil ukapi-wa*
  - then rabbit go return-CAUS-PERF-3pl room-DIR
  - 'Then the rabbit went to take them (jaguar’s children) back to the room.'

Causatives of Sb verbs can be A = S ambitransitives, as illustrated below by pairs of examples. (640) illustrates the causative inaka-‘a change, move something’ used intransitively, and (641) illustrates the transitive use of the same verb, (642) and (643) illustrate the similar uses of yama-‘go downstream, make go downstream’.

- *wa-kē ja inaka-ta peya navale-fi-wa*
  - then-PAUS go change-CAUS one village-NPOSS-DIR
  - 'Then he (Jesus Christ) went and moved (changed) to another village.'

- *wa-hā kunehē inaka-ta-mia aya-fi pe-pa*
  - then-PAUS rabbit change-CAUS-PERF lack-NOM 3pl + eat-PURF
  - 'The rabbit moved food (to another room) for them (jaguar’s children) to eat.'

In (642), the directional noun is obligatory.

- *wa wa-mupa wahe*
  - then 1pl-come then + PAUS
  - wa-yama-ta-wa pa-mi-fi-wa-hā
  - house-NPOSS-DIR-PAUS
  - 'Then we arrived there, and we headed downstream, towards home.'

- *wa-yama-ta-wa wa-multja-pe*
  - 1pl-go.downstream-CAUS-NONACC 1pl-cause-FOSS
  - 'We pushed our canoe downstream.'

Sb verbs also form morphological causatives with -ta:

'make hurry'; amena 'be sharp', amena-ta 'sharpen'; paṣi 'be ashamed', paṣa-ta 'make ashamed, blame, punish'; ula 'be dirty', ula-ta 'make dirty', kuṣala 'be sad', kuṣala-ta 'make sad'; ajhula 'be glad', ajhula-ta 'make glad'; ukhiṭi 'appear', ukhiṭi-ta 'make appear'.

Some causatives from S₈ verbs are S = O ambitransitives, as can be illustrated with (644) and (645). The -ta causative form of the verb dabana 'be first' is the only way of saying 'begin'.

(644) wa-dabana-ta istoria
1pl- remain-first-CAUS story
'Let's begin a story.'

(645) istoria dabana-ta-wa
story be.first-CAUS-NONACC
'The story is beginning.'

Examples of feje-ta used intransitively are given in (459), (589). The same verb is used transitively in (646), a continuation of (459).

(646) nu-feje-ta-mia-ha
kopa
1sg-dry-CAUS-PERF-PAUS glass
'I have dried the glass.'

Some -ta causative forms of S₈ verbs are used only transitively, e.g., ka-nu-ta 'scare' (573). S = O ambitransitives can sometimes have slightly idiosyncratic meanings:

(647) nu-tani papeya-ta wiubelu peya ima
1sg-child similar-CAUS child one with
'My son is acting similarly to another child (in being like another child) (when the two children were fooling around together).'

(648) nu-papaya-ta nu-tani pwiubelu ima
1sg-similar-CAUS 1sg-child one child with
'I am comparing my child to another one.'

Usually, transitive verbs cannot form causatives; e.g., wala 'boil, cook', wala-ta 'cook'. There are a few exceptions to this rule. The obligatorily transitive verb kuṣala 'drink' (649) has a morphological causative kuṣa-ta 'to make drink' (650). Note that the underlying A becomes O, and O becomes an oblique, contradicting Comrie's generalizations about the treatment of arguments in causatives (Comrie 1981:169).

(649) nu-tani kuṣa-ha
1sg-child drink water
'My son is drinking water.'

(650) kuṣa-ta nu-tani weni ima
1sg-drink-CAUS 1sg-child water with
'I made my son drink water.'

However, the syntactic causative nu-ta kuṣa-ha 'I gave (him) to drink' seems more natural (see sect.6). The causative kuṣa-ta is very restricted; for instance, the speakers did not accept sentences like "nu-kuṣa-ta-gi weni (ima) 'I make you drink water'. This causative formation may be considered a kind of relic in the language. It should be noted that all the other Northern Maipuran languages do not form causatives on transitive verbs, the only exception being the verb 'to drink'; e.g., Bare -da 'drink', -da-ta 'to make drink/drink', Banwa of Igana -tsa, -taria -da 'drink', Tariwa of Igana -tsa, -taria -deti 'make drink, suckle (a baby). Warekena has one more case of causative formed on a transitive verb: goja 'peel', gojita 'make peel' (attributed once in spontaneous speech).

In one case, the suffix -ta was used with an A = S ambitransitive in an idiosyncratic meaning: yahua 'dig', yahua-ta 'stumble (one's foot)'.

There is a small degree of variation between S = O ambitransitives and S₈ verbs with corresponding causatives for a few verbs. The verb enina 'give birth; be born' was continuously used as an S = O ambitransitive by the speaker. When we were discussing the formation of causatives, the speaker remembered the causative form enina-ta 'to give birth'. The same happened with fiqula 'turn' and epula 'wake up', which were used as S = O ambitransitives; but causatives fiqula-ta 'to turn something' and epula-ta 'to wake up somebody' were cited after some thought, and the following variants appeared:

(651) fiqula nu-enina-ha or nu-fiqula-ta nu-enina-ha
1sg-turn 1sg-head-PAUS 1sg-turn-CAUS 1sg-head-PAUS
'I turned my head.'

(652) nu-enina-hi fiqula
1sg-died-PAUS turn
'My head is turning (I am dizzy).'

(653) nepula-ta nu-tani
1sg + wake-CAUS 1sg-child
'I woke up my son.'

(654) epula-na
wala-1sg
'He woke me up.'
(655) napita-wa
lg+go-wake.up-NONACC
'I woke up.'

Another example of the same sort is the S2 verb yapita ‘hang’, which forms a causative yapita-ta ‘hang, make hang’. This S2 verb has also been attested as S=O ambitransitive (656, 657).

(656) yapita-wa
a:nana-fi
hang-NONACC light-NOM
'A lamp is hanging.'

(657) mu-yapita a:nana-fi or nu-yapita-ta a:nana-fi
lg-hang light-NOM 1sg-hang-CAUS light-NOM
'I hung the lamp.'

One of the possible explanations is the influence of Portuguese and Spanish, which have a large number of S=O and A=S ambitransitives. This variation may also indicate a language death situation. The only case of a causative formed on an A=S ambitransitive yapita ‘go, pass, spend’ may be explained as a calque from Portuguese, if we accept the hypothesis that this verb, originally of the S2 type, was reinterpreted as A=S under the influence of Portuguese passar ‘go, pass’. Since the majority of S2 verbs, especially verbs of form causatives. It is rarely used as A=S ambitransitive (658, 659). Intransitive use of yapita is illustrated in (660). The causative form yapita-ta is illustrated in (661).

(658) mu-tapa-ha peya ajita San Gabriel-ive
lg-go-PAUS one month S=O Gabriel-LOC
'I spent a month in Sio Gabriel.'

(659) wa-ha
yawaqita-wa
ni:wa
3pl+from child-PL
then-PAUS go-round-NONACC 3pl+from child-PL
ni:wa
i-tapa-palu-ni
3pl+with 3sgn=go-MURP-3pl
'Then he (father) went around, away from the children, away from them, to avoid (go past) them.'

(660) i-tapa-mia
ema epuna numa-wa
3sgn=go-MURP tapir road mouth-Perl
'(So) the tapir went by the edge of the road.'

(661) mu-tapa-ta festa
1sg-go-CAUS party
'I made a party or 'I spent a party.'

-ta is widely used with verbs formed on nouns or adverbs, which is in agreement with its function as a causative marker on S2 verbs, since any noun, and any other nominal root, can be used as an S2 predicate (see sect. 23). These denominal verbs plus -ta are transitive or ambitransitive. Transitive forms include punu-ta ‘enemy’, punu-ta ‘make an enemy of someone’; apitu-ta ‘back’, apitu-ta ‘carry something) on the back’; yapita-ta ‘sieve’, yapita-ta ‘shift’; ma’ ‘a little’, mawit-ta ‘reduce’. S=O ambitransitives include fala’tu ‘salted food’, fala’tu-ta ‘salt’; imanu ‘one of two’, imanu-ta ‘join (one to another)’. A=S ambitransitives include dule ‘game, stock’, diuata ‘hunt’. There are a few cases where the -ta form is intransitive: bume ‘yet, still’, bume-ta ‘be slow’; inena ‘egg’, inena-ta ‘lay eggs’.

In a few cases, -ta-transitivizer is present in the verb, but absent from some nominalizations, e.g., amishulena ‘chief’, mutesa-ta ‘steal’; pina-fi ‘medicine’ from pina-ta ‘cure’; (to has been retained in pinauta ‘doctor, the one who cures’); gwa’du ‘build’ from gwa’du-ta ‘cure’; kawiya ‘smoked food’ from kawiya-ta ‘smoke’ (662); wa’ya ‘word’ from wa’ya-ta ‘say, speak’. In one case -ta as a denominal verb marker can only be identified with the help of external comparison: yawa-ta ‘bliss’, cf. Bantu of Igala (Kuruppu dialect) and Tutuwa yawa ‘jaguar, someone with power of a shaman’.

(662) wa
ja-mia-wa
napura-wa
yaliita ja-palu
then go-PERF-NONACC 3pl+road-Perl brother go-PURP
ni-yunuta
ni:ja
ni:wa-ta-palu
3pl+take 3pl+with inside game 3pl+climb-CAUS-PURP
wa:la
wa:bwe
ni-kawur-ta-palu
smoke grid-DIR+PAUS 3pl-smoke-CAUS-PURP
'Then he went by the road of his brothers, for all of them to take with them the inside of the game to hang on the smoking grid, to smoke.'

18.5.2 Reflexive-reciprocal. Reflexive-reciprocal is formed with the suffix -na, mostly on obligatorily transitive verbs. The -na-derivation usually has reflexive meaning with a singular subject (A constituent) and reflexive meaning with a plural subject:

reflexive meaning:
ni-mai-na-wa
3pl-fight-REC-NONACC
'They fought each other.'
ni-peta-na-wa
3pl-hit-REC-NONACC

ni-we-na-wa
3pl-leave-REC-NONACC

reflexive meaning:
mu-tabaka-na-wa
kuniyu iyu
1sg-cut-REFL-NONACC
knife with
'I cut myself with a knife.'

mu-yakale-na-wa
1sg-scratch-REFL-NONACC

'i am scratching myself.'

Compare the use of alaka 'put on (clothes)' and alaka-na 'dress oneself':

(663) wa: tsuludawa wa
alaka-na-mia-wa
then soldier
then get-dressed-REFL-PERF-NONACC
'Then the soldier got dressed.'

(664) ni-alaka ni-tsulua-ne
ni-kamita-ne
3pl-put.on 3pl-trousers-POSS 3pl-shirt-POSS
ne-palu ni-tununen ni-tununen
3pl+eat-PURP 3pl-food 3pl-food
'They put on their trousers and shirts, to eat their food.'

In some cases the use of -na 'reflexive' with intransitive Sa verbs can be influenced by Portuguese (665).

(665) renja wa-nji nu-eska-ne-wa
iijwa
1sg-t-see jaguar 1sg-escape-REFL-NONACC from
'i saw a jaguar and escaped (myself; cf. Portuguese: me escape) from him.'

A similar example (obtained by elicitation) is nu-mitfuta-na-wa 'I kid, escaped', cf. Portuguese 'eu me escape'. A non-reflexive use of mitfuta 'hide, escape' (taken from a story about a rabbit and a jaguar) is illustrated in (13) and (666):

(666) nu-yubu-ha
yame-Ju
nu-mitfuta-palu-pajja
iijwa wa-nji
1sg-dig-PAUS far-EMPH 1sg-escape-PURP-FUT from jaguar
'I dug far, to escape from the jaguar,' (said the rabbit).

(667) illustrates the reciprocal meaning of the -na- derivation with a plural subject:

ni-wiyu-yua ni-mia-na-wa
3pl-die-RED 3pl-kill-REC-NONACC

ni-yufija-na-wa
pay-au iji
ni-ma-li
3pl-kill-REC-NONACC all 3pl-do-REL
'They (non-evangelicals) faint of drunkenness, they quarrel with each other and kill each other, this is all they do.'

The reflexive meaning of the -na derivation is illustrated with (668) and (669). (665) contains a rare example of the -na derivation on a causative of a verb, which contains -nia 'inchoative, change of state'.

(668) wa wafi ya-mia-be-pia
wakwa-na-wa
wa-wene
then jaguar NEG-PERF-can-NEG unite-REFL-NONACC there-EL
'The jaguar cannot unite himself from there (from the tree).'

(669) ya-mia-tse-pia
daba kunehu
NEG-PERF-know-NEG where rabbit
pipi-nia-ta-na-mia-wa
iijwa
lost-INC-CAUS-REFL-PERF-NONACC from
'The rabbit did not know where to hide himself (lit.; make himself get lost) from him (jaguar).'

A na- derivation can sometimes have a reflexive meaning even if the subject is plural:

(670) ale-bi
ni-bayata-na-wa-mia-ha
so-PAUS 3pl-spread-REFL-NONACC-PERF-PAUS
'So they (the turtles) spread themselves (over the road), they went away.'

-na derivations can be used as agentless passives, as illustrated below. In (671) and (672) -na cannot be understood as reflexive because it is known from the previous text that the jaguar did not tie himself to the tree (it was the smart rabbit who did it). In (672), the jaguar could not have united himself, since it is known that it was a young monkey who united him.

(671) wa ya-wa
pujji mujiya-mia-ha
ata
then go-NONACC monkey bite-PERF-PAUS

(672) wa ya-wa
pujji mujiya-mia-ha
ata
then go-NONACC monkey bite-PERF-PAUS vine
wali alita-na-wa
where tie-REFL-NONACC
"Then the monkey went and bit the vine where he (the jaguar) was tied."

(672) mułita punji ate halika-mia-wa a ta
bite monkey until tear-PERF-NONACC vine
wakwe-na-miwa
unti-REFL-PERF-NONACC untie-REFL-PERF-NONACC
"The monkey bit (the vine) until it tore, and he (the jaguar) was untied, untied."

The agent cannot be expressed, as illustrated by (673) and (674) (elicited). This agentless passive is used very rarely, and it may have been the result of an influence of Portuguese xe.

(673) wajj alita-na-wa minajj atapi
jaguar tie-REFL-NONACC on tree
"The jaguar was tied to the tree."

(674) wajj alita-na-wa minajj atapi nga maimunu
jaguar tie-REFL-NONACC on tree with rabbit
"The jaguar was tied to the tree by the rabbit."

Reflexive derivation in Warekana is not used to emphasize the identity of the A constituent. The instrumental-comitative adposition ona, which cross-references the A, is used for this purpose, as illustrated in (675):

(675) pi-wakwa-na pima
2sg-unite-1sg 2sg + with
"Untie me yourself," (said the jaguar, who could not do it himself, to the monkey.)

Reflexive derivation does not apply to S-O ambitransitives. If the O is omitted, this is understood as reflexive by default:

(676) nata-mia-wa
payalu
1sg + burn-PERF-NONACC all
"I burn myself all."

18.5.3 Focus. Warekana has a grammatical category of focus, marked on the verb. This category resembles the category of focus known in Philippine languages, as stated by Schachter and Orantes (1972: 69): "focus is the feature of a verbal predicate that determines the semantic relationship between a predicate verb and its topic." Focus in Warekana is marked on the verb as a special derivation. Its function is to show that an object (O) constituent or an oblique constituent belongs to (contrastive) focus. Warekana has two kinds of focus: object focus marked with -pifii, and oblique focus marked with -bule.

Both focus derivations are fully productive and can be used handily. -pifii derivations can be used with a meaning close to object nominalizations (see sect. 15.4.1): e-pifii 'food' (thing to eat), nu-wenta-pifii 'my purchases, things I buy/bought', au-wenda-pifii 'what I sell/sold'. -bule derivations can be used with a meaning close to locative or instrumental nominalizations, e.g., mi-kulasa-bule 'glass, mug' (the thing for me to drink with); e-bule 'plate' (the thing to eat from); miwate-bule 'companion to play with' (the one to play with), ni-tateka-hale-bule (front-cover-REFL-OBL.FOC) 'blanket, the thing for me to cover myself with'; nu-yubata-bule 'grinder'; fiifi-bule ka.xa (big-OBL.FOC bread) 'yeast; the thing with the help of which bread becomes big'.

18.5.3.1 Object focus. Object focus is used when the object (O) is in the (contrastive) focus. The suffix -pifii is a suffix, because it does not undergo the attraction to the negative proclitic ya. The focused constituent is placed before the predicate marked with -pifii. The predicate retains its transitivity, and the A constituent is still cross-referenced on it. Object focus -pifii shares with passive its main discourse function, namely, that it involves focusing of O. The object focus derivation does not qualify as a passive.

Passive as a valency reducing derivation involves the following processes (as suggested in Dixon 1994):

(a) the underlying O becomes S of a derived intransitive verb;
(b) A becomes a peripheral constituent, and can be omitted;
(c) passive is explicitly marked on the verb.

Unlike passive, if the object focus is applied, the verb does not become intransitive, since it still has an O, and the A constituent is still cross-referenced on the verb, as illustrated in (677)-(678):

(677) wa-ha kawya-fii kawyo-fii ni-yue-ha
then-PAUS smoked-NOM smoked-NOM 3pl-to-PAUS
ne-pifii ne-pifii
3pl + eat-OBJ.FOC 3pl + eat-OBJ.FOC
'They have smoked meat (and not anything else), to be eaten by them.'

(678) eya-ha pa-pana-pifii
DEM-PAUS IMP-plant-OBJ.FOC
'This one (seed) is to plant.'

(679) alivu-mia-nil wa-ha kumehu sa ma-ha
dawn-PERF-3pl then-PAUS rabbit go make-PAUS
kafa ni-kulua-piī wa ni-ja-niia ni-kulua coffee 3pl-drink-OBJ.FOC then 3pl-go-PURP 3pl-drink 'They (a rabbit and a jaguar) woke up, then the rabbit went to make coffee (not any other sort of food or drink), for them to drink (it), then they went to drink (it).'

The object of the verb uleta 'swallow' is a topic in (680), and so -piī derivation is used:

(680) uleta-ha yu-yuwaba-ha ta-seyawa arrive-PAUS 3sgf-towards-PAUS DEM-DIST-woman
ula-πiī swallow-OBJ.FOC
'The tide was big, the snake has come already, he arrived near her, this very woman, that one to be swallowed by him.'

In (681), again, the parts of the body of the tapir to be eaten by the jaguar are in focus, and so the -piī derivation is used on the verb:

(681) wa-ha wa: ja-qi-wa yanita ja-sapahi ema then-PAUS then go-REP-NONACC take lungs tapir
pala-kulua nenitana ema e-piī e-piī all heart/liver tapir eat-OBJ.FOC eat-OBJ.FOC
'Then he (jaguar) went again to take out the tapir's lungs, and all the heart of the tapir, (the thing) to be eaten by him.'

The contrast between -pa-lu 'purpose' and -piī 'object focus' can be illustrated by the following example taken from the story about a tapir and a jaguar. In (682) -pa-lu is used for a general description. Then different parts of the tapir's body become topics, as they become more individuated in the text, as they are being consumed by the jaguar, and -piī is used in (683):

(682) wa-ha muṣṭiita-miia-ti emu neneive then-PAUS bite-REP-REP tapir belly+LOC
kulua-pala-ha kulua-pala-ha yanita-palu make.hole-PURP+PAUS make.hole-PURP+PAUS take-PURP

(683) wa kuluka-mia nen ema then make.hole-PURP belly tapir
yanita-miia-ha pane ema e-piī take-PURP liver tapir eat-OBJ.FOC
'Then he made a hole in the tapir's belly to take tapir's liver to be eaten by him.'

(684) va liwa nu-ja epuna-wa kumehu now 1sg-go road-PERF rabbit
ate daqi mu-pie-ha mu-yuṭia-palu until where 1sg-find-PAUS 1sg-kill-PURP
"Now I shall go on the rabbit's trail, until where I find him, in order to kill him" (said the jaguar).

(685) pala-pala νa nulua mu-piia-palu pi-yiux-ka 2sg-throw.1sg high+DIR 1sg-fatten.PURP 2sg-for-PAUS
pala-pala-va 2sg+eat.PURP.1sg
"Throw me up high, so that I get fat, so that you can eat me," (said the monkey to the jaguar).

Another important property of the object focus derivation is that when it applies on the verb, clause combining can only happen in terms of an A=S pivot, as can be seen in (679), (680), (682) and (686) below (see sect. 3 on mixed pivot in Warkeka).

(686) wa-ha fia-wa nepi jami-plane then-PAUS live-NONACC with child-PL
ya-mi yu-pia-ha nima-ha e-piī NEG-PURP for.him-NEG-PAUS 3pl+with-PAUS eat-OBJ.FOC
18.5.3.2 Oblique focus. Oblique focus is marked with the help of a suffix -bule (which is a suffix since it does not undergo attraction to the negative proclitic ya-). The function of oblique focus is to mark an oblique (peripheral, i.e., locative or instrumental) constituent as a topic. It cannot be considered a passive, for the same reasons as the object focus. The following examples illustrate -bule marking a locative constituent in focus:

(693) eni ene wa-bule
DEM-PR table 1pl+eat-OBL-FOC
'This table is for us to eat on (in future).'

(694) eni-ke kefa ya-fa-bule
DEM-PR PAUS coffee yesterday-OBL-FOC
'This coffee is yesterday's.'

(695) nu-saya-ne benasig-ti-bule
1sg-skirt-POSS old-times-OBL-FOC
'This skirt is old (the one which belongs to old times).'

The difference between -pahu “purposive” and -bule can be illustrated with the help of the following “minimal pair”. As Humberto explained, (696) means that I am going to eat something else but pure manioc flour; (697) means that I am going to eat something else with manioc flour:

(696) pi-api nu-yuwe matsuka na-pahu
2sg-bring 1sg-for manioc flour 1sg+eat-PURP
'Bring me manioc flour to eat.'

(697) pi-api nu-yuwe matsuka na-bule
2sg-bring 1sg-for manioc flour 1sg+eat-OBL-FOC
'Bring me manioc flour to eat (with something else).'

The use of -pahu or -bule seems to be dependent on the focus of empathy of the speaker. This can be illustrated with (698) and (699). (698) comes from the text about a jaguar and a rabbit. The thirsty jaguar was looking for water, and he finally found a lake. The focus of empathy is on the process of quenching his thirst, and -pahu is used.

(698) wa peya laguna mu-kuluk-pahu weni
here one lake 1sg-drink-PURP water
'Here is a lake for me to drink water.'
(699) comes from a conversation. I put a cup in front of Humberto’s plate, and (699) was a commentary on the cup I brought.

(699) eya-hi matu-le mu-kulua-bule weni DEM-PAUS cup-POSSESS 1pl-drink-OBL-FOC water
‘This is the cup for me to drink water from.’

Similarly to -pijfi ‘object focus’, -bule does not qualify as passive because the verb does not become intransitive, and the A constituent is cross-referenced on it. Similarly to the -pijfi derivation, the -bule derivation can be only used in the case of S/A pivot.

18.5.4 A comparative note on voice and valency-changing derivations in Warekena. The morphological causative -ts and the reflexive -ni have a Proto-Arawak origin (see also Wise 1991; Payne 1991: 179). A morphological causative in -ts is attested in all the Northern Maipuran languages of the region (Tarijan, Baniwa -ts, Bare -ts ‘causative’). There is a possible correspondence to the category of focus in Baniwa and Tarijan, namely, the topic advancing derivation -ni. Unlike -pijfi and -bule derivations in Warekena, -ni derivation in Tarija and Baniwa marks the ‘advancement’ to topic of any topical non-A/S constituent. It does not qualify as a passive, since the verb does not lose its transitivity. -pijfi and -bule derivations in Warekena and the -ni derivation in Tarija and Baniwa function as nominalizers and form a noun modifier which often does not have a head noun. Also, -ni derivation in Baniwa and Tarija does not influence the pivot restrictions, since these languages have none.

18.6 Other verbal categories

18.6.1 Relative forms. Cletic -ni marks the relative verb forms. The use of -ni as an adjectivizer (see sects. 15.3.1; 19) can be considered an extension of the same morpheme used as a relative form marker. The difference between -ni ‘adjectivizer’ and -ni ‘relative form marker’ is that the former behaves more like a suffix, and the latter is a clitic. -ni is used in the following three main functions:

(i) In cleft construction characterized by (1) left dislocation of the subject; (2) -ni marking on the verb; and (3) suppression of A/Sa cross-referencing prefixes on the verb. The cleft construction is discussed in sect. 9.4; see example (939).

(ii) In interrogative clauses (discussed in sect. 10) (152–154).

(iii) In coreferential relative clauses (see sect. 14.3.1):

(700) eni-hi Jesus Christ wayata DEM.PR-PAUS Jesus Christ speak

ni-yue-hi ateta-li ima 3pl-FAUS teach-REL with
‘Jesus Christ spoke to them, whom he taught himself.’

(iv) In verbal subordinate clauses, where the subject of the -ni form may coincide with that of the main clause (see sect. 14.3.5):

(701) neda pi-yujiqa pi-wayata-li
1sg + perceive 2sg-voice 2sg-speak-REL
‘I can hear your voice, while you are speaking.’

In the cases (ii) and (iv) -ni does not trigger suppression of cross-referencing markers.

If -ni is marked on only one of the contiguous predicates, they may or may not constitute a serial construction (see sect. 18.8.1 on serial constructions). (702) is not a serial construction, since the two contiguous predicates, weya-li-hi (want-REL-PAUS) ‘who wanted’ and ateta-ni (teach-3pl) ‘he taught them’ have different subjects. A long pause after weya-li-hi also indicates that this is not a serial construction. (703) (a converbal clause) is a serial verb construction.

-ji goes on the auxiliary-like component of the construction; in (703) it is the modal verb weya “want”.

(702) eni fiimari-nawi weya-li-hi, ateta-ni ateta-ni
DEM.FR people-PL want-REL-PAUS teach-3pl teach-3pl
wuya-ne ikuanti payalu fiimari-nawi weya-li-hi
say-POSSESS father all people-PL want-REL-PAUS
‘The people who wanted (to be taught), he taught them, he taught them the word of Father, all the people wanting (ii).’

(703) yaliwa mu-weya nu-katna-hi yumna pi-tani
now 1sg-want 1sg-marry-PAUS 3sgf+ with 2sg-child
nu-yujiqa-mi-hi yuyjwa mawaya i-weya-li
1sg-kill-PERF-PAUS 3sgf+ from snake 3sgf-want-REL
uleta-yu swallow-3sgf
‘Now I want to marry your daughter, I killed a snake from her, when this one wanted to swallow her.’

In a serial construction, -ni can optionally go on each component of the construction, if special emphasis is required. In (704), which is an example of serial verb construction in a converbal clause, ateta ‘teach’ is emphasized.
The clitic character of -ji can be demonstrated by examples such as (705), where -ji undergoes attraction to the negative proclitic ya-, and (706), where a pronominal marker is inserted before -ji.

(705) ni-we-hē  

\[\text{ni-we-hē} \quad \text{payalu} \quad \text{3pl-leave-PAUS} \quad \text{3pl-leave-PAUS all}\]

\[\text{iši ya-li-hī} \quad \text{aneta-pia-hā} \quad \text{that NEG-REL-PAUS good-NEG-PAUS}\]

\[\text{They (evangelicals) left, they left all which is not good.}\]

(706) fa-wa  

\[\text{supa-hā-li} \quad \text{atapi juši-li} \quad \text{go-NONACC arrive-REL tree big-ADJ}\]

\[\text{He (the rabbit) went arriving at a big tree.}\]

-ji precedes aspectual -wa ‘non-accomplished’ and follows -miš ‘perfective’, both when used in relative clauses (707) and in converbal clauses (708).

(707) ni-fa  

\[\text{ni-wenita} \quad \text{juši} \quad \text{deka-juši} \quad \text{3pl-go 3pl-buy much have-NOM much}\]

\[\text{deka-juši} \quad \text{payalu} \quad \text{ni-wenita-li-wa-hā} \quad \text{have-NOM all 3pl-buy-REL NONACC-PAUS}\]

\[\text{They went to buy many things, all the things, all that they are buying.}\]

(708) nete-hē  

\[\text{ni-yantu ašiši} \quad \text{juši-li} \quad \text{3pl+burn+PARF 3pl-take firewood big-ADJ}\]

\[\text{nete-nal} \quad \text{ni-yallita-nia-hā} \quad \text{wiyua-mia-li} \quad \text{3pl+burn-PURP 3pl-brother PERF-PAUS die-PERF-REL}\]

\[\text{They burn him, they take much firewood, to burn their dead brother.}\]

-ji is also used to mark nominalizations (see sect. 15.4), which can be used as predicates in verbless clauses (709), (745). (745) is a case of a headless use of a relative form.

(709) \[\text{jiyù e-ju} \quad \text{e-ju} \quad \text{kuyasiru ema-li} \quad \text{carā sweet potato sweet potato cane abiu fruit}\]

\[\text{wepi wa-pa-ju} \quad \text{pupunha 1pl-plant-REL}\]

\[\text{‘Carā, sweet potato, sugar cane, abiu, pupunha, this is what we plant (lit: our planting).’}\]

18.6.2 Temporal subordinate forms. Temporal subordinate forms (see also sect. 14.4) are marked by the clitic sequence -ji-bena. There is a possibility of inverting the order of morphemes: -ji-bena and -bena-ji both occur. The difference in meaning will be described below (717). -ji-bena introduces a subordinate clause with a temporal meaning, and it requires coreferentiality of the third person singular subjects of the subordinate and the main clause. Converbal clauses (see sect. 14.3.2) also often have a temporal meaning and do not require coreferentiality of subjects.

(710) edu-li-bena-hā  

\[\text{šamali yugja-si yugja juši šamali see-REL when-PAUS people kill-3pl kill many people}\]

\[\text{‘When he (the evil spirit) sees people, he kills them, he killed many people.’}\]

(711) ya ya-te-pia-hā  

\[\text{unita unita-li-bena-hā wilana NEG NEG know-NEG-PAUS swim swim-REL when-PAUS drown}\]

\[\text{‘He (the evil spirit) cannot swim, when he swims, he gets drowned.’}\]

Coreferentiality of non-third person or non-singular subjects is not required in temporal subordinate clauses:

(712) payalu yašanani-nawi wa-hā  

\[\text{ni-ma-li-xena konferencia all white man-PL then-PAUS 3pl-do REL when conference}\]

\[\text{wa-ma-li-xena konferencia ni-rupa-hā yameene 1pl-do-REL when conference 3pl come PAUS far-REL}\]

\[\text{‘Then when all the white people make a conference, when we make a conference, they (white people) come from far.’}\]

(713) ni-fa-mia-li-xena  

\[\text{šamali fa-mia-juši 3pl-go PERF-REL when people go PERF NONACC}\]

\[\text{‘When people have gone, he (evil spirit) has gone (as well).’}\]

(714) pi-piša-li-bena-hā  

\[\text{butsa-ta aši-juši 2sg spit REL when people go OUT-CAUS pain REL}\]

\[\text{‘When you spit (on the snake bite), it makes the pain go away.’}\]
-li-bena follows aspectual -mīa 'perfective'. -Bena is used separately as a time word 'when, this time' (715, 716). Possibly, it is related to the compound bensa 'long time ago'.

(715) wa ni-wayata-hā ni-wayata-hā ni-ma-hā
then 3pl-speak-PAUS 3pl-speak-PAUS 3pl-say-PAUS
enī enami ya-li anetua-pis-hā ya-bena-hā
DEM.PR man NEG-REL good-NEG-PAUS NEG-when-PAUS
ya-wa-waya-piehā eni enami uquba-lu-li
NEG-1pl-want-NEG+PAUS DEM.PR man bad-EMP-REL

'Then they spoke, they spoke, they said, 'This man who is bad, not this time, we don’t want him, this man who is bad'.'

(716) bensa jima si musita-pi umeni pi-juweta-hā minañi
when name if bite-2sg snake 2sg-spit-PAUS on
'When it happens (what’s its name), if a snake bites you, spit on it (the bite)'.

A combination of -bena 'when' and -li 'relative, clift' in that sequence is used in emphatic constructions. It has a different meaning from the sequence -li-bena, though, etymologically, -bena-li may well go back to bensa 'temporal' + -li 'relative'. It is attested only in (717), (718).

(717) wa-wayata wañi yaliwa-bena-li nu-yufia-pi
then-speak jaguar now-when-REL 1sg-kill-2sg
nu-yufia-pi pi-yufia nu-fua-pei yaliwa-bena-li nu-yufia-pi
1sg-kill-2sg 2sg-kill 1sg-child-PL now-when-REL 1sg-kill-2sg

'Then the jaguar spoke, “It is now that I will kill you, I will kill you, you killed my children, it is now that I shall kill you.’'

(718) na wañi wayata yaliwa-bena-li nu-wiyua-hā
say jaguar speak now-when-REL 1sg-die-PAUS
inspa-mia-wa mundu
finish-PERF-NONACC world

'Then the jaguar spoke, “It is now that I will die, the world is coming to an end.’'

18.6.3 Degree forms. Warekena verbs have two degree forms: -ba augmentative and -ma ‘delimitative, just’.

The augmentative -ba- (also used with adverbs, see sect. 20) is used with all types of predicates (except Sú). It is frequently used with the emphatic clitic -ju and perfective clitic -mīa. It means 'very much, excessively' (719-722):

(719) yaliwa-hā nu-tapa-pa-hā
yesterday-PAUS 1sg-walk-RED-PAUS
idyele-ba-mia-ju-ns
then+tired-AUG-PERF-EMP-1sg

‘Yesterday I walked so much, I am very tired.’

(720) ni-tima-hā ni-tima-hā sama-ba-mia-lu ya-pa
3pl-sleep-PAUS 3pl-sleep-PAUS near-AUG-PERF-EMPH kill

‘They slept, they slept, the hill is very near.’

(721) na-boola-ba-mia-ju
1sg-drink-AUG-PERF-EMPH

‘I drank too much.’

Augmentative can combine with reduplication:

(722) nu-tapa-pa-ba-mia-ju
1sg-walk-RED-AUG-PERF-EMPH

‘I walked excessively.’

-ba- can be used with negation, and then it means ‘not much, not enough’. Then it is followed by the emphatic clitic -ju:

(723) yaliwa yaliwa yaliwa yaliwa
nu-tuna-ba-ba-ju
NEG-full-AUG-PERF-NEG-1sg

‘I am not too full (I can eat more).’

Another meaning of -ba is ‘truly, really’ (724), (725). In negative sentences, the negation then goes between -ba and -ju, and the meaning is ‘not really’ (726).

(724) yaliwa yaliwa yaliwa yaliwa
yaliwa yaliwa yaliwa yaliwa
nu-xie dry-AUG-PERF-ADJ-PAUS

‘Now the Xie river is very/really dry.’

(725) uye-ma-ba-mia-ju
all-DEL-AUG-PERF-EMPH

‘It is really over.’
possible, if the action of the second verb has to be emphasized (704). The negation marking occurs with the first component of the construction. Both components receive the same subject marking. The components of a serial verb construction do not have to share arguments other than subject. A serial construction contains more than one phonological word, and each can appear with the pastal form marker. There are no restrictions on using pastal forms for each of the components of a serial verb construction (731, 733). The second component of a construction can usually be repeated, but not the first (759).

Serial verb constructions have the following properties which show that they are not a sequence of predicates, but a single predicate. These properties help to differentiate between serial verb constructions and sequences of predicates (including repetition), syntactic causatives and complement clauses.

(i) Serial verb constructions are used to describe a single overall event.

(ii) The components of a serial verb construction are contiguous and no other constituent can intervene between them.

(iii) The components of a serial verb construction share the same subject which is obligatorily cross-referenced on all of them.

(iv) The components of a serial verb construction share some of the aspectual marking and they cannot have distinct aspectual marking.

Aspectual markers in Warekena provide an interesting argument in favour of distinguishing between nuclear and core serialization (see Foley and Oates 1982). Clitics -ma ‘perfective’, -go ‘yet’, -pa/a ‘future’ belong to core layer serialization, since they cannot be used independently to characterize the properties of different components of serial constructions. Clitics -ma ‘perfective’, -go ‘yet’ (343) and -ma ‘perfective’ (731) usually go on the first component of a serial verb construction. -PaA/a ‘future’ goes on the second component of a serial verb construction (501).

18.7 Incorporation. Warekena, similarly to other Northern Maipuran languages, has no verb incorporation. On nominal compounding see sect. 15.4.

18.8 Serial verb constructions

18.8.1 Functions and structure of serial verb constructions. Warekena has serial verb constructions similar to the majority of the indigenous languages spoken in the Upper Rio Negro basin, including other Maipuran languages: Tarinana, Banawa, Bure, and Tucanoan, and Makuy. This is an areal feature of this region. Serial verb constructions in Warekena usually consist of two components, one of which is a motion verb, a stative verb, a phase verb or a modal verb, each of which can be compared to an auxiliary (see sect. 18.8.2). Such a verb usually occupies the first position in a serial verb construction. The inverse order is also
The following pair of examples illustrates the difference, both formal and semantic, between a serial verb construction (737) and coordinated clauses marked with the help of the presentative wa ‘then’ (738).

(737) wa-fa wa-ma wapanu
1pl-go 1pl-make 1pl +road
‘Let’s make our road.’

(738) wa-fa wa-ma wapanu
1pl-go then 1pl-make 1pl +road
‘We shall go (somewhere) (and) make our road.’

(vii) The serial verb construction has the intonation pattern of a monoverbal group. A specific ‘enumerative’ rising intonation is prohibited in serial verb constructions. In (528), rising intonation on wa-fa ‘I want’ shows that this verb cannot be a part of a serial verb construction. This intonation is not found on wa-fa-ya-fa ‘I wanted’ which forms a part of a serial verb construction (528).

In (739) fa and ya-fa form a serial construction, but kawna-ya-fa does not, since it is separated from the serial construction by a constituent.

(739) wa-fa wa-yufa-ya kuef ni-kawna-ya-palu
wa-dale-ya 1pl-go 1pl-kill game 1pl-smoke-CAUS-PURP 1pl-stock-PERL
‘Let’s kill game, to smoke (it) for our stock.’

The following sentence does not satisfy the conditions (v) (scope of negation) and (vii) (phonology), and so it is not a serial verb construction; it contains the repetition of the same predicate and cannot be interpreted as a serial verb construction.

(740) wa kushehu we-miheb
then rabbit leave-PERF + PAUS
we-miheb wa-mis-ita-piebe
leave-PERF + PAUS NEG-PERF-best-NEG + PAUS
‘Then the rabbit left him, left him, he did not beat him any more.’

(741) contains a final clause which cannot be interpreted as a serial verb construction because it violates the same subject constraint.

(741) wa-fluwi wa-ne-lima wa-yufa-palu kuef
then call-1pl 1pl-consult 1pl-kill-PURP game
‘Then our cousin called us to kill game.’
The following sentence is a sequence of clauses, and not a serial verb construction, since both components receive an independent aspect marking by -nia 'perfective'.

(742) we-ni-mia ni-nima-hii
leave-PERF tie-PERF jaguar
'He (the rabbit) left him (the jaguar); he tied the jaguar.'

(743) wa-ni-fia-nia-wa ne-pału ni-transni
then-3pl-sit-PERF-NONACC 3pl-eat-PURP 3pl-food
'Then they sat to eat their food.'

(595), (733) and (744) show that the object clitics go on the last component. As was shown above in sect. 18.6, relative marker -jii behaves slightly differently from other clitics, since it can optionally be used on both components of a serial construction (704). Relative -jii belongs to the core serialization, since it characterizes the whole serial verb construction (703).

Serial verb constructions cannot be nominalized or undergo oblique or object focusing (unlike Tariana, but similarly to Banwa and Bare).

A serial verb construction may consist of two transitive verbs (754). It may consist of one transitive and one intransitive S₁ verb. If the first component (e.g., a motion or stative verb) is intransitive, and the second one is transitive, the whole construction is transitive:

(744) wua-hii apli-hii matu-le
climb-PURP take-PURP cup-FOSS
'He climbed with his cup (climb-take).'

(745) wa-ja wa-dabana-zu wa-ja-su-lit
1pl-go 1pl-start-COCS 1pl-tell-REL
'Let's start our story (go-start).'

If the first component (e.g., a phase verb or modal verb) is transitive and the second component is intransitive, the whole construction is intransitive. The whole construction has the transitivity of the second component.

(746) ninapa-mia ni-yaluta-wa
3pl-finish-PERF 3pl-clear-NONACC
'They finished making a clearing.'

A serial verb construction may consist of two S₁ verbs:

(747) mu-ja mu-nima-hii
1sg-go 1sg-sleep-PAUS
'I am going to sleep.'

A serial verb construction may consist of two S₁ verbs (748) (in italics). In this case, only the last one of the string has the S₁ cross-referencing enclitic (749) (in agreement with the general principles of cross-referencing, see sect. 18.4.2).

(748) ni-wapeta ni-yama-te te pele pe-ku fuji yama-gi
3pl-arrange 3pl-game-FOSS until full full big bag
'Then they arranged the game until it is full, a bag is big and full.'

(749) ila-liyawa
red-ADV + FEM shame-1sg
'I became red with shame' (lit.: red-ashamed)

Serial constructions which consist of S₁ and S₂ verbs are extremely rare. One example is in the sequence yaft-li pala-hii (strong-REL run-PAUS) 'who is stronger in running'.

Serial verb constructions cannot contain an S₂ verb.

Serial verb constructions in Wareka are used to express the following meanings: aspectual, modal, sequential, and cause-effect and oblique case-like meaning.

Aspectual:
(i) The motion verb fa 'go' has intentional-future meaning 'going to' (750) (the serial verb construction is in italics).

(750) muya-hii epi eni-hii
peya wa-yalius wa-ja
1pl-PURP with DEM-PR-PURP one 1pl-brother 1pl-go
wa-tana-hii wa-tana-hii wa-dakle wa-bnjuka-pala
1pl-treat-PURP 1pl-treat-PURP 1pl-look 1pl-take-PURP
wa-yanita-palu fliapi wa-kawyu-ta-palu
1pl-take-PURP inside 1pl-looks-COAUS-PURP
'I with this one of my brothers (we) were going to treat the catch, to split (it), to take the insides, to smoke (it).'

(ii) Serial verb constructions with fa 'go' in 1pl form can have a cotative meaning (see sect. 11):
Serial constructions formed with other motion verbs have an intentional meaning, e.g., nupa ‘come’ in (752):

(752) ya-mia-nupa-pia-ha
NEG-PERF-come-NEG-PAUS drink water
‘He does not come to drink water there.’

(iii) Serial verb constructions with the stance verb fa ‘stay, sit, live’ have the meaning ‘prolonged action’:

(753) wa ni-fia-mia-wa ne-ha ne-mia
then 3pl-sit-PERF-NONACC 3pl+eat-PAUS 3pl+eat-PERF
ni-tumeni wa ya-fanja-mia-ha
3pl-food then night-PERF-PAUS
‘Then they were eating their food, they ate (i), it was night.’

(iv) Serial verb constructions with the phase verb for ‘start’ have inchoative meaning (745), and those with the verb for ‘finish’ have perfective meaning and refer to a completed action (754).

(754) yaiwa pina-mia pe-ni pi-fianu-pe
now 2sg+finish-PERF 2sg+eat-3pl 2sg-child-PL
‘Now you have completely finished eating them, these children of yours,’ (said the rabbit to the jagus).’

• Modal:
  (i) These include the verb weya ‘want’ and other verbs expressing desire, wish, or liking:

(755) mu-ben wi-tama-ha
1sg-like 1sg-dance-PAUS
‘I like to dance.’

(756) mu-weya nu-kulua weni
1sg-want 1sg-drink water
‘I want to drink water.’

• Simultaneous:

(759) guwadgala le cheet read
‘He (rabbit) pretended to read (a piece of paper).’

• Cause-effect:

(760) wiiu-nia-ha mawali
die-PERF-PAUS hungry
‘He died of hunger.’

Serial verb constructions which contain two S0 verbs belong to this type (748, 749).

• Oblique case-like meaning, which is rather rare (744).

18.8.2 Semantic depletion of serial verb constructions: from serial verbs to auxiliaries. Serial verb constructions in Warekena are undergoing semantic depletion in the following sense. There is a rather limited number of verbs which can be used as the first auxiliaries, and these first components tend at least partly to lose their lexical meaning. Thus, fa ‘go’ when used in serial verb constructions is closer to an auxiliary, and not a motion verb; the same can be said about nupa ‘finish’ which is used in serial verb constructions as something similar to a perfective aspect marker. The verb eda ‘see/hear, perceive’ is not used in serial verb constructions. However, it is used as an auxiliary verb in the following two cases.

(i) In negative commands (see sect. 12.6).

Note that the structure of the negative command in Warekena satisfies the conditions for serial verb constructions, namely: (a) the same subject constraint; (b) the intonation of a monoverbal group; and (c) the same aspect marking. It differs from serial constructions in the way negation is marked. Both components have the same negation, but it is marked on either the last component, or
on the whole construction, e.g., non-emphatic negative command in (761) and
an emphatic one in (762). The special use of *eda* in negative commands is
compiable to the use of the same verb with the impersonal cross-referencing
prefix as a kind of negative existential (see sect. 12.3).

(761) pída
2sg+perceive 2sg-drink-NEG
'Don't drink (it).'

(762) ya-pída
NEG-2sg+perceive 2sg+eat-NEG-1sg
'Do not eat me!' (763)

(ii) In the verb of fearing. The verb of fearing consists of an S0 verb if it means
'be afraid' as a permanent state (without actually having to see the object one is
afraid of):

(763) balide šipana akune-na
long hair fear-3sg.
'His (evil spirit's) hair is long. I am afraid of him.'

The verb of fearing which consists of akune 'afraid' and *eda* 'perceive'
means 'be frightened, fear something which is there as a real danger'.

(764) ya-mia-nupa-pia-hā
NEG-PERF-comes-NEG-PAUS drink water
akune eda waži akune eda waži
fear perceive jaguar fear perceive jaguar
'Ise (the rabbit) did not come to drink water (to the lake where the
jaguar was waiting for him), he feared the jaguar (lit.: afraid-perceive).'

(765) ni-mita-wa ıniwa waži akune náda waži
3sg-fly-NONACC from jaguar afraid 3pl+see jaguar
'They (the vultures) flew away from the jaguar, they are afraid of the
jaguar.'

The verb of fearing is similar to a serial verb construction, since the same
subject constraint is fulfilled, and no other constituent can go between the
two components. It is negated similarly to a serial verb construction (766). It is differ-
ent from a serial verb construction in that the auxiliary-like verb follows the main
verb. *Akune* does not take the subject person-markers, which appears to be always
the case in serial constructions with an S0 verb in the first position (749).

(766) ya-akune-pia neda waži
NEG-fear-NEG 1sg+perceive jaguar
'I am not afraid of a jaguar.'

In both cases, *eda* behaves similarly to an auxiliary (see Lord 1993 on
semantic depletion of serial verb constructions).

Another sign of syntactic reduction and semantic depletion of serial verb
constructions is the way of creating adverbial phrases. Many adverbs coincide
with verbal roots (mainly S0 verbs) and, possibly, go back to serial verb con-
structions of sequential type (767).

(767) ja-wa uyinka
go-NONACC slow-EMPH
'He went very slowly.'

Sometimes, it is difficult to distinguish between a serial verb construction
consisting of two S0 verbs and a verb plus adverb sequence:

(768) dabana-wa e pane ema
be-first-NONACC eat liver tapir
'He first ate the tapir's liver.'

(769) atulapi yuši waži
be.full be.big jaguar
'The jaguar was very full' or 'The jaguar was big/fat and full.'

The link between serial verb constructions with an S0 verb, and adverbial
phrases can be illustrated by (770). The clitic pronoun -nsa '1sg O or S0' occurs
on *yuši* 'strong', the way it behaves in serial verb constructions, and the aspect
marker occurs on the verb. *Yuši* is an adverb.

(770) wa wayata puši pi-fina-mia yuši-na-hā nivaba
then speak monkey 3sg-throw-PERF strong-1sg-PAUS high+DIR
'Then the monkey spoke, 'Throw me strong into the sky''.'

The independent status of adverbial phrases, even if they go back to deplated
serial verb constructions, is illustrated by more freedom of constituent order. In
serial verb constructions, phrase verbs cannot follow the other component of the
construction, which they can do when used adverbially (771; also see sect. 20):

(771) pe-valsu dabana-wa
2sg+eat-YET be.first-PERL/NONACC
'Eat your food yet first.'
19 Adjective phrase structure

Adjectives as modifiers are discussed in sect. 15.3.1. Derived adjectives constitute an open class, and are regularly derived from So verbs with the adjectivizer -ji. A list of roots used with the main adjectival meanings is given in sect. 18.4.1(v).

20 Adverb phrase structure

Adverbs are an open class of items whose primary function is verbal modifier. Adverbs do not modify adjectives. They have no inflectional categories of their own. There are two types of adverbs in Warekena: (i) primary adverbs which constitute a smallish closed class. These are, mainly, time and mode words. They are: umina ‘a long time’, ya:liwa ‘now’, benanimfi ‘long time ago’, bena ‘the day before yesterday’, bena:na ‘the day after tomorrow’, yafa ‘yesterday’, tuma ‘almost’, uma:na ‘only’, na:na ‘in vain’, sita ‘again’, and demonstrative adverbs discussed in sect. 16.4: wani ‘here’, wazi ‘there’, and corresponding directional and elliptic forms. They can occupy any position in the clause (61, 225, 772–775).

(772) benanimfi wa-patata amani sirings
long-time 1pl-work sap rubber
‘A long time ago we worked on sap and rubber.’

(773) wa-aj-fa-wa
umina yu-ta ne-pi:gi
then-3pl-stay-NONACC long-time 3sgf-give 3pl+eat-OBJ.FOC
‘Then they stayed for a long time, she gave food.’

(774) wa-la-mia-hi
weti umina-ju
boil-PERF-PAUS water long-time-EMPH then-PAUS
i-poka-mia-wa
3sguf-split-PERF-NONACC 3sgf-belly
‘The water boiled a long time, then her belly split.’

(775) ya:liwa ube-ma-ju
mu-fjma
now all-DEL-EMPH 1sg-tell
‘Now I have told all.’

(ii) secondary adverbs, which are So verbs used in an adverbial function without any special marking. Adverbs can be used as modifiers to verbs of all types. They usually immediately precede or follow the predicate, and there is a tendency that no other constituent should intervene between a predicate and its modifier. All adverbs often combine with -Ju ‘emphatic’, -ji: ‘augmentative’ and -ma ‘de-emphatic’ (728, 775, 785). Semantically, these adverbs are basically of mode type. They include one time word: yawaya ‘early, tomorrow’.

(776) yawaya pi-kata api
tomorrow 2sg-marry with him
‘Tomorrow you will marry him.’

(777) ale-ba yu-ma yue-ba eya enami
so-PAUS 3sgf-say to-PAUS DEM man
‘Thus she spoke to the man.’

(778) wa-patata payalu jupe wa-patata
1pl-work all much 1pl-work
‘We all work much.’

(779) atulapi-ba atulapi ju:fi wa:fi
be.full-PAUS be.full be.big jaguar
‘The jaguar was full, very full.’

(780) e-ba ni:fi ena ju:fi e-ba
eat-PAUS meet tapir big eat-PAUS
‘He ate tapir’s meat, much he ate.’

(781) wa-ba wa-palaka-ba ju:fi-ju wa:fi-ju wa:fi-ju
then-PAUS 1pl-garden-PAUS big-EMPH big-EMPH 1pl-fell
‘Then we gardened very much, we fell (trees) very much.’

(782) wa: ni-je-ta-mia-ba ju:fi-ju
then 3pl-fat-PERF-PAUS big-EMPH
‘Then they became very fat (Lit.: They fattened much).’

Some verbal clitics can occasionally be used as adverbs; e.g., pa:ja ‘future’.

(783) pa:ja nu-kazina
FUT 1sg-slack
‘I shall sing.’

(784) wa-yulata-mia-wa yawaya pa:ja-wa
lag-return-PERF-NONACC tomorrow FUT-NONACC
‘We shall be returning tomorrow.’

(785) ni-ja-wa ale-ma-ba-mia-ju-ta
2pl-go-NONACC so-DEL-AUG-PERF-EMPH-DEM-DIST
"They went just like that."

Adjectives with an adjectivizer -li can sometimes be used in an adverbial function (780); however, these rare cases can as well be understood as headless adjectives:

(786) yubua pājwa-li
   dig deep-REL
   'He (the rabbit) was digging deep' (the ground).

(787) we-hi ma-hi waiya sīta-hi tepa-li
   then-PARUS do-PARUS smoking grid tie-PARUS tight-ADJ
   'Then he (the elder brother) made a smoking grid, he tied it tight (as a)
   tight (one)."

Adverbial have a few specific derivational suffixes, none of them productive,
    e.g., -pe in jāwasa-pe 'early', šībuna-pe 'at night' (apparently, the only adverb
    derived from a noun). Possibly, -bune 'causal' is another adverbial suffix; e.g.,
    epaha-bune 'this is why' (617). Secondary adverbs can be derived from semanti-
    cally deleted serial verb constructions (see sect. 18.8.2).

Particles

21 Particles and Conjunctions

Warekena has three particles: wa 'presentative' (also used for coordination and
pivoting changing; discussed in sect. 9), si 'then' (617; a loan from Portuguese),
and a rarely used idí 'then' (it may be a loan word from Eure where it is very
frequent), e.g., (788), where idí also changes pivot, similarly to wa.

(788) wa kuneh fa yanta-hi fa yanta-hi wi-fi
   then rabbit go take-PARUS go take-PARUS tucumā
   wi-fi e-paahu idí-yeleta-hi yapawe anetum
   flat stone eat-PARUS then-come-PARUS flat stone + LOC good

   yapawe
   flat stone flat stone + LOC

   yapa yapawe
   flat stone flat stone + LOC

   'Then the rabbit went to take tucumā to eat, then he arrived on a flat
   stone, the flat stone was a good one, on a stone.'

Negative proclitics ya can be considered a particle. Warekena has a few con-
junctions: coordinating e 'and' (Portuguese loan), subordinating ate, ie 'until'
( Portuguese loan), wa/h 'where'. Si 'if' (Portuguese loan) is used occasionally (716).

22 Phonology

22.1 Segmental phonology

22.1.1 Consonants. Consonantal phonemes in Warekena are given in Table 4
below.

Table 4. Consonants in Warekena

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</tbody>
</table>

p, t and k are voiceless unaspirated stops. Unlike Bare and Baniwa of Iguna,
Warekena does not have aspirated stops. These stops do not have any restrictions
as to their occurrence. Examples: piṭpuwa 'your hair', palatawa 'banana', tapa
The voiced affricate \( \tilde{g} \) is a very rare phoneme, encountered only in seven words: \( \text{udakuma} \) 'ugly', \( \text{udakun} \) 'slow', \( \text{gahulp} \) 'curved', \( \text{agaenel' } \) 'high', \( \text{mu-dulip} \) 'eye vein', \( \text{dejwil' } \) 'naughty' and \( \text{gwaqadat} \) 'cheat'. \( \text{gwaqadata} \) is occasionally pronounced as \( \text{gwaqadat} \), \( \text{udakun} \) is pronounced also as \( \text{yubakun} \), so probably \( \tilde{g} \) is just the result of some rare and irregular phonological process.

Warekena has three nasal phonemes: \( n \), \( m \) and \( b \). Non-palatal \( m \) and \( n \) are very frequent, and there are no restrictions for their usage; e.g., \( \text{numa} \) 'mouth', \( \text{ma'say, do} \), \( \text{tama} \) 'dance', \( \text{panpi} \) 'house'. Palatal \( n \) is rare, and it appears to be only used in a root-initial position; e.g., \( \text{ramal} \) 'people', \( \text{ritu} \) 'call', \( \text{lap} \) 'take', \( \text{bring} \) (the only exception is a loan-word from Spanish \( \text{silu 'year} \)). The inchoative -\( nis \) can be realized as -\( ne \) in rapid speech register.

Warekena has a frequently occurring lateral flap \( j \), which never occurs word- or root-initially; e.g., \( \text{wabuka} \) 'child', \( \text{wada} \) 'jibos snake', \( \text{bukonu} \) 'turtle', \( \text{yeule} \) 'arrive', \( \text{yulata} \) 'lie down'. It can occur morpheme-initially; e.g., -\( di- \) 'relativizer', -\( ja- \) 'possessive', -\( jina- \) 'temporal subordinate'. \( j \) can be realized as a vibrant flap before \( e \) by some speakers; e.g., \( \text{yereta} \) 'arrive', -\( teule \) 'free'.

Warekena has two glides: \( w \) and \( y \), which can occur in any position; e.g., \( \text{wapa} \) 'speak', \( \text{yaya} \) 'weep', \( \text{mawaya} \) 'snake', \( \text{sume} \) 'to', \( \text{yawapata} \) 'answer', \( \text{wasa} \) 'jump'.

There are a number of loan phonemes which occasionally occur in loan words: voiceless sibilant \( s \): \( \text{koka} 'sane', \text{esteria} 'kistora', \text{istoria} 'story'; voiced sibilant \( z \): \( \text{kora} 'kelp', \text{labial sound voiceless fricative} f: \text{flow} 'flower', \text{festa} 'feast'; liquid \( l \): \text{playa} 'beach', apostol \( \) 'apostle'; vibrant \( r \): \text{arena} 'sand', \text{kurepa} 'evil spirit', \text{maezea} 'macauzea' (bitter manic).

22.1.2 Vowels. Warekena has four oral vowels, with long counterparts shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Vowels in Warekena

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>( i )</td>
<td>( e )</td>
<td>( u )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>( i )</td>
<td>( e )</td>
<td>( a )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>( i )</td>
<td>( e )</td>
<td>( a )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Every vowel also has a nasal counterpart with a limited occurrence: nasal vowels occur in pausal forms (see sect. 22.4.4) as the result of a nasalization triggered by \( h \), and in rapid registers as the result of a phonological process: \( \text{Nh} > \text{N} \).

Central vowels can be realized as \( a \) in post-tonic position in pausal forms (see sect. 22.4.5).

Examples of high front: \( \text{lahu} 'his father', \text{lhwa 'from him'.} \)

Examples of high front: \( \text{tuda} 'they see/recognise', \text{umina} 'long time', \text{abi:da} 'pig' \).

Examples of central: \( \text{enti} 'old man', \text{ale 'how', epolu 'he'.} \)

Long \( e \): \( \text{yame: 'let', numa 'tapti', ne:da 'I see/recognise'.} \) In rapid speech registers short \( i \) and
The voiceless affricate \( \text{d} \) is a very rare phoneme, encountered only in seven words: \( \text{udukura} \) 'ugly', \( \text{udukul} \) 'slow', \( \text{zibiti} \) 'curved', \( \text{shened} \) 'high', \( \text{wii-djipa-ne} \) 'my vein', \( \text{djewili} \) 'naughty' and \( \text{gumawata} \) 'cheat'. \( \text{gumawata} \) is occasionally pronounced as \( \text{gumwatu} \); \( \text{udukul} \) is pronounced also as \( \text{udukul} \); so probably \( \text{d} \) is just the result of some rare and irregular phonological process.

Warekena has three nasal phonemes: \( n, n, \) and \( \text{n} \). Non-palatal \( n, n, \) and \( \text{n} \) are very frequent, and there are no restrictions for their usage; e.g., \( \text{numa} \) 'mouth', \( \text{ne} \) 'say, do', \( \text{tama} \) 'dance', \( \text{panull} \) 'house'. Palatal \( \text{n} \) is rare, and it appears to be only used in a root-initial position; e.g., \( \text{kamuli} \) 'people', \( \text{nuta} \) 'call', \( \text{ni} \) 'take', \( \text{bri} \) 'bring' (the only exception is a loan-word from Spanish \( \text{ataa} \) 'year'). The inchoative '-ni' can be realized as -\( \text{ns} \) in rapid speech register.

Warekena has a frequently occurring lateral flap \( \text{j} \), which never occurs word- or root-initially; e.g., \( \text{zibikulu} \) 'child', \( \text{kumela} \) 'jibola snake', \( \text{kumula} \) 'turtle', \( \text{jedlak} \) 'arrive', \( \text{jedla} \) 'lie down'. It can occur morpheme-initially; e.g., \( \text{ji} \) 'relativizer', \( \text{je} \) 'possessive', \( \text{jeni} \) 'temporal subordinate'. \( \text{j} \) can be realized as a vibrant flap before \( e \) by some speakers; e.g., \( \text{yereda} \) 'arrive', \( \text{tendj} \) 'threw'.

Warekena has two glides: \( w \) and \( y \), which can occur in any position; e.g., \( \text{wai} \) 'speak', \( \text{yawa} \) 'weep', \( \text{wavaya} \) 'snake', \( \text{ye} \) 'to, for', \( \text{wawaputa} \) 'answer', \( \text{wosu} \) 'jump'.

There are a number of loan phonemes which occasionally occur in loan words: voiceless sibilant \( s \) : \( \text{suku} \) 'five', \( \text{esutru} \) 'estur', \( \text{esu} \) 'history', \( \text{shu} \) 'story'; voiced sibilant \( z \) : \( \text{ayusa} \) 'help', labiodental voiceless fricative \( f \) : \( \text{flore} \) 'flower', \( \text{fetsu} \) 'feast', \( \text{shilu} \) 'playa' 'beach', apostrophe \( \text{a} \) : apostrophe; vibrator \( r \) : \( \text{arena} \) 'sand', \( \text{kupaca} \) 'evil spirit', \( \text{makasa} \) 'macaque' (bitter manioc).

22.1.2 Vowels. Warekena has four oral vowels, with long counterparts shown in Table 5.

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<td>mid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Every vowel also has a nasal counterpart with a limited occurrence: nasal vowels occur in nasalized words (as the result of a nasalization triggered by \( h \)), and in rapid registers as the result of a phonological process: \( N > N \).

Central vowels can be realized as \( a \) in post-nasal position in nasalized forms (as see sec. 22.4.5).

Examples of high front \( i \) : \( \text{ihamu} \) 'his father', \( \text{ilwua} \) 'from him'. Examples of \( a \) : \( \text{ne} \) 'they see/permit', \( \text{ununa} \) 'long time', \( \text{sibuda} \) 'pig'.

Examples of central \( e \): \( \text{etene} \) 'old man', \( \text{ale} \) 'bow', \( \text{epala} \) 'be'. Long e: \( \text{wam} \) 'far', \( \text{ema} \) 'tapir', \( \text{ne.d} \) 'I see/permit'. In rapid speech registers short \( i \) and
e are neutralized to e in words with more than two syllables in word final post-tonic syllables, e.g., etene 'old man', pitita 'your tongue', jabapala 'liver'. This does not happen in medially syllabic roots, e.g., pani 'liver', napo 'leaf'. High back rounded u has an allophone o, frequent in rapid speech registers; e.g., ojoko or ojoko' voice, speech, word, nafumola or nafumolwa 'my wife'. Its long counterpart does not have this allophone: u-like 'sounding', wado-la 'our catch', yapwi-li 'her eyes'. In pausal forms, word final u can alternate with i (see sect. 22.4.4: (801, 802)). o occasionally appears in loan words, in stressed syllables; e.g., boire 'flower', ora 'hour', kopu 'glass' (but aim 'year'). Latviri 'story' has a variant latviri.

Examples of central unrounded a: aile 'how', na 'say', do, aisi 'manicoc, a can be reduced to a in word-final post-tonic syllables: nataisapu 'my ear'. Examples of long a are: aisi 'fire', atapi 'tree', ma 'honey', kaka 'manioc bread'.

Two long vowels are rare in one phonological word; e.g., u-le:li 'sounding'.

Vowel length has a low functional load, and there is a considerable degree of variation in current speech. Long vowels are regularly shortened in phonological phrases with a stress shift (see sect. 22.4.3); e.g., e-ma 'thapit', pana ema 'thapit's liver', and when derivational affixes are added; e.g., aisi 'fire', aisi:li 'firewood'. Presentative wa can be realized as wa: when not a clitic (see sect. 22.4). Long vowels can be pronounced as short; e.g., e-ma, ema 'tapi', nepiipi, nepiipi 'food, something to eat', aisi, aisi 'fire', payalai, payalai 'all'. Vowel length can 'float' within a phonological word, i.e., the originally long vowel is pronounced as a short one, and another vowel becomes long: i:ma, i:ma 'long'. This variation in vowel length can be considered a symptom of language obsolescence (cf. similar phenomena in Tariana, also an endangered Northern Maipuran language).

22.2 Syllable structure and phonotactics. Similarly to other Maipuran languages, Warekena has two types of syllables: V and CV. Syllables with a consonantal onset have some restrictions in occurrence which will be discussed below; and the vowel may undergo reorganization. Examples:

CV: mula 'canoe', miyati 'garden'; V: aisi 'snake', eyawa 'old woman', yubua 'he digs'.

Syllables of the structure (CV)C and CCV are possible in non-final syllables under two circumstances in Warekena:

(i) in recent loan words, e.g., enapita 'story', eskapenawa 'escape (reflexive)', nora 'flower', plana 'beach', an Gabriel 'São Gabriel'; /faxa 'feast', manda 'world', banku 'bench'; in word-final syllables a vowel is added in loan words, e.g., Spanish habón, Warekena habôni; Portuguese flor - Warekena fôre; however, two consonant sequences are avoided in one word even in loan words; e.g., Keru 'Christ' (Portuguese Cristo);

(ii) in rapid speech register in syllables of the VN or Vl structure, which immediately follow the stressed syllable, this happens in loan words, as kanta 'sing', and non- loans:

rapid register: kanta
slow register: kanta

rapid register: nu-yëtsata-wa > nu-yëtsata-wa
slow register: nu-yëtsata-wa

rapid register: yënts
slow register: yënts

rapid register: udjuddinami
slow register: udjuddinami

Warekena has the following phonotactic restrictions. Two syllables of V structure cannot be contiguous. The restrictions of vowel co-occurrence in a sequence of CV-V structure syllables can be explicated in terms of the sonority hierarchy (Bulter, Buller and Everett 1993):

- high > + high > + cons

cons - cons

Each end of the hierarchy is assigned to syllabic positions unambiguously, so that segments on the left of the hierarchy will always be nuclear, and segments [+ cons] will always be onsets.

Neighbouring segments in Warekena cannot have the same sonority value, and this explains the non-occurrence of sequences as: *aia, *yia, *aia. Vowel sequence ae is only possible at the boundary of preclitic + root: ya-ele-pia 'he did not see'.

The possible vowel sequences in Warekena are:

- e.g., fihama 'his mother', yudua 'he digs', jahua 'he drinks', jahuma 'brother'
- i.e., plana 'your neck', jumima 'wife', yofita 'kill', sia 'stay, sit'
- u-e: yae 'for him', bujuk 'animal' i-e: alena 'breaker', pie 'find'
- y: wifili 'wild turkey', wifilata 'hide', divata 'God'
- a-e: bujukita 'light (fire)'
- i-e: mac 'light'


In vowel sequences i can be realized as j, and u as w in rapid register; e.g., bayuna, yudua, yamatu, bujukit.

Another possibility would be to treat these vowel sequences as diphthongs. This solution does not seem plausible, because of reduplication and palatal
marking. Reduplication in Warekna operates in terms of CV sequences: the last CV sequence is reduplicated. E.g., in a CV.CV sequence, the reduplicated form will be CV.CV; e.g., wajuwa ‘die’, redupl: wajuu-wa ‘drunk’; yehuwa ‘dig’, yehu-bw-a ‘dig a lot’. To mark a pause (see sect. 22.4.4), an -bł syllable is inserted at the end of a phonological word; v is identical to the last vowel of a vowel sequence, e.g., non-pausal kulubu-mis (tear-PERF) ‘he tore’, pausal kulubu-mis-bł ‘he tore (pausal)’. Stress placement (see 22.4.3, on the behaviour of diminutive suffix -m with respect to stress) also shows that vowel sequences are better not treated as diphthongs. As will be shown below, actual diphthongization exists in Warekna as a phonetic process (see sect. 22.3). Diphthongs appear in a few loans: e.g., syele ‘seven’, kwatu ‘four’.

22.3 Phonetic changes. The following phonetic changes occur within phonological words. They are optional, in the sense that they only take place in rapid speech registers.

1. Stop voicing
   Bilabial and velar stops may be realized as voiced if followed by a voiced consonant in an adjacent syllable:
   akumu pida umeni > akume bida umeni
   ‘You are afraid of a snake.’
   akumu > agume ‘a scared one’

2. Vowel shortening and reduction to glides
   In vowel sequences CVV, the second vowel is shortened, and u is realized as w, i as y: e.g., wakusa > wakusa ‘he tied’, kuluba > kuluba ‘he drinks’ -mis > -mis ‘perfective’.

3. Vowel shortening and reduction to a
   All post-tonic ə and ı are neutralized into ə, in rapid to normal speech register, e.g., wilelewa > wilelewa ‘child’, -wene > -wene ‘elative’, -wesà > wene ‘water’.

4. Vowel nasalization
   Phonetically nasalized vowels precede nasal stops (regressive nasalization). Another case of regressive vowel nasalization occurs in rapid speech register, where post-tonic ni is reduced to ni > ‘(of the preceding vowel):
   slow register: yeluta-wa
   laugh-RED-NONACC
   normal to rapid register: yelutata-wa

rapid register: yelata-wa

In loan words from Spanish and Portuguese syllables of CV and CVN structure, there are the following possibilities of adaptation of the loan words: (i) v > V(v) in word-final position: mené ‘cloud’, salasa ‘salmon’, kaptanu ‘captain’; (ii) CVN > CV before glottal fricative h: naraba ‘orange’ (Spanish naraja), (iii) CVN > CVN: mundu ‘world’, or CV > CVN: -wenzata ‘buy, sell’ (Portuguese, Spanish vender ‘sell’), depending on the degree of adaptation of the loan word.

22.4 Suprasegmental phonology

22.4.1 Phonological word and the properties of morphemes. A phonological word in Warekna is basically defined in terms of stress placement, and a number of word-initial and word-final phonological processes. Warekna has the following classes of morphemes in terms of their phonological properties: (a) roots which can form a phonological word of their own and have a fixed stress; (b) affixes which cannot form a phonological word of their own and which have a fixed position within a phonological word; (c) bound clitics which cannot form a phonological word of their own, but have a mobile position within a phonological word; (d) independent clitics which behave as bound clitics but can be treated as independent phonological words under special conditions. Specific phonological processes take place on the corresponding boundaries (prefixes + roots, roots + suffixes, roots + clitics).

Cletic groups in Warekna behave very much like phonological words. The two types of clitics in Warekna can be illustrated as follows:

Bound clitics include a number of grammatical enclitics. They have some similarity with affixes. There are no special phonological boundary processes which occur on clitic and affix boundaries because no bound enclitics begin with a vowel. Bound enclitics cannot form either a grammatical or a phonological word of their own. All grammatical enclitics are extraprosodic, e.g., yaka-mis (kill-PERF) ‘he killed’. Most tense/aspect markers and personal enclitics belong here. Enclitics have a free position in a phonological word than do affixes. They can go either on a predicate, or on another focalized constituent in the clause.

(789) kune-ta-ta uwa-ba-lu ni
    fear-CAUS-RED all-AUG-EMPH-3pl
    ‘He frightens them only (a lot).’

In (790) the perfective -mis is attached to a phonological word which occupies the sentence-initial position.

(790) yaka-mis nu-tapa-ya te yaka-mis-ya
    yesterday-PERF 1sg-walk-RED until tired-PERF-1sg
    ‘Yesterday I walked until I grew tired.’
If the phonological word contains the proclitic ya-, or wa- (sect. 7.1), the bound enclitics are attached to it. The possibility of attraction is the main criterion for distinguishing an enclitic from a suffix.

The sequence proclitic + enclitic(s) behaves as an independent proclitic. It can be optionally cited to the following verb form in rapid speech:

(791) ya-mia-ni-te-pia-hā dańa fa-wa
NEG-PERF-3pl-know-NEG-PAUS where-GO-NONACC
ya-mia-ni-ye-pia-tenepu
NEG-PERF-3pl-for-NEG-road
"They did not know where to go, there is no road for them."

It can form an independent phonological word with an independent stress on the first syllable:

(792) ya-mia yue-pia-hā nima-hā e-piš
NEG-PERF for-NEG-PAUS 3pl+-with-PAUS eat-OBJ-POC
"He didn't have anything to eat with them (his children)."

The independent phonological word consisting of a proclitic with a clitic can be used in a prasal form, which confirms its phonological independence (see sect. 22.4.5 on prasal forms):

(793) ya-mia-hā be-pia-hā negwwe-nil
NEG-PERF-PAUS con-NEG-PAUS feed-3pl
"He could not feed them."

Compare (794), where the prasal marker goes on the whole sequence proclitic + root + clitic + predicate, and ya-mia is citedized.

(794) ya-mia-yue-pia-hā tenepu
NEG-PERF-for-NEG-PAUS road
"There was no road."

There are the following rules of clitic sequencing in a clitic string: aspirant clitics (e.g., -ma 'perfective') are followed by relativizer -li, which is followed by the personal enclitics. In my corpus only sequences of no more than two enclitics are attested, e.g., aspirant enclitic - personal enclitic in (792) and aspirant enclitic - relativizer in (796):

(795) pe-mia-nil payalu
2sg+eat-PERF-3pl all
"You ate them all."

(796) wiyua-mia-li
die-PERF-REL
"the one who died"

Enclitics always follow affixes. There is, however, one problematic case which may be considered an instance of enclitics. As was shown in sect. 18.2.2, aspectual -ma "unaccomplished" is not an enclitic, since it does not undergo attraction to the negative ya- (examples in sect. 18.2.2). However, when it co-occurs with aspectual -ma 'perfective', both sequences -wa-mia, which is to be expected, and -ma-wa are possible, but with a semantic difference (see sect. 18.2.2).

Independent clitics include a number of items which can form an independent phonological word under certain conditions (see below). The independent proclitics are the sequences ya 'negative' + enclitic (illustrated above) and presentative wa + enclitic. Bound proclitic ya- 'negative' is extraprovodic, i.e., it does not affect the stress placement in a phonological word: ya-nilpa-šia 'he did not come'. An unusual property of the proclitic ya-it is that, if a prasal marker -hi is attached to it, it forms an independent phonological word, e.g., sentential negation yaha 'no'. This word is stressed on the last syllable: yaha 'no' (see sect. 22.4.3). Otherwise prasal marker -hi is never stressed, e.g., wá-há 'presentative-prasal'. Presentative we can be optionally used with a prasal marker. There are two ways in which wa is used: as a proclitic, and as an independent phonological word (with or without the prasal marker, see sect. 22.4.5). Wa as an independent phonological word is often realized as waš (33). Waš as an independent phonological word is frequently used narrative-initially as a presentative (31, 68, 74), clause-finally to resume a paragraph (43, 84, 103), to mark an important action (33, 101), and to mark the change of pivot from S/0 to S/A (see sections 3 and 9.2). Waš as a proclitic is frequently used in a cognate sense (11, 13, 22, 26, 85), or as a presentative clause-initially, but not in the beginning of a narrative (84, 98, 99). Waš as an independent phonological word and wa as a proclitic occur together in (267) and (425). In these cases, wa-há is used in a resumptive sense ('and so, and then') and waš-as used in presentative sense in (267) and (425) and to mark a sequence of events (277). Aspectual bound clitics are attracted to waš-hi) when it is used in copular clauses (60, 63; see sect. 7.1).

Phonological processes which occur at proclitic and affix boundaries are different. For instance, at an affix boundary a + e > e; e.g., wa-eša > weda 'we see, perceive'; and at a clitic boundary a + e > ae; e.g., ya-eša-pia 'he does not see'; wa-eša 'then he saw' (see sect. 22.5).

Independent clitics are eša 'the one mentioned in the previous text', eni 'this', near demonstrative (797); eša 'that, distant demonstrative' (798); eša 'what' (799); eša 'this, just mentioned' (406). They can be used as independent phonological words (with or without a prasal marker -hi), if they have to be specially emphasized (eni in 417, eni in 421, 422), or topological (e in 420), or are used headlessly (eni in 413, e and eša in 410). The independent clitics usually form a separate phonological word, if a word-final marker -hi occurs on the previous phonological word or
they contain a fossilized derivational affix (or classifier); e.g., *atapi ‘tree’ (cf. *-pi ‘classifier for long objects’), *mu-nu-pala ‘ear’, *mu-gi-pala ‘leg’ (*pala ‘body part’). The root *jima ‘bone’ is a fossilized compound: jina ‘fish’ + api ‘bone’. The majority of verbal roots are either disyllabic, or monosyllabic; e.g., muna ‘come’, yama ‘draw’, eda ‘see/hear, perceive’, fa ‘go’, ma ‘do, say’, a ‘eat’. Trisyllabic verbal roots contain a thematic syllable (see sect. 18.4.1 on the classification of verbs); e.g., jeh-te ‘arrive’, waqa-te ‘talk’, bigi-la ‘go out’; however, in some cases, the origin of the third syllable is hard to determine, e.g., yubaa ‘fall’, yubaa ‘dig’. There is one four-syllable verbal root (probably a fossilized compound) yapapata ‘answer’. There is a tendency to avoid monosyllabic phonological words with short vowels in Wareka (see sect. 22.4.1 on vowel shortening in wa ‘then’ when it is used as an independent phonological word). Every monosyllabic word tends to be treated as a proclitic with respect to the following phonological word. For example, in (800) the monosyllabic form of the verb e ‘to eat’ forms one phonological word with its direct object pana ‘liver’.

(800) epine dma
    e pana dma
    eat liver tapir
    ‘He (the turtle) ate tapir’s liver’

22.4.3 Stress. The phonological word is marked by the phonemic stress which generally falls on the first syllable of disyllabic roots; e.g., woni ‘water’, nipa ‘he came’. In trisyllabic roots, stress falls on the penultimate syllable; e.g., jima ‘bone’, mawda ‘snake’, umwad ‘snake’, aying ‘bear’, mugina ‘canoe’; or on the antepenultimate syllable; e.g., mepa ‘padle’, atara ‘snake’, bregi ‘three’, wifiri ‘wild turkey’, diwiri ‘crocodile’. It can be noted that the majority of the noun trisyllabic roots with antepenultimate stress contain a fossilized affix -ti; e.g., akuli ‘garza (a bird)’, maki ‘piraba fish’ (note that, when -ti functions as an adjectivizer, it does not affect the stress placement), or some other fossilized suffix; e.g., uppia ‘bird’ (cf. Proto-Maipuran *hodi-pira ‘bird’); see Payne 1991: 395), *pipala ‘foot’, *atapi ‘tree’. However, some of the trisyllabic roots with -ti have penultimate stress; e.g., bida ‘evil spirit’. Trisyllabic roots with a root-final vowel sequence -ia, -ia are always stressed on the antepenultimate syllable, probably, due to the phonetic process of vowel shortening in the context VV: wa > wa, ia > ia, e.g., yubaa ‘dig’, wa-kwa ‘tie’ (see sect. 22.3). In roots of four or more syllables, stress falls on the antepenultimate syllable: kumudu ‘turtle’, yewupata ‘answer’, bokulku ‘owl’, manupata ‘jarracca snake’. Note that long vowels are not necessarily stressed, e.g., mupimala ‘jucamum bird’. Four-syllable words ending in a vowel sequence have a pre-antepenultimate stress; e.g., dumuku ‘wild turkey’. Pausal marker -H is never stressed (see sect. 22.3), e.g., wa-ha ‘presentative-pausal’. The only exception is ya-ha (NEG-PASUS) ‘no’, stressed on the last syllable (a minimal pair

22.4.4 Syllables and morphemes. All Northern Maipuran languages show a rather peculiar interdependence between syllable and morpheme. There exist the following phonological constraints on morpheme structure (see also Ackerman 1996a,b):

prefixes all monosyllabic
suffixes most monosyllabic, few disyllabic
roots most disyllabic, few monosyllabic

In Wareka, all prefixes and the majority of suffixes are monosyllabic. There are a few disyllabic suffixes; e.g., -wone ‘clative’, -wowe ‘locative’. Bound clitics are either monosyllabic, e.g., -li, or disyllabic, e.g., -ma ‘perfective’, -pi ‘negative’. -yata ‘yet’. Independent clitics are disyllabic, e.g., the demonstratives eni, eta. The restriction concerning the maximum length of a root of two syllables seems not to hold any more. Noun roots are usually disyllabic e.g., enu ‘tenu’, api ‘hand’, fech ‘dog’. Noun roots with three or more syllables are very frequent, and in the majority of cases a historical and comparative analysis of these roots reveals that
with respect to stress to yahh ‘the eats’ (yu-a-hh ‘3gft-eat-PAUS’, see sect. 22.5).

Prefixes and proclitics never affect the stress placement; e.g., nu-napa ‘I came’, nu-fim-ne ‘my dog’.

Suffixes divide into prostopic type, which affects the stress placement, and extraprosodic type which do not affect stress placement.

When a prosodic suffix is attached to the root, the stress moves to the final syllable of the root, i.e., the penultimate syllable of the word. Examples of prosodic suffixes: /fi/ ‘non-possessed, nominalization’: pani-fi ‘house’, ay-e-fi ‘food’, /fi/ ‘locative?’, tawap-fi ‘the place with much jungle’, /ma/ ‘agentive nominalization’: atene-ha ‘the one who teaches’.

In the case of extraprosodic suffixes of one syllable, the stress falls on the antepenultimate syllable. Examples of extraprosodic suffixes: thematic syllables in verbs; e.g., /pi/ ‘go out’, wapa-ta ‘speak’, /li-ta ‘tie’; possessive suffixes /le, /me, /je, e.g., mu-nalipa-le ‘his’, /li ‘adjectivizer’, e.g., felu-le ‘black’; /me ‘locative’, e.g., tenepesone (tenepi-jwe) ‘on the road’.

There is only one disyllabic extraprosodic suffix: -waba ‘directional’. The stress shifts to the final syllable of the root, i.e., the antepenultimate syllable of the word, if the extraprosodic disyllabic suffix is or a disyllabic enclitic is attached to it: tenepi-waba (road-DIR) ‘to the road’; yeleti-mi-a-wa (arrive-PERF-NONACC) ‘he is coming’.

Other disyllabic suffixes are stressed on the penultimate syllable, and the root they are attached to retains its original stress, but this is weakened (shown with ‘ as in the words that follow): /si/ ‘locative nominalization’, e.g., wiini-si ‘a place with much water’, /pi/ ‘object focus’, e.g., kalu-si ‘something to drink’; /bi/ ‘oblique focus’, e.g., kalu-bi-si ‘something to drink with/from’; /nde/ ‘plural’, e.g., welifele ‘children’. The diminutive suffix -niki behaves in the same way, and this is another piece of evidence in favour of the fact that vowel sequences are not disphongs in Warekena, e.g., /a-li-yi-niki ‘very small’.

The only exception occurs when a disyllabic suffix is attached to a monosyllabic root, either a verbal or a numeral root. Then the stress shifts to the antepenultimate syllable, e.g., /pi/ ‘something to eat’, /bi-a ‘two’ (generic class), /bu-bu ‘two’ (cycles). There is a certain degree of variation in stress placement in these cases, and occasionally the penultimate syllable is stressed, e.g., babu ‘two’ (cycles). In verbs, a reduplicated syllable is always extraprosodic, e.g., mu-tapa-pa (1sg-walk-RED) ‘I walk (much).’

As was pointed out above, all verbal enclitics are extraprosodic, e.g., yeleti-mi-a ‘he is coming’.

22.4.4 Word-boundary prosodic features. Warekena has no specific device for marking word-initial boundary. It has a peculiar way of marking the final boundary of a phonological word. A morpheme -/fi/ ‘pauusal marker’ is inserted at the end of a phonological word or a phonological phrase. This morpheme can be described in terms of the following phonological features: h- insertion, vowel harmony, and subsequent vowel nasalization. The h- insertion in Warekena precedes vowel nasalization because a glottal consonant can trigger vowel nasalization. Glottal fricative h can trigger vowel harmony. This phenomenon is known as trunsyllabic vowel harmony. Both phenomena are also present in Bara (Akhievan 1995a).

The phonological processes that apply in Warekena to mark the final boundary of a phonological word can be schematized as follows:

(i) h- insertion at the word boundary: /h/ > /h/

(ii) progressive vowel harmony:

(iii) vowel nasalization:

There is a certain degree of variation in adding pauseal forms to words which end in /u/. The pauseal marker occasionally takes the form -/fi/.

(801) kuluha-pa-hi
make-hole-PURP+PAUS
‘to make a hole’

(802) tiu-pa-flu-1bi
ni-dapu-paflu
simapie-pe-mi
make-PURP+PAUS
1pl-take-PURP bone-PL-PEJ
‘to take, to take his bones’

The final boundary segment is extraprosodic, in the sense that it does not affect the rules of stress assignment. Unlike other extraprosodic units, however, it always has a secondary stress. It is not obligatory, i.e., it can be omitted under certain circumstances (see sect. 3.1); e.g., /bi/ or /i/ ‘head’, /simati/ or /simati/ ‘bone’.

The final boundary marker functions, among other things, as a token for recognizing phonological words in Warekena. For instance, in cases like mطا-pu-paflu (full-NEG+his ‘this did not fall’, wa-kuula-mi-a (then-terf-PURP) ‘then he tore (it)’, it is possible to use the final boundary marker after the first word in each case, yielding mطا-pu-paflu emi-hi and wa-kuula-mi-a-hi. This shows the virtual phonological independence of the cliticizable morphemes emi ‘this’, and wa ‘then’.

22.4.5 Phonological phrase structure. In Warekena, a phonological phrase would normally correspond to possessive and adpositional noun phrases and verb-object constructions.
Warekena uses two strategies for marking a phonological phrase by means of stress in rapid and casual speech: (a) stress weakening and (b) stress shift. The stress on the first component of a phonological phrase is perceived as less prominent, as compared to the stress on the second component, and it is shifted one syllable to the right, as illustrated in (803):

(803) jumphi puñi
bone monkey
'a bone of a monkey'
(stress in a ‘free’ form: jumphi, puñi)

In slow speech, no stress shift occurs. The word boundary marker -hā in Warekena is used to signal the boundaries of phonological phrases preceding pauses. A final form of the last phonological word in a phonological phrase is used to signal a boundary under the following conditions:
(a) the constituent or a part of it is topicalized or is a part of an afterthought,
(b) it is under special emphasis, or
(c) it is followed by a pause.

If one or more of these conditions apply, a final form can also be used with independent enclitics, as in (804), (805), where both occurrences of eni-hā ‘this’ is in a final form due to its utterance-final position. The first occurrence of eni-hā ‘this’ is followed by pause. (805) shows that a specific enclitic (eni ‘this’) is treated as an independent enclitic, since the preceding item is in the final form, and a significant pause follows. Verbs ni-wayata-hā ‘they spoke’, ni-ma-hā ‘they said’, ya-li-aneta-pia-hā ‘is not good’ are in a final form because they precede a pause. In (806) the final form is used to indicate a pause after ya-yeu-hā ‘to her’; it is also used to emphasize the constituent pi-kaisa-hā ‘you will marry’. Wa-hā ‘then’ is in a final form, since it is emphasized. In (807) a non-final form yoe ‘to him’ is used since the conditions necessary for the use of final forms are not met. Yeletahā ‘he arrived’ is in a final form before a pause. Final forms are in italics in the following examples.

(804) eni-hā dzuatu anetau-li eni-hā
this-PAUS god good-REL this-PAUS
walamafla-hā
save-PAUS
‘This very God is good, it is he who saves.’

(805) ni-wayata-hā ni-ma-hā eni enni
3pl-speak-PAUS 3pl-say-PAUS DEM-PR man

The use of a final form for topicalization is illustrated by (808). The second (or last) of the repeated constituents usually appears in final forms (as a kind of afterthought) (809). More than one of the repeated constituents can appear in a final form (110, 115).

(808) yoe-hā jupu ya-ñamali
to-PAUS many DEM-man
‘What he has (lit: to him), is many people.’

(809) wi waya-li-hā wulamaflie wulamafla-hā
what want-REL PAUS save save-PAUS
‘Whoever wants (it), he will save him, be he will save.’

Monosyllabic grammatical words tend to form independent phonological words when in a final form, as shown in (810) where e ‘eats’ is emphasized.

(810) waya e-hā juflitli
want eat-PAUS big-REL
‘He wants to eat much.’

Some items are only used in a final form. For instance, the general negation ye-le ‘no’ always appears in final form, as opposed to the negative proclitic ya- ‘not’, which is always accompanied by the negative enclitic pia (811). Another item found only in final form is jamulehā ‘when?’

(811) ya-nupa-pia-hā pi-yoe-hā lawaya
NEO-come-NEG-PAUS 2sg-to-PAUS snake
wa ya-nu-hä ya-hä
then 3sg-say-PAUS NEG-PAUS
"A snake did not come to you" (the man said), then she said: "No," ;
The phonological status of pausal forms in Warekena is confirmed by the following considerations. First, the use of pausal forms blocks the operation of phonological processes at a word-internal clitic boundary. This is illustrated in (812), where the final vowel elision on a clitic boundary between the preposition yue 'to' and the independent proclitic enä 'this' does not take place in pausal forms.

(812) wa-hä aie wayasta yue-hä eni-hä
then-PAUS so speak to-PAUS DEM.PRON-PAUS
Jesu Kritu wayasta yuani enami
Jesus Christ speak to DEM.PRON man
yue eni
'Then he thus spoke to this very man, Jesus Christ spoke to this man.'

Other optional pausal marking phenomena in the position before the end of a clause or of a significant passage (813), or in right dislocation for clarification (814), are:
(a) monophthongizing and centralizing vowel sequences before the pausal marker: in > ie: -mis-hä 'PERF-PAUS' -mleh in (813) and ia > i: -piä-hä "NEG-PAUS" > -phë (814); optionally ia > i: -piä-hä 'NEG-PAUS' > -phë (503), -mis-hä 'PERF-PAUS' > mleh (22).

(813) fü-fü-mleh fü-mia ema
stink-PERF+PAUS stink-PERF tapìr
'The tapir is stinking. The tapir is stinking.'

(814) wa: ya-atula-piä-hä ya-atula-piä-hä wa-ñi
then NEG-full-NEG +PAUS NEG-full-NEG +PAUS jaguar
wa atula-mleh then full-PERF +PAUS
"Then he was not full, he was not full, the jaguar. Then he has become full.'

(b) centralizing back vowel ü > e before the pausal marker (815); cf. also yeñë 'to'.
in (196), -weñë 'PERF-PAUS' in (299), mëñë (1sg + see + PAUS) in (101).

(815) e-mia pane ema ate inapa inapeñë (<-inapa-hä)
est-PERF liver tapìr until finish finish +PAUS
'Then he ate tapir's liver until it finished, fini-hëd.'

(c) centralizing high vowel ü > e in the word-final position before the pausal marker; e.g., (428) ni-ndina-mia-nalhë (3pl + finish-PERF-DEM.PRON + PAUS) 'they finished'.
(d) centralizing back vowel ü > e in the word-final position; e.g., (482) waya-te 'speak'; or before a clitic; e.g., (232) yuñate-li-wa (ba-REL-NYGACC) 'where he lays'.
(e) monophthongizing vowel sequences is > i in word-final position, or before a word final ni (48) we-mi-ni (leave-PERF-3pl); in > e in word-final position following e in the preceding syllable (167) ni-piñe (3pl-PF-NEG) they did not find.'
(f) vowel assimilation: aie-hë 'this-PAUS' > ai-hë (535), wa-hë 'then-PAUS' > wa-hë (642).

There is also an optional phonetic distinction between a non-utterance-final and an utterance-final pause marking. In the case of a non-utterance-final pause, the post-tonic vowels of pausal and non-pausal forms can be optionally shortened in rapid speech. This process never occurs in utterance-final pause marking. This is illustrated by the following example, where the final a is shown to undergo shortening to a in non-utterance-final position:

(816) uwa-li-benä-hä füñali ya-be-piä-hä yuñëa
climb.tree-REL-when-PAUS people NEG-can-NEG-PAUS kill
ya-be-piä-hä uwa-hë
NEG-know-NEG-PAUS climb-PAUS
'When people climb a tree, he cannot kill (them), he cannot climb.'

Thus, Warekena makes a distinction between different kinds of 'pauses' and this corresponds to the prosodic domain of an utterance and a phonological phrase respectively. The principle is similar in Bare. Both languages use different devices for utterance-final and non-utterance-final pause-marking. However, in Bare it is
the optional utterance-final pause-marking devices that are non-phonological. In
contrast, Warekena has the non-utterance-final vowel shortening as a non-
phonological pause-marking device. Regular pause-marking devices, which include
vowel harmony and k-insertion, followed by vowel nasalization, in Warekena, are
phonological both utterance-finally and non-utterance-finally.

22.4.6 Intonation. Little is known as yet about the intonation patterns in Ware-
kena. All types of questions are characterized with a rising intonation, and
declarative sentences have a falling intonation on the last word. Enumeration is
characterized by a rising intonation on each component. Serial verb construc-
tions are a single intonational unit (see sect. 18.8.1). When a constituent has to
be emphasized, emphatic falling intonation is used (277).

22.5 Morphophonological changes. Warekena has the following morpho-
phonological changes which occur on the boundaries affix-root. These mor-
phonological changes involve only vowels. Since no enclitic begins with a
vowel, there are no specific changes on a root-enclitic boundary. As was shown
above, independent enclitics have different phonological processes at their
boundaries (sect. 22.4.1).

(1) Vowel fusion: operates on affix and clitic boundaries.
V + V > V (optionally realized as long):

(i) ya + amena-pia > yamenapia 'not sharp'
NEG + sharp-NEG

(ii) wa+ + -ašia > wašia 'we stand'
1pl + -stand

(iii) pani-ji-twe
house-NPOSS-LOC
> pani(j)we 'in the house'

(iv) pi- + -luami > piluami 'your father'
2sg + father

(2) Vowel reduction: operates on affix-root boundary.
The following vowel changes occur.

(a) u + a > a

(b) nu- + api > napi 'I bring'
1sg + bring

Exemplars like (iii) also show that sequences like VI, Vu in Warekena cannot
be considered triphongs (in fact, they should be considered vowel sequences).

(b) u + e > e

(i) yu-eši
3sgf-tooth
> yeši 'her tooth'

(ii) yu-eda
3sgf-see
> yeda 'she saw'

(iii) yu-epuna
3sgf-road
> yepuna 'her road'

There are two exceptions to this:
First, mu + e > mu- in all cases but one, the one case being nu-eda > neda 'I see', where the above rule is followed.

(i) mu-eta
1sg-burn

(ii) mu-eši
1sg-tooth
> naši 'my tooth'

(iii) mu-epuna
1sg-road
> napuna 'my road'

Second, u + e > a in the verb e to eat:

(y) mu-e
1sg-eat
> na 'I eat'

(y) yu-e
3sgf-eat
> ya 'she eats'

(c) i + e > e
(i) wa-efi > wefi "our tooth"
1pl-tooth

(g) a + i > e

(i) mulupi-twe > mulupewe "in a canoe"
cano-LOC

(ii) wa-efi > wefi "our tooth"
1pl-tooth

In the verb e "eat", a + i > ai in normal register, e in rapid register: wai-hi, we-hi (1pl + eat-PAUS) 'we eat'.

No changes occur in vowel sequences i-a at a clitic and affix boundary pi-api "you bring"; pi-affl-ya "you are standing". At a clitic boundary, i-a may become a in rapid speech register, cf. variants ifalema, ifalena (i 'what' + alena "how") "how".

23 Morphology

23.1 Types of morphemes. Morphemes in Warekana fall into three classes: affixes, clitics and roots. The difference between the three with respect to their behavior within a phonological word is described in sect. 22.4.1. They also differ with respect to the boundary phonological processes (see sect. 22.5) and syllable structure, and fall into different classes as far as their accentual properties (extraprosodic vs prosodic) are concerned. Only one prefix can occur in a grammatical word.

Warekana, similarly to other Northern Maitipuran languages, is predominantly suffixed, with only a few prefixes. Prefixes in Warekana are: A/Sa and possessive cross-referencing prefixes (sections 15.2.1 and 18.4), nominal derivational prefix a (sect. 15.4.1), classifier prefixes in numerals (see sect. 15.2.3). Suffixes are nominal and adjectival derivational affixes (see sections 15.4 and 15.3.1), aspectual -wa 'unaccomplished action' (sect. 18.2.2), verbal valency-changing and thematic suffixes (sect. 18.5), and adverbial suffixes (sect. 20). All other morphological markers are enclitics, with the exception of negative ya, which is a proclitic.
Warekena also has reduplication (sect. 18.2.9), and partial opposition in plural marking (sect. 15.2.4). The distinction between derivational and inflectional affixes is clear-cut. As can be seen from plural formation, some derivational affixes (e.g., -mi ‘pejorative’, ‘masculine’) can follow inflectional suffixes, e.g., plural (sect. 15.2.4). There is also certain ‘freedom’ in clitic ordering which always entails semantic changes (e.g., sect. 18.6.2).

23.2 Word classes. Major open lexical classes in Warekena are: nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs. They differ as to their inflectional categories and syntactic functions.

Nouns are arguments of verbs and heads in head-modifier constructions. They have the following inflectional categories: inherent gender, number (optional), possession (obligatory), inherited class (optional), peripheral cases (obligatory, depending on the semantics of the noun). They also have a number of derivational devices distinct from other categories.

Verbs are predicates. They have the following inflectional and derivational categories: person/gender/number, transitivity and active/static, causative, reflexive, oblique and object focus, aspect/tense (optional), emphatic.

Adjectives are modifiers in head-modifier constructions. They have the following inflectional categories: number (optional), concordial gender (optional), and a number of specific derivational devices. They are a large open class, and are regularly derived from verbal roots (So verbs). The only non-derived adjectives are pronominal (demonstrative) adjectives.

Adverbs are modifiers of verbs. They do not have any specific inflectional categories. They can be shown to have, historically, a deverbal origin, going back to verbal root constructions (sect. 18.8.2).

Closed lexical classes in Warekena are: quantifiers, numerals (they have classifiers which distinguish them from quantifiers), pronouns, particles, conjunctions, adpositions.

Warekena displays a certain degree of fuzziness between the lexical classes. Adverbs and So verbs can be distinguished only according to their syntactic functions, and are sometimes indistinguishable. Any noun can be used as a function as an So verb. Quantifiers and numerals tend to collapse together, due to partial loss of the classifier system in the situation of language obsolescence. Adpositions can be considered as a subclass of obligatorily possessive nouns.

24 Ideophones

Ideophones occur very rarely in Warekena. They are mainly monosyllabic, used to imitate brusque sounds, e.g., /kstant/ ‘a sound of something falling’, or ‘a signal of joy’. An ideophone may be repeated for intensification, e.g., /tsta/ ‘the sound of knocking’. Probably, /beur/ ‘bark’ is the only ideophonic verb.

Notes

1 The Maipuran family, whose genetic unity has been clear since 1783 when Pe, Gili established genetic affinity between Maipuran language in Venezuela and Mojo in Bolivia, is known among South American scholars as Arauk (or Arawak). Claims for a larger family including Maipuran and other families such as the Aruwal languages have not been substantiated (see Payne 1991:360–365).

2 Third person singular masculine is usually realized by the absence of an overt prefix in verbal, nominal and adpositional inflectional paradigms, and so has been omitted from both sentence transcriptions and morpheme glosses (see Table 1, sect. 15.2.1), for the full chart of prefixes.

3 The term pivot refers to the syntactic constraints on clause combination or on the omission of coreferential constituents in clause combinations. If a language treats S and O in the same way and A differently in terms of these constraints, it is said to have an SVO pivot, or to be ‘syntactically negative’. If S and A are treated in the same way and O differently, the language is said to have an S/A pivot and to be ‘syntactically accusative’. If a language combines both types of constraints, and has an S/O pivot under some conditions and an S/A pivot under others, it is said to have a mixed pivot (see Dixon 1994: 131ff).

4 Syntactic causatives in Warekena are strikingly similar to syntactic causatives in Bare, e.g., Bare:

(i) i-d'ekada mu-qtuna-ma-ka
3sg-ant-skip 1sg-crie-RED-DECL
'Ir the stingray who bit me made me cry.'

Syntactic causatives in Tariana are different in that both components cross-reference the A of the causative verb:

(ii) du-a du-la iltiki-muku
3sg-give 3sg-eat man-TOP
'She fed the man (make-eat).'
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Abbreviations

ADJ  adjectivizer
AFF  affix
AG  agentive
AUG  augmentative
CAUS  causative
CL  classifier
COLL  collective
DEC  deceased
DECL  declarative
DEL  delimitative
DEM  demonstrative
DER  derivational suffix
DIM  diminutive
DIR  directional
EL  elative
EMPH  emphatic
f  feminine
FUT  future
HAB  habitual
IMM  immediate
IMP  impersonal
INCH  inchoative
INT  intensive
LOC  locative
MASC  masculine
NEG  negative
NOM  nominalizer
NONACC  non-accomplished
nf  nonfeminine
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Appendix

Warekona Text

The Deer and the Turtle

(1) yaliwa nu-ja nu-tina-hā isturia-ne malayu now 1sg-go 1sg-tell-PAUS story-poss Deer
(2) epi kulimalu with turtle
    ‘Now I shall tell a story of a deer with a turtle.’
(3) wa-hā malayu wayata yue-hē kulimalu then-3pl-Clear 3pl-road-PAUS far-EMPH Deer
    3pl speak turtle
(4) ma wayata malayu yue-hē kulimalu say 3pl speak Deer to turtle
    malu
(5) wa-ja wa-pala-hā ma yue kulimalu 1pl-go 1pl-run-PAUS say to 3pl turtle
    wa-pala-hā ma yue kulimalu
    1pl-see-PURP who strong-ADJ run-PAUS
    ‘So the deer said to the turtle, the deer said to the turtle, “Let’s run,” he said to the turtle, “to see who is stronger in running.”’
(6) ma yue wa-yawaputa kulimalu say to then-answer turtle
    yawaputa kulimalu
    answer turtle
(7) wa-ja wa-ma wapuma 1pl-go 1pl-make 1pl-road
    wa-pala-pala 1pl-road-PAUS 1pl-run-PURP
    ‘The turtle answered, answered the turtle, “Let’s make a road, our road for us to run.”’
(8) wa ni-ja ni-yeluta nepuna-hā then 3pl-go 3pl-Clear 3pl-road-PAUS
    ‘We will run the day after tomorrow, to see who is stronger in running,” the turtle said to the deer.’

(9) wa ni-yeluta nepuna-hā ya-me-hu then 3pl-Clear 3pl-road-PAUS far-EMPH
    wa ni-yeluta nepuna-hā far-EMPH 3pl-Clear 3pl-road-PAUS
    ‘Then they went to clear the road, deer, deer and turtle, then they made their road far, they made their road far, until they finished clearing.’
(10) ni-yeluta wa-wayata malayu yue kulimalu 3pl-Clear then-speak Deer to turtle
    ni-yeluta wa-wayata malayu yue kulimalu
    3pl-clear then-speak Deer to turtle
(11) yaliwa wa-ja wa-pala-hā now 1pl-go 1pl-run-PAUS
    ‘They cleared, then the deer said to the turtle, “Now let’s run.”’
(12) yaliwa ya-hā ya wa-ja-pia wa-pala now NEG-PAUS NEG-1pl-go NEG 1pl-run
    yaliwa ya-hā ya wa-ja-pia wa-pala
    now NEG-PAUS NEG-1pl-go NEG 1pl-run
(13) wa-ja wa-pala-pala-hā bena-pal-pa-ta-hā 1pl-go 1pl-run FUT-PAUS when-FUT-DEM.DIST-PAUS
    ‘The turtle answered, “Not now, now no, we will not run, let’s run later, the day after tomorrow.”’
(14) wa-ja wa-pala-pala-hā bena-pal-pa-ta-hā 1pl-go 1pl-run FUT-PAUS when-FUT-DEM.DIST-PAUS
    ‘The turtle answered, “Not now, now no, we will not run, let’s run later, the day after tomorrow.”’
(15) wa-ja wa-pala-pala-hā bena-pal-pa-ta-hā 1pl-go 1pl-run FUT-PAUS when-FUT-DEM.DIST-PAUS
    ‘The turtle answered, “Not now, now no, we will not run, let’s run later, the day after tomorrow.”’
(16) wa-ja wa-pala-pala-hā bena-pal-pa-ta-hā 1pl-go 1pl-run FUT-PAUS when-FUT-DEM.DIST-PAUS
    ‘The turtle answered, “Not now, now no, we will not run, let’s run later, the day after tomorrow.”’
(17) wa-ja wa-pala-pala-hā bena-pal-pa-ta-hā 1pl-go 1pl-run FUT-PAUS when-FUT-DEM.DIST-PAUS
    ‘The turtle answered, “Not now, now no, we will not run, let’s run later, the day after tomorrow.”’
(18) wa-ja wa-pala-pala-hā bena-pal-pa-ta-hā 1pl-go 1pl-run FUT-PAUS when-FUT-DEM.DIST-PAUS
    ‘The turtle answered, “Not now, now no, we will not run, let’s run later, the day after tomorrow.”’
of the road, in front,” he said, “another one will be far, far on by the edge of the road”, so he left (them), he left (them) far, far on the edge of the road.”

“Then they returned home, the turtle returned, the deer returned.”

“Then his family came to him, to him.”

“Then the deer came, he spoke with turtle, “Let’s run.” Then the turtle answered, “Let’s run tomorrow! When the sun is high, let’s run.”

Then he said to them, then he said to them, “We shall run by the edge of the road, by the edge of the road. Now I shall leave you on the edge of the road.”
(48) wayata malayu yoe kulimalu ma-hā
    say deer to turtle say-PAUS

(49) wa-JA-nia wa wa-pala-hā
    1pl-go-PERF then 1pl-run-PAUS
    "They slept until they woke up, the deer said, he said to
    the turtle, ‘Let’s run!’ ‘

(50) wa yawaputa kulimalu wa-JA-va
    then answer turtle 1pl-go-NONACC
    ‘Then the turtle answered, ‘Let’s go!’ ‘

(51) wa-hā pala-nia-hā malayu
    then-PAUS run-PERF-PAUS deer

(52) wa-JA-va malayu wa-JA-va
    then-go-NONACC deer then-go-NONACC

(53) wa-JA-nia-wa wa-pala-mia-hā pala-mia-hā
    then-go-PERF-NONACC then-run-PERF-PAUS run-PERF-PAUS

(54) pala malayu yame-lu pala-mia-hā malayu
    run deer far-EMPH run-PERF-PAUS deer

(55) pala malayu yame-lu wa ema-hā malayu
    run deer far-EMPH then cry-PAUS deer
    ‘Then the deer ran, then the deer went on running, the deer ran far, the
    deer ran, the deer ran far, then the deer shouted.’

(56) wa yawaputa kulimalu wa ema-hā ni-malayu
    then answer turtle then cry-PAUS DEM. PR-deer

(57) yawaputa kulimalu yame-hā yame piyatsuaha malayu
    answer turtle far-PAUS far in.front+DIR deer
    ‘The turtle answered, then the deer shouted, turtle answered far in front
    of the deer.’

(58) piyatsuaha pala malayu pala
    in.front+DIR run run deer run

(59) pala pala ate ya-mie-yufi-pihā malayu
    run run until NEG-PERF-strong-NEG + PAUS deer
    ‘The deer ran in front, he ran, ran, until the deer had no strength.’

(60) wa-hā ema-ñi-va ema-ñi-va
    then-PAUS cry-REP-NONACC cry-REP-NONACC

(61) ema-hā ema ema-hā
    cry-PAUS cry-PAUS
    'Then he cried again, cried again, cried again.'

(62) yawaputa kulimalu yame yame yawaputa kulimalu
    answer turtle far far answer turtle
    ‘The turtle answered far, the turtle answered far.’

(63) wa-pala-ñi malayu pala pala pala ya-mia
    then-run-REP deer run run run NEG-PERF

(64) be-pia-va malayu ma-kale-miheh
    can-NEG-NONACC deer NEG-breath-PERF + PAUS

(65) wa ema-ñi ema-hā ema malayu
    then cry-REP cry-PAUS cry deer

(66) ma-kale-miheh ema-ñi ema
    NEG-breath-PERF + PAUS cry-REP cry

(67) eda-palu daba kulimalu
    see-PURP where turtle
    ‘Then the deer ran, he ran, and he could (run) no more, he was tired, he
    cried again, he was tired, he cried, to see/hear where the turtle was.’

(68) yawaputa kulimalu yawaputa kulimalu
    answer turtle answer turtle

(69) piyatsuaha-mia yame piyatsuaha
    in.front + DIR-PERF far in.front + DIR
    ‘The turtle answered far in front.’

(70) wa pala malayu pala malayu
    then run deer run

(71) wiya-nia dalima-hā malayu
    die-PERF faint-PAUS deer

(72) ya-mie-yufi-pihā ya-mie-yufi-pihā
    NEG-PERF-strong-NEG + PAUS NEG-PERF-strong-NEG + PAUS
(73) malayu wa yeleta-ha wali inapa-wa tenepu
der then arriva-PAUS where finish-NONACC road
"The deer ran, the deer fainted, the deer had no more strength, he came
where the road finished."

(74) wa ema-qi ema-ha ema-ha
then cry-REP cry-PAUS cry-PAUS

(75) eda-paim daba kulimalu
see-PURP where turtle
"He cried again, to see where the turtle is."

(76) yawayapa kulimalu piastabu-mia
answer turtle front+DIR-PERF
"The turtle answered in front."

(77) wa-ha dalina-mia malayu
then-PAUS faint-PERF deer

(78) dalina-mia ya-mia-be-pia-wa
faint-PERF NEO-PERF can-NEG-NONACC

(79) ya-mia-be-pia-wa malayu dalina-mia-ha
NEO-PERF can-NEG-NONACC deer faint-PERF-PAUS
"Then the deer fainted, he fainted, he could (run) no more, the deer
could (run) no more, he fainted."

(80) akawi-mia-ha nunevono
slobber-PERF-PAUS mouth+EL
"Slobber came out of his mouth."

(81) wa-ha wiyu-mia-ni-ha malayu
then-PAUS die-PERF+DEM.PR-PAUS deer
"Then the deer died."

(82) wiyu-mia-ni malayu
die-PERF+DEM.PR deer
"Then the deer died."

(83) wa ema ema-ha ema-ha kulimalu yue-ha yue ema
then cry cry-PAUS cry-PAUS turtle to-PAUS to cry

(84) ee! wiyu-mia-ha malayu
ee! die-PERF-PAUS deer
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(85) emant kulimalu
cry+DEM.PR turtle
"Then the turtle cried to (his companions), he cried, "The deer died!,"
cried this turtle."

(86) wa yawayutubii peya kulimalu eni-ha
then answer+PAUS one turtle DEM.PR-PAUS

(87) wa ema-ha ema-ha-ni kulimalu tina-ha
then cry-PAUS cry-PAUS-DEM.PR turtle again-PAUS

(88) malayu wiyu-mia-ha wiyu-mia-ni malayu
der die-PERF-PAUS die-PERF+DEM.PR deer
"Then one turtle answered, cried this turtle, again, that the deer died, the
der died."

(89) wa eda yuwa-ni peya kulimalu
then perceive voice DEM.PR one turtle

(90) jia-li yuluta-li pane-we tenepu
where-REL lie-REL middle-LOC road

(91) eda yuwa-anena
perceive voice good

(92) wiyu-mia-ha eni malayu
die-PERF-PAUS DEM.PR deer
"Then one turtle heard the voice where he was lying in the middle of the
road, he heard well (that) the deer died."

(93) ya-liwa wa-ja-wa
tenepu numa-wa
now 1pl-go-NONACC road mouth-PEARL

(94) wa-ja weda wiyu-mia-ni malayu
1pl-go 1pl+perceive die-PERF+DEM.PR deer
"Now let's go by the edge of the road, let's go and see how the deer
died."

(95) wa ni-ja-wa
ni-kulimalu-nau
then-3pl-go-NONACC DEM.PR-turtle-PL

(96) tenepu numa-wa
ni-ja-wa
road mouth-PEARL 3pl-go-NONACC slow-EMP
(97) ya-ni-be-pia-hii ni-pa-hii wa ni-ja-wa
NEG 3pl-can-NEO-PAUS 3pl-run-PAUS then 3pl-go-NONACC

(98) muna-hii ni-ja-wa ni-ja-wa
slow-EMPH 3pl-go-NONACC 3pl-go-NONACC

(99) ate ni-yeleta-hii wali wiyua-hii malayu
until 3pl-arrive-PAUS where die-PAUS deer
"Then the turtles went, they went slowly by the edge of the road, they
cannot run, they went slowly until they came where the deer died."

(100) ni-yeleta-hii ni-yeleta kulimalu-nawii
3pl-arrive-PAUS 3pl-arrive turtle-PL

(101) ni-yeleta nida-hii nida wiyua-mia-hii
3pl-arrive 3pl-perceive-PAUS 3pl-perceive die-PERF-PAUS
"They arrived, they arrived, the turtles arrived, they saw, they saw him
die."

(102) wa wayata ni-yue-fahine eni kulimalu yaliwa
then speak 3pl-to family DEM.PR turtle now

(103) wa-ja we-hii eni malayu wiyua-mia-hii
1pl-go 1pl-est-PAUS DEM.PR deer die-PERF-PAUS
"Then the turtle spoke to his family, "Now let's eat the dead deer."

(104) wiyua-mia-hii wa-ja-mia-wa kulimalu-nawii
die-PERF-PAUS then 3pl-go-PERF-NONACC turtle-PL

(105) ni-ja ni-muñita-me ni-muñita fi-aboñi
3pl-go 3pl-bite-PAUS 3pl-bite stomach

(106) fi-aboñi ni-nuñuca-paluhii
stomach 3pl-spl-PURP+PAUS

(107) ni-yanta-palu fi-api ne-palu
3pl-take-PURP insides 3pl+eat-PURP
"The turtles came (to) the dead (deer), they came to bite him, they bit on
the stomach, to split the stomach and take his insides to eat."

(108) wani ni-muñita-me ne ni-muñita-me
there 3pl-bite-PERF+PAUS 3pl-bite-PERF+PAUS

(109) ate ni-nuñuca fi-api
until 3pl-spl insides
"They bit him until the insides split."

(110) ne-mia ne-mia-hii payalu-ni eni malayu
3pl + eat-PERF 3pl + eat-PERF-PAUS all-3pl DEM.PR deer

(111) wanehii ninapa-mia ne-bii stulalap-mia-nii
here + PAUS 3pl + finish-PERF 3pl + eat-PAUS full-PERF-3pl
"They ate, they all ate the deer, then they finished eating, they were
full."

(112) wa ni-yulata-wa ima-hii malayu
then 3pl-ise-NONACC with-PAUS deer

(113) ni-yulata-wa ba-buya pepuñi wa ne-fi
3pl-ise-NONACC one-CL-TIME day then 3pl + eat-REP

(114) ne-fi ne-bii ne-mia malayu
3pl + eat-REP 3pl + eat-PAUS 3pl + eat-PERF deer

(115) wanehii ninapa-mia ne-bii ni-malayu
here + PAUS 3pl + finish-PERF 3pl + eat-PAUS DEM.PR deer

(116) wa inapa-mia-wa malayu
then finish-PERF-NONACC deer
"They lay down near the deer, they lay for one day, then they ate again,
then they ate the deer, then they finished eating the deer, then the deer
finished."

(117) wayata ni-yue-hii fahine wayata ni-yue-hii
say 3pl-to-PAUS family say 3pl-to-PAUS

(118) eni fahine yaliwa wa-ja-mia-wa
DEM.PR family now 1pl-go-PERF-NONACC

(119) wa-wyulata-wa
1pl-return-NONACC
"He said to the family, he said to the family, "Now let's go back.""

(120) wa eni teleñi teleñi kulimalu
then DEM.PR three turtle
(121) ja-mia-wa aita-lu-wa
    go-PERF-NONACC 3pl-return-PERF-NONACC
(122) ja-wa ate yeleta aita-luwe-hē
    go-NONACC until arrive swamp+LOC-PAUS
(123) wa ni-ja-wa wa ni-yuhta-wa
    then 3pl-go-NONACC then 3pl-lie-NONACC
    Then three turtles went to a swamp, they went until they arrived to the
    swamp, then they went, they lay down.
(124) wa eni kwatu ku-limalu ni-ja-wa
    then DEM.PR four turtle 3pl-go-NONACC
(125) a-wipemi-wa-ba wabupi a-wipemi-wa-ba wabupi
    headwaters-DIR spring headwaters-DIR spring
(126) ni-ja-wa eni kwatu ku-limalu-nawi
    3pl-go-NONACC DEM.PR four turtle-PL
    'Then four turtles went to the headwaters of the spring, to the spring's
    headwaters they came, the four turtles.'
(127) kwatu ku-limalu-nawi ni-ja-wa
    four turtle-PL 3pl-go-NONACC
(128) a-wipemi-wa-ba wabupi
    headwaters-DIR spring
    'Four turtles went to the headwaters of the spring.'
(129) wa eni teleši ku-limini ni-ja-wa
    then DEM.PR three turtle 3pl-go-NONACC
(130) ulupe-gi-wa ya-pa
    foot-LOC7-DIR hill
(131) ale-hē ni-bayata-na-wa-mia-hē
    so-PAUS 3pl-spread-REFL-NONACC-PERF-PAUS
    ni-ja-mia-wa
    3pl-go-PERF-NONACC

(132) ni-yuleta-mia-wa ni-yuleta-mia-hē ulupe-wa-ba ya-pa
    3pl-return-PERF-NONACC 3pl-return-PERF-PAUS foot-LOC7-DIR hill
    'Then three turtles went to the foot of a hill, so they dispersed, they
    returned to the foot of a hill.'
(133) wa ni-yuhta-mia-wa ku-limalu-nawi
    then 3pl-lie-PERF-NONACC turtle-PL
(134) wa ni-yuhta-mia-wa ni-yuhta-mia-wa
    then 3pl-lie-PERF-NONACC 3pl-lie-PERF-NONACC
(135) nimpa-mia-nehē
da-makayu
    3pl-finsh-PERF-DEM PR+PAUS deer
    'Then the turtles lay down, they lay down, they finished the deer.'
(136) ya-liwa inapa-mia-wa isturia-na ma-layu
    now finish-PERF-NONACC story-FOSS deer
    'Now the story of the deer with a turtle.'
(137) opl ku-limalu yaliwa ube-ma-li ni-fiin-lia
    with turtle now all-DEL-EMPH 3sg-tell-REL
    then story-FOSS deer with turtle
    'Now the story of the deer with a turtle is finished, this is all my story,
    the story of the deer with a turtle.'